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Decentering the Hexagon:

Towards a Sociolinguistically Informed French Language Curriculum

By

Rachel Elizabeth Weiher

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
in
Romance Languages & Literatures
in the
Graduate Division
of the
University of California, Berkeley

Committee in charge:
Professor Justin Davidson, Co-Chair
Professor Richard Kern, Co-Chair
Professor Isaac Bleaman
Professor Naomi Shin

Fall 2023

Abstract

Decentering the Hexagon: Towards a Sociolinguistically Informed French Language Curriculum

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Doctor of Philosophy in Romance Languages & Literatures

University of California, Berkeley

Professor Justin Davidson, Co-chair

Professor Richard Kern, Co-chair

Resulting from France's centuries-long colonial project across several continents, French is estimated to be the fifth most widely spoken language globally. Yet, despite its presence across continents and despite the linguistic diversity within France itself, notions of 'good' and 'correct' French continue to be associated with the image of the white, upper-class, metropolitan *Français de souche*. As a result, second-language French instruction often adopts and perpetuates this monolithic image of Frenchness and *Francophonie*, peripheralizing the richly diverse range of communities that use French in social life. This underrepresentation of global Frenches not only harms the development of sociolinguistic competence but may also have negative effects on language students' sense of belonging. Drawing methodologically from applied linguists working in the Spanish language context, I adapt approaches to representing sociolinguistic variation in language teaching to the French context to address the sociolinguistic lacunae common in United States, university-level elementary French courses. This dissertation describes the development, implementation, and assessment of a series of lessons that foreground language variation in the Francophone context, integrated into UC Berkeley's existing Elementary French curriculum. The learning outcomes observed in this implementation differ from those of previous studies in the Spanish context, notably with respect to students' sociolinguistic knowledge and language attitudes. While quantitative findings suggest that UC Berkeley students enter the French language sequence with existing sociolinguistic awareness and relatively accepting language attitudes, we observe improvement in their ability to *produce* non-standard forms after receiving the curricular intervention. Furthermore, contrary to prior assumptions, we observe that exposure to sociolinguistic variation in French does not undermine learners' proficiency in the prescriptive, pedagogical standard, but instead may even facilitate their acquisition of the so-called 'standard'. Additionally, qualitative findings suggest that there is a clear, present interest among students in seeing more of the wider Francophone world represented in their learning experience. As such, I argue that our conversations as applied linguists need to move beyond debating *whether* sociolinguistic variation should be taught more explicitly in French language courses, toward *how* we can best do so for the benefit of our students.

To Beverly Weiher, my Nana:
the first person ever to tell me about the pleasure of teaching.

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Acknowledgements

This dissertation would not have been possible without the steadfast support of my community, here at Berkeley, at home in Los Angeles, and abroad. First, I'd like to thank (in no particular order) some of the incredible people I've had the pleasure and privilege to work (and just exist) with over the last 6 years:

Gabriella Licata, my academic partner in crime and in critical perspectives, work wife, cohort-mate since day 1; it's been so much fun, and I'm so glad we had each other to work/suffer/laugh/cry/etc. alongside. Also, many thanks to Rue, Betty, Louie (may he RIP), Prue, Piper, and Phoebe for all the cuteness.

Amber Sweat and Alexis Stanley, my gals!!! It's been an honor and a pleasure to go through most of my PhD and experience all the high and lows with y'all. Thank you for talking sense into me when I'm spiraling and for all the laughs, drinks, brunches, gossip, etc. I love you both so much and I secretly hope you both get jobs in the Bay Area so we never have to leave each other. Friendship hire! 🤞

Alan Yeh, also one of my dearest friends and GSI-officemates; some of my fondest memories are of us distracting each other in the office, but also our heart-to-hearts at the Oakland Y.

Cameron Flynn and Erin Dunbar, you both made my dissertation study *happen*—thank you for so graciously and enthusiastically taking on the task of teaching the lessons I designed, especially amidst the packed schedule that is French 2! I couldn't have been dealt better French 2 instructors to work with. Also, thanks to Rachel O'Shea, Mufei Jiang, and Claire Tourmen for working with me to collect data from their classes as well.

My dissertation committee members Isaac Bleaman and Naomi Shin, for their enthusiasm for my project and their feedback on my drafts (including my prospectus, which feels like a decade ago); additionally, a special shoutout to Naomi for basically inspiring my entire approach to developing and assessing a sociolinguistically informed intervention.

My dissertation co-chairs and number one cheerleaders, Justin Davidson and Rick Kern. Thank you both for all of the help, feedback, enthusiasm, encouragement, and motivation over the years! I can't count how many times I wandered up to E floor for stats help, but it was a *lot*, and I'm so grateful. Thanks, Justin, for pushing me toward rockstardom; and thanks, Rick, for all of the run-ins in the hall that, possibly unbeknownst to you, were so encouraging and always made my day.

Mairi McLaughlin, an incredible mentor and friend; my work has grown exponentially stronger and sharper because I've worked with you and learned from you. Thank you for hearing me and encouraging me as I figured out what this PhD is all about and as I discovered what my life would look like after it.

All of the French department staff that I've been so supported by—Dr. Evan Faidley!!! You made the last two years of my PhD so, so bright. And previously, Mary Ajideh; I still have the snail mail you sent me right before my Quals, and I hold that so dear. Thanks, also, to Lydia, Nina, and Darlene—I miss seeing and chatting with y'all in the hallways!

Ernesto Gutiérrez and Annie Helms, the other members of our fearless RLL/HLL cohort. You are both so smart and I'm grateful to have absorbed, via osmosis, some of your smartness. I just have one thing to say to y'all and it's "cadá[β~v]er."

Finally, one of my best friends in the whole world and my forever long-distance-roommate, Sarah Hastings-Rudolf—I don't think I would have survived those first couple years of the PhD unscathed without our friendship. I treasure the years we spent making delicious meals, doing gentle yoga, petting neighborhood cats, learning Tiktok dances, and discussing translation theory over many, many, many, *many* coffees. I also treasure our near-daily WhatsApp updates, our running exchange of cat and food photos, and even those few days we spent shrieking at each other across a Liverpool park when I had COVID. I cannot wait to visit you again, this time healthily we hope(!!), sometime soon.

p.s.
A special shoutout to the entire staff of the Free Speech Movement Café for making me so, so, so many lattes over the last 6 years. I am obsessed with them and they know it.

Next, I want to thank some of the people in my life beyond Berkeley who supported me relentlessly these last 6 years:

Caroline Ridenour, forever affectionately known as Madame, thank you for introducing me to the French language and encouraging my obsession with getting *really* good at grammar. While the way I engage with the language has evolved over time, I hope my work in French and Francophone studies has made you proud. It's been so fun to see things from the other side over the last 5 years of teaching, and I couldn't be more grateful to you for your role in my trajectory to French teacher and now educational developer.

Sydney Brazil, Jasmin Bardales, and Melanie Loon—I've known you more than half my life, and there's never a day I'm not grateful to have y'all in it. Sydney my love, thank you for the voice memos, the TV watch parties, the giggles (I believe we should all giggle more), and all the love and encouragement as we worked through the weird world of academia apart, but together. Valleydictorians rise! Jasmin, your presence brings me so much joy, and I go absolutely insane whenever you tell me you're headed to the Bay—to many more visits, laughs, delicious food, etc. Give all the animals my love, too. Mel, other half of my brain, you know I love you and every moment we get to spend eating good food and giggling together (see my above thoughts on giggling). Every day I'm grateful to see and add updates to our never-ending stream-of-consciousness text thread, and I treasure those moments when I get a little Southwest notification telling me you're booked to visit! Thanks for cheering me on at every milestone, big or small, but mostly for being mi friend. 💕

Mia famiglia: Jared, Al, and Mom—thank you for your unrelenting support, not just of my work and career path (although I do have to shout y'all out for being so supportive of my college *French major*), but also of me as a person and my carving out a life here in the Bay Area that fulfills me. Thank you for welcoming me home whenever I need it, sending me lots of cat updates, and always being game for little food and shopping adventures. Thank you, also, for always listening. Anyway, Mom, I'm about to Facetime you, so you better answer.

Of course, I also have to thank my little one, light of my life, my best friend, Autumn the cat. She can't read, but I hope my gratitude for her floats across my living room to her as I write this. (Or, maybe I'll just give her some cat gogurt later today as thanks.)

Finally, the utmost thanks to Beverly Weiher, my Nana, the first teacher I ever met, and the first person to transmit to me the utter joy of teaching. I wish you could be here to see me finish this thing, but I know you're proud.

And to all the teachers who believed in me over the years, my biggest thanks. I'm fiercely proud to have learned from you and to have become one of you.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Standard French, standard teaching

Resulting in part from France's colonization of territories in North and West Africa, Southeast Asia, North America, the Caribbean, and the South Pacific, the French language is estimated to be the fifth most widely spoken language worldwide, with half of its day-to-day speakers located in West Africa (OIF, 2022). Owing to its global reach, French serves as the language in common which underpins international cooperative efforts such as the Organisation Internationale de la Francophonie (also known as the OIF). Furthermore, decolonization and subsequent migration has resulted in a Metropolitan France characterized by increasing ethnic, cultural, and linguistic diversity. Yet, despite the geographical reach of the French language, the multiplicity of communities that use it both within and beyond the boundaries of the Hexagon[1], and its diachronically observable variability (Lodge, 1993: 232), notions of 'good' and 'correct' French have long been and continue to be linked to upper-class, white, Parisian or Northern metropolitan speakers. This monolithic image of 'Frenchness' or 'French speakingness' can be traced back to its centuries-long standardization process, during which an ideology of the standard (Milroy, 2006) permeated the Francophone linguistic consciousness (Oakes, 2001). This was facilitated, notably, by the promotion of the Northern metropolitan norm through a centralized education system (ibid: 55).

At its inception, this standard ideology conflated the 'best' French with that spoken by the 'best' people (at the time of early codification, this meant the educated elites of Île-de-France; Lodge, 1993: 166), and over the course of standardization came to affect how different populations of French speakers would be perceived by mainstream, Hexagonal French society in the centuries to come. Both in and beyond France, traces of this standard ideology manifest in contemporary (racio)linguistic stereotypes (cf. Kuiper, 2005; Stewart & Fagyal, 2005; Vigouroux, 2017), linguistic insecurity among speakers of non-standard Frenches (cf. Kuiper, 2005; Kircher, 2012; Secova et al., 2018), and purist attitudes toward language change (cf. Throgmartin, 2008; Drackley, 2019; Knisely, 2020). Furthermore, by the 20th century, the essentialist link between French language and 'Frenchness' within France itself had persisted so far that it is common for non-standard language use to be viewed as 'not French' (Lodge 1993: 234). It is perhaps unsurprising, then, that such ideology also appears in the teaching of French as a second or additional language, notably in the context of United States university-level language programs.

Within the United States higher education system, the teaching of colonial languages like French, particularly when its intention is to feed students into literary major programs (Licata, 2021), can be characterized by tendencies toward erasure of communities and speech practices outside of the

[1] Within French and Francophone Studies, France is often referred to as "the Hexagon" because of the shape of the space within its borders when looked at on a map.

(typically European) standard. While strides have been made to better represent the multiplicity of notions like *francophonie*, *hispanidad* or *italianità*, curricula for teaching these languages can still perpetuate harmful stereotypes about who does and does not belong to their respective linguistic communities. This can take the form of sidelining colonized territories in favor of centering European or Euro-descendent speakers, framing a language spoken by a major contingent of a local population as 'foreign' (Valdman 2000), or insisting on a homogenous, neocolonial 'classroom standard' (Train, 2003; Licata, 2021). Previous research on the consequences of such erasure for language students and/or L2 users (Train, 2003; Shin & Hudgens Henderson, 2017; Provitola, 2019) have demonstrated that such an approach can reinforce stereotypes (linguistic, racial, cultural, etc.), obfuscate potential shared identities and experiences among L2/student and 'target' language communities, and manufacture linguistic homogeneity that does not reflect most contexts of its real-life usage.

As applied linguistics evolved beyond its earlier reliance on essentialist understandings of 'native speakers' and 'target languages' (cf. Kramsch, 1997; Train, 2003), applied linguists and language teachers alike have advocated for incorporating the findings of sociolinguistic research, particularly with respect to language variation, into the design and delivery of language curricula and programs (Valdman, 2000; Shin & Hudgens Henderson, 2017). In the context of North American higher education, major colonial languages viewed as 'foreign' by an institution may not be perceived as such by students or by the surrounding community (Valdman, 2000). Hence, greater classroom representation of speech historically framed as 'non-standard,' especially varieties spoken outside of colonial power centers in Europe, better reflects the presence of long-standing speech communities in North America and, furthermore, contributes toward larger efforts to combat linguistic prejudice and to decenter colonial powers in language classrooms and departments (García, 2019; Licata, 2021).

In particular, contributions to these larger efforts that take the form of sociolinguistically informed curricular interventions have been made in Spanish and English instruction in the United States. From K-12 English Language Learning (ELL) curricula that incorporate sociolinguistic variation and discussions of language attitudes (Hudgens Henderson, 2016) to university-level Spanish courses that teach basic sociolinguistic concepts to both heritage and L2 speakers alike (Shin & Hudgens Henderson, 2017), critical approaches to language pedagogy (cf. Wolfram, 1993; Alim, 2005; Godley & Minnici, 2008) have been shown to sensitize language students to the variable nature of language, its social significance, and the prejudices and stereotypes often intertwined with and simultaneously obfuscated by language-based judgments. However, in the North American context, where English and Spanish are widely spoken across the continent, Francophone communities are smaller and more geographically concentrated. As such, those with more sociopolitical prestige (e.g. Quebec) tend to dominate representations of North American French. Combined with the prevailing standard ideology that asserts that 'good' or 'correct' French is spoken in France, French language pedagogy in the United States can be characterized by a tendency towards erasure of most non-hexagonal Francophone communities (and even some within France). By way of example, textbooks might only introduce colonized territories as vacation destinations (see Valdman, Pons and Scullen 2014: 330-331) without discussing their colonial history or their residents' relationship with the French language. Furthermore, some populations of French speakers are largely ignored until students express a particular interest in them (Weiher, 2022). Yet, as college campuses in North America grow

increasingly diverse, such narrow perceptions of whose speech 'counts' as French only further peripheralizes identities that may already be marginalized at the societal level. Accordingly, in the context of French language instruction, decentering the Northern metropolitan standard and the singular image of the white, bourgeois Parisian as Frenchness incarnate is the first step towards better representing the wider range of varieties collectively known as 'French' and the diverse communities that make up *la Francophonie*.

To date, much of the research that has sought to incorporate sociolinguistic theory in investigating the acquisition and teaching of French has focused on learners' acquisition of non-standard variants in variable contexts (van Compernolle & Williams, 2012; Howard, 2013). More recent work has sought to determine if, when, and how sociolinguistic variation should be taught explicitly to French learners (French & Beaulieu, 2016; Detey, 2017; Cozma, 2018) and what consequences particular to the Francophone world are observed when sociolinguistic competence is lacking (Beaulieu, 2016). In these cases, data under examination largely consist of classroom and/or field observations and illuminate the issues surrounding how students' awareness (and potential use) of non-standard speech practices may develop. However, curricula that highlight instances of sociolinguistic variation are often only briefly described, as the focus is instead on examining acquisition itself. Thus, fewer approaches outline pedagogical best practices for explicit instruction of language variation. Moreover, these interventions have tended to focus on intermediate and advanced learners' sociolinguistic competence (Canale & Swain, 1980), but what remains to be thoroughly investigated is how best to integrate more nuanced representations of the French language and its speakers specifically at the beginning levels of L2 learning. Accordingly, this dissertation project is informed by a combination of sociolinguistic theory, applied linguistics research on sociolinguistic competence in French, and the growing body of work in the critical pedagogy of major colonial languages like Spanish and English. The central aim of the project is to put forth a critical, sociolinguistically informed approach to French language teaching and to assess the effectiveness of and develop best practices for developing an instructional program that centers sociolinguistic diversity and thus decenters colonial hubs such as the Hexagon.

1.2 The present study

In order to make a case for sociolinguistically informed curricula and to establish best practices therein, this dissertation project includes a classroom-based study that assesses an enhanced instructional program for elementary French. In developing such a program, my approach draws on the rich body of research in critical and sociolinguistically informed language pedagogy (Firth & Wagner, 1997; Belz, 2003; Train, 2003; Alim, 2005; Godley & Minnici, 2008). Its overarching objectives include:

a) to sensitize learners to the variability inherent in the French language (and indeed in all language), including attitudes and ideologies that appear alongside or resulting from it;
b) to encourage learners to reflect on and critically evaluate notions of *goodness* and *correctness* in relation to language use;
c) to expand learners' perceptions of what 'counts' as French and of who 'counts' as Francophone;

d) to equip learners to apply the critical skills they learn in the classroom to their own scholarship and to encounters with language variation, attitudes/ideologies and language-based discrimination in daily life.

The development and assessment of this instructional program are guided by a few key research questions. My first overarching research question has to do with the effectiveness of a curricular intervention of this nature—that is, whether such an intervention can promote greater sensitivity to and understanding of sociolinguistic variation in French, particularly among students earlier on in their language learning journey. Within this larger question, I also ask how curriculum designers, coordinators and instructors can introduce sociolinguistic variation at the beginning levels of French learning, rather than shelving such interventions for later in the language sequence. In other words, I aim to uncover what *sticks* when students are exposed to a range of sociolinguistic variables. Additionally, in response to previous work of this nature in Spanish language teaching (Shin and Hudgens Henderson, 2017), I also address the question of how, if at all, this might affect students' language attitudes—such as, for instance, whether this kind of pedagogical intervention will affect how they view 'correctness,' or what 'counts' as French.

My second major research question involves the impact of a sociolinguistically informed intervention on students' development and mastery of the standard language–or, perhaps more realistically, a classroom or textbook standard[2] (Isaacs & Rose, 2021: 403). In addition to examining how proficiency in a pedagogical standard may be mediated by exposure to a curricular intervention highlighting language variation, I also refute concerns about potential negative impacts of introducing language variation 'too early' (cf. Salien, 1998; Auger & Valdman, 1999; Valdman, 2000). Ultimately, it is my hope that my findings here will afford instructors and applied linguists a better understanding of the impacts of teaching more explicitly about sociolinguistic variation to early-stage L2 learners. Additionally, I hope that these findings direct our discussion beyond asking whether students *should* be exposed to a more expansive view of what 'French' is toward brainstorming *how* this exposure can best be integrated into curricula.

Hence, in order to respond to these research questions, I assess the effectiveness of a ten-week instructional program on sociolinguistic variation in the Francophone world, integrated into the existing curriculum of an Elementary French II course at my home institution, the University of California, Berkeley. Informed by theoretical and pedagogical frameworks within sociolinguistics and second language teaching, this intervention functions as a series of 'case studies' of language variation in French, tied to existing grammatical and thematic content in the current curriculum. Where previous interventions in French have concentrated primarily on acquisition at the intermediate to

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[2] Though specifically commenting on the English context, Isaacs & Rose (2022) note that what constitutes a 'standard language' is not concrete and static, but rather fluid and subject to change. Hence, even though languages like French have Academies that ostensibly put forth and regulate the 'Standard,' in reality, classroom language teaching often presents a "universalized native speaker norm [...] that is almost entirely controlled by the educational institution through teachers, textbooks, ancillary instructional materials, and the like" (Train, 2003: 8).

advanced level, this intervention is specifically aimed for the elementary level, in order to determine whether such interventions should, in the future, be expanded and adapted across levels. Furthermore, previous interventions in French, Spanish and English have tended to focus on recentering the speech of communities minoritized on the basis of race, (binary) gender, and social class; the present intervention will expand this representation to include queer, trans, and gender-nonconforming Francophones, in order to contribute towards a larger and ongoing effort to foster gender-just language education (Knisely, 2022). I will provide a detailed account of my approach to designing, implementing, and assessing the impacts of this curricular intervention in my third chapter.

1.3 Positionality

The central aim of my work is to contribute towards building approaches to French-language teaching (and the teaching of major colonial languages more broadly) that are inclusive of more than just middle- and upper-class, cisgender, straight, white and Euro-descendant students, who have traditionally benefitted from social proximity to power centers of *Francophonie* in French language study. In other words, as institutions such as mine grow increasingly diverse, and as scholar-teachers like myself reckon with the ways in which we benefit from settler colonialism and from the continued exploitation of stolen land (in the case of UC Berkeley, xučyun, belonging to the Chochenyo speaking Ohlone people), my work addresses the necessity and importance of a French language education that is inclusive of students from all backgrounds. One way in which we can contribute to this is by representing the diversity and multiplicity of Francophone subjects and identities from the earliest levels of language instruction. Drawing on my training in variationist sociolinguistics, the work I present here provides one possible avenue towards generating a more inclusive French language curriculum, one that recognizes the plurality of global Frenches and of Francophone subjects, including emergent Francophones (Fagyal, Kibbee & Jenkins, 2006; Kern & Liddicoat, 2011; Dubois & Mbembe, 2014; Sweat, 2023).

My relationship to the French language is largely academic; I am not a 'native' speaker (a concept I will complicate in my next chapter), nor do I use French very often outside of academic spaces. The short periods of time I have spent in 'immersion' contexts have primarily taken place at the geographical heart of the standard ideology whose negative effects I try to counteract with my work. I am also a white American and am aware that my social positioning affords me a different level of access to and acceptance in 'standard' French speaking contexts than is afforded to many other 'native speaker' Francophones. Hence, both in my applied linguistics research and in my day-to-day teaching, I make a concerted effort to destabilize taken-for-granted notions about the French language and about *Francophonie*, which often are the result of longstanding nationalist, colonial, or standard-oriented ideologies (Milroy, 2006). In addition to decentering France and the white, bourgeois Parisian as monolithic hallmarks of Frenchness and French-speakingness, my work also—crucially—aims to

recenter communities of Francophones that have been peripheralized. In my efforts to do so, I draw on the perspectives of Francophones and scholars of French and Francophone Studies from marginalized backgrounds to inform my orientation toward the French language and toward French and Francophone Studies.

1.4 Organization of the dissertation

The subsequent chapters of this dissertation are organized as follows. In my second chapter, I provide a sociohistorical account comparing the evolution of standard ideologies in French and Spanish, through their standardization into their contemporary afterlives in language teaching. I also address some of the evolution in the field of applied linguistics that, in response to manifestations of standard ideology, has set in motion recent efforts to incorporate greater consideration of sociolinguistic variation in language teaching. In my third chapter, I enumerate in greater detail my research questions, as well as my methodology for the design, implementation, and assessment of the curricular intervention under study. This includes, but is not limited to, the theoretical and methodological frameworks I draw from in my instructional and experiment design, the thematic makeup of the curricular intervention under study, and the materials and procedures leveraged for data collection. Subsequently, my fourth chapter provides an overview of my data analysis and results, followed by a discussion of the implications of my findings. In this chapter I also discuss a few key limitations of the present classroom study and suggest potential strategies for mitigating them in future work of this nature. Finally, my fifth chapter constitutes an overview of the conclusions I derive from this work, notably with respect to their implications for French language instruction and for critical and sociolinguistically informed language instruction more generally. While the intervention described in this dissertation did not appear to have moved the needle on students' theoretical understanding of sociolinguistic concepts, we observe evidence that earlier exposure to sociolinguistic variation may facilitate understanding of standard grammar. Most importantly, however, the student voices reflected in this dissertation are loud and clear in their interest in and desire for greater consideration of the expansiveness of *Francophonie*.

Chapter 2: Language ideologies and the (non-)examination of variation in the teaching of colonial languages

2.1 Language ideologies in standardization, nation-building, and colonialism

> *"Nationalists, in attempting to create a separate nation, often will create a language as a distinct language, although they might claim to be creating the nation on the basis of the language, as if the latter was an ancient 'natural' fact" (Billig, 1995:32).*

2.1.1 Language ideologies, nationalism, and difference

The construction and maintenance of national identities among major colonial powers such as France and Spain have at various points in their histories leveraged language as a shared "cultural artefact" (Hobsbawm, 1992:111), a foundation upon which notions of national, and later international, belonging could be built. That is, among other signs of difference (Gal & Irvine, 2019), language has often served as a means of building and differentiating communities of people. Often informed by essentialist understandings of people and society, beliefs about the supposed inherent qualities of groups of people can obscure the socially constructed nature of community formation and differentiation (Gal & Irvine, 1995: 969; Bucholtz, 2003: 400, Gal & Irvine, 2019: 113-114). This is true in the case of the development and building of nations on the basis of shared language (and, conversely, linguistic difference relative to other communities), wherein essentialist understandings of language-community pairings can obfuscate the fact that language boundaries themselves are ideologically constructed (Billig, 1995; Gal & Irvine, 1995).

Irvine (1989: 255) defines the broad concept of language ideology as a "cultural system of ideas about social and linguistic relationships, together with their loading of moral and political interests." More specifically, Woolard (1998:7) defines language ideologies[3] as "ideas, discourse or signifying practices in the service of the struggle to acquire or maintain power." Mar-Molinero (2006: 9) adds that "[t]his power may be striven for by those dominated, or, more normally, exercised by those who dominate." A common application of language ideologies is found in language planning (*ibid*: 9), and indeed language ideologies have been thought to directly "affect language change" (Blommaert, 2003:

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[3] Language ideologies are often thought of as inherently plural, due to the "multiplicity of meaningful social divisions (class, gender, clan, elites, generations and so on) within sociocultural groups that have the potential to produce divergent perspectives expressed as indices of group membership" (Kroskrity, 2000: 12).

612). But what can language ideologies look like, specifically? Language ideologies have been observed to manifest in beliefs about truth, morality, utility, or aesthetics of language use (Kroskrity, 2000: 8), as well as group identity formation, solidarity, or differentiation based on language (Mar-Molinero, 2000; Anderson, 2006). In proposing an ostensibly intrinsic link between language and nationality, Mar-Molinero (2000: 2) describes a human "need and desire to protect difference across groups and communities." The flip side of this position suggests, then, that linguistic consciousness (Oakes, 2001) can function as a tool for building community or national consciousness. This linguistic consciousness is, according to Gal and Irvine (1995), deeply intertwined with the construction of linguistic difference. In linguistic anthropology, the notion of linguistic difference is thought to be informed by 19th century European colonial and orientalist ideology, which sought to dichotomize Europe and "a broadly defined 'East' that often included not only Asia but also Africa"[4] (Gal & Irvine, 1995: 967). Yet, Mar-Molinero's (2000: 3) proposed link between language and differentiation suggests that linguistic nationalism, which seeks to join language and group identity, is much older. Indeed, in the case of major Romance languages such as French and Spanish, we can trace ideologies of difference and group-forming much farther back in their respective histories. Notably, beliefs about linguistic difference are evidenced in their initial recognition as languages distinct from Latin (Oakes, 2001; Amorós-Negre, 2016) or from other burgeoning regional language varieties, notably with regard to their differential prestige (Mar-Molinero, 2000). As the histories of these languages progress, we also observe perceptions of linguistic difference in metalinguistic texts and in incipient nation-building efforts (Lodge, 1993). Though the national and linguistic identities of these territories were formed and defined over centuries of colonization and language planning, they constituted early imagined communities (Anderson, 2006) distinguished from one another by some measure of difference, namely difference in linguistic practices.

In the remainder of this section, I discuss how the notion of *linguistic* difference converses with other axes of differentiation (Gal & Irvine, 2019) upon which some of the most prominent language ideologies in major colonial languages, particularly Romance languages such as French and Spanish, are built. Indeed, several theoretically distinct (but in practice, intertwined) language ideologies can be seen in the histories of these languages, particularly in their standardization and in the nation-building such standardization facilitated. Although contemporary linguistic anthropologists and sociolinguists may see these ideologies as theoretically different, beliefs about language rooted in notions of purity, goodness, utility, etc., imply some form of comparison. In other words, 'pure' compared to what?

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[4] N.B. Gal & Irvine (1995) are referring to the notion of linguistic difference as propagated and perpetuated by linguists and scholars in related fields. Early linguistic study, they add, "privileged a view of language as independent of its speakers and unaffected by their social realities" (968). However, my analysis reveals that this notion of difference can be observed in earlier kinds of linguistic study, namely metalinguistic discussions around the codification and eventual standardization of major European languages (particularly French).

'Good' compared to what? Just as these language ideologies imply comparison, so too do the associated beliefs about language users. Accordingly, I show how difference (and differentiation) functions as a common thread in the histories of standardization and nation-building tied to these languages, as well as how it stands to inform current nationalist and neocolonial ideologies that appear not just in the social lives of 'native' speakers, but also in the teaching and learning of these standardized languages beyond the national borders they helped form.

2.1.2 Pre-national language ideologies in the standardization of French and Spanish

Preoccupations with the role of language in social life in these incipient nations can be traced back considerably further than their nation-building endeavors, and indeed appear to have pushed nation-building forward. The differentiation of the Romance languages from Latin and their increasing use in European territories formerly under the Roman Empire is now thought to have played a significant role in the differentiation of national communities in Western Europe (Mar-Molinero, 2000). As Romance languages developed and spread across Europe, especially through writing, there followed desires to codify and standardize these languages for the sake of communication within these developing communities (Lodge, 1993; Mar-Molinero, 2000). Alongside standardization efforts came parallel and subsequent efforts to bolster emerging standards by establishing hierarchies among the language varieties of these pre-national regions and by reducing or eliminating (the need to use) other language varieties therein. In other words, the emerging standard languages themselves were fashioned into symbols of these emerging nations (Anderson, 2006; Mar-Molinero, 2000:13). In order to trace the relationship between language and nation-building, we must consider the historical context underpinning the recognition and elaboration of these once-vernaculars.

Perceptions of linguistic difference in the territory that is now France can be traced back to the appearance of the first decidedly 'French'[5] texts in the 9th century (Oakes, 2001: 49). As Romance vernaculars began to permeate religious contexts previously dominated by Latin, French began to be seen as its own language variety distinct from Latin, reflected by the consensus[6] that its use should be permitted to spread the Christian faith (Oakes, 2001: 54). Vernacular-based norms began to develop in the 11th century, and by the 13th century, a "supra-dialectal writing system .... based on the speech of

[5] More accurately, "Proto-French" (Oakes, 2001: 54); Mar-Molinero (2000: 18) identifies early Romance vernaculars by the fact that they "could no longer be understood as forms of Latin." Historians of the French language situate the recognition of a 'Proto-French' at the appearance of the Strasbourg Oaths in 842 CE (Ayres-Bennett, 1995: 13; Oakes, 2001: 54).

[6] In 813 CE, the Council of Tours officially allowed Romance vernaculars to be used in religious liturgy. It is important to add here that such perceptions of an emerging Proto-French variety, and thus a possible early linguistic consciousness, "were felt only by an élite, in particular by clerics" (Oakes, 2001: 54).

Île-de-France" in the north had emerged (*ibid:* 55). This vernacular, associated with the monarchy and eventually known as *françois* (Lodge, 1993: 126-127), came to be spread, codified, and eventually standardized over the centuries to follow. While ideologies surrounding its inherent 'goodness' and 'clarity' were propagated later by French grammarians, it was still afforded considerable prestige relative to other vernaculars of the region with which it was in contact, and in the 16th century was established as the dominant language of the land through the Ordonnance of Villers-Cotterêts (1539), which set it as the *lingua franca* of the legal system. It also became increasingly prevalent in the developing education system with the founding of the Collège de France in 1530, notably the first institution to mandate the use of French in the classroom (Oakes, 2001: 55).

By way of comparison, Castilian was recognized as a language variety distinct from Latin by the 11th century, contemporaneous with the establishment and growing power of the kingdom of Castile through the unseating of Arab rule in the region (Mar-Molinero, 2000: 19; Pountain, 2011: 48). While the medieval period on the Iberian Peninsula is characterized as one in which language choice was political above all, with various monarchs establishing their kingdoms and elevating their Romance vernaculars[7] (Pountain, 2011: 51), the union of Castilian and Aragonese royals afforded Castilian such prestige as to overtake Catalan in terms of its widespread use (Amorós-Negre, 2016: 25). Even before true nation-building efforts began, Castilian underwent its first phase of codification and held so much prestige in feudal Spain as to merit official status given by the monarchy in the 13th century, and by the end of the 15th century the first Castilian grammar[8] was published (Pountain, 2011: 49; Amorós-Negre, 2016: 26). Moreover, this period marks the beginning of a pattern in Spain's elaboration of Castilian, colonial expansion, and nation building on the French model (Mar-Molinero, 2000; Amorós-Negre, 2016). That these early versions of today's most widely spoken Romance languages were recognized as distinguishable from Latin, and furthermore as so prestigious in comparison to other developing regional languages to merit status planning, illustrates the presence of judgments of linguistic difference and of the supposed superiority of one variety over others, much earlier than the construction of major Romance-speaking nations and their associated standard languages. In the eventual standardization of these now widespread languages, judgments of prestige often coincided with ideologies around their 'goodness,' 'usefulness,' or 'logic,' or with beliefs about the supposed supremacy of the people who used them.

Pountain (2011) characterizes the Renaissance as a key moment for language planning in Romance, wherein French and Spanish became increasingly widespread in prestige settings while humanists worked to elaborate and codify them through the production of dictionaries, grammars and

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[7] Alfonso III did this with Portuguese, Jaume I with Catalan, and Fernando III followed by Alfonso X with Castilian (Pountain, 2011: 51).

[8] Antonio de Nebrija's *Gramática de la Lengua Castellana* (1492)

other metalinguistic (often didactic) texts. In Spain, as Castile's political and military power grew and Castilian dominated in administrative and religious settings, production of metalinguistic texts began with Nebrija's *Gramática* in 1492, contemporaneous with the beginnings of Spain's colonization of the Americas (Mar-Molinero, 2000: 20). Around this time, the region's less prestigious language varieties like Catalan, Aragonese and Leonese faced a cultural decline while Castilian ascended into a cultural 'golden age' (Mar-Molinero, 2000: 20; Amorós-Negre, 2016). Yet, while the confluence of this jump in prestige with the production of metalinguistic texts may suggest concerted efforts to raise the prestige of Castilian, Amorós-Negre (2016) claims that Castilian mainly served a utilitarian function at the time. Meanwhile, by the 16th century, desires to codify the 'French' of Île-de-France were indeed motivated by efforts to raise its prestige in relation to other major Romance languages. Notably, with apprehension toward the growing influence of Italian in France (Hornsby, 1998) came a desire to promote not only "a more uniform and hence more efficient instrument of communication," (Lodge, 1993: 159), but a language fit for intellectual pursuits (160). At the establishment of the Académie Française in 1635, its founders expressed a desire to "rendre le langage françois non seulement élégant, mais capable de traiter tous les arts et toutes les sciences"[9] (Académie Française, 1635). It is at this time that Oakes (2001: 56-57) situates the inception of a culture of linguistic prescriptivism in France.

Some of the earliest standard-oriented ideology in French can be observed in the development of the notion of *bon usage* ('good use'), defined by grammarian Claude Favre de Vaugelas (1647) as the French spoken at Court and in nearby villages, as well as that of well-respected authors of the time (Préface I.3). In this first phase of standardization, the 'best French' was the French spoken by the 'best' people (Lodge, 1993: 166), first the Court and later "the cultivated people of Paris and towns to the immediate south and west such as Bourges, Orléans and Tours" (171). Of course, to judge one variety as 'good' or the 'best' implies that other, 'lesser' or 'worse' varieties exist—namely, "social and regional deviations from the norm" (Kircher, 2012: 345). Indeed, variability in the speech of this region was recognized among metalinguistic writers like Vaugelas, who sought to enshrine the speech of the Île-de-France élite in order to secure and maintain power, particularly with respect to distinguishing social classes (Lodge, 1993: 173). In addition to *bon usage*, pre-national metalinguistic writings on French also propagated ideologies of its inherent *clarté* ('clarity')[10], which served to bolster

[9] "... to render French speech not just elegant, but capable of treating all of the arts and sciences"

[10] The notion of French *clarté* was language myth established by the poet François de Malherbe and further observable in 17th and 18th century metalinguistic texts (Lodge, 1993: 173, 186). Alongside an increasing association of *bon usage* with the written, literary language (181), notions of clarity and logic associated with certain French writings became, over time, associated with the language itself through recursiveness (Gal and Irvine, 1995), which helped to generate the idea that French was inherently clear and logical. Then, as the prestige associated with French grew alongside France's political power, the notion of *bon usage* as the basis for its standardization shifted towards these mythic notions of clarity and logic (Oakes 2001: 57), such that 'the best French' was best because of its supposedly inherent clarity (Lodge 1993: 178). This recursive ideology was not limited to the language alone, however. Rather, it was bolstered by a prevailing belief was that

beliefs about the ostensible superiority of the French people (Oakes, 2001: 37-38). Around this same time, linguistic purism picked up in French metalinguistic writing as grammarians and authors worked to suppress foreign influence.[11] Described by Hobsbawm (1992: 56, as cited in Oakes 2001: 52) as 'philological nationalism,' purist ideologies in the standardization of French reflect the fear held by French élites of external influence and a desire to fortify their "national (or pre-national) identity" (15) in the face of this encroaching 'other' (53). Thus, at the inception of its earliest nation-building efforts, the prevailing language ideologies in France were underpinned by judgments of difference at the levels of both language and community, as well as by essentialist images of what the 'French language' and 'French people' were and were not. Similarly, such essentialism also underpins the eventual obfuscation of Spain's linguistic (and cultural) diversity in favor of promoting one 'Spanish language,' Castilian[12].

2.1.3 Language ideologies, nation-building, and colonialism

While nation-building endeavors in France and Spain began at different points in their respective histories, language–and more specifically, the establishment of a *national, standardized* language—played a key role in the construction of these modern communities. As French and Spanish became more standardized and spread through colonization, standard-oriented and nationalist ideologies continued to work in tandem, reifying perceptions of difference. In these two developing nations, desires to unify these emerging communities on the basis of shared language bolstered attempts to establish and enforce monolingualism and monoculturalism (Mar-Molinero, 2000; Oakes, 2001). In France, the Revolution and simultaneous language planning marks a milestone in the construction of the French state (Oakes, 2001: 59). Around this time, efforts to quell multilingualism in favor of a unifying, national language accelerated. They were sometimes subtle, appearing in the form of metalinguistic texts that sought to help educated people suppress "regionalisms" in their speech (Lodge, 1993: 193) or in the form of negative attitudes toward features associated with regions outside Île-de-France, referenced by respected literary figures such as Racine and de Scudéry (*ibid:*

French society had reached a 'perfected' state (Lodge, 1993; Oakes, 2001). This belief can also be observed in Antoine de Rivarol's *De l'universalité de la langue française* (1784), where throughout, Rivarol attributes the increasing use of French outside France, its *universalité*, both to its so-called clarity (39-40) and to the superiority of the French people and their cultural production (e.g. their literature) in comparison with, for example, the English (37-38).

[11] During the Renaissance, this fear was notably directed at Italian influence in France, resultant in part of the political power held by the de Medici family through Catherine de Medici's marriage to King Henri II.

[12] As Castilian was brought to the Americas through colonization, regional languages like Catalan and Galician were suppressed through trade bans (Mar-Molinero, 2000: 20), thus leaving Castilian as the sole 'Spanish language' with which colonized peoples of the Americas had contact. It was at this moment in its history, then, that "the blur between 'Spanish' and 'Castilian' [began]" (19). Indeed, the establishment of the Real Academia de la Lengua Española[12] in the 18th century undoubtedly blurred this line further as it cemented Castilian as '*the* Spanish language.'

194). Other times, apprehension towards perceived 'threats' to the unity of the developing nation, such as regional Romance varieties whose continued use was thought to hinder the spread of French, led to more targeted efforts to subdue linguistic diversity. A notable example of this is the Abbé Grégoire's mission to *anéantir les patois* ('annihilate the *patois*[13] varieties') (*ibid:* 59). This kind of status planning in favor of French contributed to its establishment as the language of the emerging nation's free, secular and compulsory primary education system. Established via new sets of legislation in the 1880s, this centralized education system would ensure that all citizens would learn French in childhood, and moreover that French would constitute a requirement for civic participation (Lodge, 1993: 60; Doyle, 2018: 128). This, in turn, would render the developing French nation-state "*une et indivisible"* (*ibid:* 60).

Similarly, the project of promoting Castilian as the emergent national language of Spain required marginalizing the other regional languages spoken on the peninsula. Perhaps most notably is the case of Catalan, whose status in Catalonia was gradually unseated through power consolidation and language planning in the education system. Throughout most of its history, Catalonia's linguistic landscape was characterized by Catalan monolingualism (Vila-Pujol, 2007: 61). There was some contact between Catalan and Castilian in the Middle Ages, but sociohistorical accounts identify the consolidation of power by the Spanish monarchy in the 18th century as the catalyst for the gradual Castilianization of the region (Vallverdú, 1984: 20-21; Vila-Pujol, 2007: 61-62). Notably, it was at this moment that Castilian was established as the sole official language of Spain, relegating Catalan to fewer domains of use (Vila-Pujol, 2007: 62). Shortly thereafter, this growing Castilian dominance was codified through legislation establishing compulsory education in Castilian (Vallverdú, 1984: 21). Hence, in a system that was once Catalan, Castilian language and Castilian "culture, ideas, and values" were imposed (Mar-Molinero, 2000: 22). In addition to education, the Church and the Spanish military further aided in spreading Castilian throughout the developing nation (*ibid:* 22-23). Alongside the establishment of the RAE in the 18th century, these moments of language planning helped solidify the dominance of Castilian as 'the Spanish language.'

By the 19th century, at the beginning of which Spain's first national constitution[14] was ratified, standardized Castilian was "indisputably the national language," spoken as an L1 by the majority and relatively unchallenged in the political sphere (*ibid:* 23). Yet, despite its ubiquity across Spain and its presence in colonized territories, there still was yet to emerge a solid national identity built on its foundation. Rather, the emerging national identity had hinged on the colonial empire, and Mar-Molinero (2000: 24) describes a sort of national identity crisis brought on by the "humiliating

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[13] *Patois* is a pejorative term for the regional Romance varieties that were actively minoritized in the service of promoting French (Lodge, 1993: 5).

[14] The 1812 Constitución Política de la Monarquía Española, also known as the Constitución de Cádiz.

loss of the last Spanish colonies." This crisis bolstered a series of reflexive and metalinguistic texts by the '98 Generation, a group of intellectuals who, despite coming from different regions of Spain and therefore having 'mother tongues' that were not Castilian, ultimately propagated notions of Castilian supremacy. This extended into colonized territories even as they got free from Spain's control, reflected in the call by prescriptive Latin American linguists for continued use of peninsular norms (Pountain, 2011: 53). With the formation of Latin American language academies on the model of the RAE, as well as the Asociación de Academias de la Lengua Española, collaborative corpus planning allowed for a pluricentric norm to emerge that is no longer solely Castilian, but rather reflects "educated usage across the Spanish-speaking world" (*ibid:* 53).

In contrast, following codification and the 'crystallization' of a French ideology of the standard (Milroy, 2006) in the 18th century (Lodge, 1993: 184), a supposedly unbreakable link between French language and identity (Trotter, 2006) motivated efforts to unite French-speaking territories across Europe, as well as colonial expansion in the 19th century[15] (Oakes 2001: 61). Yet, during this period of expansion, the goal of unity was juxtaposed against a new "ethnic conception of French identity," formed on the basis of the *gaulois* heritage of the French people[16] (*ibid:* 62). Situating the Gauls as representative of French ancestry, this monolithic image of France's ethnic heritage was spread through the education system, establishing a link not just between Frenchness and the French *language*, but also between Frenchness and whiteness (*ibid:* 63), which France has had to reckon with since. This association between Frenchness and whiteness can be seen, for instance, in raciolinguistic stereotyping born from France's colonization of North and West Africa. Of course, the very framing of colonization as a '*mission civilisatrice*' reveals an ideology of white supremacy behind European colonialism[17]—but, in addition, a recursive ideology built on the association between French identity and language permeated efforts to spread French among the colonized peoples. Specifically, beliefs about the West African people being inferior to the French informed how colonizers taught the language, such that they selected a fabricated, over-simplistic variety of French[18] to be taught to members of the colonial army (Vigouroux, 2017). In this case, essentialist beliefs about Africans differentiating them from Europeans directly affected the teaching of French in West African colonies and subsequently reinforced beliefs about their supposed lack of intelligence in comparison with speakers of European French, leading to a raciolinguistic stereotype that persists in the contemporary French-speaking world (*ibid:* 5).

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[15] The impacts of earlier colonial expansion, namely in North America, will be discussed in tandem with the contemporary situation of language ideologies in the Francophone world.

[16] Notably, this is just one facet of their ethnic heritage.

[17] Indeed, Spain's expansion into North Africa was also framed as such (Castillo Rodríguez & Morgethaler García, 2016).

[18] A French linguist who believed that Africans were not intelligent enough to grasp the French language developed this simplified variety for the sole purpose of teaching Africans in colonized territories (Vigouroux, 2017).

In Latin America, even after communities won their independence from Spain, the Spanish language continued to function as a *lingua franca* after the minoritization of the region's indigenous languages and the establishment of Spanish as the "language of power, of administration and public life, and, especially, of the Church" by Latin America's Euro-descendant élites (Mar-Molinero, 2006: 15). Despite its status as an "imposed, imperialist language," Spanish also played a role in the construction of Latin American nations (*ibid:* 16). Moreover, migration within the region and increasing literacy in Spanish (owing to the teaching of Spanish in schools) helped forge an imagined community (Anderson, 2006) of Spanish speakers that Spain would leverage as it worked from afar to keep a sociopolitical hold on its former colonies (Mar-Molinero, 2006: 15-16). Furthermore, as the language gained a greater foothold in the United States with increasing migration of Spanish-speaking Latines[19] Spain has continued to bolster movements for a 'pan-Hispanic' identity, or *Hispanidad/hispanofonía* through pedagogical efforts such as those led by the Instituto Cervantes[20] (Mar-Molinero, 2006: 21).

Similarly, following the decolonization and independence of its former territories, France worked to keep control over them by offering them citizenship rights, monetary aid, and political representation (Véronique, 2020: 1). As a result, in an effort to construct a relationship with France that was less hierarchical, leaders in the emerging independent states of Senegal, Tunisia, and Niger proposed the notion of *la Francophonie*, which leveraged the shared language between the multiplicity of nations where French played a role in social life (*ibid:* 1). Established in the mid-20th century, the Organisation Internationale de la Francophonie (OIF) now consists of 88 participatory or observatory states whose joint mission includes the promotion of the French language and of the cultural and linguistic diversity of the Francophone world (OIF, 2022). However, the notion of *Francophonie* has not evaded critique, notably as modern academic institutions have (re)established hierarchies that distinguish between what is 'French' and what is 'Francophone' (Dubois & Mbembe, 2014)—in other words, what is French and what is *not French*[21]. Furthermore, the roles that France and Spain have

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[19] I am opting to use the gender-neutral Latine, rather than the binary-reinforcing Latino or the controversial Latinx.

[20] The website for the IC states that its mission is to "promover universalmente la enseñanza, el estudio y el uso del español y contribuir a la difusión de las culturas hispánicas en el exterior" (Instituto Cervantes, 2022). (Translation: *to universally promote the teaching, study, and use of Spanish and to contribute to the diffusion of Hispanic cultures abroad*.)

[21] There is an ongoing tension in French and Francophone Studies about what constitutes 'Francophone;' Dubois & Mbembe discuss the way that terms such as 'Francophone,' and 'Francophonist' tend to other that which is outside of France but still French-speaking, including territories that remain geopolitically French. For example, while anyone that studies anything Francophone could call themselves a 'Francophonist,' often the term is used to refer to someone who studies French-language material culture generated *outside of France*, elsewhere in the French-speaking world; similarly, 'Francophone' literature is often categorized as a subset of French literature, referring to literature written somewhere in the French-speaking world *that is not France*. Dubois & Mbembe critique this notion, instead suggesting that all who study French-language material culture (e.g. film, literature), French linguistics, and histories of French-speaking territories are engaging in 'Francophone studies.'

played in the construction and promotion of these Hispanophone and Francophone imagined communities, in concert with the continued corpus planning carried out by their respective language academies, reflects a continued effort not only to maintain control over now independent states once part of their large empires[22], but also control of the ways in which their languages are taught and used globally (Mar-Molinero, 2006; del Valle, 2006; Véronique, 2020).

2.1.4 Nationalist and neocolonial language ideologies in the pedagogy of colonial languages

Owing to their colonial legacies, French and Spanish constitute two of the world's most widely spoken languages today, with French situated as the 5th and Spanish as the 4th most widely spoken globally (OIF, 2022; Ethnologue, 2022). The geographical distribution of Spanish is such that the language is, today, considered pluricentric (Pountain, 2011: 53). In the case of French, about half of its worldwide speakers are in West Africa; furthermore, though only about 6% of Francophones live in North America (OIF, 2022), the Canadian province of Québec constitutes a second, though smaller, prestige center for French (Remysen, 2003; Kircher, 2012). However, despite the development of a regional, Québécois standard which contributes to solidarity among Quebecers (Kircher, 2012: 348, 365), there exists a tradition of linguistic prescriptivism in Québec (and Canada more generally) that is influenced, still, by comparison with the Hexagonal standard and by its associated standard-oriented ideologies (Remysen, 2003; DuBois, 2005; Perrot, 2005). Notably, linguistic purism plays a significant role in the social life of the French language in Canada, as its co-official *anglophonie* is often framed as threatening to the maintenance of French in the region (Remysen, 2003; Perrot, 2005). Of course, purist ideologies are not unique to the Canadian Francophone context; in European communities such as Belgium and Switzerland, Francophones often attribute supposed deficiencies in their French to influence of the other regional languages they use, such as Dutch, Walloon, or Swiss German (Throgmartin, 2008). Similarly, in the social life of United States Spanish, recent negative attention by prescriptivist language teachers and linguists has been directed towards the translanguaging practice (Otheguy, García & Reid, 2015) known as Spanglish (del Valle, 2006). Notably, Spain itself, through the mouthpiece of its language academy and of prescriptivist linguists in its universities, has denounced Spanglish as a "ruinous" practice (del Valle, 2006: 37) which allows for English and anglicisms to "contaminate" Spanish (cf. Thomas, 1991), thus threatening its unifying role across Hispanophone communities (del Valle, 2006: 40). Indeed, this contempt for Spanglish has extended into the pedagogical sphere, wherein Spanglish and other similar translanguaging practices are framed from a deficit perspective as harbingers of semilingualism (Martin-Jones & Romaine, 1986; Licata,

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[22] Del Valle (2006: 31) asks, "Does *hispanofonía* place us in a new social reality beyond the injustices of colonialism and the fanatical loyalties of nationalism, or does it rely on those very historical processes to build an allegedly new global order?"

forthcoming). In didactic volumes such as the Academia Norteamericana de la Lengua Española's *Hablando bien se entiende la gente,*[23] Spanglish is framed as primitive[24] and as inadequate for modern communication (Piña-Rosales et al., 2010). Of course, this condemnation of translanguaging practices has not only been applied to the context of Spanish speakers in the US, but worldwide, as a tool for gatekeeping legitimacy among speakers of the language (del Valle, 2006: 43-44).

The question of legitimacy and authenticity (Bucholtz, 2003) is also prevalent in the Francophone context. A crucial process within the building of the French nation-state, the ideology of the standard became so prevalent by the 20th century that "the use of the very name *la langue française* ... [became] reserved in most French people's minds (including many linguists), for educated Parisian usage, particularly that found in written and formal contexts" (Lodge 1993: 234). The result of this is that, among speakers of the Hexagonal standard, "non-standard social varieties are still commonly dismissed as not being French at all" (*ibid:* 234). This dissociation of nonstandard speech from Frenchness and French-speakingness appears in the state's marginalization and stigmatization of the translanguaging practices of multilingual, multiethnic youth in the *banlieues*[25] of major French cities (Stewart & Fagyal, 2005; Secova, Gardner-Chloros, & Atangana, 2018). Recent sociolinguistic and ethnographic work in these communities has revealed that Euro-descendant Parisians often perceive *banlieusard* speech as less 'correct' and less 'French' than their own, and sometimes even attach raciolinguistic stereotyping to it[26] (Stewart & Fagyal, 2005). Moreover, the translanguaging practices exhibited by *banlieue* youth, whose speech borrows from language varieties like Arabic, Romani, and African American Vernacular English, are additionally highly policed in the French school system[27] (Doran, 2007; McAuley, 2017; Sweat, personal communication), suggesting that what is beyond the bounds of white, upper-middle-class, Euro-descendant French speech is detrimental to one's linguistic, cultural, and identity development.

The theoretical and teleological origins of our (the North American university's) world language education system are thought to be in the teaching of Latin and Greek in Antiquity (Train,

[23] "speaking well is how people understand each other"

[24] Specifically, it is likened to the speech of the fictional character Tarzan, a man raised by primates and whose speech is written to sound overly simplistic in terms of its grammatical structure.

[25] Working-class suburbs of major cities, the most well-known of which surround the northeast of Paris; the French *banlieues*, and particularly the Parisian *banlieue*, have long been hyper-surveilled by the French media and by police, and are characterized as violent, drug- and crime-ridden 'no-go zones' (Doran, 2007; Mackey, 2015; Sweat, 2022a, 2022b).

[26] In Stewart and Fagyal's (2005) study, Euro-descendant French respondents' perceptions of a prosodic feature of the *banlieusard* accent clustered around judgments of foreignness and aggression—namely, the speakers they perceived to be of Maghrebi origin were also perceived to be 'aggressive', and even a white, Euro-descendant speaker who exhibited this supposedly 'aggressive' feature was also perceived to be *issu de l'immigration* (a child of immigrants).

[27] In particular, the pragmatic particle *wesh* is thought to signal peer group affiliation, though past work on *wesh* has hypothesized its use as a marker of Maghrebi identity (McAuley, 2017), which would further explain the school system's contempt for it.

2012). Within this system of *ars grammatica*, "the goal and consequence of codifying [a language] in grammars (*artes*) was to reduce and regulate speech by means of grammatical categories and also to separate, distinguish, and classify educated speakers from the unschooled masses" (*ibid:* 149). Indeed, this closely resembles the language standardization and continued planning of Spanish and French, during which "language in school and society was invented and reinvented for centuries in innumerable local contexts around [...] codified accounts of what educated speakers of world languages should be and how they should act" (*ibid*). Closely linked to this notion of the 'educated world language speaker' is the essentialist opposition between 'nativeness' and 'foreignness,' as well as an ideology of morality tied to language use, wherein so-called 'errors,' or non-standard linguistic practices, have been characterized under this system as 'corrupting' or 'invading' the standard language (*ibid*). Indeed, in the previous sections we observed that this kind of linguistic purism was present before, during and after the standardization of Spanish and French and the building of nations around them. Moreover, in colonial contexts, similar language ideologies permeated the teaching of these languages; we need only think again of the exoticist ideologies that dichotomized the French and the people whose lands they colonized, as well as the supposed intelligence of these two populations. As mentioned previously, that French colonizers relied upon the unfounded belief that they were intellectually superior to West Africans directly impacted the teaching of French in that region (Vigouroux, 2017). Furthermore, over decades of fractal recursivity (cf. Irvine & Gal, 2000), a raciolinguistic stereotype in France which characterizes Africans as being "incompetent speakers of French" (Vigouroux, 2017: 6) has continued to persist. Indeed, the "metropolitan model" (Train, 2012: 145) of the so-called 'native' speaker of French assumes an oppositional relationship between 'French people' and 'foreigners,' between Europeans and non-Europeans, and so on. Under this model, the speech of so-called 'foreigners,' including those who lived under (or live with the continued consequences of) French colonization, is viewed negatively, sometimes even to the point of being characterized as 'not French' (Lodge, 1993). It is perhaps unsurprising, then, that contemporary language pedagogy might continue to peripheralize the language use of those outside the metropolitan center.

Indeed, the presence of hegemonic perspectives from Europe has been observed in the continual, ideological reconstitution of what 'counts' as French or Spanish both in and beyond classroom spaces (Train, 2012: 146), as well as in the standard-oriented representations of these languages in North American language pedagogy (Bosworth, 2016). Notably, the growth of Critical Foreign Language Education (cf. Freire & Macedo, 1997) and subsequent work in decolonial language education (cf. Train, 2012; García, 2019; Tochon, 2019) reveal the persistent presence of nationalist and colonial ideology in traditional approaches to second language teaching and the need to complicate hegemonies once taken for granted in applied linguistics (Pennycook, 2021). In the next section of this chapter, I describe some of the ways in which traditional second language acquisition

(henceforth SLA) and language teaching have perpetuated nationalist and colonialist linguistic hierarchies that more recent, critical work has sought to dismantle. I also describe some of the ways in which language pedagogy in Europe and in North America has represented (or failed to represent) the rich linguistic diversity of the French- and Spanish-speaking worlds.

2.2 Variation and language pedagogy

2.2.1 Ideological binaries in second language acquisition and teaching

Much of the early research in second language acquisition focused on developing an understanding of the language learner's repertoire—that is, how learners acquire aspects of the phonetics and phonology, morphosyntax, and pragmatics of a language other than their first. The telos of investigating this interlanguage (Selinker, 1972) was to shed light on learners' underlying competence (Canale & Swain, 1980). As communicative approaches to language teaching (i.e. those that emphasize communicative events, or grammar in the context of communication) became more widespread, so too did the desire to develop learners' communicative competence, which encompasses "the relationship and interaction between grammatical competence, or knowledge of the rules of grammar, and sociolinguistic competence, or knowledge of the rules of language use" (Canale & Swain, 1980: 6). To investigate what the language learner's repertoire might look like at a given stage of L2 acquisition, SLA researchers often focused their attention on the kinds of errors produced in L2 speech (Corder, 1967), the systematic rules that governed it (Dickerson, 1975), and the individual differences among learners that underpinned variable L2 speech (Wong-Fillmore, 1979). While one of the primary objectives of this work was to facilitate situating grammar instruction in the context of real-life communication (Canale & Swain, 1980: 13, 15), much of early SLA theory over-relied on essentialist (Gal & Irvine, 1995) concepts such as 'target' language, L2 'learner', 'native speaker,' and the notion of 'correctness' (Train, 2012: 153). Notably, defining these concepts involved placing them in diametric opposition to something else: for instance, the 'target' language is defined by its opposition to the 'native' language (or, in other terms, the L2 is situated in opposition to the L1). Similarly, the 'learner' is defined by their opposition to the '(native) speaker' as well as the instructor (who may or may not be one in the same), and 'errors' are defined in opposition to 'correctness'. What is more, these essentialist notions are often deeply intertwined in traditional SLA, such that understanding or defining one requires another, obfuscating their constructed nature.

For instance, Selinker's (1972) conception of 'correctness' or 'success' in L2 production is linked to 'native-likeness', or production that resembles that of a 'native speaker' (116), which is often implicitly equated with a *monolingual* speaker. This, of course, relies on a one-dimensional understanding of the L2 that collapses the inherent diversity of its speakers and their linguistic practices. While Beebe's (1980) treatment of style-shifting in the L2 acknowledges inherent stylistic

variability in a learner's production of their L2, even this view reinforces a monolithic notion of 'correctness' by framing non-normative L2 production as the result of interference from the L1 (437). While Beebe acknowledges dialectal variation in the 'target' language of their study, English, the underlying premise is that L2 English users will either produce standard variants, nonstandard variants derived from local/regional norms (e.g. dropped coda /r/ in New York City English), or L1-influenced variants, leaving no room within what is considered 'correct' for productions that are well-attested in other English varieties. While this perspective appears to illustrate the sociolinguistic competence of the L2 user, it erases the potential expansiveness of this competence by suggesting that, beyond strictly standard-like production, there is only one normative way that they might use the L2. This, in turn, also collapses the inherent diversity among so-called 'native speakers'. Moreover, it also reinforces the notion of monolingual native-likeness as the true 'target' in L2 acquisition, also observable in the emphasis on 'native-like' L2 production present in studies on ultimate attainment (cf. Birdsong, 1992). In other words, early SLA perspectives often, perhaps inadvertently, assumed that a language learner would (or should) strive to sound just like a so-called 'native speaker' to 'successfully' learn the language. This notion and the related notion of 'foreignness' in language education have since been critiqued and complicated by decades of subsequent work in critical applied linguistics (Pennycook, 2004), and resistance of such an essentialist perspective undergirds this dissertation.

The first to lead the social turn in SLA and the subsequent nuancing of essentialist notions like 'learner' and 'native speaker' were Firth and Wagner (1997), whose critique of cognitive SLA pointed out that within traditional frameworks, "the learner identity is the researcher's taken-for-granted resource, rather than, or as well as, a topic of investigation" (288). That is, prior to this point, cognitive approaches often disregarded relevant facets of L2 speakers' identities by collapsing them down to that of 'learner' or 'nonnative speaker' (292). This essentialist dichotomy, they explained, also contributed to forming a power dynamic that situated L2 language users in a subordinate position relative to L1 ('native') users, who were unduly ascribed a "de facto authority and prestige that the nonnative lacks" (Kramsch, 1997: 359). In the same way that standard languages are idealized forms of language (Milroy, 2006), the 'native speaker' also constitutes an idealized, monolithic representation of what it means to use one's first/primary language (Kramsch, 1997). Kramsch notes that 'native speakers' often "do not always speak according to the rules of their standard national languages" (359). Hence, the 'native speaker' as a construct within this binary opposition erases the reality of the variable linguistic practices in each speech community—including, crucially, multilingual practices. Indeed, traditional approaches in applied linguistics have often reinforced ideologically constructed language-culture and language-nation pairings (cf. Gal & Irvine 1995: 969), wherein "bilingual and multilingual identities are seen as threats to the unitary structures of language, nation, culture, and self" (Train 2003: 8). From this perspective, the only acceptable conceptualization of bilingualism is parallel bilingualism (Heller, 1999, as cited in Train, 2003), or the parallel coexistence of monolingual norms within a single

speaker (Grosjean, 1989). Within language teaching, this view of bilingual language practices as problematic often manifests itself as 'target' language-only policies, wherein "students [are] discouraged from using their L1 (through disapproval, poor grades, and even punishment)" (9). Moreover, with respect to pragmatics and culture, there is often an unspoken expectation of a "shift in identity as the student assumes the appropriate cultural norms, generally based on a highly stereotyped view of the native (i.e., foreign) target culture of the idealized native speaker" (9). Again, this expectation reinforces a lack of attention to and hence erasure of L2 speakers' existing identities as well as their goals for their second language use.

In light of this, Kramsch (1997: 367) questions why language teaching would neglect the "multilingual perspective on the foreign language and on its literature and culture to emulate the idealized monolingual native speaker" (360). Citing, for instance, code-switching or translanguaging practices and creative language use in literature and poetry as potential resources for language learners, Kramsch calls for increased attention to "the linguistic diversity that students bring to language learning" (367). Similarly, Train (2003) suggests taking a view of bilingual practices, and language variation more broadly, as a resource rather than as a problem, as well as expanding our understanding of what we consider to be the "appropriate model for a teachable language" (10). This is echoed by Belz (2003), who similarly advocates for this framing within heritage language teaching. In this vein, Kern and Liddicoat (2011) also propose expanding our bank of terminology, moving beyond 'learner' to include terms like "speaker"[28] and "actor," which acknowledge the multiple subject positions inhabited by those learning additional languages (19). Kramsch (2013) echoes this notion, proposing that we consider those using more than one language as inhabiting not just multiple positions, but a linguistic Third Space (cf. Bhabha 1994). Subsequent approaches to language teaching grounded in intercomprehension (Donato & Pasquarelli-Gascon, 2015) and translanguaging theory (Cummins, 2000; García, 2009; Creese & Blackledge, 2010) continue to break down these ideological binaries and constitute important contributions to student-centered approaches to language teaching (Firth & Wagner 1997).

Finally, within the cluster of ideological binaries that sociocultural SLA has since complicated, we come to the notion of the 'foreign' language, often deployed in North American modern language departments that "have always defined themselves against English departments by studying non-English languages and literatures" (Kramsch, 1997: 359). Hence, the framing of world languages as 'foreign' has been used in North American language education to refer to languages that are "not native, other, not English" (Train, 2003: 3). Yet, in North America, languages viewed as 'foreign' by an

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[28] More recently, the term 'speaker' has been criticized for its erasure of signed language users and the multimodal ways in which people can communicate with language that do not always require verbal expression (cf. Henner & Robinson, 2021). I use the term sparingly for readability, and have largely adopted 'user' to refer to those who use language.

institution may not be perceived as such by those who use it, including those learning it (Valdman, 2000). The very existence of heritage language programs for Spanish calls into question this framing. Similarly, though French speakers in North America tend to be more geographically concentrated than Spanish speakers, the presence of long-standing communities of Francophones complicates the idea that French is a 'foreign' language. What drives this framing, then, is the ideological (and, notably, European nationalist) construct of the unitary nation-language pairing (Gal & Irvine 1995: 969; cf. Anderson, 2006), wherein French, for instance, is a 'foreign' language because its "unmarked" variety tends to be associated with northern metropolitan France (Train, 2012: 146).

What is especially problematic about the framing of world languages as 'foreign' is its reinforcement of standard ideology: with major standardized languages like French and Spanish, Train (2012: 5) highlights a discrepancy between what is often uncritically presented to learners as The Language (e.g. "French", "Spanish"), that is the standard language, and the actual "language practices as they can be observed in a variety of contexts." One of the results of standardization is an "essentialized hegemonic 'unitary language'," which does not align with all linguistic practices that are associated with a given named language (6). This is observable in contemporary French and Spanish pedagogy in, for instance, the continued stigmatization of translanguaging and the lack of representation afforded to local and/or minoritized groups of speakers (del Valle, 2006; Chappelle, 2009; Train, 2012). While in some cases, polycentric standardization (Stewart 1968, as cited in Train 2003) can legitimize several varieties, such as the many "prestige norms in Spain and Latin America [that have] come to define 'the Spanish language'" (Train, 2003: 6), notions of standardness are often reinforced in language teaching through the "recontextualization and systematization of the [native standard language] construct as a pedagogical hyperstandard," where *classroom* norms are unproblematically equated with The Language (Train, 2003: 6). In other words, in a French language classroom, the norms of the classroom may be equated with 'the French language.' This representation of a 'target' language is then reified through normative language teaching, where instructors, departments, SLA researchers, and so on, expect learners' adherence to a constructed norm, without considering whether that is what learners want for their own second language use (8). Hence, Train (2003: 10) recommends a more expansive approach to language teaching that centers the student and considers the wider range of linguistic practices that make up the so-called 'target' language, notably introducing and *accepting* practices beyond the standard. In other words, to decenter the hegemonic (European) perspective (Train, 2012: 147), language teaching must not only introduce the presence and social significance of language variation, but also foster a more expansive idea of what constitutes 'correct' language use in the classroom, where students' backgrounds and educational goals are increasingly diverse. In the next subsection, I discuss how language variation in French and Spanish has been examined (or unexamined) thus far in North American language education, comparing at points with the European *français langue étrangère* (FLE) approach.

2.2.2 The (non-)examination of variation in European and North American L2 instruction

Informed by interest in the development of L2 users' sociolinguistic competence in SLA (cf. Hymes, 1972; Canale & Swain, 1980) early approaches to incorporating language variation in the teaching of Spanish and French as second/additional languages tended to be in the service of assessing L2 learners' acquisition of stylistic variability in the L2. That is, in contrast to more recent approaches, the telos of such work was not to decenter or to decolonize, but rather to better understand *how* L2 users make sense of the inherent variability in their L2, which they would often encounter upon first entering the 'target' speech community. Traditionally, exposure to language variation in the L2 was thought to be reserved for immersive contexts such as study abroad (Mougeon, Nadasdi & Rehner, 2010; van Compernolle & Williams, 2012: 185). As interest in demystifying and developing L2 sociolinguistic competence grew, so too did a body of work that brought language variation into classroom spaces. In the case of French, research on the acquisition of sociolinguistic variation tended to focus on salient, auditorily discernable variables, such as verbal negation (van Compernolle & Williams, 2012) or variable liaison (Howard, 2013). Similarly, in Spanish, research on L2 acquisition of variation initially centered around several structural variables, with the goal of comparing L1 and L2 users' acquisition of variability (Geeslin, 2011). Hence, initially, the overarching goal of this work, carried out on either side of the Atlantic, was still rooted in acquisition-oriented questions. However, a growing body of work from student-centered and sociolinguistically informed perspectives has opened an ongoing discussion about the importance of integrating sociolinguistic variation into language curricula, *how* best to do so, and what consequences may result from perpetuating monolithic or appropriateness-based representations of language (Valdman, 2000; Auger, 2003; Shenk, 2014; Flores & Rosa, 2015, 2022; Shin & Hudgens Henderson, 2017; Cozma, 2018).

In the European context, a consciousness of the ever-widening contexts of interlingual and intercultural communication in which French learners may find themselves has led to increasing attention to language variation in *français langue étrangère*[29] (FLE) curricula. In tandem, there has been increasing discussion of the ways in which standard-oriented pedagogical norms have forced L1-French-speaking language teachers from outside the Hexagon to reckon with linguistic insecurity imposed by standard ideology (Sheeren, 2016). Hence, while European French-language curricula do tend to teach a particular norm as the 'target' variety, Eurocentric representations of French language and Francophonie are at minimum increasingly problematized in the language classroom (Cozma 2018: 95-98). For instance, in the context of university French courses in Finland, Cozma (2018) assessed students' awareness of and self-reported 'mastery' in identifying various dimensions of variability in French. Overall, students were most aware of and reported greatest mastery of pragmatic variability, while they reported less mastery over variables stratified along lines of gender, age, race, and

[29] 'French as a foreign language'

so on. Crucially, this observation correlated with the extent to which these dimensions were integrated into their lessons, with pragmatic variation the most well-treated and speaker-stratified variation the least highlighted (106-107). Hence, Cozma's findings suggest that greater representation of language variation in curricula contributes to fostering greater awareness of the variable nature of the language more generally. It also affirms the need for more attention to be given to socially stratified variation, often underrepresented in this kind of work.

In North America, the discussion around sociolinguistic variation in the language classroom is perhaps even more crucial given the presence of communities of speakers who, notably, use non-European varieties of Spanish and French. Scholars of French language teaching have pointed out that, despite the geographic proximity of Francophone communities like the Québécois and the Acadians, as well as heritage speaking populations in Louisiana, New England, and the Midwest, classroom materials often still center stereotypical representations of European Francophones over local Francophone communities (Valdman, 2000; Chapelle, 2009, 2020). In conjunction with this, the monocentric pedagogical norm based on the speech of wealthy, white, city-dwelling Europeans (Train, 2003; 2012) tends to dominate French language teaching in North America (excepting, perhaps, the Québécois context, cf. Auger, 2003; Nagy, Blondeau & Auger, 2003). Even when North American speech communities *are* represented, their languaging may be framed negatively, or as less 'appropriate' for classroom use, in relation to the European standard[30]. This lack of meaningful representation of non-Hexagonal varieties as legitimately 'French' in conjunction with the ideology of the standard has been found to evoke linguistic insecurity among French language teachers and students alike (Sheeren, 2016; Chapelle, 2020). Furthermore, when language teachers are subject to standard ideology and its resultant linguistic insecurity, language learners may be deprived of exposure to languaging beyond the bounds of the standard and, subsequently, languaging and language users that align more closely with their identities (Sheeren, 2016; Smith, 2017).

While the pluricentricity of Spanish has allowed for a more expansive notion of standardness in language classes (Pountain, 2011: 53), recent work on the teaching of sociolinguistic variation in Spanish has revealed the continued presence of standard ideology and a predilection for an arbitrarily-defined 'educated' Spanish (del Valle, 2006; 2014). Furthermore, while curricula may have moved away from a purist perspective (i.e., one that saw variation from the norm as threatening), critical approaches to Spanish language teaching are still few and far between (Beaudrie, 2015). Hence, even when regional variation in Spanish is acknowledged, notions of 'correctness' tied to the standard—

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[30] For example, the 4th edition of the textbook we use at Berkeley, *Chez Nous*, included a lesson that introduces Québecois French through an activity that, without giving much context about the social life of French in Québec, frames marked lexical variants as inappropriate for the classroom in comparison to Hexagonal French variants (Valdman, Pons & Scullen, 2004: 137). Anecdotally, when I have observed this lesson presented without careful contextualization of these variants, it has often elicited mocking from students (who simply do not have the context to know better).

pluricentric as it is—can still trigger linguistic insecurity and sanction language-based discrimination, notably against bilinguals and heritage language speakers (Shenk, 2014; Shin & Hudgens Henderson, 2017). This can occur, for instance, when "grammatical rules in textbooks do not match the patterns of language use in real life" (Shin & Hudgens Henderson, 2017: 196). Moreover, heritage speakers' translanguaging is often framed as deficient with respect to sociolinguistic competence (Flores & Rosa, 2022), resulting from and further reinforcing an essentialist understanding of what 'counts' as Spanish. The problem in Spanish language teaching, then, is that some varieties are considered appropriate for the language classroom, while others are deemed unserious or unscholarly, and are thus often delegitimized in the context of North American higher education (del Valle, 2006; 2014; Flores & Rosa, 2015; Licata, forthcoming).

However, this delegitimization and the insecurity it begets are not the only consequences of hegemonic representations of language. Because the propagation of pedagogical 'hyperstandards' erases the presence of languaging outside the bounds of what is perceived to be 'appropriate' for an educated standard language speaker (Train, 2003; 2012; Rosa & Flores, 2015), L2 users' communicative competence may be insufficient for meaningfully engaging with and/or integrating into speech communities with non-standard languaging practices (Segalowitz, 1976; Beaulieu, 2016). For instance, in a study examining outcomes of a bilingual nursing program in Alberta, Canada, Beaulieu (2016) observed that the textbooks used by the program failed to accurately represent colloquial Albertan French, which resulted in Anglophone nurses having difficulty communicating with their Francophone patients and in those very patients feeling unable to trust their Anglophone nurses. This underdeveloped sociolinguistic competence in L2 French, then, negatively affected the nurses' ability to provide quality care to these patients in their L1[31]. What Beaulieu's findings reveal is that for language learners who plan to live and/or work outside large metropolitan, standard-language-speaking centers, it is crucial that more than just said standard be represented in teaching materials and classroom discourse—in fact, the very communities these learners may go on to live/work in stand to be harmed by learner-perpetuated standard ideology (though it may be completely unintentional). Hence, learners should *at minimum* be taught about how certain variable features pattern and are significant in the relevant speech communities. Shenk (2014) argues that, in addition to promising positive effects both for learners and for the speech community (e.g., higher-quality care from bilingual clinicians), student learning outcomes under this approach better align with language learning standards set out by the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages (ACTFL, 2015). Furthermore, as diversity, equity, inclusion, justice and belonging (DEIJB) initiatives open the doors of the ivory tower to an increasingly diverse student body, language classrooms too become increasingly diverse—and with this increase in diversity must also come increased representation of a

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[31] This observation is confirmed at a wider scale by Bowen (2001, 2015).

wider range of speech communities, including those whose languaging falls beyond the neatly defined boundaries of standardness. In the final section of this chapter, I describe notable examples of language instruction that not only represents but *legitimizes* traditionally non-standard and/or stigmatized languaging by contextualizing stigmatized variants and by complicating higher-level notions of 'correctness' in the language classroom. These examples of critical, sociolinguistically informed course design serve as a methodological model for my own French language classroom study, which will be further explained in my second chapter.

2.3 Critical Language Awareness and sociolinguistically informed language teaching: examples from Spanish

The growing prevalence of heritage language curricula for Spanish-speaking university students in the United States and increasing efforts by major universities to establish themselves as Hispanic Serving Institutions (HSIs) have bolstered pedagogical research that seeks to provide best practices for fostering dialect awareness among heritage and L2 learners alike and for combating language-based stigma and discrimination in Spanish language pedagogy (Martínez, 2003; Shin & Hudgens Henderson, 2017; Beaudrie, Amezcua & Loza, 2019). This includes, but is not limited to, contextualizing non-standard features of language among the wider range of features associated with Spanish, as well as examining the sociopolitical and cultural contexts in which standardness is defined and reinforced (Beaudrie, Amezcua & Loza, 2019: 574). Certain approaches within critical language pedagogy also emphasize a recentering of varieties traditionally peripheralized in standard-language-based teaching (for instance, heritage learners' own varieties or local varieties) and, notably, complicating notions of 'appropriateness' in language teaching (Leeman, 2005). Developed on the foundations of Critical Pedagogy writ-large (Freire, 1970), the Critical Language Awareness (henceforth CLA) approach emphasizes the political nature of languaging and of (language) education, revealing how both linguistic and non-linguistic hegemonies may contribute to or reinforce stereotypes and societal inequities (Alim, 2010: 205). By nature of its roots in Freirean Critical Pedagogy, CLA too requires language instructors to take on a critical stance, that is, to confront their own language ideologies, particularly surrounding marginalized kinds of languaging that they may encounter in educational spaces where the 'standard' is privileged[32] (*ibid*: 208, 212). Its ultimate purpose, according to Fairclough (2015: 229), is to "contribute to the emancipation of those who are dominated and oppressed in our society." That is, studying language with a critical lens can illustrate how language is used to other, to discriminate, and to stigmatize; it can also bring light to the ways in which language can be leveraged to promote belonging, solidarity, and inclusion *(ibid)*.

[32] Alim (2010) refers primarily to the ways in which English teachers can, often unknowingly, perpetuate white supremacist ideologies in their orientation towards the languaging of Black students.

In the context of 'foreign' language instruction, CLA has been leveraged to draw learners' attention to linguistic diversity within 'target' speech communities and to counteract often longstanding linguistic and social stereotypes perpetuated by standard-focused teaching (Martínez, 2003; Leeman, 2005; Leeman & Serafini, 2016; Hudgens Henderson, 2022). This is particularly salient in the case of Spanish language instruction in the United States, where courses designed primarily with L2 learners in mind may inadvertently exclude or perpetuate stigma towards the translanguaging of heritage speakers. Hence, CLA approaches in Spanish teaching are often leveraged as a way to include and recenter the multilingual reality of heritage learners' lived experiences with Spanish (Martínez, 2003; Leeman, 2005; Shin & Hudgens Henderson, 2017; Holguín Mendoza, 2018). Commonly, CLA approaches aim to expand all learners' perceptions of what 'counts' as a given language beyond the bounds of socio-politically constructed standards—yet, as Leeman (2005: 38) argues, stopping there runs the risk of still perpetuating linguistic and social hierarchies when we rely on notions of 'appropriateness' (Flores & Rosa, 2015) to dictate *how* students can use language and *when*. That is, while it is important for language learners to understand that all language use is inherently valid, an appropriateness-based perspective also maintains that certain ways of speaking are "inappropriate outside of the community or in academic and professional settings" (Leeman, 2005: 38). Such a perspective erases, then, the subjective and fluid nature of language ideologies, attitudes, and judgments of 'appropriateness' and reinforces hegemonic linguistic hierarchies. As an alternative, Leeman proposes addressing issues of power and prestige more explicitly. That is, rather than teaching students that 'all language use is valid' and stopping there, it serves them better to facilitate examining *why*, though this is true, some language use continues to be stigmatized and/or peripheralized. This approach, then, eschews making definitive judgments of appropriateness from the teacher's perspective. Instead, reframing in favor of what will be most *useful* to learners allows us to focus on helping them "develop linguistic resources to draw from as they see fit, together with the nonlinguistic resources to be critical social actors in whichever speech communities they choose to participate" (*ibid:* 40; cf. Wolfram, 1993).

Notable among recent CLA-oriented curricula is that developed by Shin and Hudgens Henderson (2017) for an advanced Spanish grammar course. Drawing on previous work in English Language Learning (ELL) that incorporates sociolinguistic theory into the design and delivery of transformative English language curricula (Godley & Minnici, 2008; Bucholtz et al., 2014; Hudgens Henderson, 2016), Shin and Hudgens Henderson developed a transformative curriculum for teaching advanced Spanish grammar to a mixed group of heritage and L2 (i.e., non-heritage) Spanish users. Their approach is notable for a couple of reasons: namely, their framing of language variation and standardness, as well as their deft combination of materials and activities that foreground sociolinguistic research while still presenting real-life speech (Shin & Hudgens Henderson, 2017: 197). From the outset, rather than framing certain kinds of languaging as more 'correct' or 'appropriate'

than others, prescriptive grammar 'rules' are framed as exactly that—prescriptive. Moreover, through lessons about language attitudes, students of this course were encouraged to evaluate notions of 'correctness' and 'appropriateness' as they decoded the ideologies underlying language-based judgments. Perhaps the most notable aspect of Shin and Hudgens Henderson's approach lies in their explicit establishment of changing students' language attitudes as a desired learning outcome (*ibid*). While sociolinguistically informed approaches generally seek to *expose* students to the wider range of languaging practices associated with the named language, Shin and Hudgens Henderson's approach sought more explicitly to *change* students' outlook on language, which prior to such intervention may be influenced by hegemonic ideologies and resultant linguistic insecurity (*ibid:* 196).

Fundamental to Shin and Hudgens Henderson's (2017) approach, and of particular importance to the approach taken in my own study, is the blend of instruction on sociolinguistic concepts and issues of language and power with grammar instruction. In their course on Spanish "Grammar in Society," Shin and Hudgens Henderson (2017: 197) bookend grammar instruction with presentation and discussion of sociolinguistic fundamentals, including notions such as prescriptivism (197). Then, within the grammar lessons themselves, they take a three-pronged approach to presenting sociolinguistic variation: through what they call "authentic discourse" (i.e. real-life examples of select sociolinguistic variables), grammatical concepts, and language attitudes (*ibid:* 198). Each of these facets of their lessons include various moments at which students are encouraged to examine and recognize patterns and/or make connections with sociolinguistic concepts. The selected variables include languaging characteristic of United States Spanish, Miami Cuban Spanish, Caribbean Spanish, and so on. Beyond simply representing a diverse range of Spanish speakers, the inclusion of traditionally marginalized communities (e.g., Afro-Hispanic and Afro-Latine communities; cf. Rochin, 2016) facilitates students' understanding of the racial, cultural, and linguistic diversity of the Hispanophone world—notably, I aimed to follow and expand upon this in my own approach to fostering CLA in French.

Shin and Hudgens Henderson (2017: 199) assessed the efficacy and impacts of their course design through a survey given to students in the course at two points in the term, including questions that assess knowledge of the grammar and sociolinguistic concepts taught during the course, as well as questions aimed at eliciting students' language attitudes. Over the course of the term, the authors observed a statistically significant increase in students' mastery of grammar concepts, notably with respect to identifying grammatical structures and prescriptive rules. In other words, a sociolinguistically informed approach to grammar instruction facilitated students' mastery of the curricular grammar concepts rather than complicating it. The authors also observed a statistically significant increase in their mastery of sociolinguistic concepts (201), suggesting the positive effect of instruction on sociolinguistic fundamentals. Finally, in line with their desired learning outcome of changed language attitudes, the authors observed a change in attitudes among student participants

from those considered more negative to more accepting. Each of the survey questions on language attitudes measured students' level of (dis)agreement with "negative or intolerant views with which a sociolinguistically aware participant would disagree" (202). Hence, the observed increase in disagreement with such stated views indicates a shift in attitudes toward more positive, accepting outlooks on non-standard languaging. Overall, then, Shin and Hudgens Henderson (2017: 204) observe that "a sociolinguistic approach to the teaching of Spanish grammar supported students' grammar learning and also provided opportunities for them to reflect on language variety preferences and judgments." Furthermore, this approach avoids presenting an "empirically inaccurate" picture of global Spanishes, one which is often reinforced by hegemonic discourses about the language (*ibid:* 205). Instead, their approach offers students the opportunity to contribute to combating linguistic prejudice and discrimination by developing an awareness of the interplay between language and power, particularly as it relates to the languaging and language ideologies they encounter in their lives (Fairclough, 1992; Alim, 2010).

Hudgens Henderson (2022) draws more explicitly on the notion of Critical Language Awareness (henceforth abbreviated CLA) as an instructional approach for a university-level heritage Spanish course. Included in this course design are analysis of language ideologies, linguistic stigma/discrimination, the relationship between linguistic and social constraints on variation, and the unique positioning and needs of heritage learners (4). To measure how students' ideologies changed over the course of the term, the author developed an attitudinal survey adapted from those of Shin and Hudgens Henderson (2017) and Beaudrie et al. (2019) to assess attitudes toward prescriptivism, stereotypes, and monolingual or monoglossic ideologies (Hudgens Henderson, 2022: 6). In contrast with Shin and Hudgens Henderson, students in the course reported in Hudgens Henderson (2022) were found to have "somewhat high levels of CLA" at the beginning of the term, i.e. pre-treatment curriculum (9). Notably, for most students this awareness increased over the course of the term, suggesting that this approach to instruction is effective not only at introducing CLA, but also facilitating its continued development (9). Moreover, Hudgens Henderson's (2022) findings also suggest that CLA-based instruction is effective in all-heritage-learner courses as well as mixed courses. What remains to be tested, then, is whether a critical, sociolinguistically informed language course can be as effective for classes of majority or entirely L2 learners.

The study to be introduced in the following chapter adapts these aforementioned CLA approaches to the French context, which (as we have seen in this chapter) has its own particular sociolinguistic and ideological history, as well as its own contemporary linguistic hegemonies. Accordingly, as I will enumerate in the chapter to follow, the course design for the present study draws on this sociolinguistic and historical context while adapting methods shown to be effective in Spanish language teaching to devise a transformative curriculum for the French language classroom. Furthermore, while much of the critical and sociolinguistically informed pedagogical work detailed in

this chapter tends to prioritize either heritage or advanced L2 learners, the present study takes up the task of designing and testing a sociolinguistically informed intervention for the elementary level. Finally, where these interventions in language teaching have tended to focus on recentering the speech of communities minoritized on the basis of race, (binary) gender, and social class, the present intervention seeks to expand this representation to include queer, trans, and gender-nonconforming French speakers, who have begun to be increasingly represented in more recent applied linguistics work (e.g. Ashley, 2019; Knisely, 2020, 2022a, 2022b; Mackenzie & Swamy, forthcoming; Potowski & Shin, 2019). In this vein, one of the core aims of the present study is to expand the repertoire of Frenches represented in the language classroom, notably for elementary L2 learners who may not have the same knowledge of the vastness of *la Francophonie* as heritage or advanced L2 learners and/or who may have already encountered hegemonic, standard-oriented narratives or stereotypes about the French language. Hence, much like Shin and Hudgens Henderson (2017), I aim to equip French learners with the tools to critically evaluate what they may have heard about French and those who speak it, in order to foster more accepting language attitudes. This critical, sociolinguistically informed approach, in turn, has the potential not only to better prepare French learners for the realities of pluricentricity, multilingualism and sociolinguistic variability in the Francophone world, but also to foster more generalized Critical Language Awareness that will affect how they understand language and power beyond *Francophonie*. As we have seen in this chapter, language can serve as a powerful tool to differentiate, to other, and to discriminate; yet, in this same vein, we see that it can also achieve the opposite—solidarity and belonging. Hence, at the broader level, the present study seeks to contribute to current efforts to transform the practice of language teaching into one that legitimizes, values, and uplifts all languaging and communities of language users. Following hooks (1994), my contribution could only ever take place in and for the classroom, with and for our students.

Chapter 3: Methods for design, implementation and assessment of a transformative curricular intervention for Elementary French II

"The classroom remains the most radical space of possibility in the academy…Urging all of us to open our minds and hearts so that we can know beyond the boundaries of what is acceptable, so that we can think and rethink, so that we can create new visions…" (hooks, 1994:12)

3.1 Objectives and research questions

3.1.1 Objectives

As indicated by the title of this dissertation, the central aim of the project is, at a high level, to decentralize France in the teaching of the French language. More precisely, what I mean by 'decentering the Hexagon' is really decentering the Northern Metropolitan standardized variety that is so often erroneously presented to learners as '*the* French language' (Bourdieu & Boltanski, 1975; Train, 2003), along with the traditional, hegemonic representation of French speakers as white, European or Euro-descendant city-dwellers (Train, 2003, 2012). As part of a larger effort in language studies to diversify and decolonize both language research and teaching (Macedo, 2019)[33], this dissertation works to decenter (neo)colonial and (neo)nationalist misrepresentations of the French language and Francophone peoples by *recentering* communities of Francophones that have, traditionally, been peripheralized in relation to France (or Europe, more generally). The intended impact of this, then, is to offer language learners a more expansive and *more accurate* representation of what a 'French speaker' might look and sound like, notably to include Francophones from previously colonized territories, racialized Francophones, queer and gender-non-conforming Francophones, and so on[34]. In this same vein, where typical, hegemonic representations of the French language often wrongly conflate it in its multiplicity with the Northern Metropolitan standardized variety alone (Bourdieu & Boltanski, 1975; Train, 2003), this dissertation aims to legitimize varieties considered non-standard as equally befitting of the label "French," as equally valid ways of speaking, and in many cases as markers of unique, community-specific identity. Hence, by decentering France and

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[33] For decolonizing and diversifying French teaching, specifically, see Meyer & Hoft-March, 2021 and Bouamer & Bourdeau, 2022.

[34] While the present study does not specifically take up introducing learners to Francophone Deaf communities, Deaf and Hard of Hearing Francophones should absolutely be represented as well. Hence, there is a critical need for work that centers these communities in French language, literature, and culture instruction.

recentering these often-peripheralized communities and language use, this dissertation adopts and further drives a pedagogical ethic of inclusion, offering learners of the language the opportunity to see themselves, too, as legitimate French speakers.

To advance these objectives, I have taken up the development, implementation, and assessment of a curricular intervention for the elementary language classroom that focuses on offering elementary French learners greater exposure to the wider range of Frenches and Francophone communities worldwide, as well as counteracting popular myths about the nature of the French language and its communities of speakers (including, for instance, the notion of French as a 'foreign' language). First, however, it is important to contextualize the design of this intervention and accompanying classroom experiment via the research questions that drive them.

3.1.2 Research questions

This dissertation, and the accompanying classroom experiment to be detailed in the remainder of this chapter, are guided by a few high-level research questions. In short (to be expanded upon in the paragraphs to follow):

1) Will a critical, sociolinguistically informed pedagogical intervention promote greater understanding among elementary learners of language variation, language attitudes and ideologies, and prescriptivism in French?
2) Will this intervention promote a change toward more accepting language attitudes among elementary learners?
3) How will this pedagogical approach affect these learners' mastery of 'standard French'?
4) What topics, kinds of variables, or issues relating to language ideology or prescriptivism will these students retain following this kind of pedagogical intervention?

First, it is important to note that all these research questions examine effects at the second-semester elementary level. As stated previously, much of the work in critical 'foreign' language pedagogy that exposes learners to language variation and to sociolinguistic issues has focused on advanced L2 or heritage learners. Additionally, there have been concerns among applied linguists working in French about the potential for breeding 'confusion' among students by introducing sociolinguistic variation. For instance, Salien (1998, as cited in Valdman, 2000: 655-656) fears that teaching American students about Québec French may cause overwhelm, and as such determines that it would be "impractical" to do so. It is important to note that, in my own reading of the literature, I have not come across work that suggests that we should be teaching students to imitate accents wholesale[35] (though this is what we essentially do in promoting the Northern Metropolitan French

[35] This idea that teaching about language variation in French equates to teaching a non-standard variety of French *instead* of the northern metropolitan standard appears remarkably similar to some of the outcry against integrating

accent). Rather, the telos of critical and sociolinguistically informed pedagogy does include developing sociolinguistic awareness and competence, which has real-world importance for anyone who plans to use French outside of bourgeois, Parisian circles. In other words, there is a concrete need to be able to understand and potentially deploy key features of non-standard Frenches (Beaulieu, 2016)[36]. Hence, in this dissertation, I discuss the impacts of my pedagogical intervention on elementary French language teaching, and as such will discuss how my observations at this level compare with previous observations in advanced L2 and/or heritage contexts (cf. Shin and Hudgens Henderson, 2017; Hudgens Henderson, 2022).

In line with recent pedagogical interventions in Spanish language instruction that make use of sociolinguistic research to legitimize non-standard language use and foster Critical Language Awareness (cf. Hudgens Henderson, 2016; Shin & Hudgens Henderson, 2017; Potowski & Shin, 2019; Hudgens Henderson, 2022), I ask whether integrating findings from sociolinguistic research into French language lessons and teaching learners about language variation will a) equip learners to more readily identify and describe instances of language variation that they encounter and b) change learners' language attitudes, notably toward more tolerant, accepting perspectives on non-standard language use[37]. To break this down into its constituent sub-questions:

1) Will this intervention equip learners to identify and describe *language variation* more readily and more accurately than their peers who are not exposed to these lessons?
2) Will it equip them to identify and describe language variation more readily and more accurately at the end of the term than at the beginning?
3) Will this intervention equip learners to recognize *language myths* and/or *negative language attitudes* more readily than their peers who are not exposed to these lessons?
4) Will it equip them to better recognize language myths and/or negative language attitudes at the end of the term than at the beginning?
5) Will this intervention find learners exhibiting more tolerant, accepting attitudes toward non-standard linguistic forms and practices at the end of the term than at the beginning?
6) Will it find them exhibiting more tolerant and accepting language attitudes than their peers who were not exposed to these lessons?

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acknowledgment and affirmation of AAVE into English curricula. Indeed, as Wolfram (1998:116-117) explains, inclusion of non-standard dialects in a curriculum does not equate in any way to teaching that dialect wholesale.

[36] In addition to his concerns about overwhelm and confusion, Salien (1998: 100) explicitly identifies the "fourth semester of college" as the supposed ideal point at which to begin teaching about language variation. Indeed, this apprehension towards introducing anything outside the bounds of standardness, according to Valdman (2000: 657), also contributes to artificialized classroom norms that do not reflect real-life language use—he suggests, instead, opting for more "variable and dynamic" pedagogical norms (661, my translation).

[37] This was an explicit goal of the intervention designed by Shin and Hudgens Henderson (2017); the present study also seeks to understand whether this sort of change can also be observed in French language learners when exposed to critical, sociolinguistically informed teaching.

My third research question examines the impacts a critical, sociolinguistically informed intervention may have on L2 learners' mastery of the standard variety, or more accurately, standard-oriented pedagogical norms (Train, 2003; Adger et al., 2007; Sheeren, 2016). To address the aforementioned concerns over the potential negative effect of a curriculum that foregrounds language variation (Valdman, 2000; cf. Salien, 1998; Wolfram, 1998), I assess whether (and, if so, how) this critical, sociolinguistically informed pedagogical intervention influences students' production of French in standard-oriented assessed work (i.e., exams and quizzes that are already a part of the core curriculum). Will this exposure to language variation and the accompanying legitimization of non-standard linguistic forms as validly 'French' lead students to deploy non-standard variants in context in which standard variants are expected (e.g., in cumulative exams)? While I as a teacher-scholar do not subscribe to an appropriateness-based model of language instruction, I also understand the importance of discernment as a facet of Critical Language Awareness and sociolinguistic competence. In other words, I ask this question both in the hopes of quelling apprehension towards this kind of pedagogical approach, but also to determine how best to teach learners about language variation, and notably stigmatized language use, without giving them license to appropriate closed or in-group forms or practices.

Finally, my fourth research question asks which kinds of variants will appeal to and be retained by learners, given that there are in French several extremely well-studied variables and many lesser-studied ones that could be introduced to students. Concretely, I aim to determine which kinds of variables students tend to be most interested in, which variables they retain most readily, and whether these two correlate. In other words, will students express the most interest in or more readily retain variables stratified along the lines of social class? Of gender? Of some combination of social factors? The goal of determining where interest and retention lie is to provide some guidance for future replication and adoption of this approach. Furthermore, in my attempt to center students in my approach, I pose this question with the goal of better understanding *how* to teach about language variation to students of French, letting their own interests and objectives function as a guide for future pedagogical designs of this nature.

To investigate these research questions, the present study begins with the design of a semester-long pedagogical intervention to be integrated into an existing elementary French language curriculum. The details of this design, including the theoretical and methodological frameworks that underpin it, will be enumerated in the sections to follow. Following its design, this pedagogical intervention was integrated into multiple sections of an elementary French course. Accordingly, qualitative and quantitative data from these sections (as well as from 'control' sections that did not receive this intervention) were collected and are analyzed to assess the efficacy and impacts of this particular iteration of a critical, sociolinguistically informed approach to French language teaching. The findings brought to light by this analysis and their implications for French language pedagogy will

be discussed in my third chapter. In the next section of this present chapter, I briefly describe some of the sociolinguistic theory and educational methodology that I have relied upon while carrying out this study.

3.2 Theoretical and ethical underpinnings

3.2.1 Inherent variability of language

My work to integrate greater consideration of language variation, as well as of issues around language and power, is first and foremost guided by the combination of a theoretical framework and an ethical one. In their foundational work theorizing language change, Weinreich, Labov & Herzog (1968: 184) suggest that the actuation of long-term language change necessitates the constant presence of *variability* in language use. In simpler terms, for a shift from using one variant (Variant A) to another (Variant B) to occur over the course of generations, there needs to be variability in the use of those variants at some point in the intermediary time (i.e., both A and B are used at different rates) (185). When we examine a language as a whole, then, Weinreich et al. (1968: 185, 187) suggest that at any given time, there are numerous loci of variability that are often driven by stylistic and speaker-stratified factors (e.g., age and social class). Subsequent work in largely quantitative, variationist sociolinguistics has confirmed their theory, establishing well-attested patterns of language variation and change driven by a range of speaker-stratified factors, including age and social class, but also race and gender (cf. Labov, 1963, 1966, 2001; Wolfram, 1969; Trudgill, 1972, 1974; Eckert, 1997, 2000). With this in mind, my orientation towards the French language is one informed by the decades of sociolinguistic research that has empirically confirmed the presence and social significance of numerous loci of variation in the *ensemble* of language varieties collectively known as 'French'[38].

My approach is also informed by two Labovian (1982, as cited in Wolfram, 1993) principles for ethical language research, which I also extend to language *teaching*. Namely, Labov's (1982: 172) 'principle of error correction' states that,

> "A scientist who becomes aware of a widespread idea or social practice with important consequences that is invalidated by his own data is obligated to bring this error to the attention of the widest possible audience."

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[38] See, for instance, Beeching et al.'s (2009) *Sociolinguistic Variation in Contemporary French*, Detey et al.'s (2016) *Varieties of Spoken French* or Gadet's (2007) *La variation sociale en français* for general overviews. Fagyal & Davidson (2022), while zoomed out on Romance more generally, provide an overview of some well-studied sociophonetic variables in French, notably including speech communities beyond Europe. Hornsby (2009) and Jones et al. (2016) are helpful for understanding the contemporary situation of variation in France, while work by Wagner & Sankoff (2011), Sankoff & Blondeau (2013), King & Nadasdi (2003), etc. focus on Canadian varieties. There is less of a full body of research on West and Central African varieties of French, but some notable examples are by Knutsen (2009) and Kießling (2005).

Hence, as a sociolinguist and educator, it is important that I complicate the often monolithic representation of the French language and those who use it, not only among other linguists and educators, but also among *language learners*. While Labov did not specifically mention teaching in his articulation of this principle, I see the "widest possible audience" as inclusive of language learners. Moreover, his (1982: 173) 'principle of debt incurred' stipulates that,

> "An investigator who has obtained linguistic data from members of a speech community has an obligation to use the knowledge based on that data for the benefit of the community, when it has need of it."

Having both obtained linguistic data directly from French speakers and having benefited from decades of linguistic research in the Francophone world, I see it also as crucial to ensure that my work stands to benefit the wider Francophone community. In other words, while an approach that aims to 'decenter the Hexagon' can greatly benefit learners of the language by offering them a more accurate depiction of the vastness of the French-speaking world, it can also benefit communities of Francophones who may not be well-represented by traditional, standard-oriented teaching. I see this as an inextricable part of the mission of sociolinguistically informed pedagogy: given that human language is inherently variable, it is necessary to ensure that that variability, as well as its significance in social life, is well-represented in language teaching so as not to flatten the rich diversity of a given speech community.

3.2.2 Critical (language) pedagogy

In addition to ensuring that the diversity of the Francophone world and the variability inherent in French are well-represented in French language teaching, it is also important to interrogate the power structures that uphold the ideology of the standard in French and the peripheralization or erasure of non-standard languaging. Hence, in addition to being guided by Labovian variationism, this dissertation also takes inspiration and guidance from Freirean Critical Pedagogy (cf. Freire, 1970), which sees teaching and learning—and by extension, *language* teaching/learning—as "an intrinsically political, power-related activity" (Akbari, 2008: 277, as cited in Crookes, 2021: 248). Critical pedagogy, then, is that which fosters a "critical consciousness" of structures of power and oppression and empowers the oppressed to become actors in the dismantling of oppressive structures (Freire, 1970: 35-36). In other words, as a pedagogical practice it aims to "challenge dominant ideologies, reveal and question power structures, and foster students' abilities to affect changes in the world around them" (Godley & Minnici, 2008: 320). Critical *language* pedagogy, by extension, involves "critical examination of the power structures reflected and created *through language* … the ideologies surrounding language and dialects, the power relations such ideologies uphold, and ways to change

these ideologies" (*ibid*, my emphasis)[39]. That is, it involves the development of Critical Language Awareness (Fairclough, 1992). In the case of French, we have seen that an ideology of the standard has been perpetuated for centuries in part by the continued centering of mainly white, upper-middle-class Europeans as representatives of 'French speakers' (Train, 2003, 2012), and that language has long functioned as a means by which to marginalize and discriminate against those perceived as different (Milroy, 2006: 135). Hence, a critical approach to teaching French language necessitates peeling back the curtain to reveal the power relations that allow for such language-based oppression—in other words, fostering Critical Language Awareness—and empowering students to interrogate the taken-for-granted notions about the language that facilitate such oppression. In other words, critical French language pedagogy empowers students to participate in dismantling harmful language ideologies both in and beyond the French context. Hence, when I set out to design a transformative curricular intervention for the French classroom, it was with these values and goals in mind—namely, using my training and knowledge in sociolinguistics to show French learners the vastness and variability of the Francophone world and to support their discovery and interrogation of underlying language ideologies that continue to uphold language-based hierarchies and oppression therein. Drawing on Freire's (1970) notion of dialogic teaching, I see this project as an opportunity to work collaboratively with French students and instructors to contribute towards dismantling language-based oppression, a practice being taken up in many corners of language pedagogy globally under the collective banner of decolonization (cf. Macedo, 2019).

3.3 Developing 'variationist' teaching materials

3.3.1 The research context

The instructional program designed for this dissertation was conceived of as an intervention to inform curricular design and teacher training decisions for university-level elementary French courses, notably in the United States. While I hope that this kind of intervention will be adapted by instructors, coordinators and curriculum developers in the future, for the purposes of my experiment, I designed this program to integrate into the existing Elementary French curriculum at the University of California, Berkeley, where I research and teach. Part of the statewide University of California system, UC Berkeley is a public research institution serving a diverse population of over 32,000 undergraduate

[39] Alim (2005) and Godley & Minnici (2008) both apply critical language pedagogy to English classrooms, particularly in the service of destigmatizing and legitimizing AAVE as valid in the classroom. Hudgens Henderson (2016) applies CLP to the English language classroom for Spanish-English bilinguals. Shin & Hudgens Henderson (2017) and Hudgens Henderson (2022) apply CLP to Spanish language teaching, notably focusing on destigmatizing features of US Spanish.

students and 12,000 graduate students (Office of Planning & Analysis, 2022a)[40]. In its publicly available student population statistics, UC Berkeley reports that approximately 40% of undergraduate students identify as Asian, 19% identify as Latinx or Chicanx[41], and nearly 4% identify as Black, proportions of which have all increased steadily since the early 2010s. They also report that about 14% of undergraduates are international students (*ibid*). While there is less reliable data on gender identity among undergraduates,[42] the OPA (2022b) reports that approximately 54% of undergraduates are women and 0.8% are nonbinary. Additionally, the OPA (2023) estimates that approximately 29% of undergraduates are first-generation college students, and about 32.5% are Pell Grant[43] recipients. While the Department of French does not maintain such statistics for students enrolled in French courses, my five years of teaching experience and the anecdotal observations of my colleagues suggest that our Elementary French language courses tend to serve both international and domestic students from a range of backgrounds and inhabiting a range of identities (Flynn & Sweat, personal communication). Furthermore, when considering the landscape of the university as a whole, we might see the wider student population as inclusive of current, former, and *potential* or *future* students of French, and thus the work I do in this dissertation is meant to serve them as much as it is current students in the language courses.

At present, the Department of French at Berkeley uses the fifth edition[44] of *Chez Nous : Branché sur le monde francophone* (Valdman, Pons & Scullen, 2021) as the principal text, alongside which individual instructors have flexibility to supplement other materials. The Elementary French curriculum is broken down into two courses, Elementary French I and II, i.e. first- and second-semester French. Where Elementary French I (henceforth labeled 'French 1') tends to focus primarily on grammar fundamentals and building vocabulary, Elementary French II (henceforth 'French 2') is grammar-intensive, packing most verb tenses commonly used in spoken French into a single semester. Hence, I designed my pedagogical intervention to fit into the French 2 curriculum, to tie lessons about

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[40] The OPA provides these statistics with visualizations via their "Our Berkeley" github site, which includes enrollment history, recent enrollment trends, and population breakdowns by every 100 students.

[41] Notably, the population of students identifying as Latinx/Chicanx has increased more substantially, which has informed the university's efforts to qualify as an Hispanic Serving Institution. This group also belongs to what the OPA call 'underrepresented minorities," which includes "students who self-identify as African-American, Chicanx/Latinx, Native American/Alaska Native, or Pacific Islander" (OPA, 2022a). As of 2022, this category as a whole makes up approximately 23% of the undergraduate population.

[42] Until 2020, the data show no students identifying as nonbinary, likely due to this not being an option in the campus' prior survey materials. In 2020, 3 students self-identified as nonbinary; this jumped to 140 in 2021 (OPA, 2022b). Furthermore, these data do not break down gender identity any further, suggesting that the 'Decline to state' option (~0.7% in 2022) may include gender identities not accounted for by the OPA.

[43] The Pell Grant is a form of financial aid specifically for low-income students.

[44] It is important to note, however, that this pedagogical intervention responds, in part, to linguistic and cultural lacunae in the fourth edition of the text, which the Department of French used until 2021.

language variation and change to existing grammar lessons. In addition to practical consideration around the course content, I also chose French 2 so as to ensure that students receiving this 'treatment' curriculum had a solid foundation in the fundamentals of standardized grammar, such as verb conjugation in the present tense, gender and number agreement, and basic syntax, as aspects of these would be complicated by exposure to and discussion of non-standard language use. It is important to note, however, that even elementary learners can internalize standard ideologies when we rely heavily on standard-oriented textbooks and materials. Indeed, it is likely that many of the students that enroll in our French courses have already been exposed to the ideology of the standard in some form. Hence, my choice of level is an attempt to balance two conflicting imperatives: mitigating the early internalization of standard ideology and the potential negative impacts of complicating students' sense of what forms to prioritize too early on. Considering the concerns mentioned previously (Valdman, 2000), an intervention at the French 2 level affords elementary students the opportunity to discover the expansiveness of the French language after having learned some of the fundamentals in French 1 or in their high school French courses.

3.3.2 Instructional materials

The materials designed for this experiment consist of a series of ten lessons (see Appendix A[45]) that foreground, in some way, language variation and change in the French speaking world. Each lesson, approximately 20-25 minutes long, is additionally tied to content in the existing curriculum, and lessons were ordered in such a way as to coincide with the grammar topics and cultural themes presented in *Chez Nous* and in the timeline of the French 2 curriculum more generally. Typically, the Course Coordinator sets and distributes a week-by-week breakdown of the content to be covered in French 2, though there is flexibility for instructors to move content around so long as everything required by the curriculum is covered. These curriculum plans are typically adjusted each semester to fit that semester's dates, though adjustments are usually minor, meaning that a prior semester's plan can be relied upon in conjunction with the textbook for a sense of the overall curriculum[46]. With these plans in hand, instructors often plan individual weeks independently, adjusting timing in accordance with the needs of their students. In my design of this lesson series, to be integrated and tested Fall 2022, I consulted the curriculum plan from Fall 2021 in conjunction with the 5th edition of the textbook *Chez Nous* to set a rough timeline, i.e. to tie (as much as possible) each lesson to a specific

[45] Each lesson includes a full lesson plan for the instructor, a handout, and—in select cases—PowerPoint slides.

[46] In other words, the core content of the curriculum typically does not change.

week or set of weeks in the semester. This timeline is shown below[47], and I will elaborate on the content of these lessons in the paragraphs to follow:

Week 1: Review of the *passé composé* (compound past), *imparfait* (imperfect), and *accord du participe passé* (past-participle agreement) from French 1; introduction to language variation; gender-neutral and inclusive *accord* (agreement)
Week 2: Review of intro to language variation; structural variation in French prepositional phrases
Week 3: Review of *futur simple* (simple future); future tense in 4 Francophone communities
Week 4: Review of relatives *que, qui* & *dont*; relative clauses in the French of Côte d'Ivoire
Week 5: Gender-neutral and inclusive agreement with direct objects and adjectives
Week 6: Review of basics of standard French intonation; Case study on non-standard French intonation
Week 7: Gender-neutral and inclusive agreement for pronominal verbs
Week 8: The politics of gender-inclusive language in French
Week 9: The phonetics of grammatical distinctions in French: the case of the *conditionnel* (conditional mood)
Week 10: The influence of English on French: *les anglicismes* (Anglicisms)

There are four lessons in the series that treat, in some way, recent innovations in gender-neutral and inclusive grammar in French (see Alpheratz, 2018). I chose to include several lessons of this nature for a few reasons. First, as a scholar-teacher I have personally committed to better representing queer, trans and gender-nonconforming Francophones in my course materials, regardless of whether I am the one delivering them in the classroom. Additionally, the topic ties in well with existing grammar lessons in the French 2 curriculum and allows for a diverse range of 'windows' or 'jumping-off points' into the lessons on language variation. Furthermore, students who have taken French 1 at Berkeley from Fall 2020 onwards are highly likely to have been introduced to gender-inclusive pronouns such as *iel*, even if only briefly. This allows for the lessons on this topic to progress beyond simply introducing gender-inclusive forms (though a couple of them do this anyway, as review) and toward affording students the chance to engage in some critical analysis of the controversy surrounding *l'écriture inclusive*.

Being mindful of students' different levels of exposure to gender-inclusive grammar, the first lesson of these offers a brief review of gender-neutral and gender-inclusive grammar, focusing on its applications to past-participle gender agreement, which is typically reviewed at the start of French 2

[47] In my overview of the content of these lessons, I refer to them by 'Week' in the series as a form of shorthand. In reality, I did not ask treatment instructors to teach them every single week for 10 weeks in a row. Rather, I asked the instructors to try their best to teach them the same week as or the week following their accompanying grammar lessons from the text.

alongside the *passé composé* (compound past) and the *imparfait* (imperfect). This allows for scaffolding from what students had already learned about standard language towards what they would learn about language variation. It also includes a short introduction to how variability in language is understood in variationist sociolinguistics. Gender-inclusive grammar is then reintroduced in Week 5 of the series, which focuses on direct object pronouns and adjectives. It ties in with two textbook lessons: a grammar lesson on object pronouns and a vocabulary lesson on *les caractéristiques et valeurs* (characteristics and values)[48]. This treatment lesson, much like the one before, offers students the opportunity to 'translate' traditionally binary-gendered forms into more inclusive or neutral forms. In Week 7, following a textbook lesson on reciprocal and idiomatic pronominal verbs, students review gender-inclusive past participle agreements, this time applying them to pronominal verbs in the past tense. Finally, Week 8 consists of a critical analysis and discussion of two open letters from Académie Française about *l'écriture inclusive* (inclusive writing) in French. Students are asked to evaluate the rhetoric used in these primary texts and then to roleplay as activists responding to the Académie Française using gender-inclusive grammar. Within the larger series of sociolinguistically informed lessons, this small cluster of lessons on what Knisely (2022) calls gender-just language specifically calls attention to linguistic innovation by a marginalized group of Francophones and offers students an opportunity to engage in critical evaluation of hegemonic perspectives on linguistic innovation and non-standard languaging.

Beyond the lessons on gender-inclusive morphology, there are three additional lessons dedicated to morphosyntactic variation in French. In Week 2, students encounter variation in how prepositional phrases are constructed, notably examining authentic examples from a sociolinguistic study conducted on Prince Edward Island in southeastern Canada (King & Roberge, 1990). This lesson ties in with an existing lesson from the text which introduces students to the demonstrative pronoun *lequel* and its accompanying prepositional phrases[49]. Hence, students are tasked with comparing the examples from Prince Edward Island (PEI) French with those that they have learned from the text, representing the prescriptive rules of standard French. Similarly, Week 4 examines the construction of relative clauses in the French of Côte d'Ivoire. Tied to an existing lesson on relative pronouns and clauses, this lesson draws on authentic examples from a research study on Ivorian French (Knutsen, 2009) and tasks students with comparing the Ivorian relative clauses against prescriptive textbook rules about relatives. Both lessons on structural variation aim, primarily, to sensitize students to the presence of grammatical

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[48] In other words, this textbook lesson teaches students how to describe themselves and others according to their characteristics and values. This lesson, then, complicates adjectives such as *croyant-e* (religious/spiritual), *travailleur-euse* (hardworking) and *engagé-e* (politically engaged) in terms of their traditionally binary-gendered formation. Gender-neutral alternatives such as *travaillaire* and *engagæ* are offered to show students how queer, trans and gender-nonconforming Francophones are innovating to foster more gender-neutrality and inclusion in French.

[49] i.e., *dans lequel* (in which), *avec lequel* (with which), etc.

variation across Francophone communities. The lesson for Week 6 additionally introduces students to the ways in which social factors influence language variation and equips them to describe these patterns generally. Timed to tie in with the textbook's introduction of the *futur simple* (simple future), Week 6 examines regional, stylistic, and speaker-stratified variation in choice of future tense (i.e., between synthetic and analytic future) across four Francophone communities: France, Québec, Acadie (roughly corresponding to the eastern provinces of Canada), and Martinique. Notably, this lesson ends with an exercise in which students are tasked with rewriting an explanation from the text *Chez Nous* about choosing between the *futur simple* and the *futur proche* (close future, i.e. analytic future) in order to better represent the variability therein.

Where much of this series is focused on grammatical (i.e., morphosyntactic) variation in French, there are two lessons that touch on sociophonetic variation in French. First, Week 6 engages students in discussing the ideologies and attitudes around an instance of variation in intonation. It draws on a sociophonetic study conducted in the multiethnic, working-class Parisian *banlieue* of La Courneuve (Stewart & Fagyal, 2005) and encourages students to reflect on the implications of attitudes expressed toward the speech of immigrant-born youth in these working-class suburbs. Notably, while this lesson is not tied to the grammar curriculum of French 2, it is tied to one of the chapter themes, as well as to a previously-developed lesson (Yeh, 2021) about questions of race in a color-evasive France[50]. Following this, Week 9 brings pronunciation and grammar together, highlighting one instance in which a prescriptive, phonetic distinction between two verb forms may be more or less reliable across Francophone regions as well as across time[51]. Finally, the last lesson of the series, Week 10 revisits socially stratified variation and language attitudes through a look at the role of and reactions toward Anglicisms, i.e. borrowings from English, in two varieties of French (see Walsh, 2014; McLaughlin, 2018).

To demonstrate the general structure of these lessons, I will provide here a more detailed overview of one lesson: namely, Week 5, titled "*L'accord inclusive avec les COD, décrire des caractéristiques.*[52]" The lesson begins with a short review of using direct object pronouns in the *passé composé*, notably with regard to past-participle agreement. According to the prescriptive rules of standard French, when a direct object pronoun precedes the verb in the *passé composé*, the past participle is inflected for gender in agreement with the gender of the direct object being referenced. Because the

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[50] My French department colleague and dear friend Alan Yeh designed this module around an episode of the French-language podcast *Kiffe ta race*, offering students a window into discussions (or lack thereof) of race in France, where the national value of universalism has led to a widespread avoidance of acknowledging race and racism, positioning them instead as 'American' notions (Onishi, 2020).

[51] Specifically, the mid-vowel distinction between certain forms of the *futur simple* and the *conditionnel* (see Dansereau, 2005: 76; Houdebine, 1979).

[52] Inclusive agreement with direct objects (COD = *complément d'objet direct*), describing characteristics

prescriptive rules consider the masculine grammatical gender to be the 'default,' the base past participle form is the 'unmarked' form: e.g., *J'ai vu mon cousin. Je l'ai vu.* (*I saw my cousin. I saw him.*) However, when the direct object pronoun references a feminine direct object, the past participle form is inflected for gender: e.g., *J'ai vu ma sœur. Je l'ai vue.* (*I saw my sister. I saw her.*) Here, word-final <e> indicates that the direct object is grammatically[53] feminine. After reviewing the prescriptive rule with students, we ask them to reflect on how one might refer to a nonbinary person (e.g., I saw them) within the constraints of this system. We then share that, in fact, many nonbinary Francophones have innovated forms, including direct object pronouns,[54] that can be used to refer to a direct object without relying on binary gender. In the lesson, I source these innovatory forms from multiple guides to gender-neutral and inclusive grammar written by both linguists and laypeople (see Alpheratz, 2018; Divergenres, 2021). With these in mind, and thinking back to the previous lesson about gender-inclusive grammar, students are prompted to think about how to inflect for nonbinary or lack of gender in the *passé composé*, where a direct object pronoun references a nonbinary direct object. Because lack of inflection (e.g., *Je l'ai vu*) is traditionally associated with the masculine gender (Silveira, 1980; Hamilton, 1991; Stahlberg et al., 2007; Kaplan, 2022), one might rely on the innovative *épicène* forms past participles for specifically nonbinary gender inflection: e.g., *Je l'ai vu·e*[55] (I saw them). Because this is undoubtedly not the only option available, it is presented to students as *an* option, rather than as *the* option.

The next part of the Week 5 lesson concerns gender-neutral and inclusive adjectival endings. The textbook *Chez Nous* includes a vocabulary lesson entitled *Mes caractéristiques et valeurs* (my characteristics and values), whereby students are equipped with vocabulary to help them describe their and others' traits and values, notably in alignment with the chapter's overall theme of civic engagement. Words for traits such as 'hardworking,' 'attentive', and '(politically) involved' are presented in the textbook with binary gendered forms (e.g., *travailleur* and *travailleuse*, hardworking). While it has been observed that there is variability in how nonbinary Francophones express nonbinary gender in their use of adjectives, with some choosing to use binary forms in spoken French (Corbani, personal communication), guides to gender-neutral and inclusive grammar such as that of Alpheratz (2018) offer some suggestions adapted from existing gender inflection options available under the prescriptive rules of standard French. By way of example, for adjectives that end in the masculine *-eur* or feminine *-euse,* Alpheratz (2018) offers *-aire* as a gender-neutral equivalent (e.g., *travaillaire*, hardworking). For forms that are epicene in spoken French, such as *engagé* and *engagée* (politically involved/active), one might

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[53] Although the two examples I reference here are also socially gendered (e.g., sister being socially gendered feminine), this rule applies even with inanimate objects that are grammatically feminine (e.g., *la table*, etc.: *J'ai acheté la table. Je l'ai achetée.* I bought the table. I bought it. FEM)

[54] For example, Alpheratz (2018) suggests *lu* as a gender-neutral equivalent to *le* and *la* – i.e., *Je le vois, je la vois, je lu vois* (I see him, I see her, I see them).

[55] All three forms, *vu, vue, and vu·e* are pronounced [vy].

use the *point médian* in writing (e.g., *engagé·e*). Alpheratz (2018) also offers the alternative *-æ* ending as a truly neutral option (e.g., *engagæ)*. The point of showing these innovative forms to students is not to have them memorize them or to present any one form as *the* form to use; rather, the emphasis is on the variability in how nonbinary Francophones have adapted or rejected a binary system to express themselves. As previously mentioned, in Week 8, students encounter the Académie Française's negative reactions toward and ideological campaign against such linguistic innovation.

The final part of the lesson, adapted from an exercise in Dupuy et al. (2023), involves examining an excerpt from the *Déclaration des droits de l'homme et du citoyen* (1789, as cited in Dupuy et al., 2023). Students are encouraged to engage with the excerpt in three phases. First, they are asked to read the first paragraph of the excerpt and identify all of the adjectives used to describe people—for instance, in the sentence excerpted below, they might identify the adjectives *accusé* (accused), *arrêté* (arrested), and *détenu* (imprisoned), which refers back to *homme* (man):

> Art. 7. Nul homme ne peut être accusé, arrêté ni détenu que dans les cas déterminés par la Loi, et selon les formes qu'elle a prescrites[56] (Dupuy et al., 2023: 187).

After identifying these adjectives, students are asked to reflect on how the language of this paragraph could be modified to be more inclusive of nonbinary, agender, or otherwise gender-nonconforming people. Next, we move on to a new paragraph of the excerpt, 'translated' into gender-inclusive and neutral language. Here, they are asked to identify the inclusive/neutral nouns, adjectives and pronouns used (for instance, the word *citoyen*, citizen, is modified into *citoyen·ne*, thereby containing both the masculine and feminine forms in one). Finally, drawing from these examples, students move on to a final paragraph of the excerpt; here, they attempt to modify binary-gendered forms to be more inclusive or neutral (e.g., they might modify *eux-mêmes*, themselves, to be *elleux-mêmes*[57]). At the end of the lesson, the instructor is encouraged to share some of the resources consulted in its design with the students, emphasizing that the use of these neutral and inclusive forms is highly variable.

The goal of this lesson in isolation is not to encompass the entirety of the critical, sociolinguistically informed approach within a single class period; rather, it is meant to slot in with the entire series of lessons that, over the course of a term, provide students with a window into the wide, variable world of global and social Frenches. In other words, this lesson on gender-inclusive and neutral grammar is meant to work in tandem with the other lessons on the matter, to illustrate for learners some ways in which a marginalized group of Francophones have creatively leveraged language

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[56] A translation published by Yale's Lillian Goldman Law Library (2008) reads, "No person shall be accused, arrested, or imprisoned except in the cases and according to the forms prescribed by law." Yet, the original express used, *nul homme*, translates to *no man*, rather than *nulle personne*, which would translate to 'no person,' suggesting that translators into English have since neutralized the gender expressed in the French.

[57] An inclusive alternative to the binary disjunctive pronouns *eux* and *elles* (them, m.pl. and f. pl., respectively) is *elleux*.

to make space for themselves, as well as the ways in which hegemonic forces like the Académie Française work against such efforts at inclusion in the name of preserving power relations that benefit from the ideology of the standard. Hence, the classroom experiment carried out for this dissertation project will assess how the series in its entirety impacts learners' sociolinguistic awareness and language attitudes. With this in mind, a part of my analysis also aims to tease out which particular topics remained most prominent in students' minds at the end of the term. In the remaining sections of this chapter, I will enumerate my methods in designing and conducting this classroom experiment, followed by my methods for analyzing the data collected therein.

3.4 Multi-classroom experiment

3.4.1 Methodological frameworks

This classroom experiment takes a mixed-methods approach (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 1998) to assessing the impacts of the curricular intervention detailed in the previous section. Specifically, it takes the form of a concurrent transformative design. One research purpose underpinning this design is the measurement of change in elementary L2 learners' mastery of standard grammar, knowledge of sociolinguistic variation, and language attitudes. Additionally, this experiment affords us a greater understanding of how students integrate knowledge of sociolinguistic variation into their emergent mastery of the so-called 'standard' language, as well as some guidance toward best practices for integrating critical, sociolinguistically informed approaches into elementary L2 language instruction. Ultimately, with the analysis of the data collected over the course of this experiment I aim to provide both empirical and anecdotal evidence of the effectiveness of such an intervention, as well as to advocate for more and earlier integration of critical and sociolinguistically informed pedagogy into language programs, notably for languages that are characterized by a persistent ideology of the standard.

This experiment relies on both quantitative and qualitative data, and was designed such that the qualitative data would deepen our understanding of the patterns revealed by the quantitative data. For instance, where quantitative analysis can tell us about the differential rates at which L2 learners can identify non-standard linguistic forms, qualitative data from short-answer survey responses and classroom observation will help contextualize these patterns. Hence, both types of data were collected and analyzed concurrently with one another (Kroll & Neri, 2009: 45) and at several points during the semester to measure change over the course of a semester of treatment lessons (i.e., a time series design, cf. Mellow, 2013). Finally, in order to compare outcomes of the curricular intervention with those of the preexisting French 2 curriculum in the Berkeley French department, I make use of a between-subjects design, wherein some sections of the course receive the curricular intervention, and some do not.

3.4.2 Recruitment and training of instructors

The assessment of the treatment curriculum through multi-classroom experiment involved, in the case of the treatment group, a) the integration of the treatment lessons into the existing curriculum, b) the distribution of survey materials at two points in the semester, and c) the collection of midterm and final exam scores from consenting student participants. In the case of the control group, only (b) and (c) were involved. In the Spring of 2022, I recruited two instructors slated to teach French 2 in the coming Fall (2022) semester to integrate the innovative lesson series into their French 2 sections, which would serve as the 'treatment' sections. Both instructors were paid $500 each for this effort, using funds from a professional development grant I received for the academic year. There were five sections of French 2 offered in the Fall, and the remaining three instructors agreed to have their sections serve as 'control' sections[58]. Prior to the start of the Fall 2022 semester, I met with the two 'treatment' section instructors for a short training on the fundamentals of Labovian variationist sociolinguistics and my orientation toward the French language (see section 2.2.1). The slides from this training session can be found in Appendix B. At this meeting, I also shared all treatment course materials with these instructors via a shared Google Drive folder. Each lesson in the series had its own dedicated folder, in which a full lesson plan and handout could be found. Select lessons also had accompanying PowerPoint slides. Finally, I shared with these instructors an approximate timeline for the lesson series in relation to the existing curriculum's timeline.

The treatment sections' instructors were asked to give the treatment lessons relatively soon after the grammar lessons with which they tied in[59]. By nature of working together in a small department, both instructors were familiar with my research profile prior to the experiment, and both had some knowledge of their own about sociolinguistic variation. Hence, rather than *only* following my lesson plans to the letter, I encouraged the treatment instructors to feel free to supplement their presentation of the content of these lessons with their own research-based or experiential knowledge. In other words, so long as the content of the lesson was presented, instructors could also expand the lessons if they desired. Additionally, knowing that factors such as class size[60] tend to affect how quickly one can lead a class through a given exercise, I also offered the treatment instructors flexibility as to *how* certain exercises were completed—for instance, in the case of longer lessons, I encouraged instructors

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[58] It is common for instructors to be assigned to teach one section of a given level. Additionally, graduate student instructors only teach one section *total*, hence the need to recruit two instructors to teach the two treatment sections. Furthermore, during the Fall 2022 semester, there were no two sections of French 2 taught by the same instructor at all.

[59] For instance, the lesson on relative clauses in Ivorian French would be given following the textbook grammar lesson on relatives *que, qui,* and *dont*.

[60] Class sizes in French 2 tend to fluctuate not only across sections, but also over time, as students often add and drop throughout the first several weeks of the semester. While class sizes are capped at 20, there will often be one section with fewer than 10 students and another with 15+ students. To my knowledge, the department does not offer multiple sections of the same course at the same time.

to adapt between small-group or collective (i.e., whole-class) work depending on how much time remained to finish a given lesson. These instructions were given during the training session and in a written document specifying the approximate timeline of the lesson series.

3.4.3 Student participants

During the first week of the Fall 2022 semester, I contacted all five instructors of French 2 to solicit their permission to pay each of their sections a short visit. I conducted these brief visits between the first and second weeks of the term. At these visits, I introduced myself to the students and explained that a research study would be taking place over the course of the semester, and that they were invited to participate. I distributed to each student a printed copy of the consent form, including the IRB protocol number given in my approval letter from the Berkeley Office for the Protection of Human Subjects (OPHS). I explained that they could read the form in their own time and, upon filling out the first of two ungraded questionnaires, choose whether they would consent to their responses, as well as their midterm and final exam scores, being analyzed as data. I also took this time to answer any questions students had about the study.

3.4.4 Procedures and data

3.4.4.1 The questionnaire

The questionnaire distributed to students consists of two versions, a 'pre-treatment' (Time 1) version and a 'post-treatment' (Time 2) version. These two versions are largely identical, the only difference between them being that the Time 2 version contained an additional section with free-response questions about the French language, which offered students an opportunity to reflect on what they learned in the course and on aspects of standard language ideology. Following Shin and Hudgens Henderson (2017), Beaudrie et al. (2019), and Hudgens Henderson (2022), I organized the questionnaire into thematic sections, each of which was designed to respond to one of my research questions.

Section 1 of the questionnaire, (Standard) Grammar Knowledge, consists of 14 True-False questions (with a third option of "Don't Know"), in which students were asked to determine whether or not a select, bolded portion of a given sentence is grammatically 'correct' according to their textbook. Each of these sentences presented to students contain, in context, a grammatical concept that is presented during French 2. See example (1) below: the bolded verb in the indicative mood would be considered incorrect in Standard French, as negative expressions of opinion such as "Je ne crois pas…" trigger the subjunctive mood. When making these acceptability judgments, students were encouraged to select "Don't Know" rather than guess if they were unsure of the answer. Accordingly, given that the grammar concepts included in this assessment are those taught during French 2, we

would expect that students' answers at Time 1 would largely consist of "Don't Know," and that they would shift toward more definitive, correct answers at Time 2. Thus, Grammar Knowledge scores are expected to improve from Time 1 to Time 2 regardless of my pedagogical intervention. As such, this portion of the questionnaire allows us to determine whether or not my intervention impacts Treatment group students' Grammar Knowledge scores in any way. As with all sections of this questionnaire, the individual questions themselves can be found listed in Appendix B, grouped by theme.

(1) Je ne crois pas que le subjonctif **est** trop difficile !

Section 2 of the questionnaire, Sociolinguistic Knowledge, consists of 11 statements, either about the French language or about language generally. Students were asked to select their level of agreement on a 7-point Likert scale[61], containing the options Strongly Disagree, Disagree, Somewhat Disagree, Neutral or Unsure, Somewhat Agree, Agree, and Strongly Agree. Similarly, Section 3 of the questionnaire, Language Attitudes, leverages the same Likert scale for 14 subjective statements about the French language, or language more generally (see Appendix B). Treatment students' responses to the Sociolinguistic Knowledge statements were expected to average low at Time 1, suggesting minimal to no prior sociolinguistic knowledge and to average higher at Time 2, suggesting increased sociolinguistic knowledge over the course of the term. Similarly, their responses to Language Attitudes statements were expected to average lower at Time 1 than at Time 2, where lower averages indicate more 'intolerant' attitudes. This expectation is informed by Shin and Hudgens Hendersons' (2017: 202) observation of an increase in their participants' mean number of positive attitudes expressed in their experimental questionnaire.

Section 4 is the final section of the questionnaire distributed at Time 1: Linguistic Variants. Similarly to Section 1, student participants were presented with a full sentence in French containing a bolded portion representing a standard French variant from among the variables that were taught in the Treatment curriculum. Students were asked to identify any alternative form (or forms) of the given variant that one could see or hear in the French-speaking world, regardless of whether or not the textbook would consider it correct. See example (2) below: In this sentence, the student is presented with a Standard French relative clause *pour lequel*, and we expect that as an alternative, they might supply "...l'homme que je travaille *pour*" (see Knutsen, 2009). Unlike prior sections of the questionnaire, each of the 10 sentences provided in this section had a single-line text entry box for

[61] Following Beaudrie et al. (2019: 588), I opted for a 7-point Likert scale in accordance with their observation that "larger scales, with 7 to 11 points, may better capture questionnaire-takers' underlying response variance on individual items and increase subscale reliability."

students to fill in their answers. They were also asked to simply leave these boxes blank when they could not think of any alternative forms. Each of the grammatical features highlighted in these sentences corresponds to a lesson from the Treatment curriculum, and as such it was expected that Treatment group students would be able to produce more alternative forms at Time 2 than at Time 1, and that they would produce more of these non-standard variants than their Control group peers at the end of the term (Time 2).

(2) C'est l'homme **pour lequel** je travaille.

The questionnaire distributed at Time 2 contained an additional Section 5: Reflection. This section consists of 8 reflection questions accompanied by paragraph response boxes. These questions solicited students' reactions to what they learned over the course of the term (which, of course, we would expect to be different for Treatment group students than for Control group students), as well as their thoughts about notions like 'correctness', the stigmatization of non-standard language use, and the role of non-standard linguistic forms in the language classroom. These responses were expected, largely, to expand upon the language attitudes expressed by students' Time 2 responses to Section 3 of the questionnaire. My analysis of these responses and relevant findings will be discussed further in the next chapter.

3.4.4.2 Data collection

Both questionnaires were built in Qualtrics and distributed using the native email invitation feature (Qualtrics, Provo, UT). During the second week of the Fall 2022 semester, following my brief classroom visits, I distributed the invitation to complete the Time 1 questionnaire to all students enrolled in French 2 at UC Berkeley; I had told students to look out for this email invitation when introducing myself to them during my short visits. I also encouraged instructors of all French 2 sections to remind their students about the questionnaire and, if time allowed, to dedicate a brief portion of a class session to filling it out. Before completing the questionnaire itself, respondents were again presented with the consent form and prompted to select either "Yes, I consent" or "No, I do not consent." This, in turn, obscured which students were participating from being identified by their instructor or by their peers, since all students in the class could fill out the questionnaire with or without consenting to their responses being analyzed. The consent form, which I distributed both in print and at the beginning of the Qualtrics questionnaire, included consent to the analysis of both the questionnaire responses and curricular quiz/exam scores. At Time 1, 35 students consented to participate and completed the questionnaire.

The Time 2 questionnaire was then distributed between December 5th, 2022 and January 24, 2023, again via email invitation with two periodic reminders. Just as with the first questionnaire, the

Time 2 questionnaire also contained the same consent form, offering students the opportunity to reaffirm or, if they had changed their minds over the course of the term, revoke their consent. The questionnaire responses from any participant that did not consent were removed from the datasheets I went on to analyze. A total of 21 students who had completed the Time 1 questionnaire reaffirmed their consent and completed the Time 2 questionnaire.

Between late December 2022 and mid-January 2023, instructors of the Fall 2022 sections of French 2 shared their students' cumulative midterm and final exam scores with me via our Canvas learning management system. Once again, the scores of any students who did not consent to participate in the study were removed from the datasheet prior to analysis. In addition to collecting (largely quantitative) data via the questionnaire and quiz/exam scores, I visited each of the Treatment sections around the third/fourth week of the semester to observe one of the lessons from the Treatment curriculum being taught. During these visits, I observed in Section 001 the presentation of the lesson on the future tense in the Francophone world; in Section 002, I observed the teaching of the lesson on relative clauses in Ivorian French. I will discuss my general observations from these lessons in conjunction with my mixed-methods findings in my next chapter.

Chapter 4: Analysis and findings from multi-classroom study

4.1 Data analysis and results

4.1.1 Interruptions to data collection (2022 UC Graduate Worker Strike)

The present multi-classroom study took place over the course of the Fall 2022 semester in UC Berkeley's Department of French. Out of the five sections of Elementary French II taught during this semester, two were selected to receive the pedagogical intervention I designed (henceforth called the Treatment). The two Treatment instructors taught this series of lessons during the first two thirds of the semester, finishing the series around mid-November 2022. Shortly thereafter, instruction was interrupted by the commencement of a month-long, University of California system-wide graduate labor strike. Unfortunately, the class cancellations and chaotic examination schedules resulting from this strike interrupted data collection for the present study in two key ways. First, due to the cancellation of courses from mid-November through the end of the semester, I was unable to conduct additional in-class observations; hence, in my analysis I will briefly discuss the two class observations I was able to complete, one from each section of French 2 that received the Treatment lessons. Additionally, due to the aforementioned chaos surrounding final examinations, my initial attempt at collecting responses to the second questionnaire (i.e., the Time 2 questionnaire) at the end of the term garnered a very low response rate. In order to ensure that I had enough responses from the two groups to constitute statistically reliable cells for my analysis (Tagliamonte, 2006: 23), I opted to extend data collection for Time 2 over the winter holiday break to solicit more responses. I thus redistributed the questionnaire to enrolled students a second time in January 2023 and formally closed data collection during the first week of the Spring 2023 semester. Of the 35 students who had completed the questionnaire at Time 1, 21 completed the second questionnaire at Time 2. Hence, only the data from these 21 students who completed the questionnaire at both time points are considered in my quantitative analysis. In order to get a better sense of students' overall orientation to the curricular intervention, my qualitative analysis considers the free-responses of all consenting student participants, even if they did not respond at both time points.

4.1.2 Quantitative analysis: exam scores and questionnaire responses

The research questions driving this dissertation are, as previously mentioned, primarily concerned with the impacts of a critical, sociolinguistically informed curricular intervention on learning outcomes in a second-semester, elementary French course. Specifically, I am concerned with the impacts of this curricular intervention on French language learners' sociolinguistic awareness,

language attitudes, and mastery of 'standard' French. In this section, I describe the statistical analyses performed and the resulting findings as they relate to my research questions. I examine 21 French 2 students' responses to the questionnaire described in my previous chapter. I also examine their midterm and final exam scores. Of these 21 students, 5 belonged to the Treatment sections and therefore received the Treatment lessons; the other 16 belonged to Control sections. It is important to note that this is a small sample size, which may consist primarily of these sections' most engaged students; hence, self-selection bias is a possibility. With this caveat in mind, in alignment with the analytical methodology described in Shin and Hudgens Henderson (2017), I submitted data from each section of the questionnaire, as well as midterm and final exam scores, to a series of mixed-effects linear regressions in R (R Core Team, 2022). I will next describe the terms of these regression analyses and the comparative outcomes of either receiving or not receiving the curricular intervention suggested by these findings.

4.1.2.1 Sociolinguistic knowledge

The first of my research questions concerns whether the integration of lessons on language variation in the Treatment sections would promote increased sociolinguistic knowledge, including ability to identify specific examples of language variation in French. In other words, I hypothesized that students who received the Treatment intervention would demonstrate increased sociolinguistic knowledge from Time 1 to Time 2, and that they would be able to more readily identify language variation as compared to their peers in the Control group. In order to compare the sociolinguistic knowledge of both groups of students across both time points, I examined students' responses to two sections of the 'French Grammar and Language' questionnaire. The first of these sections is entitled 'Sociolinguistic Knowledge' and measures students' understanding of basic sociolinguistic concepts, introductions to which are integrated into the Treatment lessons. As previously stated, students were asked to rate their level of agreement with a series of statements about the French language along a 7-point Likert scale ranging from strong disagreement to strong agreement. For most of the statements, a higher score (e.g., stronger agreement) indicated a greater degree of sociolinguistic knowledge, while a lower score indicated less sociolinguistic knowledge. For ease of visualizing my findings, I transposed any Likert scales oriented in the opposite direction so that higher responses consistently aligned with greater sociolinguistic knowledge.

The dependent variable under analysis consists of a score out of 7, where 7 indicates the greatest degree of sociolinguistic knowledge. Fourteen of the 21 students who filled out the questionnaire completed this section (4 Treatment, 10 Control); hence, the scores of these fourteen students were normalized via Z-scoring by question and submitted to a mixed-effects linear regression. The ANOVA output generated for this mixed-effects linear regression with main effects of Time and Group, their interaction, and a random intercept of Participant did not reveal any significant effects.

That is, as visualized in Figure 1 below, neither Time (F[1,12] = 0.91; p=0.358), Group (F[1,12] = 0.34; p=0.569), nor their interaction (F[1,12] = 0.69; p=0.423) was observed to be statistically significant, suggesting that the Treatment lessons did not significantly improve the students' knowledge of sociolinguistic concepts. Instead, looking at Figure 1 we can see that scores across the two groups remained fairly consistent over time. Notably, students' raw scores averaged in the 4-6 range, suggesting that many of them already exhibited some sociolinguistic knowledge. Furthermore, when we examine a plot of the model's predictions (Figure 2), we can see that the difference between the changes in the two groups' scores is minimal, and that in fact our mixed model predicts less of a difference between the two groups' scores over time.

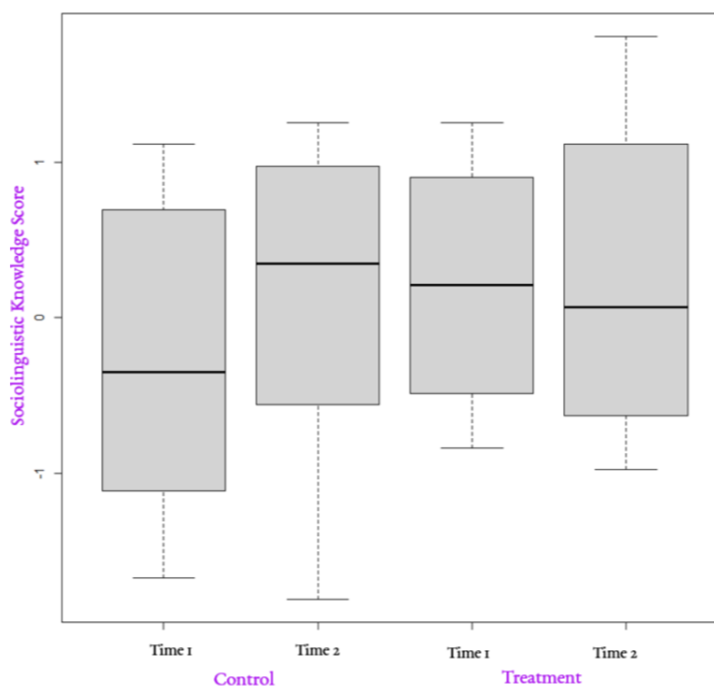

Figure 1. Boxplot of Output and Averages for Sociolinguistic Knowledge Scores

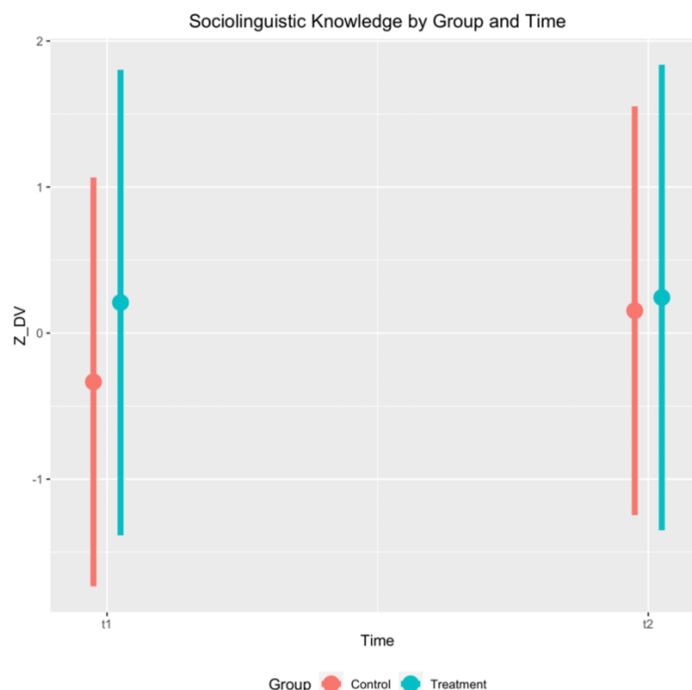

Figure 2. Mixed Model Prediction for Sociolinguistic Knowledge Scores

To more explicitly address the question of whether students receiving the Treatment would be able to more readily identify specific examples of language variation, I examined responses from both groups to the 'Linguistic Variants' section of the questionnaire. As mentioned in my previous chapter, this portion of the questionnaire asks students to identify any alternative variant to a prescriptive variant provided in the context of a sentence. Because the instructions for this section implicitly reveal that all of the provided sentences exhibit language variation, the focus of my discussion of these results will be on a) whether they are able to identify an alternate variant, and b) *which* alternate variant(s) they provide, if any. Accordingly, in my discussion I will also address what particular sociolinguistic variables were acquired by students.

All 21 students completed this section of the questionnaire; for each question, if a student provided an alternative variant to the prescriptive one given them, even if that variant is also considered 'acceptable' within prescriptive grammar, they were assigned a point for that question. If they left the question blank or provided a feature that was not associated with the variable in question, they were not assigned a point. The dependent variable under investigation consists of an overall 'Linguistic Variants' score out of 10. The ANOVA output generated for a mixed-effects linear regression with main effects of Time and Group, their interaction, and a random intercept of Participant revealed a significant main effect of Time ($F[1,19] = 6.43$; $p=0.02$); additionally, both Group ($F[1,19] = 4.05$; $p=0.059$) and the interaction between Time and Group ($F[1,19] = 3.89$; $p=0.063$) were approaching significance. A Tukey post-hoc analysis of this marginally significant

interaction reveals that, more specifically, there appears to be no significant improvement among the Control group scores, while there does appear to be an improvement over time in the Treatment group. Furthermore, the post-hoc analysis reveals that there was no significant difference in scores between the two groups at Time 1, but that the Treatment group's improvement appears to have surpassed that of the Control group's (p=0.036) at Time 2. The raw data and the model predictons are visualized below in Figures 3 and 4, respectively.

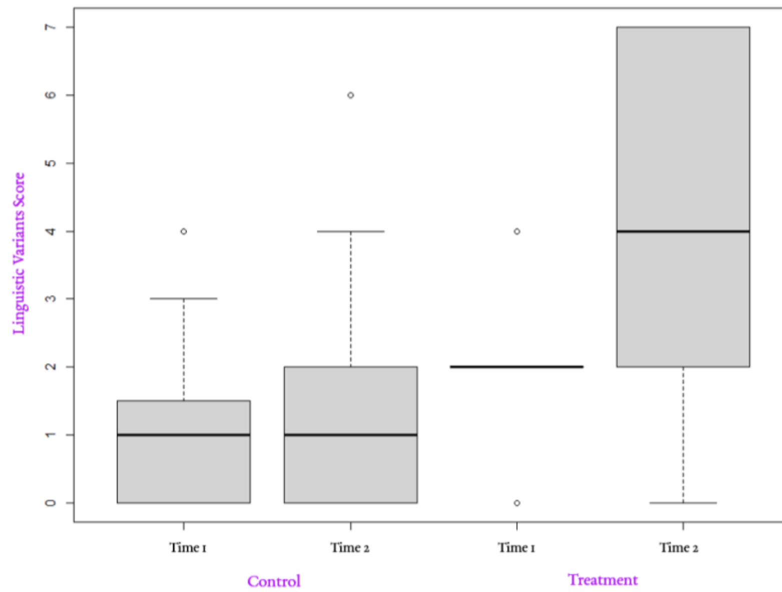

Figure 3. Boxplot of Output and Averages for Linguistic Variant Scores

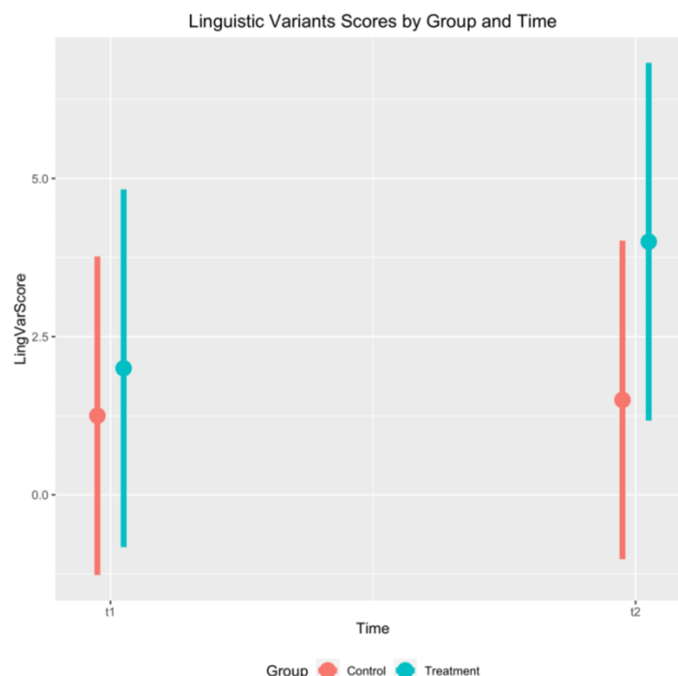

Figure 4. Mixed Model Predictions for Linguistic Variants

4.1.2.2 Language attitudes

Following Shin and Hudgens Henderson's (2017) explicit goal of fostering more tolerant language attitudes among students in their sociolinguistically informed Spanish grammar course, I included among my research questions that of whether my sociolinguistically informed intervention in Elementary French II would also promote more tolerant language attitudes. To measure students' language attitudes prior to and following the Treatment lessons, I rely on their responses to the 'Language Attitudes' portion of the questionnaire. Much like the 'Sociolinguistic Knowledge' section, this section includes a series of statements about the French language with which students are asked to rate their level of agreement along a 7-point Likert scale. Similarly, I once again transposed select Likert scales so that for all questions, a greater degree of agreement would indicate a more tolerant language attitude. The dependent variable under analysis is a score out of 7, where 7 indicates the highest degree of tolerance. Because only 14 of the participating students (4 Treatment, 10 Control) filled out this section at both time points[62], only their language attitude scores are analyzed here. Prior to submitting these data to mixed-effects linear regression, Language Attitudes scores were normalized via Z-scoring by question.

The ANOVA output generated for this mixed-effects linear regression with main effects of Time and Group, their interaction, and a random intercept of Participant did not reveal any significant effects; that is, neither Time ($F[1,12] = 2.45$; $p=0.144$), Group ($F[1,12] = 0.34$; $p=0.568$),

[62] Several filled out this section at either Time 1 or 2, but not both. As mentioned previously, this is most likely due to the disrupting effects of the Graduate Worker Strike and its impacts on students' end-of-term mental bandwidth.

nor their interaction ($F[1,12] = 0.07$; $p=0.801$) was observed to be statistically significant. At first glance, this would suggest that students' language attitudes across the semester were not mediated by the exposure to (or lack thereof) the Treatment lessons. As visualized in Figure 5 below, Treatment students' raw attitudinal scores were more variable at Time 2, with some even decreasing over time. It is important to consider, of course, the possibility that this sample size was too small to reveal a genuine difference across the two groups. The model's predictions, shown in Figure 6 below, illustrate a somewhat more consistent change than what is revealed by the raw data.

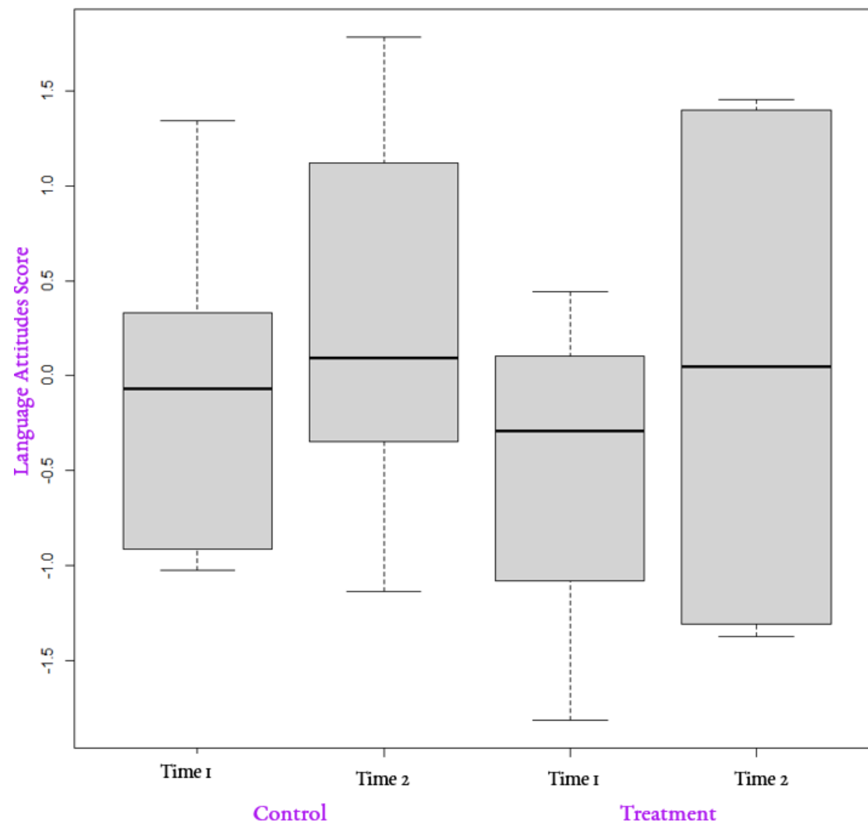

Figure 5. Boxplot of Output and Averages for Language Attitudes Scores

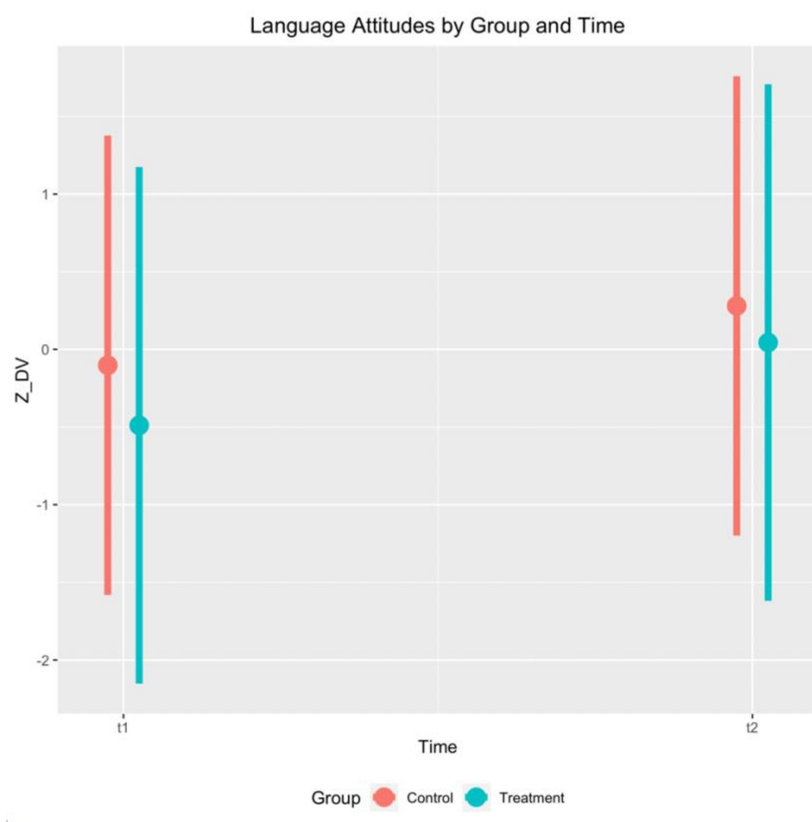

Figure 6. Mixed Model Predictions for Language Attitudes

4.1.2.3 Mastery of prescriptive grammar

My final research question addresses the most common hesitancy I observe among instructors tackling the question of introducing language variation at the elementary level. Specifically, I ask whether the inclusion of my Treatment lessons in the French 2 curriculum will affect students' mastery of prescriptive French grammar. Taking into account the fear expressed over the potential 'confusion' that teaching about language variation might cause elementary learners (Valdman, 2000), I dedicated a section of my questionnaire to assessing students' mastery of several prescriptive grammar concepts for which there is demonstrated variability, notably variability that is presented as a part of the Treatment lessons. In this section, students are asked to read a series of sentences in French and to decide whether or not each of them would be considered 'correct' by prescriptive standards. For each question that students answered correctly (i.e., each time they made a correct judgment of the prescriptive acceptability of a given variant), they were assigned a point. There are 13 questions in this section of the questionnaire, and so the dependent variable under investigation is a score out of 13.

The ANOVA output generated for a mixed-effects linear regression with main effects of Time and Group, their interaction, and a random intercept of Participant revealed a significant main effect of Time ($F[1,19] = 4.46$; p=0.048), wherein student Grammar Scores improved from Time 1 to Time 2.

No significant effects were observed for Group ($F[1,19] = 1.76$; $p=0.2$) nor the interaction between Group and Time ($F[1,19] = 1.57$; $p=0.226$). Despite the lack of statistical significance therein, our visualization of these Grammar Scores (see Figure 7) shows an apparent discrepancy between the *consistency* of students' scores over time. That is, the Control group's scores appear to be widely variable at Time 2, whereas the Treatment group's scores appear to increase more steadily, with no scores dipping below those of Time 1. Of course, it is important to remember that with such a small group of Treatment students, it is possible that these students were the most eager among their peers to learn about language variation—in other words, it is important to consider the possibility of self-selection bias here. Notably, the model's predictions (shown in Figure 8) illustrate some difference in the improvement of the two groups' Grammar Knowledge scores, though it is much less dramatic than what is revealed in the raw data.

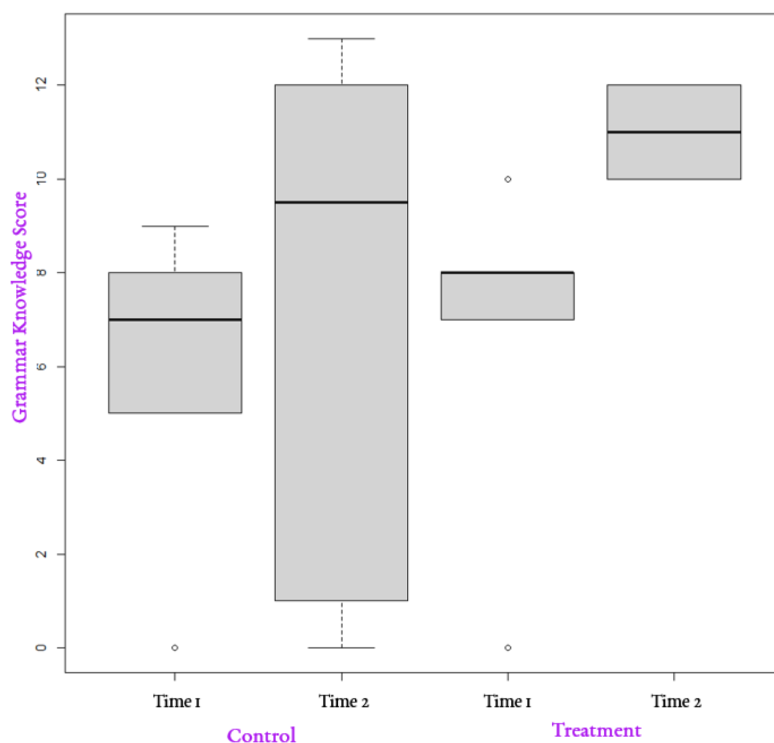

Figure 7. Boxplot of Output and Averages for Grammar Knowledge Scores

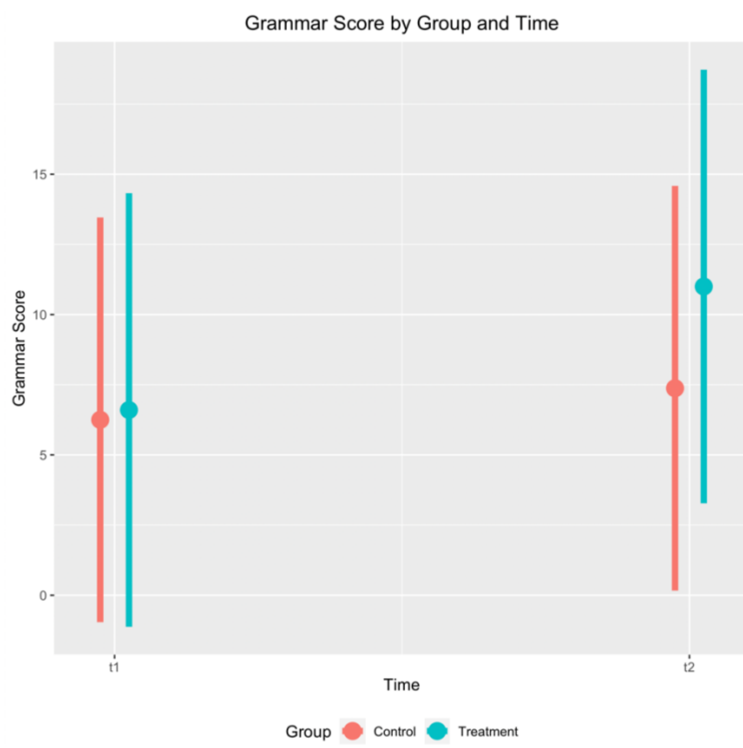

Figure 8. Mixed Model Predictions for Grammar Scores

In addition, to better understand what effects the Treatment lessons might have on students' performance on *existing* curricular examinations, I analyzed student scores on two major, cumulative exams, which–notably–include content beyond that which is tied to the Treatment curriculum. These exams are scored out of 100, and thus the dependent variable under examination consists of a score out of 100. The ANOVA output generated for a mixed-effects linear regression with main effects of Exam and Group, their interaction, and a random intercept of Participant revealed a significant main effect of Exam ($F[1,19] = 6.41$; $p=0.02$). Additionally, while the main effect of Group was not observed to be significant ($F[1,19] = 1.66$; $p=0.213$), the interaction between Exam and Group was observed to be approaching significance ($F[1,19] = 4.10$; $p=0.057$). A Tukey post-hoc analysis of this marginally significant interaction further reveals a marginally significant improvement in the Treatment group's exam scores over time ($p=0.055$), while the Control group's scores remained relatively consistent over time. The raw data is visualized in Figure 9, while the model's predictions are visualized in Figure 10 below.

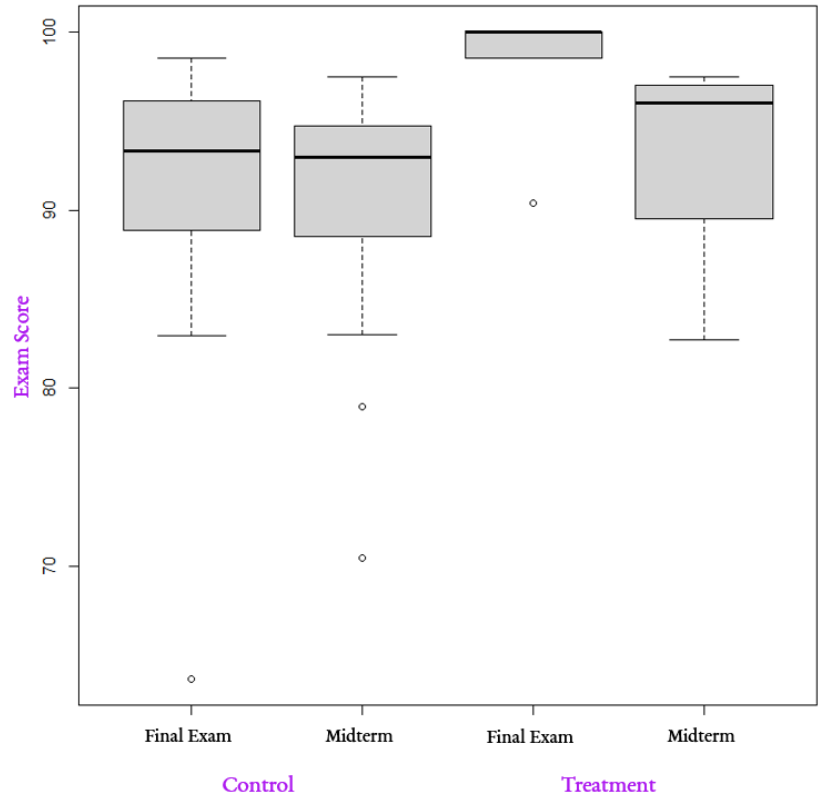

Figure 9. Boxplot of Output and Averages for Exam Scores

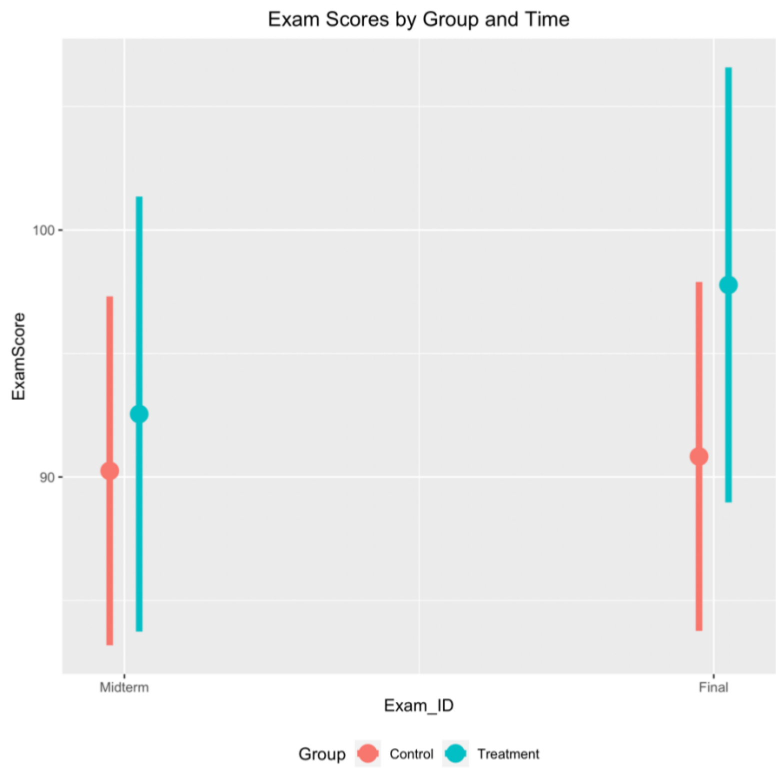

Figure 10. Mixed Model Predictions for Exam Scores

4.1.3 Qualitative findings

In addition to the quantitative findings presented in the previous subsection, the reflection questions at the end of the second questionnaire, in conjunction with my observations during my two class visits, reveal some qualitative findings that can help us better understand the patterns revealed by the quantitative results. Moreover, they reveal an orientation toward this classroom intervention (and even, on the part of the Control group students, the prospect of such an intervention) that is not as apparent in the quantitative results. For most of the reflection questions, listed in Appendix A, between 7-10 participants left a response; the distribution of Treatment to Control group students varied per question. Over the breadth of the entire series of reflection questions, several themes surfaced, which are detailed below. It is important to remember at this stage that all participants were presented with the same reflection questions, and as such, we expect that even the Control group students will be able to answer these questions, though with less context than their Treatment group peers.

The first theme that surfaced in students' end-of-semester reflections is that of the consequences of standard ideology and of standard-oriented pedagogy. With respect to their sociolinguistic knowledge, our quantitative findings alone would suggest that the curricular intervention may not have been effective in transmitting sociolinguistic concepts and principles to students. However, the reflections of Treatment group students reveal an understanding of issues such as top-down language planning and linguistic prejudice. In fact, when asked what surprised them most in their learning about Francophone linguistic diversity, they explicitly referred to "prejudice" and "opposition," with some citing the positioning and role of the Académie Française in stoking these:

> "To learn that certain accents are prejudiced against." (Treatment Group)
>
> "That there is such an opposition against speaking in different ways. I was surprised that the Académie Française is an actual governmental agency as opposed to something out of 1984." (Treatment Group)

Similarly, when asked why such negative attitudes toward non-standard Frenches might exist, students' reflections reveal keen awareness of the role of language planning, as well as of ideological processes described earlier in this dissertation, such as differentiation (Gal & Irvine, 1995).

> "Overwhelming adherence to Standard French is a weapon for groups such as the Académie Française to [wield][63] against people they deem as having non-traditional values, used to criticize and marginalize certain viewpoints." (Treatment Group)
>
> "It can be harder to understand different varieties or accept accents that are associated with groups of people subjected to certain stereotypes or expectations." (Treatment Group)

[63] Edited to correct a misspelling.

> "It threatens their sense … of being superior." (Treatment Group)

A second key theme that arose in all students' reflections is that of acceptance of non-standard language use and appreciation for language variation (as well as linguistic diversity, more generally). When asked how learning about different varieties of French changed the way they thought about language, Control Group students' reflections tended to reference linguistic diversity in a more general sense, while Treatment Group students' reflections appear to reference the inherent variability of language, albeit in different terms than a variationist sociolinguist might use:

> "It demonstrates the flexibility and adaptability of the human mind to create new words, phrases, etc. across linguistic 'boundaries'." (Control Group)

> "Learning about different varieties reinforced the notion that language diversity is beautiful, natural, and a marker of culture." (Control Group)

> "This made it all the more clear how language changes with the same energy as an organism." (Treatment Group)

> "I think of [language] as more fluid and flexible now." (Treatment Group)

When asked about their orientation toward non-standard language use in the French language classroom, students from the Treatment Group expressed not only acceptance of it, but encouragement of making use of one's emerging repertoire:

> "…non-standard varieties of French are sometimes more practical to use." (Treatment Group)

> "These are valid forms of French too." (Treatment Group)

> "…because if there are other ways to communicate the same idea, why not welcome it?" (Treatment Group)

> "If they are applying the rules of whichever form they're using correctly I think it's fine." (Treatment Group)

Similarly, when asked about the teaching and learning of language variation in French classes, students from the Treatment Group expressed an overwhelmingly positive sentiment. Further, in my discussion of these findings, I will highlight how students' reflections can even serve as suggestions for best practices in developing sociolinguistically informed and variation-infused French lessons.

> "If I travel in French-speaking countries, chances are people won't speak textbook French. Not only for practicality, but there is such a rich history behind all the variations that would be a shame not to learn about." (Treatment Group)

> "It deepens their understanding of the language." (Treatment Group)

> "...it helps to bring people together." (Treatment Group)

> "...it can help people expand the way they communicate and have more fun with language..." (Treatment Group)

Finally, these end-of-semester reflections highlight among both groups of students a very present interest in learning more about language variation, linguistic diversity writ-large, and the wider Francophone world. Below are several student comments that illustrate this interest, which I will touch on further in my discussion of these findings.

> "I think, when people think about the French language, majority think of either France French and/or Canadian French. There are other varieties of French in other countries." (Treatment Group)

> "I like the fact that different varieties of French incorporate words from other languages, often from the same place they are from, like French in Haiti to Haitian Creole." (Control Group)

> "The blending of French with other regional languages was the most surprising and interesting thing to learn." (Treatment Group)

> "Each variety was developed through the course of a groups [sic] history completely separate from that of Parisian French that we see in pop culture and therefore reflects so many things about them, like access to technology, diet, and most interestingly to me, interactions with other languages." (Treatment Group)

4.2 Discussion

4.2.1 Sociolinguistic knowledge

My first overarching research question asks whether the implementation of a sociolinguistically informed series of lessons on language variation in French would promote greater understanding of foundational sociolinguistic concepts and of language variation in French among students who received this intervention. To answer this question, I analyzed students' responses to

two portions of a questionnaire treating various aspects of prescriptive grammar and sociolinguistic variation in French. I also considered their responses to several end-of-semester reflection questions contained only in the second round of the questionnaire. First, results from my quantitative analysis of student responses to the section entitled "Sociolinguistic Knowledge" indicated that the curricular intervention described in my second chapter did not have a statistically significant effect on students' demonstrated knowledge of sociolinguistic concepts. It is notable, however, that students' raw scores on this portion of the questionnaire indicate that both groups of students did exhibit some preexisting sociolinguistic knowledge–enough to situate them, on average, around 5.5 on the Likert scale[64]. This is consistent with previous findings by Shin and Hudgens Henderson (2017) and by Hudgens Henderson (2022); in both studies of similar pedagogical interventions in Spanish language classrooms, participants demonstrated sociolinguistic awareness at about the halfway point along their respective score continua prior to receiving the intervention.[65] Although one might expect that students would score on the lower end of the range prior to this kind of pedagogical intervention, these findings suggest that students come into these courses with some level of sociolinguistic awareness already. Indeed, the student participants of this study demonstrated a pre-test average even higher than those of Shin and Hudgens Henderson (2017) or of Hudgens Henderson (2022). While these differences are undoubtedly mediated to a degree by the diverse methods used for scoring sociolinguistic knowledge/awareness in these studies, and potentially by differences in the student populations under study, the overall outcomes of students' pre-intervention sociolinguistic awareness suggests that pedagogical interventions such as this may be most beneficial to students with little to no sociolinguistic background; for those who already exhibit some sociolinguistic awareness, an intervention would need to be acutely effective in its presentation of sociolinguistic concepts to enact change toward even greater degrees of awareness.

While the overall improvement in students' Sociolinguistic Knowledge scores was marginal following this intervention, I now turn to the question of whether the Treatment intervention promotes a greater capacity to identify variability and produce non-standard variants. To do so, I analyzed responses to the section of the questionnaire entitled "Linguistic Variants," the results of which yielded a statistically significant effect of Time; this would suggest that overall, simply having taken French 2 contributed to students' capacity to demonstrate familiarity with loci of language variation in French, evidenced by their ability to produce alternative variants to the prescriptive ones given them. Yet, the statistical model used to analyze these responses also yielded a near-significant effect of Group and a near-significant interaction between Time and Group. Post-hoc analysis further

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[64]The raw, average score (out of 7) among the students, regardless of group, was 5.51 at Time 1, and 5.63 at Time 2.

[65]For instance, Shin & Hudgens Henderson (2017: 201) observed a mean, pre-test 'sociolinguistic concepts' score of 6.70/12 (55.8%); Hudgens Henderson (2022: 9) observed a mean, pre-test Critical Language Awareness score of 2.61/4 (65%). By comparison, the mean, pre-test (i.e., Time 1) Sociolinguistic Knowledge score of my student participants is 5.5/7 (79%).

clarified that while the Control group's demonstrated familiarity with the variables in question did not significantly change over time, the Treatment group's did (see Figure 3. Boxplot of Output and Averages for Linguistic Variant Scores). Hence, we might glean from this that those students who were taught the Treatment lessons over the course of the semester were better equipped to recognize language variation and produce non-standard variants when presented with prescriptive ones.

I was also interested in determining what variants, if any, would be better retained by students in the Treatment group at Time 2, after completing all of the Treatment lessons. With Figure 11, I provide a visualization of the loci of variation for which students in the Treatment group were able to produce alternative variants to the prescriptive ones given them. The size of the squares in this figure indicate the 'density' of identifications of variants for a given variable—that is, no square would indicate that no other variants of a given variable were identified by any students; a small dot indicates that perhaps one student identified the an alternative variant to the one presented them; finally, larger squares indicate that more students identified alternative variants. The graph does not indicate the number of alternative variants, however. What we can see from this distribution in Figure 11 is that, at Time 1, that students had the most familiarity with loci of lexical variation and with gender-inclusive agreement marking—in other words, multiple students were able to identify alternative variants for the prescriptive ones given them for these particular variables. That they were already familiar with gender-inclusive agreement marking is less surprising given that many of them likely took the prerequisite French 1 course at Berkeley and hence likely learned about gender-inclusive grammar prior to enrolling in French 2.[66] At Time 2, however, we can see the both the increase in variants produced by students and the more varied distribution across loci of variation, including morphosyntactic variation associated with non-Hexagonal communities of French speakers. As a reminder, the lessons focused on morphosyntactic features such as preposition stranding and non-standard relative clauses contextualized them as features of French spoken in several non-European communities, including West African and North American communities of Francophones. This suggests that, following the Treatment lesson series, students were not only more broadly capable of producing non-standard variants linked to prescriptive ones they already knew, but that loci of morphosyntactic variation such as preposition stranding and the formation of relative clauses were legible to students even as they were still learning the prescriptive grammar.

[66] The French department has, since 2020, infused some basic treatment of gender-inclusive language into the entire language sequence, including French 1.

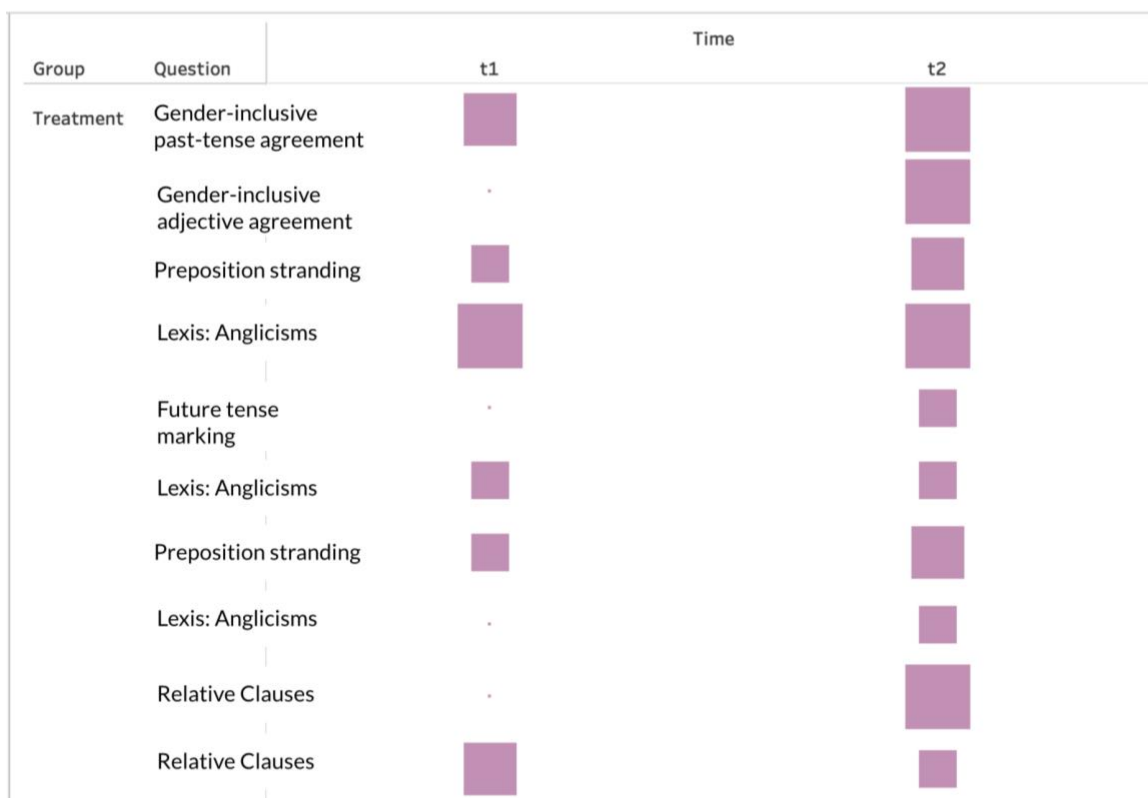

Figure 11. Distribution, by Question, of Non-Standard Variants Produced by Treatment Students

Notably, with respect to my question of *which* particular variables would be most legible to students, it appears that gender-inclusive forms (in this case, agreement marking) were retained the most consistently. Again, this is unsurprising in the context of Berkeley's Elementary French curriculum given recent work by diversity, equity, inclusion and belonging (DEIB) committees in the Department of French to better equip instructors to teach gender-inclusive language at all levels. However, following closely behind are morphosyntactic variables, the most well-retained variants of which reflected the non-standard relative clause structure associated with the French of Côte d'Ivoire. Contrary to prior interventions of this nature, which have tended to focus on very well-studied loci of (usually phonological) variability,[67] these findings suggest two things: one, that relevant loci of morphosyntactic variation can be taught effectively to students of Elementary French, and two, that variation associated with specific communities outside the Hexagon can be highlighted effectively. Moreover, this regional variability is exactly what students appear to have found most compelling about the Treatment lessons, as is indicated in their end-of-semester reflections (see §4.1.3 Qualitative findings). From their reflections, it is clear that there is interest in learning about non-Hexagonal communities in which French is spoken, particularly with respect to their use of and relationship to the French language. Their comments also reflect an understanding of the often-monolithic way that 'the French language' is traditionally represented to learners in United States university courses,

[67] e.g., variable liaison (cf. Howard, 2013)

echoing critiques discussed by Train (2003, 2012). It is also notable that, even without exposure to the Treatment intervention, Control Group students also expressed an interest in learning more about the global Frenches that are less well-represented in their textbooks.

What we can conclude from these student perspectives in conjunction with the results of my statistical analysis is that our elementary French students are clearly interested in learning about non-Hexagonal varieties of French and about the differences between them, even if they are mainly presented in comparison with the prescriptive standard. Furthermore, students who received the curricular intervention were able to retain enough of the supplemental lessons taught to them that they, as a group, could successfully produce non-standard variants of the whole range of variables discussed over the course of the term. While the results of my analysis do not support the notion that their understanding of sociolinguistic concepts improved, this may be explained by a few confounding factors. First, as mentioned at the start of this chapter, the unforeseen effects of the Graduate Worker Strike at the end of the semester seriously impacted the sample size for my analysis. With a larger group of students, and notably with more Treatment students filling out the entirety of both questionnaires, these statistical models for analyzing students' sociolinguistic knowledge may have yielded more significant results. Furthermore, it is worth considering whether the "Sociolinguistic Knowledge" statements that students were asked to rate were effective measures of their conceptual knowledge of sociolinguistic principles. Yet, the fact that we observed marginally significant improvement among Treatment students in producing non-standard variants suggests that an intervention such as this may prove more effective when it comes to the *production* aspect of sociolinguistic competence, even if students are not always able to articulate underlying sociolinguistic principles. Additionally, regardless of the efficacy of this intervention, students' end-of-semester reflections make clear that, across groups, students are eager to learn more about non-Hexagonal Frenches and should be afforded more opportunities to do so.

4.2.2 Language attitudes

The second overarching question this study addresses has to do with language attitudes–not just students' capacity to recognize negative ones, which are often the result of extralinguistic forms of prejudice, but also their own language attitudes. In other words, I asked whether this pedagogical intervention would foster among Treatment students more accepting or tolerant language attitudes. First, I measured the language attitudes across both groups of students and at both time points via their responses to the 'Language Attitudes' portion of our questionnaire. My statistical analysis did not yield any significant effects: that is, students' language attitudes were observed to be, overall, quite inconsistent over time with no significant difference between the Treatment and Control groups. In fact, the Control group's language attitudes became, on average, less tolerant over time, while the Treatment group's attitudes became more variable over time, with most becoming more tolerant and one outlier becoming less so—see Figure 12 for a breakdown of these changes. Similarly to my analysis

of the students' knowledge of sociolinguistic principles, the lack of significant constraints of Time or Group could potentially be due to the small sample size—particularly with regard to the much smaller proportion of Treatment group students. With a larger sample size, and indeed a more even distribution of Treatment vs. Control students, we may observe a more consistent change in attitudes over time amongst those receiving the curricular intervention. Yet, with regard to these data, the upward progression of all students' sociolinguistic knowledge scores was far more consistent, whereas their language attitudes do not exhibit this same consistency. Hence, I hypothesize that even with a larger sample size, we still might not observe a significant difference across the two groups. This may suggest that the curricular intervention is not effective in *changing* students' language attitudes.

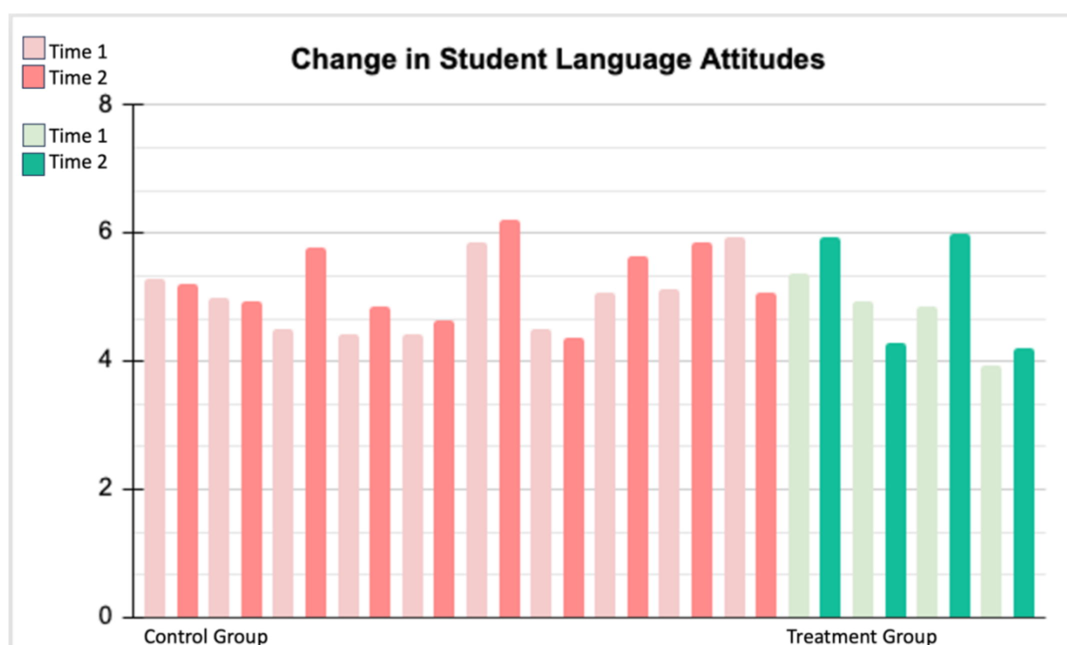

Figure 12. Changes in Student Language Attitudes Over Time

Yet, despite what these quantitative results may suggest, Treatment Group students' reflections at the end of the term indicate two things: 1) that they are indeed aware of negative language attitudes held by both everyday speakers and by language planning 'authorities' like the Académie Française, and 2) that their overall orientation toward non-standard language use in French is a positive and accepting one (see §4.1.3 Qualitative findings). Much like with their sociolinguistic knowledge, students' attitudinal scores sit around the mid-point of the range (see Figure 12). This is less surprising regarding attitudes; with sociolinguistic knowledge, it is easier to assume that students may have no previous exposure to sociolinguistic and therefore little knowledge about its basic principles. However, with language attitudes, we might expect more readily that such a diverse (and notably, linguistically diverse) student population as Berkeley's would, ostensibly, have exposure to and understanding of linguistic diversity, and therefore more accepting attitudes (on average). In other words, it is to be expected that students do not enter French 2 at the low end of this range, with

completely intolerant attitudes, because of the nature of our Berkeley student body as a whole (see §3.3.1 The research context). Regardless of expectations, the qualitative findings detailed in §4.1.3 can help us understand what may not be visible in the quantitative results.

Students' reflections on what *changed* their thinking about language are perhaps the most informative here. As previously discussed, Treatment Group students demonstrate an expansive view of language, referencing its *fluidity* and *flexibility*. They also demonstrate an orientation towards greater inclusion. Notably, when asked to think about what constitutes 'correct French', Treatment students' reflections also highlighted, in different ways, this expansiveness:

> "Correct French is inclusivity."
>
> "Whatever variety of French the speaker is engaging with at any given moment."
>
> "Whatever people grew up speaking."
>
> "There is no correct French."

While a couple of students redefined the notion of 'correctness,' one eschewed it altogether. These reflections, different though they may be in how they understand 'correctness,' all suggest that these students are orienting themselves toward the many ways that one can 'speak French' from a place of acceptance. Furthermore, when asked if non-standard language use should be penalized in pedagogical spaces, Treatment students categorically disagreed. When comparing their reflections with those of some Control students, we can observe that there is less hedging in their effective condemnation of a punitive orientation toward non-standard language use:

> "No, as I said above, non-standard varieties of French are sometimes more practical to use." ` (Treatment Group)
>
> "No. These are valid forms of French, too." (Treatment Group)
>
> "No because ... if there are other ways to communicate the same idea, why not welcome it?" (Treatment Group)

> "Not necessarily. I think it is helpful to begin with an understanding of standard grammar that aligns with other learning resources that students have access to. But at a certain point, fluency demands softening these lines and allowing a more natural way of speaking." (Control Group)
>
> "No, as long as it can be understood and does not deviate from the topic at hand." (Control Group)

When considering these qualitative findings in conjunction with quantitative results, one possible conclusion we might draw is that one of these may be a better measure of students' actual language attitudes than another. On one hand, it is important to consider how what students *say* in theory may differ from how they react to non-standard language use in practice. When looking at these data alone, it is possible that students' conscious 'condemnation' of punishing non-standard language use may not reflect their unconscious orientation towards such practices as they play out in and beyond the classroom space. It may also be that students would feel differently about a pedagogical 'punishment' (e.g., points lost on an exam) than the social and material punishments of non-standard language use leveled at Francophones in their day to day lives, which may not be on students' minds as they think about classroom-level orientations toward language. Of course, it may also be that students would feel even more strongly about such ramifications, as is suggested by their reflections on linguistic prejudice. For the purposes of this dissertation, I am inclined to take these students at their word and integrate their perspectives into my understanding of their language attitudes accordingly.

Hence, what we can conclude from the combination of these findings is that students from *both* types of sections (Treatment *and* Control) demonstrate generally accepting attitudes toward language variation and toward non-standard language use, though Treatment Group students' reflections tend to be more fervent in their condemnations of linguicism (cf. Skutnab-Kangas, 1988) and of the influence of linguistic 'authorities' like the Académie Française. What we do not observe from these findings is compelling evidence of *change*, as the clearest indicator of accepting attitudes (found in students' reflections) only illustrates their direct perspectives, in their own words, at the end of the term and not the beginning. Hence, future attempts to capture students' self-reported attitudes may benefit from considering their perspectives at both time points, that is, before and after a given intervention. Now that we have considered students' sociolinguistic knowledge and their language attitudes, I turn to the question of how this intervention interfaces with their acquisition of the pedagogical 'standard' language.

4.2.3 Mastery of prescriptive grammar

In an article published by the *Modern Language Journal*, Salien (1998: 100-101) sows fear among applied linguists working in French of the potential confusion that may befall learners if they are taught too soon about sociolinguistic variation. Valdman (2000: 656) disagrees with Salien's perspective, and instead asserts that non-Hexagonal varieties of French should be *represented* from the outset, though perhaps not explicitly taught to learners. (The exception to this, he notes, can be made when teaching about North American varieties of French[68] in American classrooms). Yet, despite

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[68] Valdman actually specifies that this exception applies to *"des communautés francophones américaines"* (American Francophone communities), which in my opinion places too firm a boundary between communities that inhabit border regions, such as between Québec and Vermont or between New Brunswick and Maine.

applied linguists in the decades to follow furnishing continued support for, at *minimum*, the representation of non-Hexagonal varieties of French in the classroom (cf. Auger and Valdman, 1999; Train, 2003, 2012; Bosworth, 2016), this question of confusion still remains at the center of informal[69] discussions about teaching language variation in French. It is with this in mind that I formulated my final research question: I sought to understand how the curricular intervention detailed in Chapter 3 might affect students' mastery of the prescriptive grammar taught in their textbooks and as part of the standardized French 2 curriculum at Berkeley. I hypothesized that this intervention would not have a net negative effect on students' mastery of prescriptive grammar, and I examined the effects thereof in two ways: by student responses to a 'Grammar Knowledge' section of our questionnaire, and by students' scores on two cumulative exams given in the course as part of the existing curriculum.

For the 'Grammar Knowledge' portion of our questionnaire, which assesses students' understanding of a number of grammar concepts taught in French 2, my statistical analysis yielded a significant effect of Time, but no significant effects of Group or the interaction between Time and Group. What this suggests is that scores on this portion of the questionnaire improved over time for all students, and that the Treatment intervention did not appear to have a significant effect on students' performance. As mentioned in my Results section, our visualization of students' scores (see Figure 7. Boxplot of Output and Averages for Grammar Knowledge Scores) shows us that while there was no *statistically significant* effect observed, we do observe what appears to be a steady increase among the Treatment group scores, whereby even the lowest score at Time 2 is higher than the highest score at Time 1. On the other hand, scores among the Control group are vastly more variable at Time 2, with scores dipping below those of Time 1. What we can see from these results, so far, is that the Treatment intervention certainly did not negatively affect students' demonstrated understanding of preexisting curricular material. What is more, although the group they belonged to did not significantly constrain their performance, Treatment students did in fact improve much more consistently than their Control group peers over the course of the term.

In order to further shed light on students' mastery of prescriptive grammar, I also examined their scores on two cumulative exams that cover material beyond that represented in the questionnaire. In my statistical analysis of these exam scores, the main effect of 'Exam' that I consider stands proxy for the effect of Time, as the Midterm Exam is typically completed by students at the halfway point in the term, while the Final Exam is taken at the end of the term. Similarly to the analysis of 'Grammar Knowledge' scores, my analysis of these exam scores yielded a significant main effect of Exam, suggesting that both groups of students' Final Exam scores were consistently higher than their Midterm scores. Yet, while Group as a main effect was not observed to be significant, the interaction between Exam and Group was observed to be approaching significance. Post-hoc analysis clarified that it is in fact Treatment students whose scores appear to have improved significantly from Midterm to

[69] I refer here not to discussions in published articles, but to in-person discussions I have had with instructors.

Final, while Control group students' scores appear relatively consistent across both exams (see Figure 9. Boxplot of Output and Averages for Exam Scores). What we might conclude from these findings, then, is that when it came to the curricular examinations, the Treatment intervention appears to have *facilitated* retention of prescriptive grammar. Why we observe this facilitating effect only in students' performance on exam scores is unclear, though it is important to note that the preexisting curricular exams include a much wider range of grammatical concepts than those represented in the grammar assessment portion of our questionnaire. Nonetheless, these findings do not support the notion that introducing students to sociolinguistic variables at this level will inevitably cause confusion; indeed, our most conservative interpretation of these findings would suggest that an intervention like this would have a neutral effect on students' grammar performance. However, with respect to exam scores, our results suggests the possibility that a sociolinguistically informed intervention may even facilitate students' acquisition of prescriptive grammar as well as their understanding of language variation, constituting a net positive effect of widening the range of Frenches students are exposed to.

4.3.4 Limitations and implications

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, perhaps the most salient limitation of this classroom study is its relatively small sample size. While most any classroom study must operate under constraints such as enrollment numbers (which, as Humanities instructors have discussed at length, continue to decrease alongside the devaluing of the Humanities as a whole, cf. Shumway, 2017:7), the effects of the UC Graduate Worker Strike were particularly acute in this case. Only 21 of the 60 or so students enrolled in French 2 completed both of the tasks necessary for sustained participation (i.e., the two questionnaires). When compounded with more general survey fatigue (Porter, Whitcomb, & Weitzer, 2004; Fass-Holmes, 2022), it is unsurprising that students may not have felt motivated to complete these questionnaires, nor implicated in their outcomes. Furthermore, due to the financial constraints of carrying out a project such as this with limited funding (as I mention in my methods, the small grant I secured for this project was allocated towards compensating the *instructors* of the Treatment sections, as this involved considerably more labor on their part than on the part of the student participants), it is also possible that more students might have been more motivated by a monetary incentive. While the circumstances surrounding any replication would undoubtedly be different because of the unique conditions of the Fall 2022 semester, for any replication of this work, I would suggest diversifying data collection methods such that an online questionnaire would be limited to fewer tasks—for instance, free-response questions *only*. Instead, tasks such as those included in the other questionnaire sections (i.e., prescriptive grammar, sociolinguistic knowledge, language attitudes, and linguistic variants) could be reformulated into in-class or asynchronous activities to promote higher rates of participation and to generate student learning artifacts that could be analyzed qualitatively. Additionally, some sort of incentive (for instance, if financially feasible, a monetary incentive) for any extracurricular participation such as the questionnaires might promote greater student buy-in.

Despite the limitation presented by the small sample size, what we have learned from the students who did participate over the course of the semester can undoubtedly inform future curricular interventions of this nature. First, both our quantitative and qualitative findings shed light on the elements of this intervention that appear to have worked well. Namely, Treatment students' successful retention of the full range linguistic variants they encountered during the lessons suggests that the combination of variables chosen for this intervention was appropriate for this curriculum. As such, we might conclude that other elementary to intermediate French curricula that draw primarily from texts like *Chez Nous* (that is, texts that tend to privilege the Hexagon as the center of the Francophone world) may benefit from supplementing them with lessons such as those assessed in this classroom study. Additionally, these findings also lend support for including a wide range of variables in future interventions of this kind. Where previous interventions in French language classrooms have often studied acquisition of one or two variables at a time (Howard, 2013), or on variables from within the same linguistic domain (van Compernolle, 2010, 2012), this intervention treats a combination of variables from different linguistic domains and across different kinds of social stratification (e.g., regional, stylistic, speaker-stratified).[70] That students in the Treatment group demonstrated successful retention of non-standard variants from this range of variables suggests that an eclectic combination such as this can be effective at this level.

My findings also bring to light a few areas for improvement. First, because we do not observe statistically significant effects of the Treatment on general sociolinguistic knowledge (i.e., understanding of sociolinguistic concepts and principles), we might conclude that my design did not effectively address theoretical sociolinguistic concepts outside the context of specific French language variables. Indeed, not every Treatment lesson explicitly teaches generalizable sociolinguistic principles to students; rather, most of them introduce sociolinguistic concepts through examples from French grammar (in alignment with Shin and Hudgens Henderson, 2017). Future iterations of this approach in the French context, then, may potentially be more effective with greater emphasis on explicit instruction on general sociolinguistic principles (see Potowski & Shin, 2019). However, it is also important here to consider to what degree this is a priority in future critical and sociolinguistically informed curricular work. In the light of my own findings, particularly juxtaposed against those of Shin and Hudgens Henderson (2017), I have found that my own priorities have shifted away from mastery of sociolinguistic principles and toward a more holistic understanding of the relationship between language and power, prestige, and prejudice. That we also fail to observe statistically significant effects of the Treatment on students' language attitudes is, in fact, more important to me

[70] My intervention is by no means the first to do this; for instance, Etienne & Sax (2006) draw learners' attention to several sociolinguistic variables from different linguistic domains in their film-based intervention. Rather, previous interventions that have prioritized, in some way, *production* of non-standard variants have tended to focus on a smaller range of variables, and understandably so given the fact that acquisition-focused research often considers the classroom to be a less impactful locus for building sociolinguistic competence than immersion contexts (cf. Dewaele, 2004).

now than their understanding of sociolinguistic concepts. This particular result has illustrated that, while students appear to have understood some of the underpinnings of negative language attitudes and of linguistic discrimination (see §4.1.3 Qualitative findings), this Treatment does not appear to have *changed* their attitudes for the better (i.e., promoted more accepting attitudes). Of course, this result could also be mediated by factors such as the statements students were tasked with rating for that portion of the questionnaire[71] or even survey fatigue, which I have already discussed above. Although I designed each of the statements included in the questionnaire following the examples of Shin and Hudgens Henderson (2017), Beaudrie et al. (2019) and Hudgens Henderson (2022), I emphasize here the importance of piloting and testing the reliability and validity of future questionnaire material, particularly statements designed to elicit language attitudes. I would also suggest building greater emphasis on language attitudes and ideology into a future curricular intervention, and particularly focusing on everyday language attitudes rather than overwhelmingly on institutional ones (e.g., those exhibited by the Académie Française).

Alongside my goal of promoting more accepting language attitudes, I also aimed to determine if, and how, students' perceptions of correctness might differ across the two groups. When asked what they believed 'correct French' to be, students from both groups responded with varied orientations toward correctness:

Control Group

(a) "Whatever facilitates mutual understanding in a given context."
(b) "Correct French is anything that allows for clear and open communication between two parties that doesn't cause confusion."
(c) "All French is French. Textbook French is simply the starting point."

Treatment Group

(a) "Whatever people grew up speaking."
(b) "Whatever variety of French the speaker is engaging with at any given moment."
(c) "There is no correct French."
(d) "Correct French is inclusivity."

It is notable that the responses from the Treatment group responses are a bit more variable, referencing notions such as inclusivity and identity rather than mere mutual intelligibility, which further indicate their principal takeaways from the intervention.

With respect to the effects of this Treatment on students' mastery of the pedagogical standard (i.e., the prescriptive grammar rules taught in their textbook and within the existing curriculum), it is now clear from my findings that an intervention such as this—eclectic though this combination of

[71] In hindsight, I suspect that some were just ambiguous enough to cause students to overthink them.

variables is—does not appear to pose problems for students' ability to produce prescriptive grammar in line with pedagogical standards. What is more, that students who received this intervention appear to have performed even better after it suggests that teaching about language variation in the elementary French classroom may even have a facilitatory effect. Additionally, it is clear from students' own comments that the interest in the content of this curricular intervention is overwhelmingly present. That even Control group students expressed similar attitudes toward what instances of language variation they encountered in their sections further supports this notion and suggests that the interest expressed in these comments is not solely a result of having received the Treatment intervention. Hence, knowing what we know now about students' interest in this subject matter, it behooves all of us taking critical and student-centered approaches to language instruction (Firth & Wagner, 1977; Train, 2003; Weimer, 2013) to afford language learners more opportunities to encounter sociolinguistic variation and to be taught explicitly about its role in social life. When we consider this alongside evidence of the effectiveness of sociolinguistically informed approaches to instruction (Shin and Hudgens Henderson, 2017; Hudgens Henderson, 2022), the importance of incorporating this subject matter becomes even clearer. What I hope to prompt, now, is a shift in the discussion away from questioning whether or not this approach to language teaching will 'confuse' anyone, but rather how best to implement it in order to balance the very real necessity of teaching prescriptive, 'standard' grammar and the enrichment, representation, and inclusion that can be afforded by teaching about non-standard varieties.

Chapter 5: Conclusions

"All French is French." (Anonymous Student Participant, 2023)

The overarching goal of this dissertation is, as its title suggests, to decenter the Hexagon in French language teaching, notably in the context of United States higher education where the diversity of the global Francophone community is often flattened in favor of promoting the so-called 'standard' language. This standard, inextricably linked to a stereotypical image of the white, bourgeois, metropolitan *Français de souche*, became what it is today over the course of centuries of language planning, motivated by purist, nationalist, and white supremacist language ideologies. The afterlives of these linguistic and cultural stereotypes constructed over the course of the history of the French language are observable both in contemporary French and Francophone social life, as well as in the second-language teaching of French in other global power centers, including the United States. This is not unique to French, but also appears in its own way in the teaching of other major colonial languages like Spanish and English, where Eurocentric ideals are pedestalized to the detriment of other global varieties of these languages[72] (Flores & Rosa, 2022; Kutlu, 2023; Ramjattan, 2022, 2023).

As Euro-American applied linguistics has evolved over time to shift its focus towards more learner-centered approaches to language instruction (cf. Firth & Wagner, 1997; Train, 2003, 2012), there has been a growing movement towards incorporating sociolinguistics therein. In particular, efforts to better represent the linguistic diversity of speech communities have driven pedagogical interventions that foreground language variation and its significance in social life (cf. Hudgens Henderson, 2016, 2022; Knisely, 2022a-b; Shin & Hudgens Henderson, 2017; van Compernolle & Williams, 2012). While there has been progress made in French language instruction, much of its focus has remained on acquisition—in other words, in studying how sociolinguistic competence develops in L2 French users (cf. Dewaele, 2004; Regan & Bayley, 2004). While that is one aspect of the work I do in this dissertation, I also have the explicit objective of problematizing the Eurocentric standard, and as such have also drawn from recent work in US-based Spanish language instruction, which often takes a social justice-oriented approach to incorporating sociolinguistics into language teaching[73]. This sort of approach is now becoming more common in French thanks to ongoing scholarship such as that found in Meyer & Hoft-March (2021), Bouamer & Bourdeau (2022), and Mackenzie & Swamy (2022). Hence, in this vein, my dissertation contributes a look into the learning outcomes that result from

[72] In the case of English, Kutlu (2023: 513) identifies a particular group of global Englishes deriving from "settler movements … as 'norm-providers'." These include the Englishes of the United States, Canada, Australia, and the United Kingdom.

[73] That this kind of approach would be found in Spanish language instruction in the US is unsurprising in the face of frequent raciolinguistic prejudice and stereotyping against racialized Spanish speakers (Rosa & Flores, 2017).

deploying a pedagogical intervention on language variation and its significance in Francophone social life.

The curricular intervention in question was developed for and implemented at a large public research institution and was integrated into a French department's existing first-year curriculum. With this intervention, I aimed to determine whether 3 key outcomes would be observable: change to students' demonstrable sociolinguistic awareness, to their language attitudes, and to their mastery of the so-called 'standard' language. Secondarily, I also sought to determine what variables would stand out to students in order to suggest a jumping-off point for continued work of this nature. The outcomes of this pedagogical intervention were assessed with mixed methods analysis of data collected via students' cumulative exam scores and questionnaire responses. The questionnaire, which supplied the bulk of the data analyzed, was divided into thematic sections, each of which addressed one of my research questions. It was distributed at the beginning and end of the semester to assess the three learning outcomes longitudinally.

At the outset of this project, I hypothesized that the curricular intervention under examination would promote improvement in learners' sociolinguistic awareness. While this intervention does not appear to have significantly promoted greater knowledge of sociolinguistic concepts, students who received the intervention did demonstrate improvement in recognizing loci of variability and producing associated non-standard variants. Notably, the time effect observed in my statistical analysis can be attributed to the improvement of students who received the curricular intervention, which suggests that it did, to an extent, promote greater sociolinguistic awareness, despite not significantly impacting theoretical knowledge of sociolinguistic principles. Hence, future interventions of this kind might focus more closely on developing awareness of variables that underly common linguistic stereotypes, which may promote greater overall sociolinguistic competence in the Francophone context. However, where understanding of sociolinguistic principles is a higher priority, more work is needed to develop best practices for teaching them within the context of elementary language curricula. Nevertheless, my results highlight the potential of sociolinguistically informed teaching methods and invite applied linguists and language instructors alike to expand the repertoire of variables we might deem 'appropriate' or 'useful' for teaching to L2 learners (cf. Train, 2003).

With respect to language attitudes, there appears to be a disconnect between students' awareness of linguistic prejudice (when asked explicitly) and the attitudes they demonstrated in practice (when asked implicitly). Initially, I hypothesized that this intervention would promote a positive change in students' language attitudes—that is, a shift toward more accepting or tolerant ones. In reality, my results showed inconsistent language attitudes over time for both groups, without significant differences between the groups, suggesting that my pedagogical intervention did not effectively change students' language attitudes. However, free-response comments from students in the Treatment group indicated an overwhelmingly positive sentiment toward language variation and its incorporation in French curricula, as well as awareness of negative language attitudes, notably on the part of centers of prestige and power like the Académie Française. Student perspectives emphasized the importance of representation—that is, of explicit teaching about 'non-standard' Frenches and the power dynamics that situate them as such—in changing negative language attitudes and thus combating linguistic prejudice. Hence, these findings lend further support to pedagogical approaches

that represent *la Francophonie* in all its multiplicity. Additionally, with these results in mind I suggest that future interventions of this nature consider placing greater emphasis on the everyday language attitudes of L1 users, rather than on those of institutions. In this way, an intervention whose aim is to foster more accepting language attitudes affords students the chance to draw more direct comparisons between their own beliefs about language and those they encounter in the Francophone context.

Finally, contrary to concerns raised among applied linguists and instructors in the French language context (Salien, 1998; Valdman, 2000), I hypothesized that my curricular intervention would not have an adverse effect on students' mastery of the prescriptive grammar presented in the standardized curriculum. Indeed, my results confirmed that not only did this intervention *not* hinder students' acquisition of the 'standard' French grammar, but my analysis of their cumulative exam scores revealed a marginal facilitatory effect. In other words, these findings challenge the notion that exposure to sociolinguistic variation will inevitably confuse learners and suggest that such an approach could potentially even enhance students' grammatical proficiency, better equipping them to engage with Francophones from a wide range of social and linguistic backgrounds both in and beyond the Hexagon.

In light of the results presented in this dissertation, we can draw several key conclusions about the outcomes we might expect from a sociolinguistically informed French language curriculum. First, drawing on the sociohistorical context provided in Chapter 2 and the results of my curricular assessment detailed in Chapter 4, it is clear that the *status quo* is characterized by a one-dimensional image of what it means to be Francophone or to 'speak French', one which instructors and applied linguists alike can complicate by devoting curricular space to global Frenches. In other words, visibilizing communities of Francophones that are too often peripheralized not only affords elementary French language learners the opportunity to see the bigger picture of *la Francophonie* (to which they deserve as much access as more advanced learners), but also makes clearer the ways in which they may share intersectional identities with Francophones, thus fostering a sense of belonging among a wider range of students. Second, as we have seen, this visibilizing can facilitate the development of students' sociolinguistic competence, preparing them for the linguistic (and social) realities of the wider Francophone world, which is increasingly important as students' academic and professional goals grow ever more diverse. Although this particular intervention was less successful with respect to changing students' language *attitudes*, growing students' awareness of linguistic prejudice is a crucial step towards fostering their ability to interrogate and combat the language-based oppression that they encounter, whether in a French-language classroom or elsewhere. In turn, the critical language awareness that can grow from an intervention like that detailed in this dissertation can mitigate the harmful effects of language-based oppression in the university community, in students' own communities and beyond (Weiher, 2022). Finally, with these findings I am able to assuage some of the apprehension toward undertaking a critical, sociolinguistically informed pedagogy of French; that is, it is now clearer that such an approach is more likely to *facilitate* learners' developing proficiency in 'standard' French than to hinder it.

With these conclusions in mind, I hope that the conversation can now progress beyond questioning *if* sociolinguistic variation should be presented to elementary language learners. In other words, I hope to have successfully contributed to the growing body of work illustrating that it

absolutely *should*. Now, I invite my fellow applied linguists, language instructors, and scholars of French and Francophone studies to think about how we might develop best practices for this effort. At the level of individual course curricula, they may look like some of the suggestions I give earlier in this chapter. At the departmental level, these best practices may also include expanding teacher training to include basic training in sociolinguistics, iterative interrogation and supplementation of existing learning materials, rethinking desired student learning outcomes, and problematizing collective notions of what 'the French language' refers to. What is most important is that transformative pedagogies that tell the full story of the Francophone world become the *norm*, rather than the exception. When 'learning French' also means learning about the full spectrum of Francophone identities and linguistic practices, especially through a value-neutral lens, then perhaps we can consider the Hexagon less central to the teaching and learning of French.

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Appendices

A. Lesson plans and handouts

Week 1: Introduction to variation, inclusive gender agreement

Lesson Plan

Vendredi variationniste FR 2, Automne 2022

Semaine 1:
- Intro - La variation linguistique
- Mini leçon - La grammaire inclusive

I. **Qu'est-ce que la *variation linguistique* ? (5 min)**

To get students to buy into the notion of inherent variability in the French language (and in fact, in all languages), start by showing them some basic examples of what variation looks like. For all of these, you can start by asking students to supply some examples. Then, ask them what makes these examples different. Below are some ideas:

- **Des salutations formelles/informelles/populaires** (e.g., Comment allez-vous ? vs. Ça va ? vs. Wesh, bien ou quoi ?) - This is an example of **stylistic** variation, or variation that takes into account the **situation** that a speaker finds themself in.
- **Lexique régional** (e.g. pain au chocolat vs. chocolatine, sac en plastique vs. sachet, etc.) - This is an example of **regional variation**. Speakers from one region might tend to use one word, while speakers from another region tend to use a different word; both words mean the same thing.
  - You can also talk about regional **phonetic** variation, or variation in pronunciation by region. A good example of this is how French speakers pronounce the letter 'r' in different parts of the world!

The key takeaway here is that, while some linguistic forms are more common than others, all of them are equally valid - they're just different, but not inherently 'better' or 'worse' than their counterparts. The words, pronunciations, and expressions we learn in the classroom tend to follow the **norms** of Parisian French, but it doesn't make alternatives less correct - just belonging to a different set of **norms.**

You can get at this by asking students :
- Ces formes alternatives, sont-elles moins 'correctes' que celles que vous connaissez déjà ?
- Imaginez : Vous venez du Sud et vous parlez avec une autre personne qui vient du Sud. Vous utilisez le mot 'chocolatine' au lieu de 'pain au chocolat.' Est-ce que vous parlez moins correctement ? Ou est-ce que vous suivez les **normes** de votre région ?

II. **Révision de l'accord & introduction à la grammaire inclusive (7-10min)**

Drawing on the week's review of the passé composé and verbal agreement, introduce a few sample sentences illustrating this agreement with binary gendered subjects (i.e. il and elle). You can use sentences from earlier examples or the ones provided below:

Il est allé au marché et puis **il** est **rentré** chez lui.
Elle est **venue** à la fête, mais **elle** est **partie** après 30 minutes.

Have them decide for a couple of sentences whether agreement is needed or not:

Elle est **resté**____ chez elle tout le week-end.
Il a oublié son ordinateur, alors **il** est **revenu**____ au bureau.
Elle est **devenu**____ pédiatre parce qu'elle adore les enfants.
Elle est **né**____ en 1989.
Son **grand-père** est **mort**____ à l'âge de 95.

Then, present an example with the gender-neutral subject pronoun iel and ask students how they think agreement would work. You can have a volunteer come to the board and fill in what's missing (i.e., "e" after a point médian).

Iel est venu_____ à la fête aussi ?

If you have not yet introduced "*iel*" - guiding questions:
- Avez-vous vu ce pronom sujet ? Prononcez-le. À qui pourrait-il faire référence ?
- On utilise le pronom personnel "il" pour faire référence à… qui ? Et le pronom "elle"? Alors, pour une personne qui n'est ni homme ni femme… qu'est-ce qu'on utilise ?
- ***Iel*** est une des options que les personnes queer & francophones ont inventées pour **inclure** les francophones non-binaires. Pour une personne dont on ne sait pas l'**identité de genre**, on peut utiliser ce pronom neutre, *iel*.

(New vocabulary is in **bold** and I suggest putting it up on the board for them!)

Show a couple more examples of doing agreement with the *point médian*, e.g. :
Iel *est **allé·e*** au marché pour acheter une bouteille de vin.
Iel *est **tombé·e** amoureux·se* (*point out the adjective agreement too!)

Show them that they can also do this kind of agreement with a subject like *mon ami·e*, which is neither (grammatically) masculine nor feminine :

Mon ***ami·e** est **arrivé***____ en retard.

What about with a proper name? Show them an example with just a name and no personal pronoun; ask them how they would proceed with agreement.

Kris *est **rentré***______ à la maison à minuit.

Finally, show them examples of this inclusive agreement in the **plural**. You can include an example or two with *ils* and *elles* for context.

Elles ***sont allé*______ à la plage le week-end dernier.
Ils ***sont revenu*______ à Berkeley après une semaine chargée à Los Angeles.

Iels ***sont parti*______ en vacances hier soir.
***Thomas et Caroline** ***sont descendu*______ en ville. (we'll come back to this one!)

III. **Exercice - l'accord inclusif (in groups - 5-7min)**
Now, give them this short review exercise on agreement in the PC that integrates inclusive gender agreement.

N.B. You might need to remind them that since there's no need for agreement with ***avoir*** verbs, those verbs work exactly the same regardless of subject (i.e., whether it is a binary masculine/feminine subject or a nonbinary subject).

Conjuguez les verbes dans les phrases suivantes au passé composé. Attention à l'accord du participe passé !

1. Gabrielle **(passer)** un grand examen hier. Après, elle **(aller)** chez sa meilleure amie pour boire du vin et regarder *The Bachelor.*
2. Cam **(sortir)** hier soir, mais son colocataire **(ne pas sortir)**.
3. Emilie **(rentrer)** à la maison assez tard, donc iel **(décider)** de commander son dîner sur Doordash.
4. Sarah **(partir)** à 8h00 pour aller à son entretien d'embauche, mais elle **(rater)** son bus !
5. Thomas **(naître)** en France, mais il **(grandir)** à New York.
6. Kévin **(prendre)** des notes pour son ami·e Chloé qui **(ne pas venir)** en classe.
7. Mélanie **(monter)** au troisième étage de l'hôtel. Au 3ème étage, elle **(chercher)** sa chambre.

Handout

Vendredi variationniste FR 2, Automne 2022

L'ACCORD DU PARTICIPE PASSÉ : Révision & explication de l'accord *inclusif*

Exemples : Il *est allé* au marché et puis il *est rentré* chez lui.
Elle *est venue* à la fête, mais elle *est partie* après 30 minutes.

Est-ce qu'il faut accorder le participe passé au sujet ?
Elle est resté____ chez elle tout le week-end.
Il a oublié son ordinateur, alors il est revenu____ au bureau.
Elle est devenu____ pédiatre parce qu'elle adore les enfants.
Elle est né____ en 1989.
Son grand-père est mort____ à l'âge de 95.

Qu'est-ce qui se passe quand on a un sujet **non-binaire** (qui n'est ni homme ni femme) ?
Iel *est venu*_____ à la fête aussi ?

SAVIEZ-VOUS DÉJÀ … ?
- ***Iel*** est une des options que les personnes queer & francophones ont inventées pour inclure les francophones non-binaires.

Exemples : Iel *est allé·e* au marché pour acheter une bouteille de vin.
Iel *est tombé·e amoureux·se*.

Comment accorder le participe passé au sujet ?
Mon *ami·e est arrivé*____ en retard.
Kris *est rentré*______ à la maison à minuit.
Elles *sont allé*______ à la plage le week-end dernier.
Ils *sont revenu*______ à Berkeley après une semaine chargée à Los Angeles.

Iels sont *parti*______ en vacances hier soir.
Thomas et Caroline sont *descendu*______ en ville.

Exercice en groupes :
Conjuguez les verbes dans les phrases suivantes au passé composé. Attention à l'accord du participe passé !

1. Gabrielle ____________________________ **(passer)** un grand examen hier. Après, elle ____________________________ **(aller)** chez sa meilleure amie pour boire du vin et regarder *The Bachelor*.
2. Cam ____________________________ **(sortir)** hier soir, mais son colocataire ____________________________ **(ne pas sortir)**.

3. Emilie ____________________________ **(rentrer)** à la maison assez tard, donc iel ____________________________ **(décider)** de commander son dîner sur Doordash.
4. Sarah ____________________________ **(partir)** à 8h00 pour aller à son entretien d'embauche, mais elle ____________________________ **(rater)** son bus !
5. Thomas ____________________________ **(naître)** en France, mais il ____________________________ **(grandir)** à New York.
6. Kévin ____________________________ **(prendre)** des notes pour son ami·e Chloé qui ____________________________ **(ne pas venir)** en classe.
7. Mélanie ____________________________ **(monter)** au troisième étage de l'hôtel. Au 3ème étage, elle ____________________________ **(chercher)** sa chambre.

Week 2: Structural variation in French

Lesson Plan

Vendredi variationniste FR 2, automne 2022

LA VARIATION DANS LA STRUCTURE DU FRANÇAIS

I) Révisons… Qu'est-ce que la variation? (10-15min)
See PowerPoint: ***"La variation"***

In the first week, you discussed in basic terms what language variation is. Today, you'll review that and expand upon it by sharing how sociolinguists think about variation. This may sound intimidating to them at first, but we're basically just talking about a couple of major ways that *differences* in how different groups of people speak the same language have been conceptualized.

As a jumping-off point, you can start by asking them to think back to the first lesson where they (and you) provided some examples of differences in how different communities speak French. You can also introduce the idea that variation, to put it very simply, looks at situations where there are 2+ ways to say the same thing.

Next, show them the attached PowerPoint - "La variation" and talk them through the explanation & examples.

When discussing linguistic varieties, you'll have students try to think of some specific examples. In French, some examples are Québécois French, Louisiana French, Swiss French, Senegalese French, etc. In other languages, you might mention European and Brazilian Portuguese, the many global Englishes, etc.

The main thing we want them to understand is that a **variety** simply means a way of speaking distinct from other ways of speaking, often associated with its own group(s) of speakers. A named language (like French) can be a variety, but so can a *version* of a named language (Swiss French, Ivorian French, etc.)

Names for language varieties are not intrinsic, but rather socially and culturally constructed by and for the people who use it. They are one of many ways for people to make sense of their place in the world relative to others, as well as a means of forming community and identity.

II) La variation dans la structure du français (15min)

Now, drawing on this discussion of how we think about variation, you'll introduce students to some ways in which the <u>structure</u> of the French language can vary - in this case, regionally. You might start by asking them if they can think of an example of two **varieties** (versions) of a language that are spoken really differently. (e.g., Latin American Spanish varieties vs. European Spanish; British vs. American English)

- How are those 2 varieties different? What *elements* of the language can be different? Just pronunciation? Or also **structure**?

Next, have students look closely at the following examples - ask them to translate each sentence into English, but *literally*, i.e. word-for-word and in the order in which they appear.

> Il a écrit son premier livre avec ce stylo.
> C'est le stylo avec lequel il a écrit son premier livre.
>
> Il est entré dans ce bâtiment.
> C'est le bâtiment dans lequel il est entré.

Now, have them translate the sentences more naturally, i.e. in English word order. (Note: They may still translate somewhat literally, so you can always ask them how they'd say these in English if they weren't translating them from French.) Ask students to point out what they notice about the structure of the sentences in French, based on their 2 sets of translations. Does French have the same word order as English?

Well, sometimes it does! Now show them the following examples attested in North American varieties of French. Again, ask them to translate the sentences into English. Then ask them what they observe about the structure of these sentences compared with the ones above and with the English?

> C'est l'homme que je travaille pour.
>
> Qui tu as fait le gâteau pour ?
>
> Qui tu es sorti avec ?

This phenomenon, where prepositions are left alone at the end of the sentence, is called *preposition stranding* or *orphaning* in English--en français, ce sont des **prépositions orphelines**.

Next, ask them how the textbook would tell them to write those same sentences - i.e., how would they be written in Standard French?

> C'est l'homme que je travaille pour.
> *C'est l'homme pour lequel je travaille.*
>
> Qui tu as fait le gâteau pour ?
> *Pour qui as-tu fait le gâteau ? / Pour qui est-ce que tu as fait le gâteau ?*
>
> Qui tu es sorti avec ?
> *Avec qui es-tu sorti ? / Avec qui est-ce que tu es sorti ?*

You should explain/make sure they understand that the examples from North American French varieties are not *incorrect*, just different. Some researchers believe these structures are the

result of **influence from English,** since French speakers in North America are often effectively bilingual in English & French. Others think it constitutes **code-switching** (you can just say 'switching') between the two languages rather than English actually *changing the structure of French*. In any case, French speakers in N.A. often use structures like these and find them grammatically acceptable.

As a closing reflection question, ask students *why* they think structures like these might be left out of textbooks. You can use this as an exit ticket, or just something for them to chew on as you wrap up.

Handout

Vendredi variationniste FR 2, automne 2022

LA VARIATION DANS LA STRUCTURE DU FRANÇAIS

Aujourd'hui, on va parler généralement de la variation linguistique. Puis, on va discuter d'un exemple de variation grammaticale en français.

Qu'est-ce que la variation linguistique ?

1. La variation existe quand il y a…

   ____.

2. Deux exemples de variation lexical (=concernant les mots) :

   a. ________________________________

   b. ________________________________

3. Comment est-ce que les variationnistes décrivent le langage ? Quel adjectif utilise-t-on ?

   ____

4. Comment est-ce que l'on distingue les versions différentes d'une langue comme le français ?

   ____.

5. Qui définit la frontière entre deux variétés linguistiques ?

   ____.

6. Deux exemples de variétés linguistiques :

   a. ________________________________

   b. ________________________________

Vendredi variationniste FR 2, automne 2022

La variation dans la structure du français

Maintenant, on va parler d'un exemple de variation grammaticale en français. Pensez à deux variétés d'une langue que vous connaissez (e.g., l'anglais, l'espagnol, le chinois, etc.)

Qu'est-ce qui est différent entre ces deux variétés ? Est-ce la prononciation seule, ou est-ce qu'il y a des différences de structure aussi ?

- Par exemple, pensez à l'ordre des mots, les temps verbaux, etc.

Regardez bien les phrases suivantes. Traduisez chaque phrase en anglais, mais de façon *littérale* (i.e., word-for-word). Gardez l'ordre de mots que vous voyez.

Modèle:
Il a écrit son premier livre avec ce stylo.
He has written his first book with this pen.

1. C'est le stylo avec lequel il a écrit son premier livre.

____

____.

2. Il est entré dans ce bâtiment.

____

____.

3. C'est le bâtiment dans lequel il est entré.

____

____.

Maintenant, réécrivez les traductions de manière plus naturelle : i.e., write them as you would say them in English, with English word order.

1. ____

____.

2. ____
____.
3. ____
____.

Qu'est-ce que vous notez en regardant ces traductions? Est-ce que l'ordre de mots dans la phrase est le même en français et en anglais ? Ou est-ce que les deux langues ont des structures différentes ?

En fait, parfois le français a un ordre de mots plus similaire à celui de l'anglais ! En Amérique du Nord, certaines variétés de français ont des structures différentes de celles du français hexagonal *(=de France)* et ces formes sont tout à fait acceptables dans cette région.

Regardez bien les phrases suivantes qui ont été observées en français nord-américain et traduisez-les en anglais :

1. C'est l'homme que je travaille pour.
____
____.

2. Qui tu as fait le gâteau pour ?
____
____.

3. Qui tu es sorti avec ?
____
____.

Maintenant, pensez aux structures que vous avez vues dans le texte *Chez Nous*. Est-ce que vous savez comment est-ce que ces phrases s'écrivent en français hexagonal selon le texte ? Essayez de les réécrire en français hexagonal.

1. *C'est l'homme pour lequel je travaille.* (=This is the man for whom I work.)
2. ____
____.
3. ____
____.

Week 3: The future tense across *la Francophonie*

Lesson Plan

Vendredi variationniste FR2, automne 2022

Semaine 4: Le futur à travers la francophonie

I. **Révision des règles d'usage du futur (selon le texte) - 5min**

In the textbook lesson on the *futur simple* (pp. 270-271), *Chez Nous* teaches students that the *futur simple* is more commonly used a) in writing, b) to express future actions/events that are less certain to occur, and c) to express actions/events in a more distant future.

By contrast, the *futur proche* is more commonly used in spoken French, and it is said to be used for events/actions closer to the present and/or more certain to occur.

The textbook also teaches that the *futur proche* tends to predominate.

Ask students if they can remember what the differences between the *futur proche* and the *futur simple* are. For example, you can talk about the formation of the tenses - the *futur simple* is literally more *simple* in its formation! You should absolutely review the textbook uses having to do with distance from the present and imminence/certainty.

After discussing this, you might see if they can remember your discussion from Week 1, where you first started talking about **language variation**. See if they can remember any of the examples of language variation in French that you generated as a class. You can also reference last week's (Week 3) lesson on **variable prepositional phrases** to jog their memory. Basically, the important takeaway is that **although the textbook presents these rules as cut and dry, sociolinguistic research has actually shown that the choice of future tense varies in different parts of the Francophone world.** Moreover, the choice between the *futur proche* and the *futur simple* is governed by different factors in different French-speaking communities.

II. **Le futur dans 4 communautés francophones - 10min**

This lesson focuses on 4 French-speaking communities to show students how the use of the *futur simple* and the *futur proche* differ across varieties. You can start by presenting each community and discussing *why* this kind of research has been done.

- **France** (here you could explain that 'hexagonal' is sometimes used to refer to the French spoken in France - but you don't have to!)
- **Québec**
- **Acadie** (made up of the easternmost provinces of Canada, i.e. New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland)
- **Martinique** (Caribbean island)

Several sociolinguistic studies have looked at samples of conversational speech in these communities to try and determine where there is similarity and difference in how often people use the *futur simple* vs. the *futur proche*, as well as how they choose between them.

The reason for these studies is that a couple of linguists in Canada (Wagner and Sankoff, 2011) found significant differences in **how Québecois people use the two tenses vs. how textbooks often teach students to use them**. (As we know, the textbooks are mainly written with the speech of French people in mind - you can mention this to your students!)

After giving students this background, ask them to work with a partner/in small groups and, using the abridged table on their handout, compare and contrast the frequency of use and the factors influencing which one is used. Then check their comprehension as a class. If you're low on time, you can skip the *social* factors (ed level and social class).

<table>
<tr><th>France</th><th>Québec</th><th>Acadie (provinces à l'Est de Canada)</th><th>Martinique</th></tr>
<tr><td>Le futur proche s'emploie plus fréquemment en général, mais surtout à l'oral. Le futur simple est plus commun à l'écrit.</td><td rowspan="2">Le futur simple s'utilise beaucoup moins au Québec qu'en France et qu'en Acadie.

La distance du présent et la certitude ne sont pas très pertinentes au Québec.</td><td rowspan="3">Le futur simple s'emploie plus fréquemment en Acadie qu'au Québec.

L'usage en Acadie est assez similaire à celui en France, notamment à cause du développement isolé du français acadien.</td><td rowspan="3">Le futur simple s'utilise beaucoup moins souvent en Martinique qu'en France et qu'en Acadie.

Sa fréquence d'usage est plus similaire à celle du Québec.

En plus, le futur proche est le choix par défaut en Martinique.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Le futur simple s'emploie plus souvent en France qu'au Québec.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Comme au Québec, le futur proche s'utilise moins dans des phrases négatives.</td><td>Le futur proche s'utilise rarement dans des phrases négatives.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Le futur simple s'utilise plus souvent quand on vouvoie l'interlocuteur (la personne avec qui on parle).</td><td>Le futur simple s'utilise plus souvent quand on vouvoie l'interlocuteur.

*En général, on tutoie plus d'interlocuteurs au Québec qu'en France.</td><td>Comme dans les règles du texte, la distance du présent et la certitude de l'événement/action influencent le choix entre le futur proche & le futur simple.</td><td rowspan="2">Le futur simple, par contre, s'utilise seulement pour indiquer un événement/une action beaucoup plus loin du présent.

Donc, c'est la distance du présent qui influence le choix entre les deux temps verbaux.</td></tr>
<tr><td>L'usage du futur simple est associé aux personnes avec un niveau d'éducation plus élevé.
(+ d'éducation, + de futur simple)</td><td>L'usage du futur simple est associé aux classes sociales les plus hautes.</td><td>Le futur simple s'utilise un peu plus souvent avec l'expression temporelle quand.</td></tr>
</table>

III) Exercice (5 min)

Show students the following examples of sentences in the future. For each, they should first identify the tense (futur simple ou proche?) and then try to guess in what Francophone communities it might be more common to see one of the verb tenses chosen over the other.

Modèle-- Je vous **donnerai** tous les documents nécessaires. *(Futur simple, plus commun en France & au Québec, peut-être en Acadie)*

1. Quand elle **partira** en vacances, elle **voyagera** en Afrique du Nord.

2. Je **vais** vous **envoyer** un email cet après-midi.

3. Malheureusement, elle ne **pourra** pas venir ce soir.

IV) Faisons du brainstorming… ! (5 min)

Knowing what we know now about the use of the *futur simple* and the *futur proche* in these different Francophone communities, how might we rewrite the textbook explanation of the *futur simple* to be more inclusive of the different ways French speakers worldwide use it?

Turn to page 271 of *Chez Nous* and write, in English, a couple of sentences that could be added to the explanation of how you choose between the *futur simple* and the *futur proche.*

____

____

____

____

____

____.

Handout

Vendredi variationniste FR2, automne 2022

LE FUTUR À TRAVERS LA FRANCOPHONIE

Maintenant, vous savez employer deux temps verbaux au futur : le *futur proche* et le *futur simple*. Mais quelle est la différence entre ces deux temps verbaux ? Relisons l'explication grammaticale du texte *Chez Nous* pour découvrir des différences…

Différence de forme :

Différences d'usage :

Mais **ATTENTION** ! L'usage de ces deux temps verbaux n'est pas le même à travers toutes les communautés francophones ! Il y a de la recherche qui nous montre que cet usage diffère parmi certaines communautés…

Avant de la découvrir : Est-ce que vous pouvez identifier un exemple de ***variation linguistique*** dont on a déjà parlé ?

Le futur dans 4 communautés francophones

Pourquoi étudier l'usage du futur à travers la francophonie ? En fait, des chercheur-euses au Québec ont trouvé une grande différence entre la façon dont les Québécois utilisent les deux temps verbaux au futur et celle dont les Français les utilisent.

Alors, d'autres chercheur-euses ont décidé d'étudier l'usage du futur dans d'autres communautés aussi ! Ils ont étudié la fréquence d'usage du *futur simple* et du *futur proche* ainsi que des facteurs qui influencent le choix entre les deux temps verbaux…

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OBSERVONS…
Regardez le tableau ci-dessous. Est-ce que vous pouvez en tirer des conclusions selon les observations des chercheur-euses ? Quelles sont les différences parmi les 4 communautés ?

FS = *futur simple*, FP = *futur proche*

	Acadie	**France**	**Martinique**	**Québec**
Fréquence	FS s'emploie plus fréquemment; assez similaire qu'en France	FP s'emploie plus fréquemment que FS; FS s'emploie assez fréquemment	FP prédomine; c'est le choix par défaut; FS s'utilise rarement	FS s'utilise moins en général, mais plus souvent qu'en Martinique
Facteur - style		FP est plus commun à l'oral; FS est plus commun à l'écrit FS plus commun quand on utilise le pronom *vous*; FP plus commun avec *tu*		FS plus commun quand on utilise le pronom *vous*; *en général, on tutoie plus de personnes ici
Facteur - distance et certitude	Choix influencé par la distance et la certitude comme dans *CN*		FS s'utilise seulement pour indiquer un événement/une action beaucoup plus loin du présent - i.e. la distance seule influence le choix	
Facteur - négation		FP s'utilise moins dans des phrases négatives		FP s'utilise rarement dans des phrases négatives
D'autres facteurs	FS s'utilise un peu plus souvent avec l'expression temporelle *quand*.	FS associé aux personnes avec un niveau d'éducation plus élevé. (plus d'éducation, plus de FS)		FS associé aux classes sociales les plus hautes

Vendredi variationniste FR2, automne 2022

Exercice

Voici des exemples de phrases au futur. Pour chacune, **a) identifiez le temps verbal** (i.e., FS ou FP) et puis, **b) devinez dans quelle(s) communauté(s) on peut trouver plus fréquemment ce choix de temps verbal**.

Modèle : Je vous donnerai tous les documents nécessaires.
(Futur simple, plus commun en France & au Québec, peut-être en Acadie)

1. Quand elle partira en vacances, elle voyagera en Afrique du Nord.

   ____
   ____

2. Je vais vous envoyer un email cet après-midi.

   ____
   ____

3. Malheureusement, elle ne pourra pas venir ce soir.

   ____
   ____

Faisons du brainstorming… !

Knowing what we know now about the use of the *futur simple* and the *futur proche* in these different Francophone communities, how might we rewrite the textbook explanation of the *futur simple* to be more inclusive of the different ways French speakers worldwide use it?

Turn to page 271 of Chez Nous and write, in English, a couple of sentences that could be added to the explanation of how you choose between the *futur simple* and the *futur proche.*

____
____
____
____
____
____.

Week 4: Structural variation in French, II

Lesson Plan

Vendredi variationniste FR 2, automne 2022

LA VARIATION DANS LA STRUCTURE DU FRANÇAIS, PARTIE II

This lesson draws on the *Chez Nous* grammar lesson about relative clauses, as well as the *Vendredi variationniste* lesson on structural variation. It includes a short review of the prescriptive rules for forming relative clauses, and then moves on to a short lesson on regional variation in Francophones' use of relatives, particularly focusing on the French of Côte d'Ivoire.

Partie 1. Révision des relatifs *que* et *dont* (5-7min)

Referring back to the book's explanation of how to use the relative pronouns *qui* & *que* (pp. 279-280), grab two of the sample sentences and ask students to a) identify the **relative clause** (*la phrase subordonnée*) in each, and b) translate the sentences into English, first more literally and then more naturally.

Next, referring back to the materials you used to teach *dont*, have students again identify the **relative clauses** of two sample sentences and then translate those same sentences into English, reminding them that *dont* has several possible translations. (I've provided two samples here, but you're welcome to use your own from your materials.)

> C'est la fille **dont** je te parle.
> *That's the girl about which I spoke to you.*
> *=That's the girl I told you about.*
>
> Le film **dont** on a discuté était horrible.
> *The film about which we discussed was horrible.*
> *=The film we discussed was horrible.*

Partie 2. Les relatifs en français ivoirien (15-20min)

Next, we're going to talk about how some Francophones in different parts of the world, especially in situations of **language contact**, form relative clauses differently. You might start by explaining how some French-speaking communities use the language differently than their European counterparts because of **contact with other languages**, be they other colonial languages like English or indigenous languages.

In West Africa, Francophones tend to be bilingual, often speaking an indigenous African language alongside French. In Côte d'Ivoire, the official language is French, but the African language Diula (*dioula* in French) is also spoken as a *lingua franca*. (You can put this up on the board for students as they fill in their handout.)

Some West African communities use African languages for most of their communication, and their French is thought to be less influenced by those languages. In others, like Côte d'Ivoire, there is thought to be some structural influence on French by one or more indigenous African

languages, particularly when people learn French outside of formal schooling. This lesson draws on the work of linguist Anne Moseng Knutsen who examines relative clauses in Ivorian French. (Her paper also has a lot of interesting examples of other structural differences, if you feel like giving students a big-picture idea of Ivorian French, see pp. 163-165 of Knutsen 2009.)

Les relatifs en français ivoirien

> Quelles sont des particularités typiques de l'usage des relatifs en français ivoirien ?
>
> En français ivoirien, on peut trouver des structures dites "standard" ainsi que des structures qui ne le sont pas.

Show students the following examples, asking them to identify the **relative clause** (ie, *la phrase subordonnée*) in each utterance. What do they notice that's different about these? Before explaining, see if they can identify differences.

> Ex. 1[1]
> C'est les jeunes **que** je promenais **avec eux**, eux ils buvaient
> *It is (because) the young people that I used to hang out with, they used to drink*
>
> Ex. 2
> Mais ce **que** j'ai peur, c'est mes petits frères
> But what I am afraid of, are my little brothers / But what I worry about, are my little brothers
>
> Ex. 3
> Ce sont des erreurs il faut plus commettre
> *Those are errors that one must no longer make*

Now you can explain, putting the 3 key non-standard relative structures on the board.

> Il y a certains genres de relatifs non standard qui sont communs en français ivoirien :
>
> - Le relatif résomptif : une structure avec "ça" ou un pronom disjoint qui marque la frontière entre la phrase subordonnée et la phrase principale (Ex 1)
> - Le relatif réduit : une structure où les phrases principale et subordonnée sont liées avec "que" seulement (Ex 2)
> - L'omission complète du pronom relatif (Ex 3)
>
> En fait, l'omission du pronom relatif est peut-être liée à une option structurelle similaire en **dioula**, la langue autochtone de la région. C'est-à-dire, en dioula, on peut interpréter

[1] Exemples tirés de Knutsen (2009); voir la bibliographie pour en savoir plus

la phrase même sans aucun pronom relatif, alors peut-être que ce soit la raison pour laquelle on peut l'omettre en français ivoirien aussi.

Now, ask students to partner up and "translate" examples 1-3 into standard/hexagonal French. How might their book instruct them to form these sentences?

Ex. 1
Français ivoirien : C'est les jeunes **que** je promenais avec eux...
Français hexagonal : Ce sont les jeunes avec lesquels (/ avec qui) je me promenais...

Ex. 2
FI: Mais ce **que** j'ai peur, c'est mes petits frères
FH: Mais ce dont j'ai peur...

Ex. 3
FI: Ce sont des erreurs il faut plus commettre
FS: Ce sont des erreurs qu'il ne faut plus commettre

After they've done 1-3, see if they can transform examples 4-5 into hexagonal French more quickly. What relative pronoun needs to be used for these examples ? (*qui*)

Ex 4
Moi j'ai dit non, c'est un truc ça arrive à tout le monde
I said no, that is something that happens to everyone

Ex 5
Si tu voyages, que tu connais pas la gare, c'est nous on t'indique
If you are traveling and you don't know the station, we will show you around

That's it!

As a closer, you can ask students what their reaction to seeing these structures is--i.e., do they make sense to them when they read them in Ivorian French? Do they seem similar to how relatives are structured in another language (including English)?

This can just be a short 1-2 min. brainstorm before transitioning to the next activity.

Vendredi variationniste FR 2, automne 2022

LA VARIATION DANS LA STRUCTURE DU FRANÇAIS, PARTIE II

Partie 1. Révision des relatifs

Tournez aux pages 279-280 du texte *Chez Nous*. Parmi les exemples de phrases avec les pronoms relatifs *qui* et *que*, tirez-en deux. Pour chacune, identifiez la <u>phrase subordonnée</u> en la soulignant. Puis, traduisez la phrase entière *en anglais*.

e.g., Le guide <u>qui nous a fait visiter le château</u> était bien informé.
The guide who gave us a tour of the castle was well informed.

1. Exemple :
   Traduction littérale :
   Traduction plus naturelle :

2. Exemple :
   Traduction littérale :
   Traduction plus naturelle :

Ensuite, écrivez les deux exemples de phrases avec le relatif *dont* que votre prof vous donne. Pour chacun, soulignez la <u>phrase subordonnée</u> et traduisez la phrase entière en anglais.

1. Exemple :
   Traduction littérale :
   Traduction plus naturelle :

2. Exemple :
   Traduction littérale :
   Traduction plus naturelle :

Vendredi variationniste FR 2, automne 2022

Partie 2. Les relatifs en français ivoirien

Contexte :

En Afrique de l'Ouest, beaucoup de monde parle 2+ langues, y compris le français. Ces personnes sont ___________________________.

En Côte d'Ivoire, on parle français comme langue officielle, ainsi que ___________________________ comme *lingua franca* (langue parlée pour la plupart de la communication quotidienne).

D'après la recherche dans cette région, on dit que les langues autochtones comme le dioula ont influencé le français que l'on y parle.

Les relatifs en français ivoirien :

Voici quelques exemples de phrases en français ivoirien. Concentrez-vous surtout sur les phrases subordonnées. Qu'est-ce que vous voyez ? Est-ce que vous pouvez identifier la phrase subordonnée dans chaque exemple ?

> Ex. 1
> C'est les jeunes que je promenais avec eux, eux ils buvaient
> *It is (because) the young people that I used to hang out with, they used to drink*
>
> Ex. 2
> Mais ce que j'ai peur, c'est mes petits frères
> But what I am afraid of, are my little brothers / But what I worry about, are my little brothers
>
> Ex. 3
> Ce sont des erreurs il faut plus commettre
> *Those are errors that one must no longer make*

Quels sont les genres les plus communs des structures relatives en français ivoirien ?

- Le relatif ___________________ : une structure avec "ça" ou un pronom disjoint qui marque la frontière entre la phrase subordonnée et la phrase principale (voir Ex 1)

- Le relatif __________________ : une structure où les phrases principale et subordonnée sont liées avec "que" seulement (voir Ex 2)
- L'omission du pronom relatif (voir Ex 3)

Quel genre de relatif ivoirien ressemble à une structure commune de la langue dioula ?
____________________________.

Maintenant, retournez aux exemples 1-3. Est-ce que vous pouvez les traduire en français *hexagonal* (i.e., français de France) ? Essayez !

1. Français ivoirien : C'est les jeunes que je promenais avec eux, eux ils buvaient
   Français hexagonal :
   ____.
2. Français ivoirien : Mais ce que j'ai peur, c'est mes petits frères
   Français hexagonal :
   ____.
3. Français ivoirien : Ce sont des erreurs il faut plus commettre
   Français hexagonal :
   ____.

Puis, pouvez-vous traduire les phrases suivantes en français hexagonal ? **Attention** ! Quel pronom relatif est-ce qu'on emploie dans ces phrases ?

4. Français ivoirien : Moi j'ai dit non, c'est un truc <u>ça arrive à tout le monde</u>
   Français hexagonal :
   ____.
5. Français ivoirien : Si tu voyages, que tu connais pas la gare, c'est nous <u>on t'indique</u>
   Français hexagonal :
   ____.

Week 5: Inclusive gender agreement with direct objects

Lesson Plan

Vendredi variationniste FR 2, Automne 2022

Semaine 6: L'accord inclusif avec les COD, décrire des caractéristiques
Lesson Plan

Partie I. Révision & introduction : l'accord avec un COD (5min)
This week students should have learned about using direct and indirect object pronouns and the agreement that COD pronouns necessitate. Now, we're going to expand on this to teach them about how queer, trans and nonbinary Francophones have innovated ways to do this gender-neutrally.

> Tu as vu Martin ? Il était à la fête aussi…
> Oui, je ***l'***ai ***vu*** !
> Et Marina ? Elle est arrivée vers 22h.
> Non, je ne ***l'***ai pas ***vue***.

After showing them these examples of COD agreement with **binary** pronouns, you can now ask them how they would go about referring to a nonbinary person using a COD.

Des **options** pour exprimer un COD neutre :

masculin	féminin	neutre/inclusif
le	la	**læ**, lu, **lo**, lia, **li**

On peut abréger les COD neutres/inclusifs avec un apostrophe aussi :
> **læ**, **lu**, lo, lia, li → **l'** (avant *avoir*) (*peu importe le pronom COD choisi)

Now ask them: What about the agreement? Having already seen inclusive agreement, they might be able to guess. You can then show them these examples:

> Claude ? Tu **l'**as **vu·e** ?
> Je l'ai **présenté·e** à mes parents le week-end dernier.
> T'as vu Alexis ? Je l'ai **cherché·e** mais je ne lia vois nulle part !

Partie II. Les caractéristiques (~7min)
In this chapter, we also discuss describing peoples' characteristics. Now's a great time to show them how inclusive and neutral adjectives work. Note that these are effectively two different systems that can both get the job done in different ways. They also differ from what is simply known as *non-sexist* grammar, wherein agreement is governed by proximity.

It might be easier to start with <u>inclusive</u> adjective endings. While there's more stability around the *written form*, the pronunciation of these endings is much less stable. Some native speakers

like to stick to one of the binary pronunciations or the other when speaking[1]. Of course, some forms are already *épicène* when pronounced, and some are invariable in both the written and spoken language.

masculin	féminin	inclusif
travailleur	travailleuse	travailleur-euse
croyant	croyante	croyant·e
poli	polie	poli·e (épicène à l'oral)
engagé	engagée	engagé·e (épicène à l'oral)
soucieux	soucieuse	soucieux-euse

With truly neutral adjective endings, there are many more forms to memorize that correspond to existing, binary forms. Some examples you can share are given below[2]:

terminaison	masculin	féminin	neutre
-eux/-euse	soucieux	soucieuse	soucieuz [susjø]
-eur/-euse	travailleur	travailleuse	travaillaire
-é/ée	engagé	engagée	engagæ [ɑ̃gaʒe]

Partie III. Exercice (10-15min)

As an exercise to show them how both sets of adjectival forms work, students will read and then start to fill in blanks from this excerpt of the *Déclaration des droits de l'homme et du citoyen* (1789)[3]. Start by having them look through the first paragraph and circle all of the **gendered endings for adjectives *that describe people***. Then read through the second paragraph together and have them identify and differentiate **inclusive and neutral nouns/pronouns/adjectives**. Finally, for the third paragraph, have students try to fill in the blanks with an **appropriate inclusive or neutral adjective form** to replace the existing binary ones.

Extraits : *Déclaration des droits de l'homme et du citoyen* (1789)

1)

[1] Corbani, *personal communication*
[2] Alpheratz, 2018
[3] Excerpt from Lessard & Zaccour (2017)

Art. 7. Nul homme ne peut être **accusé**, **arrêté** ni **détenu** que dans les cas déterminés par la Loi, et selon les formes qu'elle a prescrites. Ceux qui sollicitent, expédient, exécutent ou font exécuter des ordres arbitraires, doivent être **punis** ; mais tout citoyen **appelé** ou **saisi** en vertu de la Loi doit obéir à l'instant : il se rend coupable par la résistance.

Art. 9. Tout homme étant **présumé innocent** jusqu'à ce qu'il ait été **déclaré** coupable, s'il est **jugé** indispensable de l'arrêter, toute rigueur qui ne serait pas nécessaire pour s'assurer de sa personne doit être sévèrement réprimée par la loi.

- Ask students how a text like this could be more inclusive first by replacing gendered terms (e.g. *homme*) with more neutral ones. For example, *personne, chacun.e* - You might put an example on the board.
    - E.g., *Personne ne peut être accusé.e, arrêté.e, détenu.e que dans les cas déterminés…*

2)

Art. 6. La Loi est l'expression de la volonté générale. **Tous.tes** les **Citoyen.nne.s** ont droit de concourir personnellement, ou par leurs **Représentant.e.s**, à sa formation. Elle doit être la même pour **tous.tes**, soit qu'elle protège, soit qu'elle punisse. **Tous.tes** les **Citoyen.nne.s** étant **égaux.ales** à ses yeux sont également admissibles à toutes dignités, places et emplois publics, selon leur capacité, et sans autre distinction que celle de leurs vertus et de leurs talents.

3)

Art. 11. La libre communication des pensées et des opinions est un des droits les plus précieux de **l'Homme** : **tout Citoyen** peut donc parler, écrire, imprimer librement, sauf à répondre de l'abus de cette liberté dans les cas déterminés par la Loi.

l'Homme → ____________________

tout Citoyen → ____________________

Art. 14. **Tous** les **Citoyens** ont le droit de constater, par **eux**-mêmes ou par leurs **représentants**, la nécessité de la contribution publique, de la consentir librement, d'en suivre l'emploi, et d'en déterminer la quotité, l'assiette, le recouvrement et la durée.

Tous → ____________________

Citoyens → ____________________

eux-mêmes → ____________________

représentants → ____________________

Some resources:

- Alpheratz (2018) has an excellent, straightforward overview of grammar innovated for a ***genre neutre***.
- The Université Laval (2020) published a guide to gender-neutral and inclusive writing as well.
- Divergenres has a grammar overview for neutral and inclusive writing.

You're welcome to share these resources with students if they're interested in reading up further. It's also important to be clear about the fact that **there isn't always one singular form that's universally accepted over others**, so students should approach these resources knowing that they may not always be perfectly consistent in comparison to one another.

Vendredi variationniste FR 2, Automne 2022

LES CARACTÉRISTIQUES ET VALEURS : Décrire une personne de façon neutre/inclusive

Lisons quelques articles de la *Déclaration des droits de l'homme et du citoyen* (1789) et réfléchissons à une façon plus inclusive de rédiger ce document.

Paragraphe 1: En lisant ce paragraphe, **soulignez** toutes les terminaisons genrées (=gendered) des adjectifs qui décrivent des personnes. (e.g., *la personne* est considérée…)

> Art. 7. Nul homme ne peut être accusé, arrêté ni détenu que dans les cas déterminés par la Loi, et selon les formes qu'elle a prescrites. Ceux qui sollicitent, expédient, exécutent ou font exécuter des ordres arbitraires, doivent être punis ; mais tout citoyen appelé ou saisi en vertu de la Loi doit obéir à l'instant : il se rend coupable par la résistance.
>
> Art. 9. Tout homme étant présumé innocent jusqu'à ce qu'il ait été déclaré coupable, s'il est jugé indispensable de l'arrêter, toute rigueur qui ne serait pas nécessaire pour s'assurer de sa personne doit être sévèrement réprimée par la loi.

Comment est-ce qu'on pourrait rendre ces terminaisons plus inclusives ?

Paragraphe 2: En lisant, **identifiez** toutes les terminaisons adjectivales qui sont neutres ou inclusives. Puis, essayez de les différencier - lesquelles sont neutres et lesquelles sont inclusives ?

> Art. 6. La Loi est l'expression de la volonté générale. Tous.tes les Citoyen.nne.s ont droit de concourir personnellement, ou par leurs Représentant.e.s, à sa formation. Elle doit être la même pour tous.tes, soit qu'elle protège, soit qu'elle punisse. Tous.tes les Citoyen.nne.s étant égaux.ales à ses yeux sont également admissibles à toutes dignités, places et emplois publics, selon leur capacité, et sans autre distinction que celle de leurs vertus et de leurs talents.

Paragraphe 3: Transformez tous les adjectifs et noms **signalés en gras** en formes inclusives ou neutres.

> Art. 11. La libre communication des pensées et des opinions est un des droits les plus précieux de **l'Homme** : **tout Citoyen** peut donc parler, écrire, imprimer librement, sauf à répondre de l'abus de cette liberté dans les cas déterminés par la Loi.

l'Homme → ____________________

tout Citoyen → ____________________

Art. 14. **Tous** les **Citoyens** ont le droit de constater, par **eux**-mêmes ou par leurs **représentants**, la nécessité de la contribution publique, de la consentir librement, d'en suivre l'emploi, et d'en déterminer la quotité, l'assiette, le recouvrement et la durée.

Tous → ____________________

Citoyens → ____________________

eux-mêmes → ____________________

représentants → ____________________

Week 6: Variation in French intonation

Lesson Plan

Vendredi variationniste FR 2, automne 2022

LA VARIATION DANS L'INTONATION

This lesson covers a less often discussed facet of sociolinguistic variation in French - intonation. First, we discover what intonation and stress look like in French. You should use the powerpoint entitled "L'intonation en français" as you go through part 1. Then, we discover how a non-standard intonation pattern among French speakers in the Parisian *banlieues* is perceived by other French speakers in central Paris.

Partie 1. L'intonation en français (5-7 min, use attached powerpoint)

As you go through the powerpoint, have students fill in the accompanying handout, where they'll be able to draw arrows indicating whether a sentence has **rising** or **falling** intonation. Once you're finished, lead them through the following short activity.

Essayons ! Pour chaque phrase donnée, indiquez si l'intonation **monte** ou **tombe** avec une flèche *(arrow)*.

1. Tu viens avec nous ce soir ? (rising)
2. C'est une leçon intéressante. (falling)
3. Comprenez-vous la leçon ? (rising)
4. Tu veux un café ? (rising)

The important takeaway from this section is that *stress accent* and *intonation* are closely linked, both together making up what we call prosody, or the rhythm of speech.

In all of these cases, the stress is still placed on the last syllable, but what differs is the tone (whether it's rising or falling).

Partie 2. La variation dans l'intonation (15-2min)

Next, by showing the examples provided, you can explain to students that **while textbooks will say that stress always falls on the last syllable in French, there are varieties of French where this is not always the case!**[1]

[1] voir Dansereau, 2006, p. 33-34; Stewart & Fagyal 2005, p. 244

At the end of the powerpoint are some examples of non-standard accent/intonation patterns in different parts of France. Again, students can draw the arrows to indicate rising or falling intonation on their handout.

After showing these quick examples, we'll now move on to the main focus of the lesson - a non-standard prosodic pattern observed among speakers of French in the working-class Parisian *banlieues*. Before diving into what this pattern looks like or what it means in the social lives of these speakers, you should first give some background on the site in which this pattern is observed.

Context :

- Make sure students understand how French *banlieues* differ from American suburbs; you can compare with the American concept of the "inner city" vs. the suburbs to explain the class division **(Feel free to use as much of the below detail as you have time for - the most important thing is the contrast between the rich diversity of the banlieue and its monolithic representation as a poor/violent place)**
  - These differences are largely due to colonization and industrialization[2]
  - During the industrialization of Paris, factories were built on the northeastern periphery of the city; at the same time, rich Parisians who wanted to avoid polluted neighborhoods moved westward, while the poorest residents--including factory workers--lived in the eastern neighborhoods.
  - Then, following the colonization of West Africa and Southeast Asia, diaspora communities who migrated to Paris and could not afford to live in the city center found themselves in the northeastern working-class *banlieues* as well[3].
  - Today, French banlieues - especially those of Paris - are **incredibly racially, ethnically, and linguistically diverse**. Communities from North and West Africa, Southeast Asia and the SWANA region make up much of the population of the Parisian *banlieues*, and they have some of the highest proportions of immigrants and youth, particularly children of immigrants *(des jeunes issus de l'immigration)*.
  - **In media, however, the *banlieues* are often discussed not for their diversity, but for their high rates of poverty and violence[4].**

[2] Sweat, 2022
[3] Stovall, 2001
[4] Stewart/Fagyal, 2005

Parisian Banlieusard Intonation :

(Again, there may be more detail here than you have time to present, so feel free to abridge this as necessary - the more important bits that absolutely need to be presented are bolded.)

- Drawing on media representations of the *accent banlieusard*, researchers Stewart & Fagyal examined intonation patterns among youth of varying ethnic origins in the working-class *banlieue* La Courneuve. **(Optional map images are included the end of the intonation powerpoint)**
- They asked these interviewees to describe a number of images presented to them, and in the recordings of these descriptions they studied the intonation of each speaker.
- Among some of the interviewees, they observed a **non-standard intonation pattern** that consisted of an **elongated** and **rising penultimate syllable**, followed by a very **quick** and **falling final syllable**. (Students will fill this in on their handouts, so feel free to write these keywords on the board in case they don't recognize the adjectival forms) → une avant-dernière syllabe **allongée**, **montante**; une dernière syllabe **courte**, **descendante**
    - They describe the pattern as a whole as "montante-descendante"
    - They also liken it to emphatic intonation w/ the example :
        - « C'est PAS vrai ! »
- The majority of the interviewees were of either European French or Maghrebi origin. Generally, the researchers observed really varying intonation. Yes, there is some similarity amongst the two major ethnic groups, but both groups exhibited both kinds of intonation. **(This is important for later.)**

Perceptions of Banlieusard Intonation

- After taking these interviews, the researchers then went on to have a second group of participants **listen to them and give their opinions & perceptions of what they heard**. They asked their listeners two main questions:
    - "Imaginez que vous entendez des jeunes parler dans le métro et que vous avez le dos tourné. Quelle impression vous donnent ces individus ?" (serein/neutre/aggressif)
    - "À votre avis qui est ce jeune ?" (identifier l'origine) (maghrebi and *français de souche* are included in the options provided)
- **Globally, the speakers who exhibited more non-standard, rising-falling intonation were evaluated more negatively (i.e., rated as more aggressive).**

Those who exhibited more standard intonation were evaluated more positively (i.e. rated as calmer).

- Additionally, when identifying the ethnic origin of the speakers, **listeners tended to associate the emphatic intonation with Maghrebi origin and the standard intonation with European French origin**, regardless of the actual origin of the speaker.
    - For instance, one speaker of French origin had very emphatic intonation and was judged both as more aggressive and as of Maghrebi origin.
- **So what conclusions can we draw from these results ? Why do we think that people associated this supposedly "emphatic" intonation with children of immigrants? Why do we think they found it more "aggressive" ?** Give students a moment or two to reflect, and see if you all can come to a conclusion as a class.
- **The big takeaway** is that things like our intonation are not **inherently** laden with social meaning, but that rather **the people who use the language imbue them with social meaning.** That is, no intonation is inherently aggressive - people decide it is. So in this case, French speakers came to perceive it as aggressive, but it's not intrinsically so.
    - This might be a nice way to end the session, but asking students to reflect on the question of whether a feature of language, like intonation, has connotations like this inherently.

Handout

Vendredi variationniste FR 2, automne 2022

LA VARIATION DANS L'INTONATION

Partie 1. L'intonation en français

Remplissez les blancs pendant que votre prof vous explique les concepts suivants :

L'accentuation tonique = ____________________________

En français, l'accent se met typiquement à quelle syllabe ? ____________________________

L'intonation =
____

Rappelez-vous le rôle de l'intonation dans les questions ? Est-ce que l'intonation **monte** *(=rises)* ou **tombe** *(=falls)* dans phrase interrogative (c'est-à-dire, une question) ?

Elle achètera des livres ?
(phrase interrogative)

Elle achètera des livres.
(phrase déclarative)

Achète-elle des livres ou des CDs ?
(phrase interrogative qui pose un choix)

Essayons ! Pour chaque phrase donnée, indiquez si l'intonation **monte** ou **tombe** avec une flèche *(arrow).*

1. Tu viens avec nous ce soir ?
2. C'est une leçon intéressante.
3. Comprenez-vous la leçon ?
4. Tu veux un café ?

Partie 2. La variation dans l'intonation

Les manuels de français vous disent qu'on met typiquement l'accent sur la dernière syllabe…
… et que le ton monte dans des questions et tombe dans des phrases déclaratives…

MAIS dans certaines variétés de français, on trouve des variations !

Exemples :

Il chante des petites mélodies. (français méridional)

Ça pousse en France ? (français parisien)

Comme vous voyez, même en France on peut trouver des intonations différentes !

L'intonation "exclamative" en banlieue parisienne

Contexte :

Qu'est-ce qu'une **banlieue** ?

Quelle est la traduction littérale du mot ? ____________________

Et en France ? Les banlieues, comment sont-elles différentes en France qu'aux États-Unis ?

____

____.

À quoi est-ce qu'on peut attribuer ces différences ?
L'____________________
La ____________________

Dans les banlieues parisiennes, on trouve surtout de la diversité ____________________, ____________________ et ____________________. Les populations qui y habitent actuellement consistent en des immigré.e.s et des jeunes issu.e.s de l'immigration.

Malgré cette riche diversité, la banlieue est souvent mieux connue en France pour ses taux de ____________________ et de ____________________ qui sont plus souvent représentés dans les médias.

Suite à ces représentations, des chercheurs en linguistique ont fait une étude pour examiner l'intonation dans l'accent typiquement banlieusard.

Dans cette étude, ils ont observé des intonations typiques de la langue française - où l'accent se met à la dernière syllabe - MAIS, ils ont observé une autre intonation aussi !

- Cette intonation a été caractérisée par **l'avant-dernière syllabe** ______________________ et ______________________ ainsi qu'une **dernière syllabe** ______________________ et ______________________.

Cette intonation **montante-descendante** ressemble à une intonation emphatique, comme dans l'exemple suivant : « C'est PAS vrai ! »

Voici un aperçu des observations selon les enregistrements *(=recordings)* prises. Notez que la majorité des jeunes étaient d'origine française ou maghrébine (venant d'Afrique du Nord). Qu'est-ce que vous voyez ? Est-ce que l'intonation varie selon l'ethnicité ?

Origine de l'interviewé/e	Intonation observée (en général)	Origine de l'interviewé/e (cont.)	Intonation observée (en général) (cont.)
maghrébine	Plus neutre	yougoslave	Plus emphatique
maghrébine	Plus emphatique	africaine	Plus neutre
maghrébine	Mixte (toutes les deux intonations)	chinoise	mixte
maghrébine	Mixte	antillaise	Plus neutre
française	Plus emphatique	française	Plus neutre
française	Plus neutre	française	Plus neutre

(Tournez la page après avoir regardé le tableau)

En fait, c'est variable ! Tous les deux groupes majoritaires utilisent toutes les deux intonations ! Mais la recherche continue…

Ensuite, les chercheurs ont trouvé plus de participant.e.s *(study participants)* pour examiner **les perceptions et les opinions envers ces deux intonations**. Ils leur ont demandé :

- Quelle impression est donnée par chaque personne ?
- Quelle est son origine ?

Résultats :

Globalement, les voix avec une intonation ______________________ ont été évaluées plus positivement (c'est-à-dire, comme plus calmes et sereines).

Les voix avec une intonation ______________________ ont été évaluées plus négativement (c'est-à-dire, comme plus agressives).

En plus, les auditeurs *(=listeners)* ont associé l'intonation ______________________ avec les jeunes d'origine française; ils ont associé l'intonation ______________________ avec les jeunes issus de l'immigration et d'origine maghrébine.

Quelle conclusion est-ce qu'on peut tirer de ces résultats ? À votre avis, pourquoi associe-t-on une intonation différente, jugée emphatique, avec une certaine population ? Pourquoi l'associe-t-on avec l'agression ?

À réfléchir : Est-ce que vous pensez que l'intonation dont on vient de parler a intrinsèquement *(=inherently)* une connotation négative ?

Est-ce que d'autres particularités du langage *(features of our speech)* ont des connotations intrinsèques ? Ou est-ce que c'est plutôt <u>nous</u> qui donnons des connotations aux particularités ?

Week 7: Neutral & inclusive grammar with pronominal verbs

Lesson Plan[74]

Vendredi variationniste Automne 2022

Semaine 8:

- La grammaire neutre et inclusive pour les verbes pronominaux

I. Révision : accords, verbes pronominaux

This week students will have learned about marking agreement with reciprocal and idiomatic pronominal verbs, writing them in the *passé composé*, etc. Now we're going to talk about how to manage agreement in compound tenses while aiming to write inclusively. Here are some example revision sentences:

> Sarah et Florence **se sont rencontrées** sur Tinder.
> Jean et Martin **se sont mariés** l'été dernier.
> Aya et Claire **se sont parlées** à la fête hier ?

Drawing on what they've already learned, ask students how they'd go about integrating inclusive grammar into statements like these. What if the subjects were **Audrey** et **Léa,** two nonbinary friends? Let's start with just one subject, Audrey:

> Ce matin, Audrey ________________ (se lever) à 6h pour s'entraîner avant les cours. Après avoir terminé, iel ________________ (se doucher). Puis, iel ________________ (s'habiller). Après avoir pris son petit déjeuner, iel a quitté la maison pour aller à la fac.

Now let's try incorporating both subjects:

> Audrey et Léa ________________ (se rencontrer) à la fête d'Aya.
>
> Iels ________________ (s'entendre très bien) et après la fête, Audrey a donné son numéro à Léa. Deux jours plus tard, iels ________________ (se retrouver) à un beau café près du parc des Buttes-Chaumont.

To summarize: to write pronominal verbs in a compound tense like the passé composé, using inclusive grammar, we can use the *point médian* twice:

[74] N.B. Though this lesson is labeled "week 8," it is the 7th in the ten-week series. Originally, I had written these to correspond to specific weeks in the 16-week semester, but later opted to give instructors more flexibility in terms of the exact week they taught the lesson, so long as they were done in order and in correspondence to the related grammar from the existing curriculum.

	Forme traditionnelle binaire	*Forme non binaire/inclusive*
We use the inclusive ending so that Audrey and Léa don't have to be gendered like the other pairs, particularly J+F, are.	Jacqueline et Florence **se sont rencontrées** à la fac. Marc et Jean **se sont rencontrés** au boulot.	Audrey et Léa **se sont rencontré·e·s** à la fête d'Aya.
Here, we use the inclusive form in place of the traditional one where the masculine overtakes the feminine.	Sarah et Thomas **se sont disputés**.	Sarah et Thomas **se sont disputé·e·s**.

II. Activités

Now give students the following fill-in activity to practice using this inclusive strategy with pronominal verbs, particularly in compound tenses.

1. Il était une fois *(=once upon a time*), Léandre et Jacqueline, étudiant·e·s de droit à UC Berkeley _________________ (se trouver) dans le même cours de français.
2. Iels _________________ (se rencontrer[1]) l'année précédente à une fête pour accueillir le nouveau groupe d'étudiant·e·s.
3. Après quelques semaines dans ce cours de français, Jacqueline et Léandre ont commencé à se parler assez fréquemment. Un jour, après la classe, iels _________________ (se retrouver) au Starbucks à côté de la fac. Iels _________________ (s'amuser bien) en parlant pendant des heures.
4. Les deux ami·e·s ont continué à se retrouver chaque jour après le cours de français. Mais un jour, tout a changé quand iels _________________ (s'embrasser). Il se trouve qu'iels _________________ (se tomber amoureux[2]) !

[1] See if students correctly put this verb in the *plus-que-parfait*. If not, make sure they know it should be!
[2] *Plus-que-parfait*; also, re: *amoureux-euse*, students can use this *doublet* OR they can use one of the neutral options proposed by Alpheratz, e.g. *amoureuz*

Finally, to round out this lesson, have students get into pairs or small groups and construct a short *histoire d'amour* about two people, **Jules** et **Alexis**, whose gender identities we don't know. They should try to use most of the pronominal verbs below, though they're welcome to use others.

Verbes pronominaux réciproques et idiomatiques		
Se téléphoner	Se parler	tomber amoureux-euse
Se fiancer	Se marier	S'entendre bien
Se disputer	Se séparer	Se divorcer
Se rencontrer (de nouveau)		

Vendredi variationniste Automne 2022

Semaine 8:

- La grammaire neutre et inclusive pour les verbes pronominaux

I. Révision : accords, verbes pronominaux

Comment est-ce que vous feriez référence à une personne non binaire en utilisant ces verbes pronominaux ? Regardons un exemple avec un seul sujet, Audrey :

> Ce matin, Audrey ________________ (se lever) à 6h pour s'entraîner avant les cours. Après avoir terminé, iel ________________ (se doucher). Puis, iel ________________ (s'habiller). Après avoir pris son petit déjeuner, iel a quitté la maison pour aller à la fac.

Maintenant, essayons avec deux sujets, Audrey et Léa, deux personnes non binaires :

> Audrey et Léa ________________ (se rencontrer) à la fête d'Aya.
>
> Iels ________________ (s'entendre très bien) et après la fête, Audrey a donné son numéro à Léa. Deux jours plus tard, iels ________________ (se retrouver) à un beau café près du parc des Buttes-Chaumont.

Comme vous voyez, on peut employer deux fois le point médian. Comparez :

Forme traditionnelle binaire	*Forme non binaire/inclusive*
Jacqueline et Florence **se sont rencontrées** à la fac. Marc et Jean **se sont rencontrés** au boulot.	Audrey et Léa **se sont rencontré·e·s** à la fête d'Aya.
Sarah et Thomas **se sont disputés**.	Sarah et Thomas **se sont disputé·e·s**.

II. Activités

Maintenant, essayons d'employer les formes *inclusives* des accords avec les verbes pronominaux réciproques et idiomatiques que l'on vient d'apprendre ! Pour ce premier

exercice, remplissez les blancs avec la forme *inclusive* du verbe pronominal au passé composé ou au plus-que-parfait.

1. Il était une fois (=*once upon a time*), Léandre et Jacqueline, étudiant·e·s de droit à UC Berkeley _________________ (se trouver) dans le même cours de français.
2. Iels _________________ (se rencontrer) l'année précédente à une fête pour accueillir le nouveau groupe d'étudiant·e·s.
3. Après quelques semaines dans ce cours de français, Jacqueline et Léandre ont commencé à se parler assez fréquemment. Un jour, après la classe, iels _________________ (se retrouver) au Starbucks à côté de la fac. Iels _________________ (s'amuser bien) en parlant pendant des heures.
4. Les deux ami·e·s ont continué à se retrouver chaque jour après le cours de français. Mais un jour, tout a changé quand iels _________________ (s'embrasser). Il se trouve qu'iels _________________ (se tomber amoureux) !

Maintenant, on va écrire une autre *histoire d'amour* qui se concentre sur deux personnes, **Jules** et **Alexis**, dont on n'est pas sûr·e de l'identité de genre ! Essayez d'employer la plupart de ces verbes pronominaux. Vous pouvez en utiliser d'autres aussi !

Verbes pronominaux réciproques et idiomatiques		
Se téléphoner	Se parler	tomber amoureux-euse
Se fiancer	Se marier	S'entendre bien
Se disputer	Se séparer	Se divorcer
Se rencontrer (de nouveau)		

____

____

Week 8: Controversies around inclusive writing

Lesson Plan[75]

Vendredi variationniste FR 2, Automne 2022

Semaine 9: La polémique contre l'écriture inclusive et le rôle de l'Académie Française

- Révision - la grammaire inclusive vs. le genre neutre
- La polémique contre l'écriture inclusive
- Des suggestions

Partie I. Le genre neutre (5min)

Now that we have introduced some forms that exist for marking grammatical gender beyond *masculin et féminin*, let's talk about the innovation of a *genre neutre* in general. Below are some talking points that draw from the perspectives of speakers in France and Québec.

La grammaire neutre

- Les formes du genre neutre ne sont pas complètement stables ; c'est-à-dire, pour chaque fonction grammaticale, il y a plusieurs formes innovantes que l'on peut employer. On observe un emploi généralement variable avec certaines formes qui dominent dans une communauté individuelle[*].
  - Une étude de Knisely (2020) observe une tendance à préférer certaines formes mieux connues :
    - *iel/iels* (pronoms sujet)
    - *an* (article indéfini)
    - *ellui/elleux* (pronoms disjoints)
    - *maon/taon/saon* (adjectifs possessifs)
- En plus, il y a des personnes non-binaires qui préfèrent employer des formes binaires à l'oral et des formes neutres à l'écrit (Dumais 2021).
  - Parmi ces personnes, certaines préfèrent alterner entre masculin et féminin et d'autres emploient une seule forme binaire.
- Depuis quelques années, il y a une polémique contre l'usage de l'écriture inclusive surtout dans des contextes officiels et professionnels. L'Académie française n'affirme pas du tout son usage -- en fait, on trouve mêmes des déclarations contre l'écriture inclusive.
  - Jusqu'ici, les formes neutres n'ont pas encore été mentionnées (ou, au moins, elles ont été peu mentionnées) dans la polémique contre l'écriture inclusive. C'est-à-dire, l'Académie continue à se battre contre l'écriture inclusive bien que l'on invente des formes considérées plus progressistes aujourd'hui !

[*] LVEQ 2018

[75] N.B. While these documents are labeled "Week 9," they are the 8th in the ten-lesson series.

Partie II. La polémique contre l'écriture inclusive (15min)
For this activity, we're going to have students get into groups and read excerpts from the Académie Française's statements on inclusive language. The first statement is from 2017, the second from 2021.

Students can get into small groups to read these statements out loud. Ask them to consider and discuss the following questions as they read. Following this, you can discuss as a class with students volunteering to share their (or their group's) observations. You might also put down their observations on the board.

1. Comment est que l'Académie décrit l'écriture inclusive ? Quels sont les termes employés ? Est-ce que vous voyez certains thèmes dans cette terminologie ?
2. Quelles sont les raisons données par l'Académie pour son refus d'accepter l'usage de l'écriture inclusive ?

Extraits - *Déclaration de l'Académie française sur l'écriture dite "inclusive"* (2017) :

> Prenant acte de la diffusion d'une « écriture inclusive » qui **prétend s'imposer comme norme**, l'Académie française élève à l'unanimité **une solennelle mise en garde**. La multiplication des marques orthographiques et syntaxiques qu'elle induit **aboutit à une langue désunie**, disparate dans son expression, créant une **confusion** qui confine à l'illisibilité. On voit mal quel est l'objectif poursuivi et comment il pourrait surmonter les obstacles pratiques d'écriture, de lecture . . . et de prononciation. **Cela alourdirait la tâche des pédagogues**. Cela **compliquerait** plus encore celle des lecteurs . . .
>
> En cette occasion, c'est moins en **gardienne de la norme** qu'en **garante de l'avenir** qu'elle **lance un cri d'alarme** : devant cette **aberration « inclusive »**, la langue française se trouve désormais en **péril mortel**, ce dont notre nation est dès aujourd'hui comptable devant les générations futures . . .
>
> Il est déjà difficile d'acquérir une langue, qu'en sera-t-il si l'usage y ajoute des formes secondes et altérées ? Comment les générations à venir pourront-elles grandir en intimité avec notre patrimoine écrit ? . . .

Extraits - *Lettre ouverte sur l'écriture inclusive* (2021)

> Au moment où la lutte contre les discriminations sexistes implique des combats portant notamment sur les violences conjugales, les disparités salariales et les phénomènes de harcèlement, l'écriture inclusive, si elle semble participer de ce mouvement, est non seulement contre-productive pour cette cause-même, mais nuisible à la pratique et à l'intelligibilité de la langue française . . .
>
> En prônant une réforme immédiate et totalisante de la graphie, les promoteurs de l'écriture inclusive **violentent les rythmes d'évolution du langage** selon une injonction **brutale**, arbitraire et non concertée, qui méconnaît l'écologie du verbe . . .
>
> **Un corset doctrinal prétend ainsi régir la pratique des scripteurs, mutilant les respirations et la logique de la langue** ... L'écriture inclusive **offusque la démocratie du langage**. Outre que la correspondance avec l'oralité est impraticable, elle a pour effet d'installer une langue seconde dont **la complexité pénalise les personnes affectées d'un handicap cognitif**, notamment la dyslexie, la dysphasie ou l'apraxie. Une apparente pétition de justice a pour effet concret d'**aggraver des inégalités** . . .

Partie III. Des suggestions (10-15min *or* assign as homework)

Have students pretend that they are activists writing a Twitter thread responding to the Académie Française's statements about inclusive and gender-neutral language. Each tweet should be a sentence using the **subjunctive** to talk about why it is important to incorporate *écriture inclusive* into the standard language. Have them write between 3-6 Tweets. Then, have 3-4 students volunteer to share a sentence they wrote.

Modèle:

Vendredi variationniste FR 2, Automne 2022

Semaine 9: La polémique contre l'écriture inclusive et le rôle de l'Académie Française

Parlons du *genre neutre* !

Une très bonne ressource pour apprendre la grammaire neutre :
https://www.alpheratz.fr/linguistique/genre-neutre/

- Au lieu d'employer les *doublets* de la grammaire inclusive, certaines personnes francophones préfèrent des formes innovantes (=innovative) neutres.
  - Exemples: ***an***, forme alternative d'*un/une*
  - ***ellui/elleux***, formes alternatives de *lui, elle, eux, elles*
  - ***maon/taon/saon***, formes alternatives de *mon/ma, ton/ta, son/sa*

- Malgré un grand nombre de formes neutres innovées jusqu'ici, une étude de Knisely (2020) observe une tendance à employer des formes inclusives mieux connues

- Une autre étude (Dumais, 2021) observe que certaines personnes non-binaires préfèrent employer des formes binaires à l'oral et des formes neutres à l'écrit.

- Depuis quelques années, il y a une **polémique** (=controversy/debate/political position) contre l'usage de l'écriture inclusive… surtout dans des contextes officiels et professionnels.
  - L'Académie Française est contre son usage.
  - Jusqu'ici, l'Académie ne parle que de l'écriture inclusive. C'est-à-dire, elle ne reconnaît pas encore le genre neutre.
  - L'Académie continue à se battre contre l'écriture inclusive bien que l'on invente des formes considérées plus progressistes aujourd'hui !

Lisons !

Voilà quelques extraits de deux **déclarations** de l'Académie Française concernant l'écriture inclusive. Dans des petits groupes, lisez ces déclarations à haute voix. En lisant et après avoir lu, répondez aux questions suivantes :

1. Comment est que l'Académie décrit l'écriture inclusive ? Quels sont les termes employés ? Est-ce que vous voyez certains thèmes dans cette terminologie ?
2. Quelles sont les raisons données par l'Académie pour son refus d'accepter l'usage de l'écriture inclusive ?

I. *Déclaration de l'Académie Française sur l'écriture dite "inclusive"* (2017) :

Prenant acte de la diffusion d'une « écriture inclusive » qui prétend[1] s'imposer comme norme, l'Académie Française élève à l'unanimité une solennelle mise en garde[2]. La multiplication des marques orthographiques et syntaxiques qu'elle induit aboutit[3] à une langue désunie, disparate dans son expression, créant une confusion qui confine à l'illisibilité. On voit mal quel est l'objectif poursuivi et comment il pourrait surmonter les obstacles pratiques d'écriture, de lecture . . . et de prononciation. Cela alourdirait[4] la tâche des pédagogues. Cela compliquerait plus encore celle des lecteurs . . .

En cette occasion, c'est moins en gardienne de la norme qu'en garante de l'avenir qu'elle lance un cri d'alarme : devant cette aberration « inclusive », la langue française se trouve désormais en péril mortel, ce dont notre nation est dès aujourd'hui comptable devant les générations futures . . .

Il est déjà difficile d'acquérir une langue, qu'en sera-t-il[5] si l'usage y ajoute des formes secondes et altérées ? Comment les générations à venir pourront-elles grandir en intimité avec notre patrimoine écrit ? . . .

---

[1] claim to...
[2] warning
[3] results in
[4] weigh down
[5] how much more will it be... ?

II. *Lettre ouverte sur l'écriture inclusive* (2021)

Au moment où la lutte[6] contre les discriminations sexistes implique des combats portant notamment sur les violences conjugales[7], les disparités salariales et les phénomènes de harcèlement[8], l'écriture inclusive, si elle semble participer de ce mouvement, est non seulement contre-productive pour cette cause-même, mais nuisible[9] à la pratique et à l'intelligibilité de la langue française . . .

En prônant[10] une réforme immédiate et totalisante de la graphie, les promoteurs de l'écriture inclusive violentent les rythmes d'évolution du langage selon une injonction brutale, arbitraire et non concertée, qui méconnaît[11] l'écologie du verbe.

Un corset doctrinal prétend ainsi régir[12] la pratique des scripteurs, mutilant les respirations et la logique de la langue ... L'écriture inclusive offusque[13] la démocratie du langage. Outre que la correspondance avec l'oralité[14] est impraticable, elle a pour effet d'installer une langue seconde dont la complexité pénalise les personnes affectées d'un handicap cognitif, notamment la dyslexie, la dysphasie ou l'apraxie. Une apparente pétition de justice a pour effet concret d'aggraver des inégalités . . .

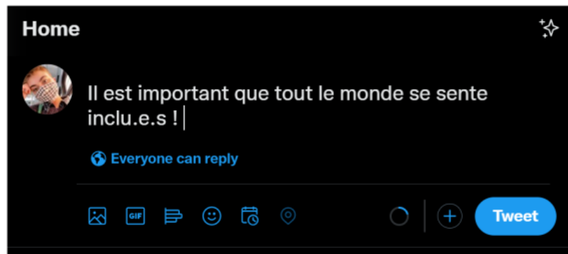
---

[6] struggle, fight
[7] domestic violence, intimate partner violence
[8] harassment
[9] detrimental, harmful
[10] advocating for...
[11] is ignorant of
[12] rule, reign over
[13] offend
[14] speech, or the spoken language

Donnons des suggestions !

Imaginez que vous soyez activistes et que vous répondiez à l'opinion de l'Académie Française sur Twitter. En groupes, vous écrirez 3-6 phrases complètes dans lesquelles vous employerez le **subjonctif** pour parler de ce qu'il faut faire, comprendre, dire, etc. C'est-à-dire, pourquoi est-ce que l'écriture inclusive est importante ? Qu'est-ce qu'il est important de faire pour changer l'avis de l'Académie Française ?

Modèle:



1.

____

____

2.

____

____

3.

____

____

Week 9: Phonetics & grammatical distinctions

Lesson Plan

Vendredi variationniste FR 2, automne 2022

La phonétique et les distinctions grammaticales

This week, students will have started working on the *conditional* (and likely also the *past conditional*[1]). Some instructors, when teaching about the conditional, tend to emphasize or even exaggerate the phonetic distinction between the verb endings in the *futur simple* and the *présent du conditionnel*. For reference,

- Au futur simple : Je *dirai* is pronounced with the mid-vowel [e] at the end. Think: *café*
- Au conditionnel : Je *dirais* is pronounced with the mid-vowel [ɛ] at the end. Think: *très*

In this lesson, we'll talk about why this phonetic distinction may not be as foolproof as we'd think for teaching students to differentiate between the future and the conditional *à l'oral.*

I. **Petite révision** (5 min)
Have students review the conjugations of the *futur simple* and the *conditionnel* by fully conjugating a few verbs in both. I'd suggest one of each among the *-er*, *-ir* & *-re* verbs, and maybe an irregular.

Then, taking 1-2 of those verbs, write out the 1st person singular forms in each tense *(e.g., Je parlerai, je parlerais)* and ask students to translate them into English. In other words, what is being communicated by each?

II. **Comment différencier le futur et le conditionnel** (7-10 min)
Now, if you haven't done it already (and it's totally okay if you have or haven't!!), you can explain to students how the future and conditional can be differentiated phonetically (see above).

Note: *You don't have to teach them the IPA, but if you happen to already be using it with your students, this is a great time to refer back to it! If you're not using the IPA, try explaining it as the distinction between how **é** and **è** are pronounced.*
- In this case: **-ai → é**, while **-ais → è**

According to traditional phonological accounts, the mid-high vowel [e][2] is pronounced in the endings of the *futur simple*, e.g. Je dir**ai**, while the mid-low vowel [ɛ][3] is pronounced in the endings of the *conditionnel*, e.g. Je dir**ais**. Have students try pronouncing the distinction - it's okay if it's exaggerated! You can also give them some more examples to pronounce, e.g.
- J'achèterai, j'achèterais
- J'irai, j'irais
- J'aurai, j'aurais

[1] I recommend teaching this mini lesson after you've introduced the past conditional
[2] i.e., the vowel pronounced in café
[3] i.e., the vowel pronounced in très

There are a couple of other places this vowel distinction crops up, including a well-known example, in the expression "*café au lait*", whereby *café* is pronounced with [e], while *lait* is pronounced with [ɛ]. You can share this with students if there's time!

But here's the important part:
While a phonetics textbook might tell you that this distinction is always made, in reality, speakers in different parts of the Francophone world may or may not make it at all.

- For example, in Québec, this distinction is quite stable, meaning that people tend to make it regularly and that you can tell which tense someone is using by their pronunciation of it[4]. (In short: they pronounce *je dir*[e] vs. *je dir*[ɛ] for the future and conditional, respectively.)
- In Northern metropolitan France, this distinction is on its way out of use, meaning that older speakers and particularly older *bourgeois* speakers may still make this distinction, but lots of young people no longer do. Because of a process called *vowel shift*, the way that certain sounds are pronounced is changing over time, causing distinctions that were grammatically meaningful to phase out of use.
  - Therefore, in France, it's less likely that you'll always be able to intuit what verb tense someone is using based on their pronunciation[5].
  - (In short, the pronunciation of the conditional, e.g. *je dirais* in Northern France has been shifting away from *dir*[ɛ] towards *dir*[e], therefore no longer distinguishing *dirais* from *dirai*.)
- In the South of France, speakers make the distinction even less than their Northern counterparts. (i.e., they tend to pronounce *dirais* as *dir*[e] even more often.)

III. **Dictée & Réflexion** (5-7min)
Now you'll do a short *dictée* exercise together, in which you'll read out a short text. If you can, read it without exaggerating the vowel distinction. You can read it twice through if there's enough time!

- Ask students to listen and identify all of the verbs they hear that are either in the future or the conditional, as well as to try and decide which verbs are in which tense.
- After they're finished, you can also ask them to explain their strategy for deciding which verbs were *futur simple* and which were *présent du conditionnel*.

The goal of this is to illustrate that pronunciation alone is no longer enough to distinguish between the *futur* & the *conditionnel*.

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[4] Burton (personal communication)
[5] Dansereau (2005)

Texte

Demain, j'**aurai** un dîner chez moi et j'**inviterai** tous mes amis. J'**aurais** proposé un dîner au restaurant si on n'avait pas voulu économiser. Alors, ce soir, je **ferai** les courses et je **commencerai** à préparer le dessert. Demain, je **ferai** la plupart du repas. Si j'avais plus de temps, je **ferais** plus d'entrées, mais malheureusement, je **travaillerai** jusqu'à 18h demain. Mes amis **apporteraient** quelque chose si je leur demandais, mais je ne leur **demanderai** pas. Je préfère tout organiser.

After going over the verbs, you can end with one or both of these discussion questions.

Questions de réflexion

- Comment avez-vous décidé si ces verbes étaient au *futur* ou au *conditionnel* ? Quelle était votre stratégie ? Est-ce que cette stratégie a bien fonctionné ?
- À votre avis, est-ce que cette distinction phonétique suffit pour différencier le *futur* et le *conditionnel* ? Pourquoi ou pourquoi pas ? Est-ce que la réponse à cette question dépend de l'endroit où on apprend le français ?

Handout

Vendredi variationniste FR 2, automne 2022

La phonétique et les distinctions grammaticales

I. **Petite révision**

Conjuguons quelques verbes au *futur simple* et au *conditionnel*. N'oubliez pas que les verbes au futur et au conditionnel ont les mêmes radicaux !

FUTUR SIMPLE				
	-er	**-ir**	**-re**	**irrég.**
Je				
Tu				
il, elle, iel, on				
Nous				
Vous				
ils, elles, iels				

PRÉSENT DU CONDITIONNEL				
	-er	**-ir**	**-re**	**irrég.**
Je				
Tu				
il, elle, iel, on				
Nous				
Vous				
ils, elles, iels				

II. Comment différencier le futur & le conditionnel ?

À l'écrit, il est assez facile de différencier ces deux temps verbaux - ils ont des terminaisons différentes ! Mais à l'oral… il y a parfois des similitudes difficiles à distinguer.

Les manuels de français traditionnels disent que l'on prononce la terminaison du futur ***-ai*** avec la même voyelle qui se trouve dans le mot _________________________.

Tandis que l'on prononce la terminaison du conditionnel ***-ais*** avec la voyelle qui se trouble dans le mot _________________________.

Est-ce que vous pouvez prononcer la distinction entre ces verbes ?

- Je dir**ai** vs. je dir**ais**
- J'achèter**ai** vs. j'achèter**ais**
- J'ir**ai**, j'ir**ais**
- J'aur**ai**, j'aur**ais**

Un manuel de phonétique dirait probablement que l'on fait toujours cette distinction, MAIS vous savez qu'il y a beaucoup de variabilité dans le monde francophone. Alors, pensez-vous que cette distinction se comporte *(=behaves)* de la même façon à travers toute la francophonie ?

Où existe cette distinction ? Avez-vous des idées ?
Remplissez ce tableau en écoutant l'explication de votre professeur/e.

région	*comportement* (=behavior) *de la distinction*
	• Distinction assez stable; on prononce différemment le futur et le conditionnel
France - Nord	•
France - Sud	• Distinction moins stable qu'au Nord; on prononce les deux formes (*-ai* et *-ais*) souvent de la même façon

III. Dictée & Réflexion

Maintenant, on va faire une dictée. Votre prof lira un petit texte dans lequel vous entendrez des verbes au *futur simple* et au *conditionnel*. En écoutant, identifiez tous les verbes qui sont au *futur* ou *conditionnel*. Ensuite, décidez si chacun est conjugué au *futur* ou *au conditionnel*.

Par exemple, vous entendez : J'ir**ai** → futur

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Liste de verbes que vous entendez

______________________	futur	/	conditionnel
______________________	futur	/	conditionnel
______________________	futur	/	conditionnel
______________________	futur	/	conditionnel
______________________	futur	/	conditionnel
______________________	futur	/	conditionnel
______________________	futur	/	conditionnel
______________________	futur	/	conditionnel
______________________	futur	/	conditionnel
______________________	futur	/	conditionnel

Questions de réflexion

1. Comment avez-vous décidé si ces verbes étaient au *futur* ou au *conditionnel* ? Quelle était votre stratégie ?
   Est-ce que cette stratégie a bien fonctionné ?

2. À votre avis, est-ce que cette distinction phonétique suffit pour différencier le *futur* et le *conditionnel* ? Pourquoi ou pourquoi pas ?
   Est-ce que la réponse à cette question dépend de l'endroit où on apprend le français ?

Week 10: The influence of English on French (Anglicisms)

Lesson Plan

Vendredi variationniste *FR 2. automne 2022*

L'influence de l'anglais en français

This lesson is broadly about the influence of English on the French language and French speakers' attitudes toward it. Specifically, we focus on "anglicismes," i.e. borrowings from English vocabulary that have become widely used in French, sometimes even replacing another French word. We will compare and contrast how French speakers in France and Québec use (or avoid) anglicisms and discuss why this might be similar or different across Francophone communities.

I. **Brainstorming** (10min)

You can start by asking students if they know any words in French that come from English. Have them try to name around 5, if not more. Over the course of the semester, they'll have seen some in their vocabulary lessons. e.g.,

le surf	le shopping	un scooter	un spray
un western	un tracker (d'activité)	un e-mail	le cloud
surfer (sur Internet)	le WiFi	le GPS	un parking
en streaming	un sandwich	un casting	le marketing

Once they've named a few, see if they notice any similarities among the words; for instance, what domains of vocabulary do they come from? (e.g., tech, medicine, leisure)

You can explain to them that while French has borrowed words from other languages for almost as long as it's been considered a language, its borrowing from English picked up around the 18th-19th centuries, particularly in the domains of politics, sports, and railway transport[1]. Today, however, a large portion of anglicisms do come from very globalized domains such as tech and media, *especially* with the ubiquity of English as a global and online *lingua franca.*

Furthermore, while some borrowed words from English are adapted to sound more French, others are nearly identical to English in their spelling and/or pronunciation.

For example, the following French words are English borrowings that took place much earlier in the history of the language (18th-19th centuries):

un vote   le golf   le tennis   un club   un tunnel

Have students pronounce these words, noting how they sound more in line with French pronunciation rules than English ones!

[1] McLaughlin (2018)

And here are some borrowings that have come to sound more French despite being fairly recent (1990s and later):

un mél[2] un site Web[3] un blogue

On the other end of the spectrum, words like *iPhone*, *Apple Watch*, *Instagram* and *Twitter*, associated with Anglophone brands, can be heard while in French speaking countries. Just walk into any FNAC in Paris and you'll probably hear someone talking about *l'Applewatch*… :)

Rapid reflection question: Ask students why they think some borrowed words might look and sound more French, whereas others may look or sound more or less just like they do in English? Apart from *time*, could there be other factors that affect how much a borrowed word is integrated into French?

II. **Short exercise** (5min)
Intro this exercise by explaining briefly that some words, when borrowed from English, have actually been translated *literally* into French, creating a new French word that is a direct translation from English. e.g., *gratte-ciel* (skyscraper), *mot de passe* (password)

Have students work in pairs to see if they can match the **anglicism** to its literal translation (i.e. **calque**) counterpart. (If you're short on time, you can all work collaboratively as a class.)

1. barrière de sécurité (firewall)
2. numériseur (scanner)
3. page sur la toile (webpage)
4. courriel (e-mail)
5. cybercaméra (webcam)

III. **Les anglicismes en France & au Québec** (15min)

Now let's talk about how anglicisms show up in two Francophone communities: France and Québec, which are very well studied with respect to anglicisms and the attitudes people have towards them.

Linguist Olivia Walsh (2014, 2015, 2016) has done multiple studies examining how people in France and Québec choose among native French and English-borrowed synonyms, as well as their attitudes toward anglicisms more generally. (We're focusing on her 2014 study in the interest of time.)

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[2] Synonyme de l'anglicisme *e-mail*
[3] Calque of *website*

For example, she looks at the kind of choice someone might make when asked to choose between an unassimilated anglicism *(browser)*, a slightly more assimilated borrowed word (*navigateur)*, and a calque[4] *(logiciel de navigation)*[5].

1. Internet Explorer, Firefox et Google Chrome sont tous des ________.

○ browsers

○ logiciels de navigation

○ navigateurs

She also asks her participants to indicate whether they are satisfied with a sentence containing either an anglicism or a more French-looking calque[6].

10. La baladodiffusion est un nouvel outil qui permet d'écouter des émissions quand on veut et pas seulement à heure fixe.

○ Cette phrase me satisfait.

○ Il y a une expression dans cette phrase que je n'utilise pas.

See if students can guess what a ***baladodiffusion*** is from the context provided!

Overall, Walsh observed that factors like age and level of education correlated with French participants' choices of loanword, while in Québec there was less of a clear correlation.

Generally, **French people tended to choose more assimilated and directly translated loans**, rather than completely unassimilated anglicisms, suggesting that they may be **opposed to borrowings that are not adapted** to look/sound more French. She also observed that **Quebecers largely favored the direct translations**, suggesting they may be even ***more* opposed** to anglicisms than the French.

That both communities are at least somewhat opposed to anglicisms is not too surprising, given that both have institutions dedicated to managing use of the French

[4] Effectively, a direct, very literal translation
[5] Walsh (2014, p. 434)
[6] Ibid, p. 438

language in their region[7]. But that Francophones in Quebec might be more concerned with anglicisms than their French counterparts is particularly interesting given its position within a largely Anglophone region. Before reminding them of this, you might **ask students** why they think Quebecers would be more opposed to English influence on their French than French people.

Question de réflexion (to conclude)

- À votre avis, quelle est la différence entre l'attitude des Français envers les anglicismes et celle des Québécois ? C'est-à-dire, pourquoi est-ce qu'ils n'aiment pas les anglicismes ? Est-ce qu'il y a des raisons différentes ?

[7] the *Académie Française* and the *Office québécois de la langue française*

L'influence de l'anglais en français: les anglicismes

I. **Brainstorming**

Pensez aux mots que vous avez appris dans ce cours qui viennent de l'anglais.
Pouvez-vous en nommer quelques-uns ?

________________________ ________________________
________________________ ________________________
________________________ ________________________
________________________ ________________________

Est-ce que vous notez des similarités entre ces mots empruntés à *(=borrowed from)* l'anglais ? De quelle(s) catégorie(s) de vocabulaire viennent ces mots ?

Une brève histoire des emprunts à l'anglais :

- 18è-19è siècles → beaucoup d'emprunts du monde de la politique, du sport, et du transport (surtout les trains)
  - e.g., un vote, le golf, le tennis, un club, un tunnel
- Fin 19è-21è siècles → plus d'emprunts des technologies et des médias, surtout après l'Internet
  - e.g., un site Web, un courriel/mél, un bloc-notes/blogue

Question de réflexion :

- À votre avis, pourquoi est-ce que l'on trouve certains mots empruntés qui ont une orthographe et une prononciation plus française, tandis que d'autres ont une orthographe et une prononciation plus anglaise ? Qu'est-ce qui influence cette différence ?

II. **Exercice**

Certains mots empruntés à l'anglais ont été directement et littéralement traduit en français, par exemple: *un gratte-ciel* (skyscraper), *un mot de passe* (password).

Essayez de relier *(=match)* les mots directement traduits en français (qui s'appellent des ***calques***) et les anglicismes.

1. courriel ___________	a. scanner
2. cybercaméra ___________	b. webpage
3. page sur la toile ___________	c. firewall
4. numériseur ___________	d. webcam
5. barrière de sécurité ___________	e. e-mail

III. Les anglicismes en France et au Québec

Maintenant, parlons de l'usage des anglicismes en France et au Québec… ainsi que les attitudes autours de cet usage !

La linguiste Olivia Walsh a beaucoup étudié ce phénomène. En 2014, elle a comparé les choix de mots et les attitudes des Français.e.s et des Québécois.e.s. Avec un grand nombre de participant.e.s dans chaque communauté, elle a distribué un questionnaire dans lequel elle a posé une série de questions telles que :

1. Internet Explorer, Firefox et Google Chrome sont tous des ________.

○ browsers

○ logiciels de navigation

○ navigateurs

…ainsi que…

10. La baladodiffusion est un nouvel outil qui permet d'écouter des émissions quand on veut et pas seulement à heure fixe.

○ Cette phrase me satisfait.

○ Il y a une expression dans cette phrase que je n'utilise pas.

C'est-à-dire, dans la première série de questions, elle a demandé aux participant.e.s de choisir entre un anglicisme et des équivalents qui ont été traduits en français. Dans la deuxième série, elle leur a demandé d'indiquer s'iels utilisent une certaine expression.

Est-ce que vous pouvez deviner l'anglicisme équivalent au mot ***baladodiffusion*** ?

Un ___________________________

Les observations de Walsh (2014)

Les Français.e.s	Les Québécois.e.s
plus de traductions littérales ou d'emprunts adaptés au français	plus de traductions littérales

Des conclusions : ____
____
____
____
____
____
____
____

Question de réflexion

- À votre avis, quelle est la différence entre l'attitude des Français envers les anglicismes et celle des Québécois ? C'est-à-dire, pourquoi est-ce qu'ils n'aiment pas les anglicismes ? Est-ce qu'il y a des raisons différentes ?

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B. 64-item questionnaire

64 items testing mastery of prescriptive French grammar, knowledge of sociolinguistic concepts, language attitudes, and ability to recognize loci of variation and name non-standard variants; 7 free-response reflection questions at Time 2.

Item No.*	Item
French Grammar: Decide whether the bolded part of each of the following sentences is grammatically correct according to the textbook. If you aren't sure, please mark "Don't know" rather than guessing.	
Q5	Je suis étonnée que nous **apprenions** tous ces temps verbaux en FR 2 !
Q6	Si M. Dupont était arrivé à l'heure, il **saurait** que la réunion avait été annulée.
Q7	—Est-ce que la prof a donné des devoirs aux étudiants ? —Oui, elle **leur en** a donné !
Q8	Je ne crois pas que le subjonctif **est** trop difficile !
Q9	Est-ce que vous **savez** les parents de Michel ?
Q10	**Quelle** saison préfères-tu ?
Q11	Qu'est-ce **qui** je dois faire ?
Q12	Paris est une ville **où** il y a beaucoup de musées.
Q13	Je vais faire mes devoirs **dans** 30 minutes.
Q14	Berkeley est une ville **qui** j'aime beaucoup.

Q15	Dès que j'**aurai terminé** mes études, je déménagerai en Europe.
Q16	Il est nécessaire de bien **étudier** la grammaire avant l'examen final.
Q17	Elles **se sont disputés**.
Knowledge About Language: Please indicate the degree to which you agree with the following statements about language.	
Q19	In certain situations, asking, "*Ça va ?*" can be more appropriate than asking, "*Comment allez-vous ?*"
Q21	Dialects are primitive forms of language.
Q22	Regional French varieties are different from each other because of pronunciation, vocabulary, and grammar.
Q23	Everyone speaks a dialect.
Q24	Everyone has an accent when they speak their first/native language.
Q25	Some varieties of French are more correct than others.
Q26	French speakers can tell where other French speakers are from by listening to how they talk.
Q27	Regional dialects of French have their own grammars.
Q28	Language is always changing.
Q29	People can change how they speak according to the situation.
Attitudes About Language: Please indicate the degree to which you agree with the following statements about language.	
Q32	I would correct a classmate, friend or family member if they made a grammar mistake in French.
Q33	In French, I like when people avoid English words like "*email*" and use native French words like "*courriel*" instead.
Q34	Regional French dialects are different, but perfectly acceptable forms of French.
Q35	The best French accent is the one news reporters have.
Q36	Students should use textbook French to communicate <u>in the classroom</u>.
Q37	I believe it is important for us to learn about all of the different ways people speak French.
Q38	People from Paris speak better French than people from Montréal.
Q39	It is unacceptable to use non-standard varieties of French in writing.
Q40	The best version of any language is the one that follows all grammar rules.
Q41	Some people are too lazy to speak correctly.
Q42	People who are uneducated speak poorly.
Q43	If something isn't in the dictionary, then people shouldn't say it.
Q44	Francophones should use textbook French to communicate with others.
Q45	I appreciate hearing accents that are different from mine.
Linguistic Variants in French: For the **bolded** portion of each sentence, identify another form (or forms) that one could see/hear in the French-speaking world, regardless of whether the textbook would consider it correct. If you cannot think of any, leave the question blank.	

Q47	**Avec qui** es-tu sorti ?
Q48	Il s'est **rendu compte** qu'il s'était trompé.
Q49	C'est la personne **avec laquelle** il est sorti.
Q50	Vous ne **viendrez** pas ?
Q51	J'ai écouté **ma baladodiffusion** préférée ce matin.
Q52	C'est la fille **dont** je t'ai parlé !
Q53	Le père, la mère et les enfants se sont disput**és** pendant toute la soirée.
Q54	Il est important d'être **soucieux** ou **soucieuse** de sa santé.
Q56	Je vais lui envoyer un **courriel** tout de suite.
Q57	C'est l'homme **pour lequel** je travaille.
Reflection (Time 2 Only)	
Q58	What did you learn about these varieties that changed the way you think about language?
Q59	Why do you think some people have such a negative opinion about non-standard varieties of French?
Q60	What can be done to change negative attitudes towards speakers of stigmatized varieties?
Q61	Was there anything about language variation in French taught in this course that you disagree with? If so, explain what you disagree with and why.
Q62	Do you think it is important for people to learn about language variation in French? Why or why not?
Q63	Do you think French learners should be penalized for using non-standard varieties of French in the classroom or in their homework? Why or why not?
Q64	Keeping in mind everything you learned about the different varieties of French this term, what - in your opinion - is correct French?

* Item number indicates the 'question number' assigned in Qualtrics. Within each thematic section, questions were presented to each respondent in a random order, and 'question numbers' were not visible to respondents. Note that Q1-3 consisted of screening and consent, and each set of instructions was also assigned a question number (e.g., Q4).