

Carnegie Mellon University
Department of Modern Languages

**INTERPRETING 'REAL' FRENCH: THE ROLE OF EXPERT MEDIATION IN
LEARNERS' OBSERVATIONS, UNDERSTANDINGS, AND USE OF PRAGMATIC
PRACTICES WHILE ABROAD**

A Dissertation in Second Language Acquisition

by

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Submitted in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements
for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

April 2014

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Abstract

Study abroad provides a rich context for learning pragmatics but students' development is often complicated by their difficulty in interpreting mismatches between their own languaculture and the host community's languaculture (that is, rich points (Agar, 1994)). Drawing on sociocultural theory, this study explores the ways in which expert mediation by a teacher-researcher may support students' observations, understandings, and use of French pragmatic practices while abroad. The data for this study included pre and post language awareness interviews, pre and post strategic interaction scenarios, and regular journal entries from two groups of participants: non-expert-mediated (NM, n=8) and expert-mediated (EM, n=8) students. The EM students met with the researcher for biweekly journal discussions in addition to the tasks listed above. These discussions provided learners with a concept-based, systematic framework (adapted from van Compernelle, 2014) to support their interpretations of pragmatic practices. The NM students completed all data sources with the exception of the journal discussions. The data are analyzed for differences in the types of pragmatic practices that became salient to the learners, the qualitative changes that emerged in their metapragmatic awareness, and changes in students' pragmatic language use throughout the semester. The results demonstrate that all students noticed a wide range of pragmatic practices and deepened their understanding of the social meaning behind pragmatic practices. The NM students relied on their everyday empirical evidence gleaned from being abroad whereas EM students appropriated the concepts and were able to use them as tools to interpret their observations and plan their own language use. This study shows that concept-based expert-mediation can equip study abroad students with a framework by which they can better 1) interpret the "real, everyday" French they encounter and 2) plan and evaluate their own language use. Broader pedagogical implications are also addressed.

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Acknowledgements

I am indebted to many people who have supported me throughout my doctoral studies and the implementation of this project. I would like to express my gratitude to these individuals for their encouragement and investment in me and this project.

First, I must thank my dissertation committee: Dr. Barbara Freed, Dr. Rémi Adam van Compernelle, and Dr. Naoko Taguchi. Each of their unique expertise have been a priceless resource but, more importantly, their amicable and approachable natures have made them excellent mentors. Their thoughtful comments and questions throughout all phases of this project helped me to clarify and articulate my conceptualization of language learning, to design a high quality study, and to strengthen and clarify my arguments. Barbara introduced me to the field of study abroad research and has shown me unending support and enthusiasm while also continually challenging me to grow intellectually and to articulate my ideas clearly. In addition, her study abroad contacts in France and her generosity in creating the Barbara F. Freed Dissertation Year Award made this project logistically feasible. Adam helped me to deepen my understanding of sociocultural theory and its applications to language learning. He has been an invaluable sounding board, collaborator on related projects, and wealth of ideas. Naoko originally opened my eyes to pragmatics and the challenges it poses for language learners. Her thoughtful and honest feedback and questions have also made me a better researcher.

In addition to my committee, I have been honored to have a few other important mentors before and throughout my graduate career. I must credit much of this career path to the thoughtful advice and encouragement from my undergraduate professors, Dr. Carolyn Gascoigne and Dr. Juliette Parnell. They both fostered my love for French and language teaching as well as emboldened me to pursue a career in academia. More

recently, Dr. Bonnie Youngs mentored me as a teacher of French and always challenged me to be the best educator I can be. Her mentorship challenged me to keep my research, including this dissertation study, closely tied to improving pedagogy.

The Department of Modern Languages at Carnegie Mellon University has been extremely supportive. I owe thanks to Dr. Susan Polansky, head of the department, for her confidence in me and my work and her efforts to ensure that I always had the resources necessary to succeed. In addition, the SLA faculty as a whole provided me with an excellent graduate education in which they have taught me how to think about language and language learning and taught me how to approach my work as an applied linguist and SLA researcher.

I am also truly blessed to have amazing friends and family who have been a great source of love and support throughout my doctoral studies and the life of this project. My husband, Eric, has supported and celebrated every small step and calmed me down through times of anxiety. My parents, Rick and Wendy, have always been my biggest fans, never once doubted that I could accomplish this milestone, and tell me every day how proud they are. I also thank the many friends and colleagues who have taken an active interest in my work and provided a listening ear when needed.

Finally, I extend my thanks to the participants in this study, who were so generous to share their time and experiences with me during their semester in France, and to the administration and faculty at the study abroad institution for welcoming me so warmly and allowing me to work with their students. Lastly, I am also grateful for the financial support of the Chateaubriand Fellowship from the Cultural Services of the French Embassy, which made the implementation of this project possible.

Interpreting 'Real' French: The role of expert mediation in learners' observations, understandings, and use of pragmatic practices while abroad

Chapter 1: Introduction

The study abroad context of learning presents language learners with a rich and complex environment for language learning. Learners are surrounded by a speech community full of linguistic and cultural practices that are simply not as accessible in a traditional classroom environment. This context is potentially rich enough that an enduring belief persists on the part of students and educators alike that study abroad students benefit enormously both culturally and linguistically (Freed, 1995a, p. 5). Beginning with Freed's (1995a) foundational volume of diverse study abroad research, researchers took an interest in this context of learning and have investigated the ways in which it contributes to language learning. Research has moved from treating this context of learning itself as a major factor for language gains by comparing learning outcomes to other contexts (e.g. the classroom), to in-depth studies of the various aspects of the study abroad context (for a review, see Kinginger, 2009). Though study abroad students are often found to make notable gains, particularly in the areas of oral performance (e.g. Collentine & Freed, 2004; Freed, Segalowitz, & Dewey, 2004; Freed, 1995b; Segalowitz & Freed, 2004), a theme that has emerged in these studies is that study abroad is not a uniform experience for all students but rather it is subject to a complex set of variables that include the social, cognitive, personal, and linguistic experiences abroad and, in turn, students make very different gains.

I argue that the complexity of the study abroad context and learners' development lies, at least in part, in students' direct experiences with a new languaculture (Agar, 1994) and in the importance of having access to a teacher-researcher's expertise to understand and interpret their experiences. Agar (1994) coined the term languaculture to explain the dialectic and imperative

tie between language and culture. He argues that culture is something that happens to you, something that requires personal experience in order to begin to understand it. Agar explains culture in this way:

Culture is no longer just what some group has; it's what *happens to you* when you encounter differences, become aware of something in yourself, and work to figure out why the differences appeared. Culture is an awareness, a consciousness, one that reveals the hidden self and opens paths to other ways of being. (p. 20, emphasis in original)

Finally, Agar defines "rich points" as the moments when a problem or difference between two languacultures becomes salient. Within the study abroad literature there are many accounts of students who have had negative experiences as a result of languacultural misunderstandings (Brecht & Robinson, 1995; Kinginger, 2008; Polanyi, 1995; Schmidt-Rinehart & Knight, 2004; Wilkinson, 1998). These studies suggest that learners' interpretation (or lack thereof) of rich points account for the successes and/or struggles that students encounter while abroad.

These findings, therefore, led Kinginger (2011) to make the following conclusion in her state of the art article about study abroad research: "every effort should be made to ensure that language learners abroad enjoy access to – and engagement in – the practices of their host communities as well as *guidance in their efforts to learn and to interpret their experiences*" (p. 70, emphasis added). She argues that providing support for students' interpretations of their experiences is a central role of language educators. Kinginger discusses a number of suggestions from study abroad literature (e.g. Jackson, 2008; Paige, Cohen, & Shively, 2004) that strive to help students maximize their language learning abroad. However, as interesting as these suggestions are, very little research has investigated the outcomes of implementing such ideas.

The current study is founded on a Vygotskian sociocultural theoretical framework (Lantolf & Thorne, 2006; Vygotsky, 1978, 1987) and explores the ways in which mediation by a teacher-researcher could help learners to interpret and to engage more fully with their experiences while abroad in order to take full advantage of the affordances of this context of learning beyond and in addition to the classroom. A central argument of sociocultural theory is that all higher mental functions are mediated and that there are two types of mediation (Kozulin, 2003; Wertsch, 2007). First there are cultural tools such as language that mediate the mind. Second, assistance or meta-mediation occurs when another human supports a learner's development and appropriation of new psychological tools. Human mediators, such as a teacher, can provide support in the form of expertise and schematic frameworks that, in turn, can be used as a tool for the learners' own mediation and internalization of new concepts such as an understanding of new languacultural practices.

In addition, although students' rich points have often been cited as major contributors to individual students' study abroad experiences, very little is known about their developing understanding of the languacultural or pragmatic practices they encounter while abroad (Kinging, 2012). Crystal (1997) defines pragmatics as "the study of language from the point of view of users, especially of the choices they make, the constraints they encounter in using language in social interaction and the effects their use of language has on other participants in the act of communication" (p. 301). Learning the pragmatics of a second language (L2) is an important aspect a language learner's developing communicative competence (Hymes, 1972, 1974) or a person's ability to "participate in its society as not only a speaking member, but also a communicating member" (Hymes, 1974, p. 75).

The majority of previous research on pragmatic development while abroad has measured pragmatic learning based on students' ability to produce speech acts or sociolinguistic variations in a way similar to native speaker conventions (e.g. Barron, 2003; Regan, Howard, & Lemée, 2009). Though this has shown us that study abroad students are able to make notable gains in the production of various pragmatic features (Hoffman-Hicks, 1999; Regan et al., 2009; Schauer, 2006, 2007; Shardakova, 2005), this research has also shown that looking simply at learner's production is not sufficient. When students do not follow L2 conventions, it is not possible to know if it is a result of lacking competence or a personal choice by the students (Siegal, 1995). In addition to exploring the ways in which learners use pragmatic resources, we must also explore their underlying understandings of social meanings and what characteristics of their experience may contribute to their metapragmatic awareness (Kinging & Farrell, 2004; Kinginger, 2008, 2012). Metapragmatic awareness is defined as "the knowledge of the social meaning of variable second language forms, how they mark different aspects of social contexts or personal identities, and how they reference broader language ideologies" (van Compernelle & Kinginger, 2013, p. 284).

The fundamental goals of this study are to understand 1) what pragmatic practices study abroad students notice in interactions with and among L1 French speakers; 2) the ways in which study abroad learners' understandings of these practices develop over the course of a semester abroad 3) how this developing understanding is related to their use of the language and 4) the ways in which expert mediation can support learners' observations, understanding, and use of these practices.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

As a matter of foundation, this chapter discusses both the theoretical bases of this study and a review of relevant study abroad literature. The first section begins with a focus on the importance of pragmatics and the social meaning in language variation in general (e.g. first language) before moving on to the challenges that language variation poses for language learners. It then discusses the contributions of a Vygotskian sociocultural perspective to this study and the importance of exploring explicit metapragmatic awareness. The second section explains why study abroad is a prime context for the development of second language pragmatics, particularly because of the greater opportunity for informal social interactions with native speakers. In addition, the review explores the benefits and challenges concerning these interactions during study abroad as well as what has been learned from pedagogical intervention studies in the study abroad context. Finally, the chapter sets out the objectives and research questions for the current study.

Theoretical Bases

Linguistic Variation and Social Meaning

As a semiotic tool, language provides speakers the opportunity to make meaning in many different ways. Speakers can vary the ways in which they use language on multiple levels, from phonological or syntactic variations to speech act strategies to wider discourse structures or conversational practices. These variations become pragmatic resources that allow speakers to adapt their language use according to the constraints and affordances of the social situation at hand and to accomplish social actions and convey social meanings (see Crystal's definition in the

previous chapter). The social meanings behind linguistic variation are at the core of this study and its perspective on pragmatic development in language learners.

Research concerning linguistic variations, particularly in the domain of sociolinguistics, has not always valued or focused on the social meanings of linguistic variations. The field of sociolinguistic variation was founded with Labov's (1963) Martha's Vineyard study, which set the stage for the exploration of how language varies in order to express different social meanings. But then the value of social meaning was largely set aside to make way for the large-scale survey studies of the 1970s. These studies examined the ways in which the speech of different social groups varied in comparison to a standard form of the language. Accordingly, Eckert (2012) notes that, in these studies, linguistic variables were associated with large macrosocial categories and "speakers emerged as human tokens – bundles of demographic characteristics" (p. 88). As the field continued to refine itself over the years, ethnographic studies moved away from these large scale generalizations to explore the ways in which language varies according to local social categories (e.g. Eckert, 1989; Milroy, 1987). Most recently, researchers have begun to explore how speakers actively create social meaning and identities through their language use (e.g. Bucholtz & Hall, 2005). Eckert (2012) argues that there is a continued need for research from this new perspective that takes social meaning as its point of departure for exploring the interrelationship between the construction of social meaning and linguistic variables.

The current study aligns itself with this new perspective and considers linguistic variations to be a pragmatic resource. Specifically, it adopts a sociocultural perspective of language variation (van Compernelle, 2011). Within this theoretical perspective, language variation and its social meanings are considered to be emergent and rather fluid in nature. Van

Compernelle (2011) organizes this perspective under four main concepts. First, language structure is emergent (Hopper, 1998), which is to say that use in interaction continually transforms the structure of language. Van Compernelle (2011) summarizes Hopper's argument as follows: "grammatical structure does not preexist communication but it is instead derived from it in an ongoing and potentially unending process" (p. 88). Second, when examining language use, it is imperative to consider the context or activity at hand. The activity type and the language that is allowable in that activity mutually establish, reify, and transform each other *in situ* (Levinson, 1992). Third, meaning (or *semiosis*) in language variation is not fixed; rather, it is a fluid and malleable process of indexicality (Silverstein, 2003). Fourth, speakers actively design the meanings they want to convey by using and manipulating currently existing conventions and patterns, and in the process they may transform existing conventions to make new meanings (New London Group, 1996). Therefore, van Compernelle (2011) concludes that "social meaning does not reside in the form (the sign) itself but it emerges from the indexicalities and designs of meaning reproduced and transformed in communicative activity" (p. 93). This is also to say that it is impossible to separate linguistic forms from their social meanings; rather we must look at language *in situ* (Lantolf & Thorne, 2006: 7). Therefore, in this study, language users (both L1 and L2 users) are not considered to be homogenous, bundles of demographic information but, rather, as agentive users of a semiotic tool and, furthermore, that the choices they make as they use language carry specific social meanings.

Variation is a Challenge for Language Learners

From the perspective of a learner, then, the beauty and frustration of language is that it conveys social meanings about the relationship between the users, the situation, and the purpose of communication. When considering the referential value of linguistic variations, one might say

that there are often many ways to say the “same thing” (Labov, 1972). Yet on the other hand, linguistic variations convey slightly different stylistic and social meanings (e.g. greater or less social distance, formality, etc.). These social meanings are created and transformed by the users of a language (as discussed above). Therefore, from the perspective of an L2 learner, these meanings are bound to be different from the social meanings or concepts that were created in and through one’s first language. Language learners are acquiring the culture of pragmatics that is unique to the target culture. As they confront the “rich point” conflicts between the L2 culture and their L1 culture, they will gain greater command of the L2.

Historically, the field of L2 pragmatics has followed a trajectory similar to that of sociolinguistics described in the previous section. Early L2 pragmatics research focused heavily on comparing learners to a baseline of native speaker data, treating both learners and, in particular, native speakers as homogeneous categories (Bardovi-Harlig & Dornyei, 1998; Bardovi-Harlig, 2001; Blum-Kulka, House, & Kasper, 1989; Blum-Kulka & Levenston, 1987). However, it has become quite apparent that it is problematic to measure students’ learning or to develop instruction around generalized native speaker data without considering the underlying social meanings. Instead, we need to continue to reconceptualize pragmatic competence and the goals of pragmatic instruction to consider both native speaker and learner choice and agency to use or reject local conventions (Taguchi, 2011).

One way to do this is to look into not just how learners and native speakers choose to use language in a certain situation but to instead inquire about their understandings of the social meanings behind their linguistic choices, that is to say, their metapragmatic awareness. Verschueren (2004) argues that, “language users know more or less what they are doing when using language. Self-monitoring, at whatever level of salience [or consciousness] is always going

on” (p. 58). In addition, he argues that “metapragmatic awareness [is] a crucial force behind the meaning-generating capacity of language in use.” Granted, the level of consciousness or salience regarding these language choices may vary for L1 speakers and by situation. However, the significance of metapragmatic awareness, then, is even more important for L2 learners and a higher level of consciousness regarding pragmatic practices will only be beneficial to learners.

The current study contributes to a new and growing area of L2 pragmatics research that explores learners’ developing metapragmatic awareness (e.g. Kinginger & Farrell, 2004; Kinginger, 2008; van Compernelle & Williams, 2012a). These studies go beyond learners’ performance and explore the changes in learners’ underlying understandings and conceptual knowledge of linguistic variation. The current study explores the qualitative changes in study abroad students’ metapragmatic awareness after one semester abroad, how this awareness relates to students’ use of linguistic variations, and the influence of expert guidance and instruction on the development of metapragmatic awareness.

Vygotskian Sociocultural Theory and Second Language Development

Sociocultural theory in the field of SLA (Lantolf & Thorne, 2006) is a particularly useful theoretical framework by which one can investigate pragmatic development (Belz & Kinginger, 2002; Kinginger, 2008; van Compernelle, 2014). When applied within the field of SLA, a sociocultural perspective is centrally concerned with the question of the extent to which L2 learners appropriate new concepts, which become psychological tools to mediate practical activity such as communication. Simply learning “linguistic equivalents” is not sufficient.

For example, the English word “bread” is often translated into French as “le pain” because there is an idealized concept that is, in part, shared between these two cultures. However, the specific underlying concepts or social meanings that each speech community has

concerning “bread” or “le pain” are slightly different from one another. When an L1 American English speaker uses the word “bread,” he or she most likely envisions sliced bread, the sort of which is often served with peanut butter and jelly. The concept of “le pain” to a L1 French speaker, on the other hand, would conjure the idea of a crusty baguette that is torn by hand and served with an assortment of cheeses. In a second example, the French leave-taking “à tout à l’heure” is often translated as “see you later” in English but the use of the French phrase is much more nuanced than its English counterpart. In English, one can say, “see you later” as a common, generic leave-taking, often without a concrete plan to actually see the other person. In French, the use of “à tout à l’heure” is only appropriate if there is a set plan to see the other later that day. Differences in social meaning such as these lead Lantolf and Thorne (2006) to argue that “learning a new language is about much more than acquiring new signifiers for already given signifieds... It is about acquiring new conceptual knowledge... as a way of re-mediating one’s interaction with the world” (p. 5).

Explicit Metapragmatic Awareness and the Development of Scientific Concepts

This study focuses on one area of learners’ L2 conceptual knowledge, which is their explicit metapragmatic awareness. The roles of both implicit and explicit knowledge and learning, and the relationship between the two have been long debated topics in the field of SLA (Ellis, 2005, p. 214). From a sociocultural perspective, Lantolf and Thorne (2006, p. 298) argue that spontaneous linguistic performance can emerge from explicit knowledge that has been speeded-up (Paradis, 2009) over time and with practice. An example that is often used to describe this transformation is learning to drive a stick-shift car (Lantolf, 2006). This task requires a great deal of conscious attention when first learning but over time and with practice, the behavior becomes accelerated and can be done while giving conscious attention to other tasks

(such as determining the best route to the bank). However, if something goes wrong, the driver can bring back to mind her explicit knowledge of the process to correct the issue.

Explicit, scientific conceptual knowledge plays a key role in Gal'perin's (1979, 1992) theory of human mental actions, such as using an L2. Gal'perin posits that three processes contribute to mental actions: orientation, execution, and control. In the orientation or planning process, an individual applies his or her conceptual knowledge to the cognitive or communicative task. The second process, execution, concerns actually carrying out the task. Finally, the control function determines how successfully the task was accomplished. Of these three processes, orientation is the most important because its quality will impact the execution and control functions. Arieviditch and Haen (2005) summarize that Gal'perin "viewed the ability of looking ahead (orientation) as a precondition to and even a prime aspect of learning. In contemporary educational psychology, this ability is considered part of students' self-regulation, because looking ahead leads to cognitive planning and monitoring" (p. 162). Essentially, then developing metapragmatic awareness, particularly by providing learners with mediated support in the form of schematizing frameworks to think about language variation, would provide learners with a higher quality of orientation, which, in turn, will lead to more systematic execution and control.

Vygotsky (1986) also highly values consciousness or awareness in learner's development of conceptual knowledge. He argues that, "becoming conscious of our operations and viewing each as a process of a certain *kind*... leads to their mastery" (p. 171). Vygotsky (1986) considers the development of concepts to be central to the development of higher psychological functions and scientific thinking. He posits that there are two types of concepts: everyday and scientific. An everyday concept is formed by making generalizations about an observed phenomenon in

everyday life. A scientific concept, on the other hand, is formed by beginning with a verbal definition and applying it to everyday experience. This verbalization (putting words to concepts) is both the difficulty and advantage of scientific concepts. It is difficult because it requires abstraction from empirical evidence but it is also advantageous because it paves the way for deliberate use in the future.¹ Figure 2.1 visually shows how these concepts develop in opposite directions with scientific concepts moving downward and spontaneous concepts moving upward.

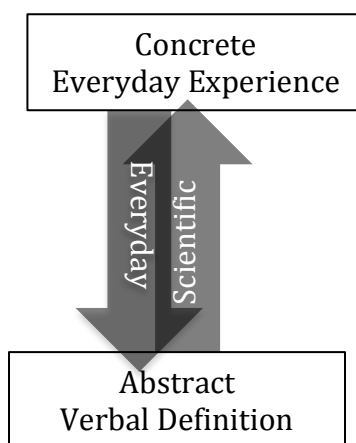


Figure 2.1: The Development of Scientific and Spontaneous Concepts

Vygotsky (1986) even uses the example of learning an L2 to explain this dialogic relationship between concepts. He argues that learning an L2, a predominately scientific concept learned through formal schooling, in turn enhances one's scientific understanding of the L1, an everyday concept that is predominately implicit and spontaneous, which shows how both types of conceptual knowledge grow through each other. He later argues that learning a L2 is conscious and deliberate from the start and that "higher [scientific] forms develop before

¹ It is also important to distinguish between a learner who has internalized a scientific concept and one that has not yet done so. In the earlier stages of learning a new concept, Vygotsky argues that "empty verbalism," or the parrot-like repetition of words, is certainly possible in a learner who has not yet appropriated the concept (p. 150).

spontaneous, fluent speech” (p. 195). In this way, explicit understanding, or the ability to verbally define a concept, is an important component in internalizing new conceptual knowledge.

In summary, this study maintains that explicit, scientific conceptual knowledge about pragmatic practices leads to a more thoughtful, deliberate orientating basis for action or use of L2 pragmatics. In addition, I propose that learners who have access to an expert mediator who provide them with a systematic framework by which to interpret their everyday experiences will show a deeper development of their conceptual knowledge, that is to say greater metapragmatic awareness.

Review of Study Abroad Literature

The previous section of this chapter laid the foundation for the language learning focus and theoretical approach adopted in this study. This section now reviews why it is important to explore the development of pragmatic competence within the study abroad context of learning. In addition, it discusses the opportunities for and challenges of social interaction with L1 speakers during study abroad because it is these interactions that will serve as the basis for learners’ observations in the current study. This review shows that study abroad is a potentially rich environment for learning pragmatics but that, on their own, students encounter, react to, and interpret their surroundings in very different ways. Finally, the limited amount of pedagogical research suggests that educators can help to mediate students’ interpretations of their study abroad experience, though very little research has actually explored the implementation of such methods.

Study Abroad as a Locus for Pragmatic Development

The study abroad context of learning is a potentially prime location for students to acquire pragmatic competence (Barron, 2003, 2007; Kasper & Rose, 2002). Though a great deal of L2 pragmatics research has focused on instruction (for a review, see Taguchi, 2011) there is unfortunately a general lack of attention to pragmatics in foreign language classrooms and curriculum (Kasper & Rose, 2001; Vellenga, 2004). Barron (2003) proposes that time spent in the target community provides access and the opportunity to extensively witness, observe, and use authentic pragmatic practices and the target language in ways that are not available at home.

Within study abroad research concerning pragmatic development, a large majority of the literature has focused on learners' production of pragmatic features. This research often compares learners' performance on an open-ended questionnaire such as a Discourse Completion Task (DCT) to an idealized native speaker trajectory that is determined by generalizations of L1 pragmatics research or an average baseline of native speaker data (Hoffman-Hicks, 1999; Regan, et al., 2009; Schauer, 2006, 2007; Shardakova, 2005). These studies have found that study abroad students often make greater gains compared to students studying in a traditional foreign language classroom (Hoffman-Hicks, 1999; Matsumura, 2001; Schauer, 2006, 2007). Yet, at the same time, study abroad students rarely fully adopt the native speaker conventions and, in addition, there are often notable individual differences between learners in their gains and learning trajectories (Alcon Soler & Codina Espurz, 2002; Barron, 2000; Bataller, 2010; Matsumura, 2003; Warga & Schölmberger, 2007).

Considered together, this research has shown that simply investigating L2 students' use of pragmatic features alone does not give a deep, rich or clear picture of their pragmatic competence. For example, one study by Regan (1995) found study abroad students to overuse a

pragmatic feature, deleting the “ne” particle as part of the French negative construction. In another study, female students chose to not use Japanese honorifics in a situation that conventionally required this speech style because they did not like the way it portrayed women (Siegal, 1995). Finally, Bataller (2010) found that her study abroad students often used the strategies that they knew to be grammatically correct in exchange for those that may be more appropriate. Therefore, looking at production alone does not give us a big enough picture. When students do not follow native speaker conventions, it is not possible to know if it is a result of lacking competence or a personal choice by the students (Kinging & Farrell, 2004; Kinginger, 2008; Siegal, 1995; van Compernelle & Williams, 2011; van Compernelle, 2014).

There are only a few studies that have investigated pragmatic development during study abroad from modalities other than production. For example, Matsumura (2001, 2003) explored learners' perception of social status and Schauer (2006, 2007) explored learners' ability to identify pragmatic errors, both through multiple-choice questionnaire (MCQ) instruments. However, these studies focused on the learner's receptive knowledge about the appropriateness of language use in various situations rather than their understandings of the social meanings behind linguistic choices. For example, Matsumura's (2001, 2003) MCQ was used to measure learners' preference for particular advice-giving strategies (direct advice, hedged advice, indirect comments with no advice, or opting out) in 12 situations with interlocutors of varying social status. He equated pragmatic competence as selecting the conventionally appropriate strategy according to the social status of the interlocutor. Schauer (2006, 2007) used a video-and-questionnaire instrument in which a video clip of a conversation that contained a pragmatic error, or a grammatical error or no error (controls) was presented to the learners. Learners were asked to identify if the utterance was appropriate/correct and if so, how severe was the error.

In contrast, Kinginger and her colleagues (Kinger & Blattner, 2008; Kinginger & Farrell, 2004; Kinginger, 2008) have begun to explore the development of metapragmatic awareness during study abroad. These studies have all used data elicited from a qualitative Language Awareness Interview in which learners are asked to explain their understanding of a variety of French sociolinguistic variations based on short texts and problems. Kinginger and Blattner quantified the responses to one section in order to select case studies for deeper inquiry. In all three studies (including Kinginger and Blattner after case study selection), qualitative analyses examined changes in how the learners discussed different sociolinguistic variations in one or more sections and compared these changes to the narrative accounts of their experiences during study abroad. These studies have often found that the development of metapragmatic awareness seems to reflect the nature of their study abroad experiences overall and, in particular, with their engagement in local social networks.

If fact, learners' engagement in local social networks has been highlighted by a handful of studies as having a notable impact on pragmatic development abroad. For example, Kinginger and Belz (2005) presented case studies of students in two different learning contexts: one student in telecollaboration and two students in residence abroad and their development of address form competence in German and French. The students who were studying abroad had very different experiences and degrees of engagement in socio-cultural settings while abroad. One engaged in a range of interactional settings and had an overall rich experience, which the authors attribute to assisting "his understanding of the social indexicality and significance of address forms" (p. 410). On the contrary, the other student made very little effort to interact with French NS, which was reflected in her very modest growth in proficiency and lack of understanding of the address form system.

In a related study by Kinginger and Blattner (2008), students' awareness of colloquial language was found to be shaped by the degree to which they engaged in language-related social settings. This conclusion was made after examining three students' (from a larger group of 23) degrees of social interaction while abroad, which were mirrored in their level of gains of awareness of colloquial French.

Regan, Howard and Lemée (2009) also attributed learners' contact with NSs to the developments that they observed in the use of four French sociolinguistic markers ("ne" deletion, nous/on pronoun selection, /l/ deletion, and future temporal reference). Finally, Bataller (2010) did not actually set out to investigate the influence of social interaction, however, its observed influence was apparent enough that a lack of social interaction was attributed to the less-than-nativelike request strategies used by students.

These studies suggest that learners' social interactions with L1 speakers provide a rich locus for noticing and observing pragmatic practices during study abroad. It is this context in particular that this study and its participants draw from as the source of student reflections and tutoring discussions. Regarding the explorations of pragmatic development, the current study focuses on students' developing explicit metapragmatic awareness during study abroad and how this awareness relates to their pragmatic language use. It adds to the previous explorations of pragmatic awareness and use in two ways. First, it does not pretheorize which pragmatic features or practices students would observe and learn from, rather it allows students to bring up features that are salient to them in their interaction with L1 speakers. In addition, it provides a resource to learners in the form of expert mediation to help students to process and consider the social meanings behind the pragmatic practices that they observe.

Social Interaction During Study Abroad

The role of social interaction in language learning abroad has been documented by a handful of studies. Most frequently, researchers have attempted to quantify the amount of time students spend interacting with and in the target language while abroad. In addition, a handful of studies have described the nature of common settings for informal interaction, such as the homestay setting and other informal social networks. These descriptive studies often draw on the reports and opinions of students and, at times, their interlocutors in search of exploring the particular benefits that each setting may provide.

Quantity of Social Interaction Abroad and Language Learning

Within the study abroad literature, researchers have frequently considered the amount of time learners spend interacting in the target language as a possible variable (often among others) that may affect language gains. In these studies, the amount of reported time that students spend interacting with and in the target language while abroad has been measured by various questionnaire instruments such as the *Language Contact Profile* (Freed, Dewey, Segalowitz, & Halter, 2004). No matter which instrument was used measure reported time, some of these studies have found positive relationships between the amount of time interacting and gains in motivation (Hernandez, 2010; Isabelli-Garcia, 2006) or pragmatic comprehension (Matsumura, 2003; Taguchi, 2008). In many cases, however, there are not convincing statistical results supporting a relationship between time and gains (Freed, Segalowitz, et al., 2004; Ginsberg & Miller, 2000; Magnan & Back, 2007; Segalowitz & Freed, 2004). For example, Taguchi (2008)

found a significant positive correlation with comprehension speed but not accuracy² and Ginsberg and Miller (2000) found no statistically significant differences between gainers and nongainers on an oral proficiency interview (OPI) and the amount of time they spent using Russian. Ginsberg and Miller conclude that, “we must dig deeper into the quality and specifics of student experiences, and we must understand what students bring to them and how they use them *for learning*, if we are to understand why some students gain and others do not” (p. 256, emphasis in original).

Nature of Social Interactions Abroad

In addition to research that has measured interactions by cataloguing amount of time, researchers have sought to describe the nature of student experiences with various settings that provide learners the opportunity for social interaction with local native speakers. In particular, students' experiences within the homestay and additional informal social networks have been quite thoroughly documented in the literature. These descriptive studies have shown that the development of local social networks is both beneficial but sometimes difficult to establish and is dependent on a host of factors including the student and native speakers' personalities, cultural perspectives, and motivations (e.g. Isabelli-Garcia, 2006; Kinginger, 2008).

For example, Wilkinson (1998) set out to explore what types of interaction influenced the study abroad experience of two students studying in France. Her study highlighted the centrality of the homestay on these two, rather contrasting, case studies. One student was warmly welcomed into her host family and had a very positive and successful experience with them. However, the other student had a less positive experience that was complicated by

² She argues that the lack of a statistical relationship concerning accuracy could be due to the complexity of this pragmatic feature and the infrequent opportunities to interpret this type of implicature, no matter how much L2 contact a student had.

miscommunications and cultural misunderstandings. The first student's host family helped her to build connections in the community and asked her to return and vacation with them. However, the second student felt alienated by her family and frustrated by the miscommunications. As a result, the first student changed majors from Biology to French and returned to France for an additional year of study. To the contrary, the second student dropped her French major to a minor and became disillusioned with language learning. These two strikingly different experiences reveal how influential the homestay can be on the outcomes of study abroad. Wilkinson further concluded that the differences in intercultural sensitivity between her two participants also played a significant role. From these two cases, it appears that intercultural sensitivity and acceptance in the homestay can determine the success of that experience, which can further influence the ways students approach the rest of their study abroad experience and other interactions they may have with the host community.

A few years later, Wilkinson (2002) analyzed the language used between students and members of their host families. In order to investigate the type of language that is produced and used with study abroad students, Wilkinson used conversation analysis and ethnographic methods to analyze tape-recorded conversations between students and members of their host families. She concludes that classroom roles and discourse structures were applied to these informal interactions. She argues that they may be inappropriately applied so that students are not receiving true "native-like" input. However, it may also be argued that this type of practice simply provides scaffolding and accommodation for the students' current language abilities. In addition, even if homestay members modify their speech with the students, Iino (2006) noted that they do not modify their speech with their regular social networks. If students witness these

interactions, they may be able to provide a source of student observations about pragmatic practices.

The next pair of studies investigates the homestay from a variety of perspectives in order to show a well-rounded picture. Knight and Schmidt-Rinehardt (2002) and Schmidt-Rinehardt and Knight (2004) examined the homestay from three different perspectives: those of the host families, students, and resident directors. From these reports, everyone involved credited the success or failure of a homestay to the adjustment or introduction into the family as well as continued clear communication and participation throughout their stay. Overall, all three groups supported the idea that the homestay enhanced the students' time abroad.

Diao & Freed (2012) explored a large group of students' (n=70) responses to a series of questionnaires about their homestay experiences in order to better understand this common component to a study abroad experience. Through a mixed methods approach they investigated home stay practices such as: the variety of topics discussed with family members, with which homestay family members the students interact with the most, students' feelings and expectations about the experience, and its reported contributions to their language learning. Their findings reveal that though many students consider this experience to be a positive component overall, their feelings and expectations are not constant or simple, but rather evolving, nuanced and complex.

To summarize the work that has explored the homestay setting, its potential impact on the study abroad experience is quite apparent, however, the variety of actual student experiences reminds us that successful homestays are always not guaranteed. Students who became members of their host families and were able to interact well with them appear to have benefited the most. This finding is, in fact, in line with the assumptions of a sociocultural theoretical framework,

which would argue that it is crucial for learners to have opportunities for participation in culturally organized activities where mediational means (e.g. language) are made available and modeled and that the internalization of these means is supported by more competent participants.

Participating in informal social networks beyond the homestay setting can also be beneficial to the study abroad experience. As Hernandez (2010) suggests, the homestay may lead to more native speaker friends and interaction outside of the home. However, other research shows that informal social contacts can also be achieved without a positive homestay experience. For example, one participant in Kinginger's (2008) ethnographic study made significant informal contacts and native speaker friends despite his rather non-interactive host family. Finally, Isabelli-Garcia (2006) investigated the ways in which study abroad students' social networks influenced their oral communication skills and accuracy. She found that involvement in local social networks influenced the learners' continued motivation and language learning. In particular, she concludes that, "learners who incorporated themselves into social networks were the ones who aligned themselves to the new culture.... This experience allowed the learners to recognize, minimize, and finally accept cultural differences, which resulted in an impetus for learning, providing the learners the chance to work their way to understanding and to interaction" (p. 256).

From this collection of studies, it is clear that the study abroad context provides opportunities for social interaction that can be beneficial to the language learning experience. The social contacts built both in and outside of the homestay can provide a community into which students may be accepted and into which they can integrate themselves. However, these studies suggest that what the students take away from these interactions may be the most important. It is clear that from time to time relationships do not develop or interactions break

down because of communicative or cultural misunderstandings. Therefore it is important that someone actively be available or that some structure exist to provide learners with support to help them interpret the languacultural experiences and rich points they encounter and to encourage them to continue to build relationships and interactions even if an initial miscommunication occurs.

Support for Pragmatic Development During Study Abroad

Throughout the study abroad literature, many studies have proposed ideas about how to better support study abroad students during their time abroad (for a review, Kinginger, 2011) however, very few of these suggestions focus particularly on supporting learners' growing pragmatic knowledge. One exception to this is a study by Cohen and Shively (2007). In this study, an experimental study abroad group (studying in either Spanish- or French-speaking regions) was given a curricular intervention based on a self-access text about language- and culture-learning strategies. They found that, though the experimental group improved more than the control group, the difference was not statistically significant. In addition, both the experimental and control groups improved in their production of request and apology speech acts over the course of the semester. In this study, the experimental group participated in a 2-hour pre-departure orientation that introduced the text and the learning of speech acts, weekly reading assignments, and e-journaling. However, this intervention did not include regular guidance or feedback from a teacher or other expert. Rather, students were essentially left on their own with the assigned text and their e-journal. The intervention discussed many language- and culture-learning strategies (many were metacognitive strategies) but there was no exploration of if or how students incorporated these strategies into practice. In addition, this intervention focused on

matching a situation to the appropriate production of speech acts without any discussion of the ways in which speakers create and express social meanings of different linguistic choices.

Influenced in part by these less than desirable findings and the implications of her other previous research (Paige et al., 2004; Shively, 2008), Shively (2010) proposed an entire curricular model to promote the learning of pragmatics during study abroad. She describes the fundamental goals of her model to be to:

- (1) Encourage students to be language and culture data gatherers...
- (2) assist students in making connections between concrete pragmatic behavior and larger cultural patterns, both through guided interaction with an expert on language and culture and through self-directed learning and reflection;
- (3) build into instruction opportunities for social interaction with members of the host culture;
- (4) make best use of the specific characteristics of each stage of study abroad (before, during, after); and
- (5) take advantage of new technologies for both learning and social interaction. (p. 115)

For each phase of the study abroad experience, she proposed specific tasks, some of which are based on a model proposed by Martinez-Flor and Usó-Juan (2006). Before study abroad, Shively proposed activities designed to pique students' interest in pragmatics, build confidence, and to raise awareness. Proposed activities for the in-country phase include observation and analysis tasks as well as specific activities to encourage interactions with native speakers (e.g. discussion prompts for students to use with their host families). Finally, after study abroad, Shively proposed activities that encourage students to stay connected the local social networks they participated in abroad. Although this pedagogical model is thoroughly designed, the instruction uses traditional speech acts (e.g. requests, apologies, etc.) as the point of departure, rather than

social meaning and speaker agency. In addition, this model has not yet been implemented or empirically explored.

Finally, Winke and Teng (2010) explored the outcomes of a task-based pragmatics instruction program that they implemented during an eight-week summer study abroad program in China. This program focused on explicitly teaching various speech acts in Chinese as students worked through a workbook one-on-one with a few different Chinese tutors. The tutoring sessions emphasized students' practiced output of appropriate speech acts during activities with the tutors in various contexts. It did not, however, discuss or address students' underlying understanding of the social meanings expressed through language choices, the complexity of factors that influence language choices (speaker agency, consequences, and situation constraints), or encourage students to bring in their own observations and experiences from their semester abroad. The study abroad students in this study were compared to learners who remained at home and received no pragmatics or general language instruction during the eight weeks. They were found to outperform the at-home counterparts on an audio-video open-ended DCT. In addition, the study abroad students positively evaluated the tutorial program on a survey. However, these findings must be taken lightly as no comparisons were made to comparable study abroad students.

The current study has similar goals to Shively's model in particular (i.e., the first and second goals laid out above) but it approaches teaching pragmatics from a different perspective than any previous explorations of pragmatics instruction during study abroad. This study implements and explores the influences of a reflective journal activity that is intimately related to regular discussions of the journals with a teacher-researcher on the development of metapragmatic awareness. This support for pragmatic development expands beyond previous

research by 1) building on the observations of pragmatic practices that learners make while abroad rather than preselecting speech acts or other pragmatic resources, 2) having a central focus on the social meaning of linguistic choices, and 3) providing learners with a continual and active resource (the teacher-researcher) to help interpret their experiences.

Objectives & Research Questions

This dissertation project explores the extent to which study abroad students' observations of the social interactions they both witness and engage in may help them to develop metapragmatic awareness during a semester abroad. In addition, it examines the relationship between the qualities of students' metapragmatic awareness and pragmatic language use. Finally, it examines the ways in which mediation through a reflective journal and subsequent discussions with the teacher-researcher may enrich their observations and the development of metapragmatic awareness. To this end, the research questions are:

1. a) Do study abroad students notice pragmatic practices in interactions that they have and observe with L1 French speakers outside of the classroom? b) If so, which pragmatic practices do they report noticing? c) And, what role does expert mediation have in their observations?
2. Does students' metapragmatic awareness develop over the course of a semester abroad? If so, what role does expert mediation have in the development?
3. What is the relationship between the qualities of learners' metapragmatic awareness and pragmatic language use?

The first research question aims to describe what it is that students seem to notice and learn from interactions with L1 French speakers. It asks of them explicitly what *they* notice about

these interactions. Rather than pretheorizing what students ought to learn during their study abroad experiences (e.g., information about particular pragmatic practices), the present study follows an emic (participant-relevant) approach to students' observations that focuses on the pragmatic practices that emerge as salient to each individual participant.³ This research question explores what students notice, deduce, and seek out about local pragmatic practices. For example, do students notice syntactic markers of informal spoken French (for a description of these markers see Gadet, 1997), speech act behavior, or larger conversational practices? In addition, do they go beyond noticing the linguistic forms to make inferences about their social meanings and use?

The second research question addresses the development of students' metapragmatic awareness. To this end, this study adopts a historical, developmental approach (Vygotsky, 1986) to exploring learners' understandings of the social meanings behind pragmatic practices. The qualitative changes in learners' awareness are examined through pre- and post-program language awareness interviews. In addition, changes throughout the semester in students' explanations of pragmatic practices are examined through their journal entries.

In addition, both of these research questions also address a related sub-question that explores the role of expert mediation, through regular journal discussions with me, the teacher-researcher, on students' observations and their development of metapragmatic awareness. It was predicted that such activities would help students to critically reflect on and to verbalize or describe the pragmatic practices that they observed. The mediation I provided was expected to provide additional support to the students in understanding and interpreting their experiences

³ In response to the third RQ, students' pragmatic language use is compared, in part, to common conventions as part of a multidimensional analysis. The rationale for this analysis is discussed in greater detail in the Analysis section of Chapter 3.

while abroad. In order to explore this question, the resulting qualitative differences between non-expert-mediated learners and expert-mediated learners are explored in the types of pragmatic practices noticed and the development of metapragmatic awareness.

Finally, the last research question seeks to explore the ways in which metapragmatic awareness is related to learners' pragmatic language use, particularly through their performance on a Strategic Interaction Scenario (SIS) and reflections of their own language use recorded in the journal. This exploration provides a multi-dimensional perspective on students' pragmatic development. It was predicted that increased metapragmatic awareness as a result of expert mediation would help students to have more control over their use of pragmatic forms during their performance of varying scenarios (e.g. that they would more consistently use what they plan to use). In other words, as Gal'perin's theory suggests, students with a more systematic orientation (via expert mediation and concept diagrams) would, in turn, have a more systematic execution and control over their pragmatic language use.

Chapter 3: Methods

This chapter discusses the methods that were used to accomplish the objectives set out in the previous chapter. These goals are primarily descriptive in nature and therefore, the current study adopts a longitudinal design that uses qualitative content analysis, descriptive statistics, and close analysis of discourse to analyze a wide range of data sources. This section, first, contextualizes the study by presenting information about the research site and participants. Second, it describes the data collection procedures and data sources. Finally, it discusses how the data were analyzed.

Research Site

The study was conducted at a study abroad institution in southern France. The program has existed for over five decades and is located in a city with a major French university and many other study abroad programs. This program aims to afford students who have a wide range of French language abilities the opportunity to study abroad in France for a 14-week semester. Typical students come from a broad cross-section of US universities, attend the program during their junior year of college (approximately between the ages of 19 and 22), and consider English to be their first language. It offers a full range of French language courses as well as courses taught in French or English within the humanities, liberal arts, and business. Students typically complete four or five courses (approximately 15 credits) during a semester, at least two of which are in French and three others in either French or English. Advanced students are also eligible to take courses at the local French university and/or to participate in the French Honors Program, in which all courses are conducted in French. Courses are capped at a maximum of 18 students for 300-level courses and 16 students for 200-level courses. However, if enrollment is higher for a

particular level of French language courses, additional sections are offered. Professors teach anywhere from one to four courses a semester so any student may take courses from a range of two to five professors, depending on their schedule. All students who are directly enrolled in this program live with local host families for the entire semester.⁴ The program prides itself on its thorough process of selecting host families. Most families have hosted students for several years.

Participants

Participants were recruited from among the full cohort of 139 students enrolled in the Fall 2013 semester program. A total of 16 students (2M, 14F) were recruited from the intermediate and advanced level French courses on a volunteer basis. Participants had an average age of 20 years ($SD=0.71$). All participants consider English to be their first or primary language and have no previous study abroad experience in France (except for two with academic travel experiences of two weeks or less in jr. or sr. high school). Table 3.1 below presents general background information for each participant.⁵ Intermediate to advanced students were targeted because it was anticipated that students who have a foundation of basic vocabulary and some familiarity with a range of grammatical structures would be better prepared to notice and distinguish linguistic variations than true beginners. No participants were enrolled in the Honors program, the 400-level translation course, or 400-level sociolinguistics course because of related but potentially conflicting pedagogy between the instructors' courses and the proposed expert mediation.

⁴ A few students (less than 10%) who come to this institute via third-party study abroad companies were allowed to opt out of the homestay, depending on the arrangements of the private company. One participant in the NM group (Elizabeth) was in such a situation.

⁵ All names have been replaced with pseudonyms.

Table 3.1: Participant Information

Pseudonym	Gender	Age	Yr in School	Major (Minor)	L1	Additional Languages	Study abroad	Years of French Study			
							French Course	Elem.	Jr High	Sr High	Univ.
EM Participants											
Ahmed	M	20	Junior	Mechanical Engineering	English	Hindi	Adv. I	0	0	4	0.5
Yuki	F	22	Senior	Information Systems	English	Chinese, Spanish	Adv. I	0	0	1	1.5
Dahlia	F	20	Junior	Gender & Women's Studies	English		Int. II	0	0	4	1.5
Danielle	F	20	Junior	Anthropology, French (Natural Resources & Conservation Biology)	English		Adv. I	0	0	2	2
Gabrielle	F	20	Junior	International Business	English	Arabic	Adv. I	0	0	3	3
Jenny	F	20	Junior	Psychology	English		Adv. I	0	1	4	0.5
Kristina	F	20	Junior	English/French	English		Int. II	0	2	1	2
Kay	F	20	Junior	Hospitality Management	English		Adv. I	4	5	2	2
NM Participants											
Charlotte	F	21	Junior	History	English	Guyanese English	Int. I/II	4	4	3	1.5
Keshia	F	19	Junior	Economics (Theater Arts)	English		Int. I/II	4	4	0	1
Kacey	F	20	Junior	International Business	English		Adv. II	0	0	3	2
Zoe	F	20	Junior	Political Science, Visual Arts	English	Mandarin, Spanish	Int. I/II	0	0	4	0.5
Michael	M	20	Junior	Philosophy	English		Adv. II	5	3	4	0.5
Carissa	F	20	Senior	Criminal Justice, Psychology, French	English		Adv. II	5	2	0	2
Catherine	F	19	Sophomore	Psychology (Art Studio)	English		Int. I/II	0	2	4	0
Elizabeth	F	19	Sophomore	Accounting	English		Int. I/II	3	0	3	0

Procedures

I presented the project to students during the first week of the semester by visiting the intermediate (200-level) and advanced (300-level) language courses. There were two groups of participants recruited for this study: the expert-mediated (EM) group received more guidance from me throughout the semester and the non-expert-mediated (NM) group received no formal, project-related expert mediation. Each group of participants had different requirements (to be discussed below) therefore, half of the courses (one intermediate and one advanced) were given information for one set of requirements and the other half received information for the second set of requirements. The students in the EM group were required to complete a background questionnaire, regular journal entries, pre and post language awareness interviews, pre and post strategic interaction scenarios and to meet regularly (every other week) with me for a series of journal discussions (see the next section for a description of all data sources). The NM group also completed a background questionnaire and regular journal entries but only attended the preliminary and final interviews in order to complete the language awareness interviews and the strategic interaction scenarios (both tasks were completed in the same meeting).

All tasks were extracurricular and not associated with any formal course requirements. See Table 3.2 below for a timeline of the data collection. Volunteers were compensated upon completion of each phase of the project, according to their level of participation. EM participants received 10€ for the preliminary interview (pre-LAI and pre-SIS), 30€ for the journal and journal discussions, and 20€ for the final interview (post-LAI and post-SIS). NM participants received 10€ for the preliminary interview (pre-LAI and pre-SIS), 20€ for the journal, and 20€ for the final interview (post-LAI and post-SIS). In addition, any participant that satisfactorily completed all tasks for their level of participation was entered into a lottery for an additional \$250.

Table 3.2: Data Collection Timeline

Semester schedule	Data Source Collected
Week 1/ Orientation	Recruitment + Background Questionnaire
Week 2	Preliminary Interview: Language Awareness Interview 1 + Strategic Interaction Scenario 1 + Journal Instruction
Week 3	Journal Discussion 1 (<i>EM participants only</i>)
Week 4	
Week 5	Journal Discussion 2 (<i>EM participants only</i>)
Week 6	
Week 7	Journal Discussion 3 (<i>EM participants only</i>)
FALL BREAK	
Week 8	
Week 9	Journal Discussion 4 (<i>EM participants only</i>)
Week 10	
Week 11	Journal Discussion 5 (<i>EM participants only</i>)
Week 12	
Week 13	Final Interview: Language Awareness Interview 2 + Strategic Interaction Scenario 2
Week 14/ Final Exams/ Departure	

Note. In addition to the data collection schedule listed above, participants were instructed to electronically submit two journal entries per week. Reminders were sent by email or in person approximately once per week.

Sources of Data

The sources of data for this project included a pre and post language awareness interviews, pre and post strategic interaction scenarios, a reflective journal, biweekly journal discussions, a background questionnaire, researcher observations, and the collection of other artifacts (e.g. course syllabi, handouts, etc.). Of the two groups listed above, only the EM participants completed the journal discussions. Each of these sources is described in detail below.

Language Awareness Interviews

Each participant from both groups (EM and SM) individually completed pre and post Language Awareness Interviews (LAI) during the preliminary interview. The first took place during the second week of the semester and the second during the week before final exams. The purpose of these interviews was to elicit learners' explicit metapragmatic awareness. The LAI for this project was partially based on and adapted from LAIs used previously in the field⁶ (e.g. Kinginger, 2008; van Compernelle & Williams, 2011, 2013). These previous LAIs explicitly focused on specific predetermined linguistic variations or pragmatic features that they drew students' attention to by presenting one feature at a time (e.g. an address-form selection task, a colloquial words task, etc.). Whereas previous LAIs have focused on specific, predetermined linguistic variations and pragmatic features, the LAIs in the present study avoided drawing students' attention to predetermined features since the goal was to uncover what, if any, sociolinguistic and pragmatic practices became salient to the learners from an emic perspective.

⁶ For example, the first interview of this kind was designed by Kinginger (2008). These interviews formed a database that has since been used by Kinginger and her colleagues for a handful of studies (Kinger & Belz, 2005; Kinginger & Blattner, 2008; Kinginger & Farrell, 2004; Kinginger, 2008). Kinginger's LAI focuses on French sociolinguistic variation in six pre-selected areas: colloquial words, colloquial phrases, address form selection, interrogative syntax, speech acts for leave-taking, and genre analysis. In each section, the interview presents learners with either short texts or situations and asks the student to explain how and why a specific sociolinguistic variation may be used.

Similarly, van Compernelle and Williams (2011, 2013) developed a metalinguistic questionnaire as one measure of the efficacy of a pedagogical intervention about sociolinguistic variation in a traditional university language course. In this questionnaire, learners were presented with minimal triads of sentences, which focused on the presence or absence of the negative particle "ne" such as, "*Paul aime le chocolat. / Paul n'aime pas le chocolat. / Paul aime pas le chocolat.* (Paul likes chocolate. / Paul does not like chocolate. (+ne) / Paul does not like chocolate. (ø ne))." Students were then asked to explain the differences between these sentences.

The LAI for the current study used a text comparison task⁷ as the point of departure. In this interview, participants were presented with the written transcripts of two dramatically stylistically different examples of spoken French discourse. Students read, compared and pointed out differences of the type of language used in each sample. Text 1 was from a portion of a televised news interview between a journalist and a researcher from the Université Paris-Sorbonne. Text 2 presented a clip of the popular sitcom *Un Gars, Une Fille*, which featured an informal interactions of an adult couple who live together. This particular excerpt was from a telephone conversation between the couple. Some of the distinctions between these texts include: differing terms of address (*tu/vous, nous/on* and use of first and last name vs. pet names), the presence or absence of the negative particle *ne*, differing interrogative syntax, the presence or absence of colloquial words, extended, multiple-clause responses vs. short or incomplete-clause responses, and the presence or absence of phonological reductions (*tu* pronounced as [t] or *il y a* as [ja]).

Students were asked to read written copies of both transcripts with the help of a glossary of any potentially unknown words. As they read, they were asked to compare and contrast the language used in each text. I then asked them to point out the differences they observed between the two texts. Furthermore, they were asked to explain why they think the speaker chose to say it in that way and what they think that choice reveals about the social context of that conversation (See Appendix A for a sample interview protocol and transcripts). After students pointed out the linguistic variations that they could identify, I prompted them with leading questions to discuss any remaining linguistic variations by asking questions such as, “Does anything stand out to you as being different between the two texts in how the speakers address one another?” Although this

⁷ This text comparison activity was adapted from the pedagogical intervention activities used by van Compernelle and Williams (2011, 2013).

second round of questioning added an additional level of support (e.g. the second regulatory level described in Aljaafreh & Lantolf, 1994), no additional intervention or support was given to students and these responses were coded as prompted responses.

Strategic Interaction Scenarios

In the same meeting as the Language Awareness Interviews, students also completed a set of Strategic Interaction Scenarios (SISs). The purpose of this task was to elicit pragmatic language use from the participants. This tool was purposefully selected as a performance task because of its theoretical compatibility to the rest of the project. Strategic interaction scenarios were first conceptualized by Di Pietro (1982, 1987) and later adapted to concept-based language instruction by Negueruela (2003) and van Compernelle (2014). This interactive task involves the performance of role-play scenarios based on situation descriptions that have a shared context but in which each participant is given a specific, unique agenda and constraints that are unknown but conflicting with the other's situation description. Therefore, the roles and constraints given in each description create a tension or small conflict that the participants must strategically work out together in real time.

The current scenarios were carried out in three phases following an adaptation of Di Pietro's (1987) approach: a rehearsal or planning stage in which the student responded to questions and explicitly discussed their plan with me (see Appendix B), the actual performance of the scenario, and a debriefing or reflection stage in which they again explicitly discussed and evaluated their performance. This task differs from the majority of traditional role-plays in two

ways: first, by the built-in conflict⁸ and second, the three-phase procedure which documents students' plans and reflections about their performance.

This type of performance task coincides well with this project's theoretical framework and objectives particularly because of its direct link between what students planned to do (their explicit metapragmatic awareness) and how they actually performed the scenario. In addition, the three-phase procedure for these scenarios elicited data that reflects Galperin's three functions of mental actions: orientation, execution, and control. Table 3.3 below visually maps these functions with the procedures for SISs. Because these scenarios were built on a shared context and not a target speech act or pragmatic practice, target forms or ways of completing this task were not preselected. Rather, during the planning stage, learners shared what language choices were salient and relevant to them for completing this task or situation.

Table 3.3: Procedure for Strategic Interaction Scenarios (adapted from van Compernelle, 2014)

Stage	Description	Function
1. Planning	Learner decides how s/he wants to present her/himself, what the qualities of the social relationship are, and which language forms are therefore appropriate for the scenario, using the concepts to guide choices.	Orientation
2. Performance	Learner performs scenario, aiming to use selected pragmatic forms.	Execution
3. Reflection	Learner discusses and evaluates performance.	Control

For this project, all students were asked to complete one conventionally formal and one conventionally informal scenario (scenarios have been adapted from van Compernelle, 2014 and van Compernelle & Henery, in press-a). I played the other's role in these scenarios. They were

⁸ One possible exception to this is the conflict-laden role-plays that are used as a level check for advanced levels of the ACTFL OPI. However, in these role-plays, the student is explicitly made aware of the conflict through the situation description card, the conflict does not occur in real time as it does in the SISs used in this study.

audio recorded and transcribed for later analysis. (See Appendices B and C for scenario descriptions and the planning and reflection questions.)

Reflective Journal

The third data source was regular journal entries written by all students. Journals are a common source of data collection for qualitative study abroad research. Often they are used to elicit students' self-reports of their individual study abroad experiences. One particularly relevant example is Stewart (2010) who used e-journals to explore learners' language awareness (particularly of focal grammatical structures) and social development during study abroad. Stewart designed her e-journals for students to reflect on their learning in response to a set of questions that asked about the type of interactions they were having and anything specific they noticed about language outside of the classroom.

The journals in the current study were used to elicit two kinds of self-reports from the participants: a) narrative accounts of any event they deemed relevant to their language learning and b) reports of pragmatic practices they observed or participated in outside of the classroom. Students were asked to electronically submit (via Moodle) at least two entries per week in English in response to the following prompts (see Appendix D for complete instructions):

1. Write in your journal about any event in the last few days that impressed you or made you reflect on your language learning experience abroad. These experiences should come from outside of the classroom but may be within or outside of your homestay.
2. An important benefit of study abroad is to be exposed to "real," everyday, spoken French. In French, just as in English, speakers vary the language that they use depending on the social situation at hand. (For example, think about the different situations in which you might say, "Hello, sir, how are you?" or "Hey, what's up?").

Describe in your journal any such language use or practices that you have noticed from the interactions with French speakers that you either witness or participate in.

- Why do you think the speaker chose to use language in that way in that situation?
- Can you explain what social meaning of the language used in that way expressed to the people involved?

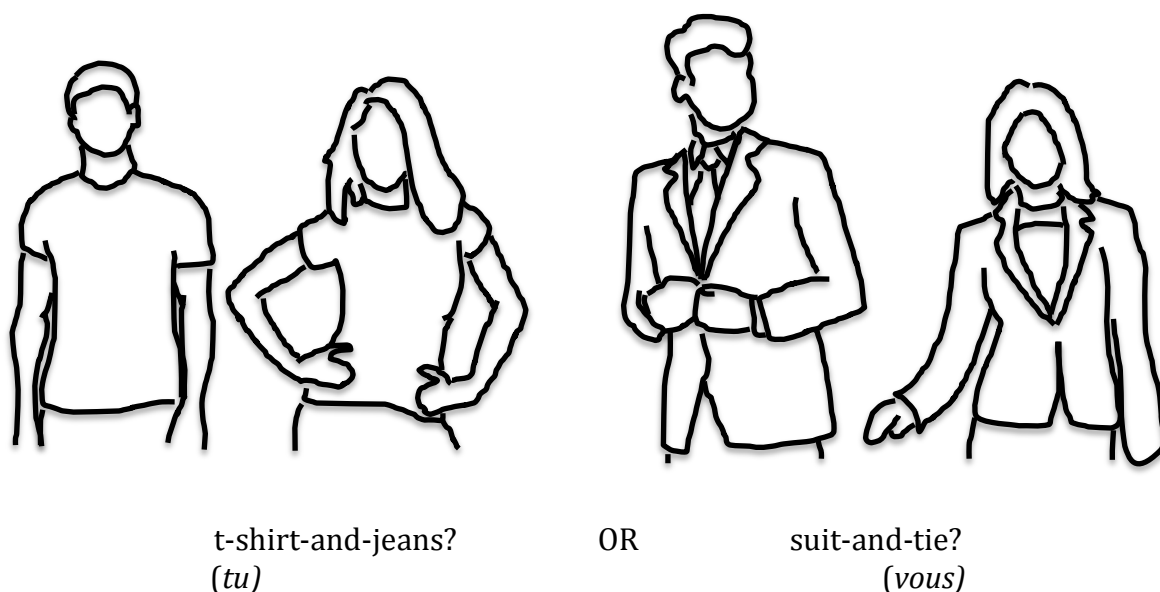
Journal Discussions

The expert-mediation was provided to EM participants in this study through biweekly journal discussions. The purpose of these discussions was to: 1) to ask for elaborations in order to be sure that I understood the reflections and situations described in the journal entries and 2) to provide participants with support for interpreting their experiences and observations via a Concept-based Pragmatics Instruction framework (CBPI, adapted from van Compernelle, 2014). These discussions were conducted one-on-one every other week (five meetings total), were audio-recorded, and lasted approximately 30 minutes long each.

The support provided to the EM participants focused primarily on a new leading concept diagram that explains Crystal's (1997) definition of pragmatics and three subconcept diagrams that were adapted from van Compernelle (2014). These concept diagrams were presented to EM participants through a handout given before the first journal discussion and subsequently discussed using the format of instructional conversations (Tharp & Gallimore, 1991). In each journal discussion meeting, we discussed together the concept diagrams and what they signified, applied the diagrams to a handful of hypothetical social situations (adapted from the situations in the Appropriateness Judgment Tasks in van Compernelle & Henery, in press-a), and discussed each journal entry in detail. With each entry, I oriented the students to the concepts and asked them to apply them to the situations that they had reported on, if they had not already done so. Therefore, the concept diagrams were consistently referred to and used as a tool for students to think about the social meanings behind the pragmatic practices that they had observed, thus providing them with a systematic framework.

The majority of the concept diagrams were designed by Van Compernelle (2014) for a CBPI sequence that was founded on the principles of Systemic Theoretical Instruction

(Gal'perin, 1989, 1992; Negueruela, 2003). The diagrams visually represent how French linguistic variations can express and create different social meanings. For example, the subconcept of Self-Presentation (Figure 3.1 below) visually represents that if a speaker wishes to present him or herself in either a “tee-shirt-and-jeans” manner or “suit-and-tie” manner, this choice will affect the way he or she uses language. In the original diagrams, binary choices of common linguistic variations were presented to the learners under each visual such as: address forms *tu* or *vous*, *on* or *nous*, and whether to retain or omit the negative particle *ne*. The diagrams for the current study included one concrete, illustrative example of second person address forms (*tu/vous*). This example helped learners to begin to think through the concepts and how they apply to the use a very familiar (though complex) pragmatic practice so that the learners may be able to apply them to the pragmatic practices that became salient to them throughout the semester. In addition to Self-Presentation, van Compernelle designed diagrams to represent how social distance and power hierarchies also affect language choice (see Appendices E and F).



*Figure 3.1: Subconcept Diagram for Self-Presentation
(adapted with permission from van Compernelle, 2014, p. 58)*

In addition to van Compernelle's (2014) three concept diagrams, I designed a leading concept diagram that represents Crystal's (1997) definition of pragmatics (see Chapter 1) and how the three factors of Situation Constraints, Speaker Intention, and Effects on Other Participants all influence language choices (see Figure 3.2). This diagram served as a leading concept in that each of the three subconcepts (self-presentation, social distance, and power) were discussed in light of this leading concept. For example, Self-Presentation was discussed from the perspective of all three influences: 1) which self-presentation do the situation constraints deem to be appropriate, 2) which self-presentation does the speaker wish to portray, and 3) what effect will a certain self-presentation have on the other participants?

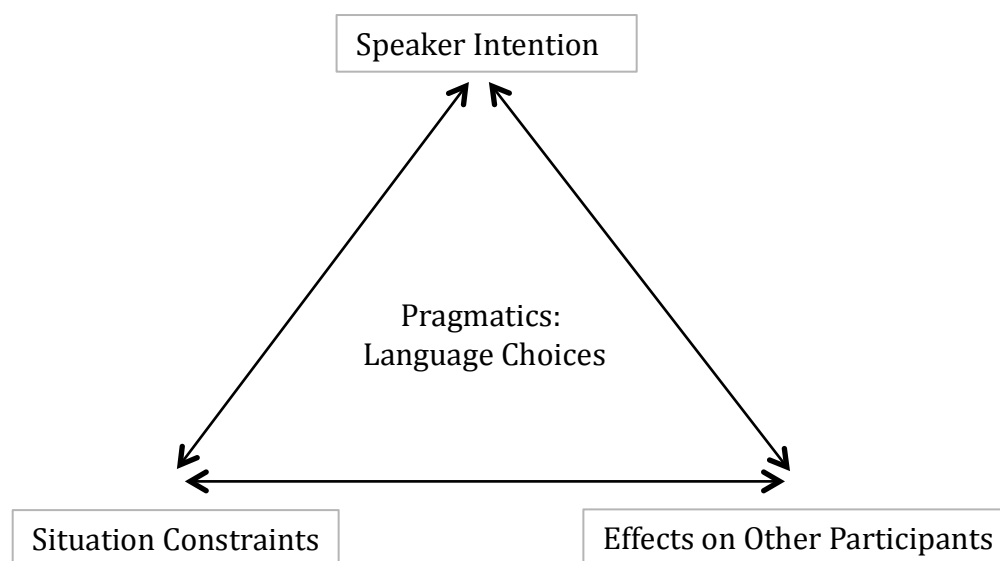


Figure 3.2: Leading Concept Diagram of Pragmatics

Finally, I urged the students to use their observations to give additional language choices beyond the illustrative example of *tu* and *vous*. In this way, students were asked to apply the concepts both in order to analyze the social situations they were observing as well as to articulate what other language choices might express the meanings captured by the diagrams. (See Appendices E and F for samples of all concept diagrams and Journal Discussion protocols).

Background Information

In addition, at the time of recruitment, participants' background information was collected through an adapted version of the pre-study abroad *Language Contact Profile* (Freed, Dewey, et al., 2004). This questionnaire (see Appendix G for a sample) elicited participants' demographic information, previous French experience, including years of formal study and French-related extra-curricular activities or experiences, and current study abroad course schedule. The data from this questionnaire served as a preliminary introduction to the participants and helped to ensure that the participants represented a rather homogenous sample in the areas of L1 background, study abroad experience, and student status but also to highlight each participant's unique background that he or she brought to the study abroad experience.

Researcher Observations and Artifacts

I was on-site throughout the full semester to observe program-wide meetings and classroom discussions. In general, this provided me with a more in-depth understanding of these students' study abroad experiences. In particular, I regularly observed French language courses, and noted in particular if and/or how any pragmatic language use was discussed. In addition, any relevant course documentation (e.g. syllabi, handouts) that discussed pragmatic language use or sociolinguistic variation was collected.

Analysis

The data sources were analyzed by using a content analysis that accounts for the emerging themes and trends in pragmatic practices that became salient to the learners and their development of metapragmatic awareness throughout the semester. The focus of this section is on the analysis procedures for each research question and source of data. The content analysis

(Dornyei, 2007) led to coding schemes that allow for frequency counts and descriptive statistics to be used to explore trends and patterns in the data. In addition, qualitative analyses of representative, illustrative examples are presented in the results alongside these more quantitative results.

In all cases, the selection of the illustrative examples focused on being representative of the types of observations, reflections, and/or developing awareness that occurred across the data or in the respective group that the example represents. Because the examples and subsequent qualitative analyses are not full case studies, I do not follow one student from beginning to end but, rather, purposely present examples from a different students in each qualitative analysis in order to fully elucidate the findings from a wide range of students from each group. The examples were selected because they clearly articulate a specific but representative finding in the data.

RQ1 Analysis

RQ1: a) Do study abroad students notice pragmatic practices in interactions that they have and observe with L1 French speakers outside of the classroom? b) If so, which pragmatic practices do they report noticing? c) And, what role does expert mediation have in their observations?

Analysis of the first research question involved two sources of data: journal entries (EM n=8, NM n=4) and the observations made in the pre- and post-LAI (EM n=8, NM n=4). The journal entries directly elicited observations that students made throughout the semester from their interactions and experiences outside of the classroom. In comparison, the LAI elicited a pre/post look at changes in observations made between two pre-selected texts. Although the journal entries were the intended source of data, the LAI observations were also included here in

order to consider data from all 16 participants. Each source of data was coded for the types of observations that students made in each task. Comparisons were then made between the EM and NM groups as well as for the group overall.

The coding scheme for the journal entries began with a preliminary list of potential linguistic practices that students may have observed. This list included themes such as syntactic style markers (e.g., features of everyday French identified by Gadet, 1997), speech act behavior (e.g., conventions for greetings/leave-takings, requests, apologies, etc.), and larger conversational practices. The preliminary list was then adapted to include the facets and themes that were actually present in the journal data. This resulted in a total of 25 categories of observations that can be organized into seven groups or major categories. Details about and examples of these categories will be discussed in the Results chapter.

Each student's journal was then analyzed for how many different times a student referenced a particular category throughout all posts combined. Each separate example given was considered to be a token of that particular category.⁹ For example, Excerpt 3.1 presents a post from Zoe's (NM) journal. This post was coded as having one token for "Question Formation" and one token for "Short Phrases/Complete Sentences." If, for example, a student referenced several different occurrences or situations throughout their journal in which they observed *tu/vous* usage, each occurrence was considered to be a separate token. Additionally, if a student listed three separate new slang words or expressions that they observed or had learned, three tokens were counted for the category "slang words/phrases." The total number of

⁹ It is important to note that only comments related to pragmatic language choices were counted as observation tokens. There was, therefore, other content in the journal posts that was not included in this unit of analysis (namely, explanations of language choices and reflections on other non-linguistic-related study abroad experiences). Not all journal posts contained observation tokens but other posts (such as Excerpt 3.1) contained multiple tokens. On average across all participants, there were 1.20 tokens per post (SD=0.41).

categories and tokens was then calculated for each student and descriptive statistics were used to gain a comprehensive perspective on trends and the pattern of themes in the journal entries.

Excerpt 3.1

I was invited to a party at the home of a French student at the engineering school in Aix last week. There were others there and I noticed of course, that there were varying levels of English speaking ability. The girl with the best English let me in on her secret: watching American tv shows and movies. We spoke in an equal mix of English and French. When they spoke French, **I noticed that questions will always take the "verb-subject" structure.** I think this was the more casual, more rapid way in which all our conversations were like. In French class, we're encouraged to speak in complete sentences **but in real conversations, I noticed that just like in English, the French will respond in phrases or expressions a lot.** We were all college students aged 20-24, in an informal get together setting, so perhaps phrases are the norm in these situations. (Zoe, NM, Post #5)

A similar process was used for coding the observations made in the pre- and post-LAI. In this task, students made observations about differences between two preselected texts (see pp. 39 for a description of the texts). Therefore, the preliminary coding scheme began with categories of known differences between the two texts in pragmatic language and was adapted to include any additional categories that emerged in the data. This resulted in a final list of 12 categories of pragmatic differences between the texts: *tu* vs. *vous*, *on* vs. *nous*, colloquial or academic vocabulary, differing greetings, full names vs. pet names, the absences or presence of contractions, ne absence or presence, differing interrogative structures, multi-clause or short responses, subject matter/topics, speech delivery, and general grammar differences.¹⁰ Categories were then coded as being identified by the students either independently (I), prompted (P) or a mixture (IP).¹¹ In addition, each comment about a certain category was considered to be an

¹⁰ The category of grammar here refers to students' comments about the overall grammar of a text or other comments about grammar that are not captured in any other category. For example, for Text 1 in the pre-LAI, Ahmed described it as having "better grammar" and Keshia described it as having "nice verb tenses."

¹¹ IP categories designate those that were initially identified independently but then expanded upon with additional tokens during the prompted phase.

observation token for that category. Tokens were then coded as being either generic descriptions (D) about the text(s) or specific (S) examples students cited directly from the texts. For example, if a student commented that the speakers in Text 2 use more slang words, it was coded as a generic comment. If the student then identified or cited two specific examples from the text, two specific tokens were counted for this student, leading to a total of one generic and two specific tokens under the category of “colloquial or academic vocabulary.”

Frequency counts for the number of categories (I, IP, and P) and the number of tokens (D and S) were then calculated for each participant, for both the pre- and post-LAI. Descriptive statistics were used to consider overall trends in both the entire group of participants and the EM and NM groups separately.

RQ2 Analysis

RQ2: Does students' metapragmatic awareness develop over the course of a semester abroad? If so, what role does expert mediation have in the development?

The data analysis in response to RQ2 focused on pre- to post-LAI changes in the types of explanations students gave to justify or explain the language choices made in the LAI texts. In order to provide a holistic view of students' pre-study abroad and post-study abroad metapragmatic awareness, all LAI explanations of why language choices were made within the given texts were combined into a single unit of analysis for each student and each LAI. This unit of analysis was then coded using a multidimensional coding scheme adapted from van Compernelle and Henery (in press -a) and Negueruela (2003). This coding scheme contained three main categories, each of which included several features with three possible ratings: “yes,” “some,” and “no” (see Table 3.4). The Leading Concept category contained the features Situation Constraints, Speaker Intention, and Effects on Other Participants. The second category,

Subconcepts, contained three features: Self-Presentation, Social Distance, and Power. Finally, the third category only contained the feature of Meaning-Based Awareness.

Table 3.4: Awareness Coding Definitions

Leading Concept	YES	SOME	NO
Situation Constraints	explicit and	may be implicit or explicit	lack of evidence
Speaker Intention	integral to the	but is not integral to the	for this feature
Effects on Other Participants	explanation	explanation	
Sub-Concepts			
Self-Presentation	explicit and	may be implicit or explicit	lack of evidence
Social Distance	integral to the	but is not integral to the	for this
Power	explanation	explanation	subconcept
Type of Awareness			
Meaning-based	relies on the meaning potential of language choices	relies on "stable/fixed" meanings of language choices	meaning is not integrated in explanation

The whole unit of analysis was examined afresh from the perspective of each feature of the coding scheme as it was analyzed. Therefore, it was possible for the same comment(s) from a student's explanation to provide evidence for multiple features. Each feature of the coding scheme will be described below including sample evidence from the data that contributed to ratings of "Yes" or "Some" for each feature (see Table 3.5). However, it must be noted that each rating depended on the degree to which the concept was explicit and integral to the entire unit of analysis (all explanation-related comments from the whole LAI) so these sample comments were a key piece of evidence but must be considered in light of all explanations given.

Table 3.5: Awareness Coding Sample Explanations

Leading Concept	YES	SOME
Situation	"They're in a public. It's not just them two. They're speaking in front of an audience"	"for the first one it seems um a little more formal like what they're talking about um and I guess the setting" (Carissa, NM, Pre-LAI)
Constraints	"like you would see from a telephone with a friend" (Zoe, NM, Post-LAI)	
Speaker	"they seem to be thinking about what they're saying more... they choose their words more carefully"	"its more like casual, you don't really care about the structure or anything" (Kay, EM, Pre-LAI)
Intention	"they are not trying to come across as you know super you know like intellectual or:: um well well-spoken" (Kristina, EM, Post-LAI)	
Effects on Other Participants	"it doesn't really matter how you are perceived [in Text 2]" "people can listen in on it, that's the whole purpose of the conversation [in Text 1]" "[Text 2] it's a personal conversation, no one- it's not public no one is listening in on it so um they don't need to be as formal as they would be in the other scenario" (Ahmed, EM, Post-LAI)	"like I don't think the interviewer would just say quoi?... it might be like kind of rude to say that in this scenario" (Catherine, NM, Post-LAI)
Sub-Concepts		
Self-Presentation	"you would want to present yourself as knowledgeable and professional" "when you're casually just talking to your friend I personally don't care much... but if I were to give a presentation I would want to portray myself as knowing grammar and things like that" (Zoe, NM, Post-LAI)	"here it's casual" "it's a bit more formal" (Ahmed, EM, Pre-LAI)
Social Distance	"these people may not be as close as these two or these are like friends who are really comfortable with each other and these are:: just people who:: ... I thought of it like a teacher student situation... they have a distance" "they're really close to each other u::m like I said two good friends or something" (Gabrielle, EM, Post-LAI)	"this seems more um the people don't know each other and this seems more kind of joking around and I believe that they do know each other... and they're friends" (Elizabeth, NM, Post-LAI)
Power	"I think they both view each other as equals in each one. I think this one is more treating each other equally on a professional level and this one is equally on the casual level" (Kay, EM, Post-LAI)	"if one of them uses vous and the other one doesn't like maybe it's an older person and the other is more junior" (Kristina, EM, Pre-LAI)
Type of Awareness		
Meaning-based	"they both use vous so maybe they are:: not they're not trying to:: establish like a close relationship with one another they are trying to keep it on a more professional level... they seem to be wanting to um either continue their close relationship or:: establish one" (Kristina, EM, Post-LAI)	"they use... bonjour so it's like formal" (Kacey, NM, Post-LAI)

The first category, awareness of the Leading Concept, referred to whether and to what extent the leading concept was integrated into the student's explanation. This Leading Concept was three-dimensional and coincided with Crystal's definition of pragmatics (see page 9). Each feature of the leading concept needed to be explicit and integral to the student's explanation in order to earn a rating of "Yes." If it was not explicit or integral but there was still evidence that a student had at least some conceptual knowledge of the feature, the student earned a rating of "Some."

Situation Constraints refers to the evidence of awareness on the student's part that facts about the situation, participants, and purposes of the interaction have on language choices. For example, Zoe earned a rating of "Yes" because she clearly identified several of these constraints as being integral or important to the language choices in each text in the Post-LAI. Whereas Carissa earned a rating of "Some" because she acknowledges that setting may have something to do with the language choices but she does not clearly identify constraints.

Speaker Intention refers to a student's articulated awareness of the speaker's active role in making language choices. For example, ratings of "Yes" were given when students, such as Kristina, explicitly linked speaker's choice and intentions to the language choices made in the texts. A rating of "Some" was given for instances such as Kay who touched on a speaker's general approach or investment in choices but these references were not a major factor in the explanation and do explicitly link the speaker's intention to their choices.

Effects on Other Participants refers to the student's expressed awareness of the effects of language choices on the context and/or one's interlocutor. For this feature, ratings of "Yes" were given when a student explicitly referred to the speaker being perceived or coming across in a certain way, or other explicit consequences of a language choice.

The second category, Subconcepts, referred to whether, and to what extent, the concepts of self-presentation, social distance, and power were integrated into responses, either explicitly (e.g., direct use of conceptual terminology) or implicitly (e.g., reference to categories of situations/relationships related to the concepts). In order to earn a ratings of “Yes” for each of these subconcepts, the explanations needed to clearly incorporate the ideas of each subconcept – such as presenting oneself in a certain way (e.g., professional, suit-and-tie, t-shirt-and-jeans, etc.), clearly describing the relationships between the speakers as being either close or distant, and/or expressing equality/solidarity or a power difference. Ratings of “Some” were most often given when students referenced a related adjective or categories of situations or relationships (e.g., friends or strangers) but did not provide explicit evidence that language choices were made because of the social meanings captured by each subconcept.

The third category, Type of Awareness, had only one feature¹² in the current coding scheme: meaning-based awareness. This feature referred to the degree to which meaning-potentials of a choice were integrated into an explanation. For this feature, a rating of “Yes” was given when a student referred to the creative and/or expressive nature of a language choice such as the ability of language choices to establish degrees of social distance (Kristina, post-LAI). Ratings of “Some” were given when students equated a language choice with a stable or fixed meaning (see Kacey’s Post-LAI example, Table 3.5).

¹² In previous iterations of this coding scheme (Negeurela, 2003; van Compernelle & Henery, in press) the category of Types of Awareness included two additional features, functional awareness and recontextualizability. These features have been included because concept-based instruction seeks to develop knowledge that is both functional (able to guide or inform actual use) and recontextualizable to virtually any context. Though these objectives are shared by this project, the LAI instrument does not directly elicit data to support these two features so they have been left out of the current coding scheme.

In effect, these three categories examined three different perspectives of students' metapragmatic awareness. They looked for a) the degree to which agency and situation constraints (e.g., the leading concept) were recognized as influences on one's language choices, b) the existence of the three social meaning subconcepts, and c) the extent to which meaning-potentials were incorporated into explanations of language choices.

It is important to note that though this coding scheme closely aligns with the concept diagrams of the EM program, its objective extends beyond assessing the teaching effectiveness of the EM program. From a Vygotskian perspective, students brought their own everyday conceptual knowledge of how language use occurs and varies in social situations to France and potentially developed and refined it throughout the semester (either individually or with the help of EM). This coding scheme seeks to capture the qualities of students' metapragmatic awareness as articulated through the Leading Concepts and Subconcepts at the beginning and end of the semester (i.e., evidence of the internalization of the scientific concepts taught during the enrichment program).

Although I did not have access to a research assistant in order to conduct a full test of inter-rater reliability, I often consulted during the coding process with a committee member who was familiar with this coding scheme from its original instantiation (van Compernelle & Henery, in press-a). Together and independently, we analyzed a good portion of the data in order to resolve any unclear portions.

Emerging changes in ratings were examined both across the entire group of participants as well as between the EM and NM groups. In addition, an Awareness Score was given to each student in order to help compare his or her overall pre/post development. Points were awarded based on three potential ratings ("Yes," "Some," and "No") for each feature of the coding

scheme. Each “Yes” rating earned one point, each “Some” rating earned 0.5 points, and each “No” rating earned zero points. Subscores were calculated for the Leading Concept (3 points max), subconcepts (3 points max), and meaning-based awareness (1 point max) leading to a total maximum score of seven points.

RQ3 Analysis

RQ3: What is the relationship between the qualities of learners’ metapragmatic awareness and pragmatic language use?

The multidimensional task of the Strategic Interaction Scenarios (SIS) was used to address this final research question. This multidimensional task combined three stages: a planning, use, and reflection stages. As such, it offered a unique stand-alone snapshot of the intersection between students’ emerging metapragmatic awareness and pragmatic language use. Therefore, given the multiple stages of this instrument, the analysis must also be multidimensional.

The analysis first explored the development in students’ metapragmatic awareness from the beginning to the end of the semester as displayed through the SIS task. Second, it explores the extent to which students’ developing awareness is consistent with developments in their pragmatic language use. Figure 3.3 below provides a graphic overview of this multidimensional analysis and each step of the analysis will be discussed in more detail below.

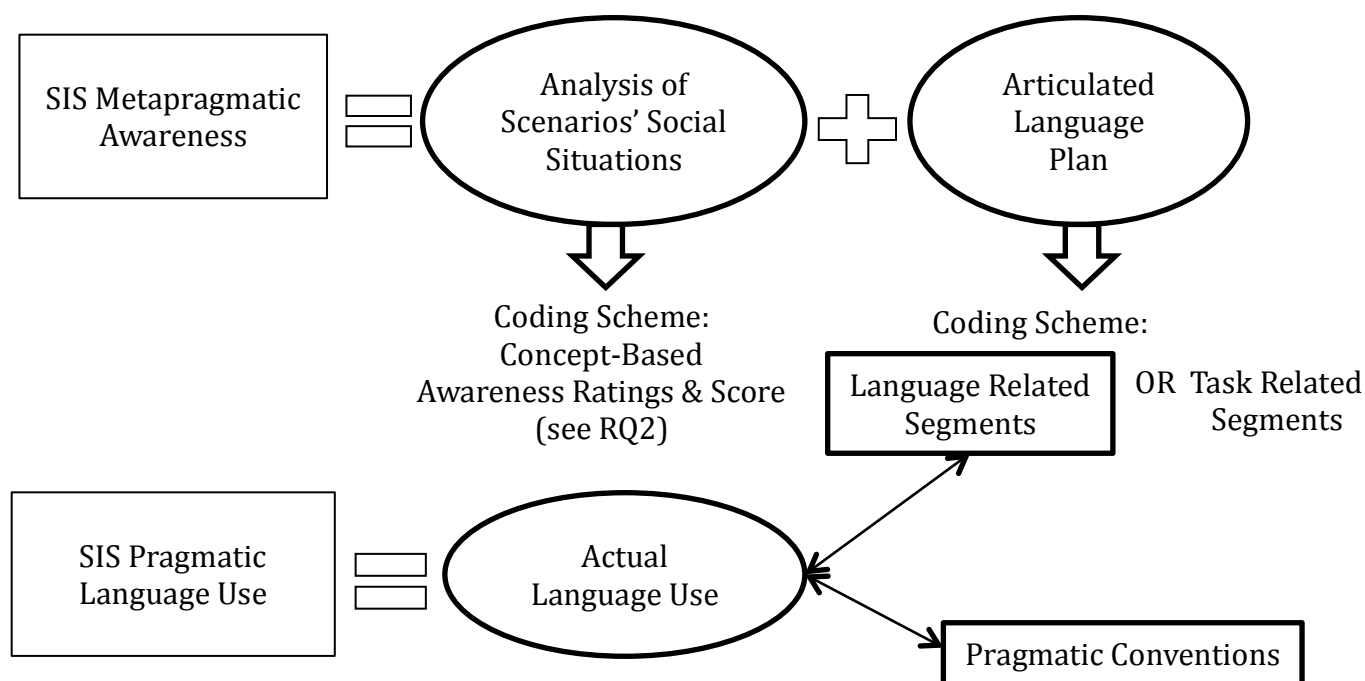


Figure 3.3: Multidimensional Analysis of RQ3

SIS Metapragmatic Awareness Analysis

I explored the extent to which students developed their metapragmatic awareness from pre- to post-SIS. Students' awareness in this task was elicited in two ways: by the quality of students' own analysis of the social situation in each scenario and by their articulated plan of how to use pragmatic language in both scenarios. In this way, the analysis considered, first, how students conveyed their understanding of the details of the situation and, second, students' ability to identify specific pragmatic features and language choices that they would employ in carrying out these scenarios, based on how they analyzed the situations.

To rate the first component of students' awareness as displayed in the SIS, I examined how the students analyzed the social situations of the upcoming scenarios. The SIS questions in this stage asked students to describe both the relationship between the two speakers and the desired or appropriate way to present themselves in the upcoming scenarios. All analysis-related

comments for both scenarios that each student made during the planning phase of the SIS were combined into a single unit of analysis. This unit was then rated using the same multidimensional coding scheme that was applied to the LAI in the analysis of RQ2 (see Table 3.4 above). An Awareness Score was also awarded based on the ratings that were given (see pp. 5 for more information). Change scores and descriptive statistics were used to capture a comprehensive picture of how students' developed their metapragmatic awareness, as elicited on the Strategic Interaction Scenario.

After students analyzed the social situation in each scenario, they were asked to articulate a language plan, that is, how they would use language to show the relationship between the speakers and the desired way to present themselves in the upcoming scenario. Each language plan included multiple segments, which fall into two categories: language-related segments and task-related segments.

The first category concerned any segment of a student's language plan that was language related (LR). Some of these LR segments were more specific than others, such as the very specific plan to "use *vous*" in Scenario 2 or the less specific plan to use "slang versus more formal vocabulary" (Jenny, EM, post-SIS). However, it is understandable that this range would be present because of the nature of the conversation (they were asked to describe how they would use language, not to identify specific linguistic features). Some students went so far as to map out the upcoming conversation by identifying specific expressions or turns that they would anticipate happening whereas others described their upcoming language choices.

The second category, Task-Related (TR) segments, included segments from students' language plans that were focused on how they would carry out the task and general strategies about how they would approach the scenario. These segments were often general statements

about the content or how the student planned to meet the objectives of the upcoming role-play scenario (e.g., “I will be more flexible with meeting times, or I will think more carefully about what I’m going to say” (Ahmed, pre-SIS)).

Each component within the students’ plan was coded separately as being either Language-Related (LR) or Task-Related (TR). The goal was to determine how many components students identified for both scenarios and how many of the components were either focused on language use or task strategies.

SIS Language Use Analysis

Once trends were established regarding the development of metapragmatic awareness, I turned to students’ pragmatic language use to see if the trends of development would remain consistent in students’ language use as well. Students’ language use was examined in two different ways. First, I considered the extent to which students’ actually carried out the LR segments of their language plans. In effect, this compared students against themselves. Second, I compared their pragmatic language use against common pragmatic conventions for these two types of scenarios.

This dual exploration of students’ language use is in line with the project’s theoretical framework. This project is open to whichever pragmatic practices became salient to the learners and a speaker’s agency to make their own pragmatic practices. Nevertheless, from a sociocultural perspective, there is no agency without specific control. A student must know the conventions in order to meaningfully choose to follow or break them. Therefore, the analysis sought to capture a picture of students’ development in light of known French pragmatic conventions while still being sensitive to the students’ choices as agentive users of French.

To examine students' language use in comparison to their language plan, each LR segment (from both scenarios combined) was rated as being fully used, partially used, not used, or no opportunity to use. It is important to clarify the difference between fully and partially used segments. The level of specificity of an LR segment made it more or less transparent to rate it as fully, partially, or not used. For example, if a student planned to use *tu* in Scenario 1 but, in fact, used a mixture of *tu* and *vous*, this easily led to a rating of partial use. However, if a student planned to use slang in that same scenario, it was more difficult to determine full or partial use as there are, in theory, many varying lexical choices for a great number of words. However, no speaker ever uses slang terms at every possible opportunity and the relative frequency of use is what is important. Therefore, such segments of a student's language plan were rated as fully used if a student used at least one or two productive instances of the register they identified (e.g., slang) during these short scenarios. Finally, the code for "no opportunity to use" refers to a LR segment that was planned but the conversation developed in such a way that no occasion presented itself for the student to use that segment of their plan. Frequency counts and descriptive statistics were calculated for each student.

I further examined students' language use by comparing it to common pragmatic conventions for conventionally informal and formal situations (e.g., Coveney, 2002, 2010; Gadet, 1997). If the student used a conventionally appropriate feature (e.g. *tu* in scenario 1), that category was marked with an X. If they used an opposite or other language choice, which was thereby unconventional (e.g. *vous* in scenario 1), the category was marked with an O. If there were both conventional and unconventional choices present, the category was marked with both X and O. Finally, if a feature was provided in a direct reply to the interlocutor/researcher, the feature was marked with an asterisk (*) to designate that it was present but not necessarily

supplied independently by the student. This occurred most frequently with leave-takings. For example, in the post-SIS Scenario 1 with Dahlia, I (the interlocutor) said, “*On y va?* (Should we go?)” near the end of the conversation and she replied “*On y va!* (Let’s go!),” so it was marked with an asterisk. For each student, the number of categories that contained conventional features (X+*) and the number of categories with unconventional features were calculated for both scenarios for both pre- and post-SIS. Though frequency counts were generated, it was not expected that a student use every feature or category for a certain scenario. Rather the goal of this analysis was to understand the relative frequency of conventional features for each scenario that appeared in a student’s language use.

For example, Excerpt 3.2 presents a sample transcript from Ahmed’s (EM) Pre-SIS performance for Scenario 1. This transcript was coded as having conventional features for: the greeting (9),¹³ use of *tu* (11, 13, 24, 27, 31), the use of a subject-verb question (31, marked [SV]) and the use of the leave-taking “on y va” (35). Unconventional features included the use of *ne* presence (15), and alternate question syntax such as *est-ce que* (11, 27; marked [ESV]) and subject-verb inversion (13,24; marked [V-S]). The coding sheet is additionally presented in Table 3.6.

Excerpt 3.2: Ahmed (EM) Pre-SIS Performance Scenario 1

- | | | |
|----|----|---|
| 9 | A: | bonjour
<i>hello</i> |
| 10 | R: | bonjour
<i>hello</i> |
| 11 | A: | uh veux-tu um mange uh est-ce que tu as déjà mangé?
<i>uh do you want um eat uh have you [ESV] already eaten?</i> |
| 12 | R: | non j'ai pas encore mangé
<i>non I haven't eaten yet</i> |
| 13 | A: | uh veux-tu manger avec moi?
<i>uh do you [V-S] want to eat with me?</i> |
| 14 | R: | oui! j'ai faim! J'ai trop faim maintenant |

¹³ Numbers in parentheses refer to transcript line numbers.

- yes! I'm hungry! I'm so hungry right now
- 15 A: **ah moi aussi! mai::s je ne veux pas um payer beaucoup d'argent**
ah me too! but I do not want to pay a lot of money
- 16 R: moi non plus
me either
- 17 A: **non? oh très bon**
no? oh very good
- 18 R: ((laughs))
- 19 A: **mais je um::**
but I um
- 20 R: peut-être on peut acheter un sandwich?
maybe we can buy a sandwich?
- 21 A: **je déteste le parce que je toujours j'ai:: toujours j'ai acheté les**
 22 **sandwiches ou les paninis**
I hate that because I always I always bought sandwiches or paninis
- 23 R: oui ok
yes ok
- 24 A: **et alors quel type de cuisine aimes-tu?**
and so then what type of cuisine do you like[V-S]?
- 25 R: eh::: j'aime bien la la cuisine italienne ou:: des bons resto
 26 français
uh I like Italian cuisine or a good French restaurant
- 27 A: **est-ce que tu aimes la vietnamienne?**
do you [ESV] like Vietnamese?
- 28 R: ah oui j'aime la vietnamienne ok
ah yes I like Vietnamese ok
- 29 A: **je sais un bon vietnamienne près de la rue d'italie?**
I know a good Vietnamese near the rue d'Italie
- 30 R: ok
ok
- 31 A: **tu uh tu veux aller là-bas?**
you uh you want [SV] to go there?
- 32 R: ah oui ça marche
ah yes that works
- 33 A: **très bon**
great
- 34 R: ok on y va?
ok should we go?
- 35 A: **on y va**
let's go

Table 3.6: Sample SIS Pragmatic Language Use Coding Sheet

Ahmed

Scenario 1	Pre-SIS	Post-SIS
salut/bonjour	X	X
first name		
ça va?		O
tu	X	XO
on		X
ne absence	O	X
pronoun contraction		
SV Qs	XO	O
slang words		
allez-y/on y va(?)	*	
Scenario 2		
bonjour + prof/mme	X	X
comment allez-vous?		
vous	X	X
nous		
ne presence		O
est-ce que questions	X	X
V-S questions	X	
conditional		X
s'il vous plaît	X	
merci/merci beaucoup	X	X
leave-taking	X	X

X = conventional feature present

* = conventional feature present but in direct reply to AH

O = unconventional choice for marker present

Chapter 4: Results and Discussion

In this chapter, the results of the study are presented and discussed in order to address the three research questions that framed the present research. For each research question, I begin with a presentation quantitative results (i.e., descriptive statistics), followed by qualitative analyses of individual learners, and finally a discussion of the findings.

RQ1 Results

RQ1: a) Do study abroad students notice pragmatic practices in interactions that they have and observe with L1 French speakers outside of the classroom? b) If so, which pragmatic practices do they report noticing? c) And, what role does expert mediation have in their observations?

The results for the first group of research questions are based on the analysis of two sources of data: students' journal entries and Language Awareness Interview (LAI) observations. Although the student observations made in each task are distinct in their nature, both complement each other in answering this group of research questions.

Journal Observations

The answer to the RQ1a is affirmative: students noticed pragmatic practices used by their French-speaking interlocutors. The entire group of students who completed a journal ($n=12^{14}$) reported having observed an average of 9.67 ($SD=2.53$) different categories of pragmatic features. They also identified an average of 20 ($SD=7.37$) observation tokens per student throughout the semester (see Table 4.1).

¹⁴ All eight EM participants but only four NM participants completed a journal. This will be discussed in greater detail on page 10.

Table 4.1: Journal Observation Totals by Participant

	Categories	ObsTokens	Total Posts
Total Mean	9.67	20.00	17.00
SD	2.53	7.37	4.12
EM Participants			
Ahmed	9	14	12
Yuki	10	30	18
Dahlia	13	23	17
Danielle	10	32	21
Gabrielle	9	16	19
Jenny	12	22	21
Kristina	14	29	22
Kay	9	14	17
EM Mean	10.75	22.50	18.38
SD	1.85	6.86	3.00
NM Participants			
Charlotte	9	22	21
Keshia	4	9	11
Kacey	7	10	16
Zoe	10	19	9
NM Mean	7.50	15.00	14.25
SD	2.29	5.61	4.66

With respect to RQ1b, the pragmatic features that students reported in their journal entries can be arranged into seven major groups that address the topics of pronoun choice, lexical choice, use of contractions, question formation, conversational practices, accents, and the use of codeswitching. Among these seven groups, there are 25 distinct categories (see Table 4.2).

Table 4.2: Journal Observation Tokens

	EM Participants								NM Participants (w/Journal)			
	Ahmed	Yuki	Dahlia	Danielle	Gabrielle	Jenny	Kristina	Kay	Charlotte	Keshia	Kacey	Zoe
Lexical choice												
lexical choice, general	1	–	–	–	1	3	1	1	5	–	–	–
slang words/phrases	1	10	–	1	1	1	4	1	–	–	1	–
verlan	–	1	1	–	–	–	2	2	–	3	–	–
text/IM speak	–	1	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	4	–	–
swearing	–	–	1	2	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–
instructional mismatches	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	4	–	–	–
idioms	1	2	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
discourse markers	–	2	–	2	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	3
conversational phrases	–	–	–	10	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2
ça va	–	–	1	1	–	–	1	1	–	–	–	–
greetings/leave-takings	–	1	3	–	2	2	2	2	–	–	3	–
Conversational Practices												
conversational conventions	–	–	1	7	1	1	4	–	2	–	1	4
short phrases/complete sents.	–	–	–	2	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	1
(in)accurate grammar	–	1	–	–	–	–	3	–	–	–	–	–
speed of speech (&overlap)	–	–	–	1	2	–	2	–	6	–	–	1
body language/gestures	–	–	–	–	2	2	1	–	–	–	–	–
Pronoun Choice												
tu/vous	2	10	2	5	4	5	5	3	1	1	2	–
nous/on	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	1
Contractions/Reductions												
contractions, general	2	–	1	–	–	1	–	2	1	1	1	1
ne absence/presence	2	–	2	–	2	1	1	–	1	–	–	1
pronoun contraction	–	–	–	–	–	2	–	–	–	–	–	2
Codeswitching/use of ENG												
	3	–	3	–	–	–	1	1	1	–	–	–
Accents												
regional (France) accents	–	1	–	–	–	1	–	1	1	–	–	–
learners'/foreign accent	–	1	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
francophone accents	1	–	1	–	–	2	–	–	–	–	–	–
Question Formation												
	–	–	–	1	–	1	–	–	–	–	1	3

Lexical choices were reported the most frequently (n=103 tokens total). These included, for example, listing and discussing new slang or swear words, examples of text speak, as well as reporting on discussions about how Verlan¹⁵ is formed and used. Also included were reports of student-identified idioms, discourse markers, specific phrases commonly used in different types of conversation, distinctions between various greeting and leave-taking expressions, and the many connotations of the phrase *ça va*. Finally, a few students highlighted mismatches between lexical choices they were taught in traditional classrooms and what they observed in actual use.

The following examples demonstrate some typical journal comments about lexical choice. There were a handful of references to broad patterns in lexical choice such as Ahmed's reflection in Post #7 when he commented on "the similarities in the vocabulary used by the French media and the American media." Students also reported on more specific examples of words choices by discussing different connotations and/or social meanings of similar words or phrases. For example, in Excerpt 4.1, Gabrielle talked about what she had observed and learned about different expressions for greeting, and in Excerpt 4.2 Dahlia discussed a few idioms that she had learned.

*Excerpt 4.1*¹⁶

"I've now been in France for over a month and have noticed different ways of saying hello. There's the traditional "Bonjour," but aside from that people say "salut." After about three weeks with my host family, my mom came into my room saying "CouCou" and I didn't realize the significance of it until after she had said it. I thought it was just a friendly noise to let me know she was here, but in class someone else had mentioned that their host mom says it all the time too and our teacher explained it as being more personal and that it has more of an effect than "bonjour." (Gabrielle, EM, Post #1)

¹⁵ Verlan is a type of 'street language' that emerged in the 1980s and 90s among young people living in the Parisian banlieue. From this type of inner city speech style, some aspects have made their way into mainstream, everyday French (for more information see Doran, 2004, 2007).

¹⁶ All excerpts are reproduced here exactly as submitted to the online journal, including any spelling, grammar, or punctuation irregularities.

Excerpt 4.2

I learned a new phrase, "Ca va les chevilles?" which someone explained to me means like "How are your ankles?" It is the equivalent to saying someone's ego is too big or they've got a big head. Only here, it's the ankles that are apparently swollen with ego.... It reminds me of "when pigs fly" in English, whereas in French they say "Quand les poules auront des dents," or "when chicken have teeth." They hold the same meaning, of something being impossible and therefore never happening. It's just awesome that the favored images are so vastly different. Then again, there are also phrases which are the same, such as how people use "C'est du gateau," which means "It's a piece of cake." And that's a pretty common phrase in English." (Dahlia, EM, Post #14)

Dahlia, like several of the other students, also made an observation (Excerpt 4.3) about discovering the French phenomena of Verlan through a friend using a Verlan term, in this case *zarbi* (Verlan for *bizarre* or weird).

Excerpt 4.3

So a French friend and I were hanging out the other night, when he used a word pronounced like "zarbi." I was very confused and asked him what he was talking about, and apparently he was using the word "bizarre." He explained to me how it's really popular in France to switch words around, as a form of slang. ... I looked it up and sure enough, it's a thing, and it's called Verlan." (Dahlia, EM, Post #15)

Some students provided excerpts of conversations they had with French speakers on services such as Facebook chat, instant messaging, or text messages. Students used these conversations to highlight and discuss their observations of text speak and slang. Keshia provided one such example in Excerpt 4.4.

Excerpt 4.4

I am obsessed with understanding French slang just as much as I am obsessed with learning the language overall. My French friends, who are all generally my age, have been testing me more and more. Today I had a conversation with a friend through instant message that went like this:

Him: Kestu fai toi? (qu'est que tu fais toi?)

Me: travail pour mes cours

Him: Ok tjr malade ? (toujours)

Me: pas encore

Him: Ok ok tien moi o courant kan tu va mieu (quand tu vas mieux)

At first I completely surprised my self based on my improvement in comprehension because a few months ago I could barely understand him in standard French. After I was so happy because I feel like I'm cracking the code of communication between French people of my age group. Mostly high schoolers and young adults from urban areas. (Keshia, NM, Post #11)

The second most frequent major category discussed in the journals addresses broader conversational practices (n=46 tokens total). This group of categories includes observations regarding patterns of conversational conventions (particularly when to make certain speech acts), use of short phrases or complete sentences, use of “accurate” or “inaccurate” grammar. In addition, this major category included paralinguistic observations regarding variations in the speed of speech or overlaps/interruptions and body language or gestures.

For example, Kelsey discussed her own use and observations of the convention of greeting storekeepers in Excerpt 4.5. Here, she knew of the importance of greeting storekeepers, in part, because it was taught as a part of the study abroad program’s orientation meetings. But in this journal post, she discussed a few instances of her own use of this practice and what the resulting implications were. Similarly, Excerpt 4.6 shows observations about conversational conventions that Danielle noticed during the first few months of the semester.

Excerpt 4.5

This past weekend I walked into a pharmacy very groggy and tired and completely forgot to say "Bonjour Madame" to the lady working there. I quickly realized and noticed that she was upset while I was walking around and said "Oh je suis desole Madame Bonjour comment ca-va?" and fortunately she was very sweet and forgiving. But that was my fault for forgetting common stop etiquette that day. I made a friend at Casino for being polite every time I enter the store and greet him so I realize how important it is to greet the merchants at each store. (Kelsey, NM, Post #5)

Excerpt 4.6

Things I have noticed regarding French Etiquette and respect: ... At the dinner table: ... Conversation is important, make sure you let the other person finish their thoughts before delving into your own. Compliment their cooking even if its not your favorite meal... Coffee shops/clothing/accessory shops: ... Say "bonjour" then " Je voudrais" avec "si vous plait" instead of "I want this" without saying hello first. If you do not understand what the clerk or server said, ask if they can repeat the question politely. Say "merci" before leaving and "au revoir." (Danielle, EM, Post #10)

Excerpts 4.7 and 4.8 illustrate some of the observations that students made about paralinguistic practices. In Excerpt 4.7, Charlotte discussed differences in the speed of speech and acceptance

of interrupting other speakers that she observed from conversations that happened in her homestay. Jenny also discussed some differences that she observed in physical touch between friends in a conversation that she noticed on a city bus (see Excerpt 4.8).

Excerpt 4.7

So my host mom had a friend whose shower was broken and being fixed last week and she would come over to shower there. When they talked to each other they spoke very quickly sometimes even interrupting the other to make a comment about something that had been said. ... While when my host mom spoke to the women's son she spoke a little slower as if they were not as [familiar] ... He also waited to she was finished asking a question before answering to make sure she was finished, he also took long[r] while speaking [not] letting his words really run so they were completely understood. (Charlotte, NM, Post #1)

Excerpt 4.8

So I was on a bus this week and these two girls (maybe in their 20s) got on. ... they must have been really close friends because when they spoke to each other, they leaned in. Overall they seemed like normal good friends, but they also didn't get too far into each other's personal spaces. ... I find that Americans are much more into hugs and touching on the arm (or other gestures like that) than these two girls were. (Jenny, EM, Post #8)

Pronoun choice was the third most frequently discussed major category (n=42 total tokens). The overwhelming majority of these observations discussed students' own or observed use of second-person singular pronouns (*tu* or *vous*). There were only two journal posts that addressed the pragmatic language choice between first-person plural pronouns (*on* or *nous*).

For example, some students, such as Jenny in Excerpt 4.9, reported and reflected on their own use of *tu* and *vous* while in other posts, they discussed L1 French speakers use of *tu* and *vous* that they observed in their interactions, such as Kay in Excerpt 4.10.

Excerpt 4.9

Without even realizing it, I started addressing him [a local French friend] as "vous" and not "tu." He interrupted me to tell me that I was allowed to use "tu." So I am very careful now when I talk with different people. I think he corrected me because we are the same age and it is not normal to use such a formal tense among friends. Also, when I used *vous*, it made him uncomfortable and he seemed bothered by it. But I realize that would just be like calling a friend 'Sir.' (Jenny, EM, Post #1)

Excerpt 4.10

While waiting in line [at the phone store], the young man behind me asked me (en français) if I was next in line. He used "tu" and was probably in his late 20s or so. Interestingly the next man to come in was older (perhaps 60s or 70s) and asked the other man behind me if he was also waiting and used "vous". (Kay, EM, Post #9)

There were only two posts that reported on observations about the pronoun choice between *nous* and *on*. One such example is Kristina in Excerpt 4.11, where she brought together a classroom discussion about this language choice, what she had observed in her interactions, and reflections on her own use of this language choice.

Excerpt 4.11

We were discussing in my 202 French class the other day about the difference between "on" and "nous," which I found very interesting because we do not have anything like that in the U.S. Apparently, "nous" is much more formal, whereas "on" can be used in daily life and is more generic/general. I have yet to hear a French person using "Nous" in conversation since I have been here, however, it is what I learned as the subject pronoun for "we," so I use it all of the time, which I guess means I am inadvertently using more proper French than I intend to. (Kristina, EM, Post #9)

The fourth most commonly identified major category addressed reported contractions or phonological reductions. Students often grouped together comments about the use of "contractions" in general with comments about the presence or absence of the negative particle *ne*. In addition, a few students specifically identified phonological reductions in pronouns such as *tu* to *t'*. Zoe, in Excerpt 4.12, provided a typical example of this category of observations. In this journal post, she reflected on both the absence and pronoun contractions with *tu*.

Excerpt 4.12

I noticed that, like in English, French becomes less enunciated in informal settings and things are shortened. ...Like the most commonly used: j'shais pas. (je ne sais pas). A lot of these negative phrases place the emphasis on the "pas" instead of the "ne." Another common contraction I noticed is with words coming after "tu." (Zoe, NM, Post #8)

The least frequently discussed categories include codeswitching, accents, and question formation. Codeswitching or the use of English in France was addressed by a handful of students (n=9 tokens total). For example, Ahmed commented in Post #4 that "younger people... tend to

be more willing to mix in some English with their French.” In addition, some reported about observing and discussing accent variations between accents within France (e.g. Parisian versus Marseille or southern France), France and other francophone countries (e.g. Belgium or Morocco compared to France), and the learners’ own or other “foreigner” accents. One such example is Yuki who wrote about a discussion she had with her host parents about the difference between southern and Parisian accents (see Excerpt 4.13).

Excerpt 4.13

I asked my host parents exactly what a southern accent is. They said you emphasize the e at the end of a word. Host mom said Parisian accents are sort of silly because they are so "pointu" or something like that. I then asked her if tv presenters had a specific accent and she said Parisian. Andre said people are not taken seriously if they have a southern accent. It's interesting to think what the effects would be for someone whose self presentation is very formal but then has an accent, and whether the accent plays into the other dynamics as well. (Yuki, EM, Post #15)

Lastly, students only gave a few reports (n=6 tokens total) concerning syntactic variations in question formation. Such as Zoe who described questions she observed in her interactions saying, “the conversation involved a lot more direct questions than usual and I noticed that most questions were formatted with "verb-subject" instead of the more formal "qu'est-que" beginnings.”

Though this wide range of pragmatic practices were discussed throughout the journal data, it is important to note that students addressed the categories that became salient to them, as they became salient throughout their semester abroad. In fact, there were some journal posts that did not address any of the above categories but instead only reflected on students’ general study abroad experiences or their interactions with French speakers in general. In addition, when they addressed a specific category, the level of students’ specificity or discernment about how exactly features vary was not always clear. For example, some students report that *ne* is often left out of the expression *je ne sais pas* (I don’t know) to become *je sais pas* (*ne* absent) or even more

colloquially, *j'sais pas* (*ne* absent and *je* reduced). On one hand, some students provide additional examples of *ne* absence (e.g. *je veux pas*/I don't want to), which provides stronger evidence that they notice a regular pattern of *ne* absence/presence. On the other hand, some students only provide the highly frequent, formulaic expression of *j'sais pas/je sais pas* as an example of "contraction". Therefore, it is not always clear how in-depth or discerning their observations were.

Role of expert mediation in journal observations.

RQ1c addresses the role that the expert-mediation (EM) program had on students' observations of French use of pragmatic choice. The first major finding is that, as a result of students' participant in the EM program, EM students appeared to be more involved in the required tasks as evidenced by the fact that they all completed a journal. While both groups began as the same size (EM $n=8$ and NM $n=8$), were given the same instructions, and sent reminders at the same frequency, only half of the NM participants ($n=4$) submitted journal posts.¹⁷ The remainder of this section will use NM participants to refer to only the four who participated in the journal.

One initial difference between the two groups is that EM participants completed the journal task, when comparing EM and NM groups, EM students submitted more posts on average than NM students. EM participants posted an average of 18.375 ($SD=3.00$) journal entries each whereas NM participants submitted an average of 14.25 ($SD=4.66$) posts each. In addition, although the range of the number of posts is somewhat similar (EM: 12 to 22; NM: 9 to 21), the EM students more consistently had a higher number of posts. All but one (87.5%) EM

¹⁷ For those that did not post journals, one never created a Moodle account, two created the account but never posted an entry, and one posted one entry but then contacted me to say he was withdrawing from the journal activity. All four were later invited to complete the post-LAI so that a more complete data set could be collected.

participant submitted more than 16 posts compared to only 50% of the NM participants who submitted the same amount. (See Table 4.1 for more information about these posts.)

Third, the EM program led students to be more comprehensive in their observations as there are differences in the number of categories and tokens of observations between the two groups' journals. EM participants on average identified a greater number of pragmatic categories ($m=10.75$ categories/EM, $SD=1.85$) and provided a greater number of observation tokens ($m=22.5$ tokens/EM, $SD=6.86$). By contrast, NM students discussed far fewer categories ($m=7.50$ tokens/nm, $SD=2.29$) and provided fewer tokens on average ($m=15.00$ tokens/NM, $SD=5.61$).

There are also notable differences between the two groups with respect to which categories were addressed. Most prominently, all eight EM participants discussed *tu/vous* use differences at least twice and as frequently as 10 times, leading to a total of 36 EM tokens for this category. Though three of the four NM participants also discussed *tu/vous*, each one only mentioned it once or twice, leading to a total of 4 NM tokens. Additionally, two other categories, slang words/phrases and expressions for greeting and leave-taking were discussed by at least once by seven out of eight EM participants. In contrast, only one student in the NM group attended to either of these categories.

From the perspective of the NM group, the category of general comments about contractions ("contractions, general" on Table 4.2) is the only other category in addition to *tu/vous* to be addressed by at least three of the four NM participants and each participant only focused on it once.

Comparing journals between the two groups provides additional evidence that the EM group was more attentive by the fact that they wrote more often, about a wider range of

categories, and with a greater number of tokens overall. This difference in quantity of observations points to an important finding about the role of the EM program: namely that it helped students to attend more closely to the language that was being used around them. This finding is further illustrated through the following qualitative analysis of a representative example of changes in one EM student's (Jenny) journal posts throughout the semester.

Analysis of Change in Jenny's (EM) Journal Observations

Jenny, an EM student, provides a representative and illustrative example of the role that the EM program played in the observations that she made during her semester abroad. Jenny had a hard time identifying pragmatic practices at the beginning of the semester but through her discussions with me during the Journal Discussions (JD), Jenny began to attend to more and more specific instances of language use around her.

Jenny began her journal by posting two observations that were quite salient in her interactions during her first month in France: *tu/vous* use with a friend and her observations about the folk belief that "French people don't talk to strangers." Table 4.3 describes the general topics or observations of pragmatic language use that Jenny reported on throughout the semester. Following these two early posts, there was a series of posts (#4-7) that discussed her experiences interacting with French speakers but she did not reference any specific pragmatic language use.

Table 4.3: Jenny's (EM) Reported Observations of Language Use

Post #	Date*	Reported Observations
#1	9/20	Conversation with a friend: tu/vous use
#3	10/3	Observed practice: speaking to strangers
#8	10/21	Observed personal space between close friends
#9	10/21	Observed personal space a couple, public affection
#11	10/21	Conversation with an African man: difference in accent
#12	11/7	Conversation with French friend: Use of ouais vs. oui
#13	11/7	Conversation with strangers during art class excursion: use of vous, greeting with bonjour, and other conversational phrases
#14	11/11	Conversation with Moroccan men: accent, tu/vous, expressions for leave-taking
#15	11/11	Observed language use between mother and child: "quick and brief" (e.g., "arretes"), "abbreviate a lot" (e.g., t'as)
#16	11/25	Observed use of contractions (e.g., t'as fait, je peux pas) and "a lot of inversion when asking questions"
#18	11/25	Conversation with friend of a friend: expressions for leave-taking
#19	12/2	Observed a friend's use of tu/vous with Belgian professors
#20	12/5	Learned a new verb for "to like" from a movie

Note. *Dates refers to the date the post was uploaded online. Jenny often wrote posts elsewhere as she made her observations and reflections and then uploaded several posts at the same time. Therefore, she sometimes has multiple posts that were recorded on the same day.

During the next JD following this series of journal posts, Jenny and I discussed one of her interactions between her and a small group of her French friends. As shown in Excerpt 4.14, I began with the interaction Jenny had described in her journal and drew her attention to actual language use that might have happened in that situation (9-10).¹⁸ I oriented her to the concepts but rather than leading her through an analysis of the social situation in this moment, I asked her to articulate language choices from this situation or others that might have expressed the meanings described in the concepts.¹⁹ After clarifying the term "language choices" (13-14) she attempted to identify one by describing the content of many of her conversations with these

¹⁸ Numbers in parentheses refer to transcript line numbers in the following excerpt.

¹⁹ In other portions of the JD, we discussed her explanations in great detail (e.g., comments such as line 38) and I oriented her to think about the explanations through the concept diagrams. This type of mediation will be discussed in more detail in the qualitative analyses of RQ2.

friends but experienced difficulty in identifying any pragmatic language choices. However, she also highlighted that her friends often spoke in English and that she and her American friends would reply in French, thus making it difficult to pinpoint specific French language choices. Despite this practice, I directed her to attend to language choices (40-47) in similar situations in the future and discussed some ideas of how to go about this. I reinforced this idea as the JD wrapped up and extended it to other contexts and interactions where she might be able to notice pragmatic language choices (64-83).

Excerpt 4.14 Jenny's (EM) JD2

- 3 R: ok so then in your interactions with [French friend] and um his other
 4 friends um do you does anything stand out to you as being
 5 um I'm assuming that most of these conversations are going to be on
 6 the t-shirt-and-jeans end and the close end or what have you
 7 J: yes mhm
 8 R: judging from the situation
 9 **so are there any language choices that stand out to you as like**
 10 **representing these types of ideas?**
 11 can you think of anything?
 12 (4.0)
 13 J: language choices?
 14 you mean::
 15 R: how did they use French?
 16 so things that they are saying, ways that they are speaking
 17 J: oh:: ok
 18 ok um (2.0)
 19 well they are very ((laughs))
 20 I don't know if it's because we're just American girls or::
 21 R: ((laughs))
 22 J: I don't know what it is but they're very like interested in talking
 23 to us about America and how our time is here too
 24 they want to hear how France is from our view um but (2.0) they're::
 25 I don't know they definitely adjust because they are speaking
 26 English to us
 27 R: oh that's right mhm
 28 J: whereas we answer in French
 29 R: that's right
 ...
 38 J: I mean it's all definitely more friendly side and using tu
 39 R: ok

- 40 ok um maybe in the next couple of weeks as you:: **if you continue to**
 41 **hang out with them**
 42 J: mhm
 43 R: **even as they're like talking to each other**
 44 if you hear like just listening to their interactions with one another,
 45 **see if there's any expressions or words or um other way-**
 46 **manners of speaking that stand out to you as really like of**
 47 **marking these things** that you think could be representative of that
 ...
 64 R: yeah and then just in general I think that your reflections are
 65 really great about your experiences here in France and that kind of
 66 thing um and I know that you're trying to and looking out for
 67 language things but
 68 J: mhm
 69 R: um again just to:: kind of to **keep** maybe:: **these diagrams in mind**
 70 J: ok
 71 R: and think about oh wow maybe this pattern or this expression is
 72 wow maybe that's really used here
 73 J: ok
 74 R: like I noticed this in the stores, they are always saying this one
 75 phrase to me or:: you know whatever might
 76 J: ok::
 77 R: or I hear the I uh: you know I hear my host mom on the phone with
 78 her friends and she uses this phrase all the time and you know things
 79 like that
 80 J: ok
 81 R: so **keep an eye out for things like that that might mark one side**
 82 **or the other of these things**
 83 J: ok!

In her subsequent journal post, Jenny wrote about a specific interaction that she had overheard on a bus. She wrote:

So I was on a bus this week and these two girls (maybe in their 20s) got on. **I have been trying to pay more attention to the people around me and not just my own experiences.** These are just some of my observations.. they must have been really close friends because when they spoke to each other, they leaned in. I am pretty sure they were gossiping too (from the bits of French I could catch). They were joking around and laughing a lot too. Overall they seemed like normal good friends, but they also didn't get too far into each other's personal spaces... (Post #8, emphasis added)

This post illustrates the way in which Jenny refined how she approached the interactions that surrounded her in the study abroad context. She purposefully attended more to the interactions

and experiences around her. Her observation (amount of personal space) is still not language-based but she did highlight a salient paralinguistic practice that she had noticed in the interaction. Before the next JD, she posted again about personal space, this time between couples, and an observation that she had made about an African man's accent.

In JD3, we discussed her observations of personal space in detail (particularly in light of the concept diagrams) but I emphasized that although these observations are relevant and interesting, they focused more on the physical dimension of communication and not on language. This point was reiterated at the end of the conversation, as we can see in Excerpt 4.15, where I again pushed for her to focus more squarely on language use.

Excerpt 4.15 Jenny's (EM) JD3

- 52 R: and um your reflections have been uh really interesting and great
 53 um:: but I guess I would challenge you a little bit more to think
 54 about some lang language things more- just to be looking for more
 55 language things
 56 J: ok
 57 R: like I said your observations about the:: kind of the physicality
 58 of interacting were very interesting also but then try to keep your
 59 ear open for:: some more things that
 60 J: ok
 61 R: might mark how language is used in one situation versus another
 62 J: ok!
 63 R: and um reflect on that a little bit
 64 ok?
 65 J: ok
 66 R: ok and I know that can be trickier too if you're not using French
 67 as much but um therefore kind of another encouragement ((laughs))
 68 to use your French as much as you can and or things that you can
 69 you know overhear::
 70 J: ok
 71 R: or uh just pay attention to on the street um just as you were on
 72 the bus or what have you

In response to these JDs, there was a distinct qualitative change in Jenny's posts. Her observations became much more specific and focused on language (see Table 4.3, Posts #12-20). During the JDs, I provided a schema that elucidated the complexities of language use (with the

help of one illustrative example) and, from this context, urged her to seek out additional linguistic examples that could be used as pragmatic resources to express the same meanings described in the concepts. As a result, Jenny learned what constitutes a language choice and resolved to pay greater attention to the conversations and interactions happening around her as well as to analyze how the speakers are using language. She discussed conversations that she had participated in as well as those she overheard in public places and on the street. She highlighted instances of *tu/vous* use, expressions for greeting and leave-taking, lexical choices, and the use of contractions.

This qualitative transformation occurred in many of the EM participants. The EM program guided many students to focus in on how language was being used around them (without giving them explicit language choices to look for), thus leading to the greater number of categories and tokens presented in the section above.

Language Awareness Interview Observations

The Language Awareness Interview (LAI) further supports the finding that students notice pragmatic practices while abroad by examining changes in the observations that students were able to make about differences between the first and second LAI texts. All 16 participants from both groups (EM=8, NM=8) completed the pre- and post- LAI. Although there is not much pre to post change in the number of categories identified, evidence of growth can be seen when considering the total number of tokens within each category provided by students. Students were able to identify an average of 7.69 of 12 categories ($SD=1.45$) in the pre-LAI and, very similarly, an average of 7.81 categories ($SD=1.59$) in the post-LAI (see Table 4.4). However, all students except for two increased ($m\Delta=7.38$, $SD=8.54$) the total number of tokens given during the LAI

from pre to post (see Table 4.5). This shows that, in the post-LAI, they were able to provide more details about the texts, by either providing more generic descriptions and/or more specific examples from the texts.

Table 4.4: Changes in LAI Identified Categories

	Total			I Categories			IP Categories			P Categories		
	Pre	Post	Δ	Pre	Post	Δ	Pre	Post	Δ	Pre	Post	Δ
Total M	7.69	7.81	0.13	5.07	5.07	0.75	0.41	1.01	0.38	1.68	0.95	-1.00
SD	1.45	1.59	1.69	2.11	2.06	2.38	0.42	0.54	0.86	1.36	0.76	1.58
EM												
Ahmed	7	7	0	5	3	-2	0	1	1	2	3	1
Yuki	10	9	-1	5	8	3	2	1	-1	3	0	-3
Dahlia	9	10	1	7	8	1	0	1	1	2	1	-1
Danielle	7	8	1	3	8	5	1	0	-1	3	0	-3
Gabrielle	5	8	3	3	6	3	0	0	0	2	2	0
Jenny	9	9	0	5	9	4	0	0	0	4	0	-4
Kristina	7	8	1	7	7	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Kay	8	4	-4	5	4	-1	0	0	0	3	0	-3
EM M	7.75	7.88	0.13	5.00	6.63	1.63	0.38	0.38	0.00	2.38	0.88	-1.50
SD	1.48	1.69	1.90	1.41	2.00	2.34	0.70	0.48	0.71	1.11	1.05	1.87
NM												
Charlotte	7	7	0	5	3	-2	1	3	2	1	1	0
Keshia	8	11	3	7	11	4	0	0	0	1	0	-1
Kacey	7	7	0	7	5	-2	0	1	1	0	1	1
Zoe	9	8	-1	8	7	-1	1	1	0	0	0	0
Matthew	10	9	-1	7	8	1	0	0	0	3	1	-2
Carissa	7	6	-1	3	2	-1	0	2	2	4	2	-2
Catherine	5	7	2	4	6	2	1	1	0	0	0	0
Elizabeth	8	7	-1	6	4	-2	0	1	1	2	2	0
NM M	7.63	7.75	0.13	5.88	5.75	-0.13	0.38	1.13	0.75	1.38	0.88	-0.50
SD	1.41	1.48	1.45	1.62	2.73	2.09	0.48	0.93	0.83	1.41	0.78	1.00

Table 4.5: Changes in LAI Observation Tokens

	Total			Descriptive			Specific		
	Pre	Post	Δ	Pre	Post	Δ	Pre	Post	Δ
Total M	20.25	27.63	7.38	12.50	16.31	3.81	7.75	11.31	3.56
SD	5.29	7.84	8.54	3.22	5.54	6.14	3.19	3.85	4.14
EM									
Ahmed	16	33	17	8	17	9	8	16	8
Yuki	26	29	3	15	12	-3	11	17	6
Dahlia	22	48	26	14	34	20	8	14	6
Danielle	24	26	2	12	14	2	12	12	0
Gabrielle	16	24	8	9	13	4	7	11	4
Jenny	19	34	15	16	19	3	3	15	12
Kristina	17	25	8	9	16	7	8	9	1
Kay	25	11	-14	17	7	-10	8	4	-4
EM M	20.63	28.75	8.13	12.50	16.50	4.00	8.13	12.25	4.13
SD	3.87	9.85	11.17	3.28	7.43	8.22	2.52	3.99	4.70
NM									
Charlotte	21	27	6	13	20	7	8	7	-1
Keshia	24	31	7	15	18	3	9	13	4
Kacey	15	30	15	9	15	6	6	15	9
Zoe	21	29	8	14	16	2	7	13	6
Matthew	33	33	0	17	19	2	16	14	-2
Carissa	13	19	6	8	13	5	5	6	1
Catherine	12	22	10	9	15	6	3	7	4
Elizabeth	20	21	1	15	13	-2	5	8	3
NM M	19.88	26.50	6.63	12.50	16.13	3.63	7.38	10.38	3.00
SD	6.37	4.85	4.47	3.16	2.47	2.78	3.71	3.46	3.39

This growth is well illustrated with an example of how one student described one category of differences between the LAI texts. In the pre-LAI, Dahila (an EM student) described the lexical choice in Text 1 as using “longer words” and in Text 2 as using “simpler language” and “things that are... kind of made up like niah niah niah and ouai ouai ouai.” But we do not know what she meant by “longer words” or “simpler language” because she did not provide any specific examples. In contrast, in the post-LAI, she added more generic descriptions and was able to back up these generic descriptions with additional specific examples from the texts. In this way, she was not simply talking just about her impressions of the lexical choices but could

pin point specific evidence to back up these observations. This time she described Text 1 saying that it, “chooses more words” “the words are definitely longer” and “there are more abstract words.” She then provided the evidence of these descriptions saying, “like here mentioning like *immigration* ... or *immigré identique*.” She compared this to Text 2, as “not philosophizing about anything” because “the longest word here is probably *evidement* or *heureuse* both of which are pretty straightforward words.” Finally, she also described Text 2 as containing several lexical choices that are “not necessarily words” such as, “*niah, niah, niah*,” “*bah non*,” and “*ouai*.” This is simply one category of differences that she discussed during LAI but this example shows that, by the post-LAI, she used more detail to discuss the two LAI texts. She was able to talk more about the texts (by using Description tokens) and was able to explicitly support these generic descriptions with specific citations from the texts. This increased quality of comparison, which included more generic descriptions and/or specific examples from the texts, was a common trend throughout the data.

Role of expert mediation in LAI observations

There are differences that emerged between the EM and NM participants' LAI observations. The EM students became more independent in their observations by the post-LAI whereas the NM students show very little change. As in Table 4.4 above, the groups show different pre to post trajectories in whether or not they identified categories independently (I categories), if they were prompted (P categories), or a mixture (IP categories). The NM participants show very little change overall from pre to post. For this group, the number of I categories decreased slightly ($m\Delta=-0.13$, $SD=2.09$), IP categories increased just slightly ($m\Delta=0.75$, $SD=0.83$), and P categories decreased slightly ($m\Delta=-0.50$, $SD=1.00$). For the EM group, however, the number of I categories increased by an average of 1.63 categories per

student ($SD=2.34$), IP categories had no change ($m\Delta=0.00$, $SD=0.71$), and P categories decreased by an average of 1.50 categories per student ($SD=1.87$). This shows that by the post-LAI, EM participants on average identified a greater number of categories independently than in the pre-LAI and in comparison to their NM counterparts. However, it is important to note that both groups have high standard deviations relative to increased mean so there is a lot of variation from individual to individual.

Second, there are also different pre to post trajectories in the types of tokens that each group provided in each LAI. Both groups increased their total number of tokens but the EM group showed a greater average increase than the NM group (EM: $m\Delta=8.13$, $SD=11.17$; NM: $m\Delta=6.63$, $SD=4.47$). However, this difference must be taken cautiously because the standard deviation is again quite high. If we dig deeper and consider changes in either generic descriptions or specific explanations that were given in the LAI, most of the extreme variation in the EM's change scores is in the change in generic descriptions given, which make it difficult to argue about differences in this type of tokens. However, EM participants show a greater increase in specific examples from pre- to post-LAI than the NM participants (EM: $m\Delta=4.13$, $SD=4.70$; NM $m\Delta=3.00$, $SD=3.39$). This difference between the groups show that the EM participants became somewhat more specific and independent in their LAI observations as compared to the NM participants.

Interpretive Summary RQ1

The comments students wrote in their journals addressed a wide range of pragmatic features that included lexical, phonological, and grammatical variations as well as wider conversational practices such as speech act behavior and paralinguistic practices. These

observations examined many common pragmatic practices and features of everyday, spoken French that have been highlighted by French sociolinguistic scholars (e.g., Coveney, 2002, 2010; Gadet, 1997). No student addressed all categories but each student discussed anywhere from as few as four categories (Keshia) to as many as 14 categories (Kristina) as they became salient throughout their semester in France.

The degree of specificity or accuracy of the students' observations varied from student to student and from observation to observation. However, this is understandable as the journal was designed to capture what became relevant to each student and what he or she understood in that moment about the practices being observed. In the journal entries, students made generalizations about the practices they observed by bringing together their own reflections and input from conversations with L1 French speakers, their instructors, and myself (for EM participants only during journal discussions). Nevertheless, the journal entries provide a great amount of evidence that students do, in fact, observe pragmatic practices outside of the classroom and that these observations are quite diverse.

Within this wide variety of observations, there is a high concentration of journal posts that attend to *tu/vous* use. This high frequency is both partially expected and quite striking at the same time. It is anticipated that this would be a common category for participants to discuss for two reasons. First, it is perhaps the most salient pragmatic feature in French (Coveney, 2010). In addition, for the EM students, in particular, this is the category that was the sample language choice given on the concept diagrams. Nevertheless, the frequency of tokens is still quite remarkable. One student, Yuki, for example, regularly returned to this category, discussing it a total of 10 times throughout her journal whereas each NM student only mention it once or twice.

There are a few conventional markers of 'everyday' French that are not addressed or only rarely addressed by the students. For example, students very rarely mentioned the pragmatic language choice between first person plural pronouns *nous/on* (n=2 tokens) and there is no mention of /l/ reduction, a common pragmatic variation in the third person pronouns *il* and *elle*. This void provides the opportunity for expert mediators to further support students' observations and interpretations by drawing their attention to additional pragmatic features that are widely supported by corpus-based sociolinguistics research (e.g., Beeching, Armstrong, & Gadet, 2009; Coveney, 2002; Gadet, 1997) but perhaps not noticed independently.

As seen in the results to RQ1c suggest, the EM program resulted in students reporting more observations, on a wider range of categories, in greater detail (by using more tokens), and more independently (as in the LAI). In addition, Jenny's example illustrates the way in which the EM program led students to better attend to their surroundings and social interactions in order to find specific language choices that could be a resource for expressing the meanings depicted in the concept diagrams. In the case of Jenny, this meant also teaching her the metalanguage (i.e., what constitutes a pragmatic language choice) in order to find and articulate pragmatic practices. This suggests that the expert mediation played a direct role in guiding the EM students' attention and to open their eyes and ears to experiences beyond their own. This is illustrated on a larger scale by an increased quantity of EM students' observations throughout the semester. EM students' development in terms of how they explained and discussed these observations will be discussed in the next research question.

RQ2 Results**RQ2: Does students' metapragmatic awareness develop over the course of a semester abroad? If so, what role does expert mediation have in the development?**

In order to address the second research question, this section presents an in-depth look into students' metapragmatic awareness as elicited in the LAI and journal entries. Results trace developments in students' awareness for the entire group of students and then for the two separate groups. These differences are illustrated next through excerpted transcripts from one NM and one EM student, which bring to life the qualities of development found in the LAIs. Finally, a qualitative analysis of a series of journal posts from one EM and one NM student illustrate how students applied their growing awareness to the observations they made throughout the semester.

Development in Language Awareness Interview Explanations

As shown in Table 4.6, in the pre-LAI for EM and NM groups together, there are notable patterns that emerge with respect to how students were rated for the extent to which they incorporate conceptual knowledge into their explanations of the language choices made in the given LAI texts. Overall, the ratings improved from pre- to post- LAI for every feature of the coding scheme.

The first group of ratings concerns the three features of the Leading Concept: Situation Constraints, Speaker Intention, and Effects on Other Participants. In the pre-LAI, for Situation Constraints, half of the students explicitly explained the texts' language choices in relation to various facts about the situations (earning a rating of "Yes"). The other half were more implicit in how they explained the language choices in light of these facts but still provided evidence that they had some knowledge that such constraints influence language choices (thus earning a rating

of “Some”). For both Speaker Intention and Effects on Other Participants, only a quarter of the students implicitly referred to these aspects of agency (thus receiving a rating of “Some”) and the remaining three quarters did not provide any evidence for these features (hence receiving a rating of “No”). The second group of ratings concerns the three subconcepts: Self-Presentation, Social Distance, and Power. All 16 students touched on descriptions related to the concept of Self-Presentation but these explanations were not explicit or integral to students’ explanations (earning a rating of “Some”). A few students were rated as “Yes” for Social Distance because they explicitly justified the language choices in relation to issues of social closeness or distance but most received a “Some” rating because they were much less articulate, often referring to categories of people who represent the spectrum of social distance. Ratings regarding Power were evenly split between the lower ratings of “Some” and “No.” Finally, for Meaning-Based Awareness, nearly all students (n=14) referred to static meanings of the texts’ language choice (often “formal” or “informal”) and thus were rated as “Some” and two were rated as “No.”

Table 4.6: LAI Awareness Ratings Totals by Group

Leading Concept	PRE LAI			PRE LAI			TOTAL		
	Yes	Some	No	Yes	Some	No	Yes	Some	No
Situation Constraints	5	3	0	3	5	0	8	8	0
Speaker Intention	0	1	7	0	3	5	0	4	12
Effects on Other Participants	0	1	7	0	3	5	0	4	12
Sub-Concepts									
Self-Presentation	0	8	0	0	8	0	0	16	0
Social Distance	2	6	0	1	7	0	3	13	0
Power	0	4	4	0	4	4	0	8	8
Type of Awareness									
Meaning-based	0	7	1	0	7	1	0	14	2
Leading Concept	POST LAI			POST LAI			TOTAL		
	Yes	Some	No	Yes	Some	No	Yes	Some	No
Situation Constraints	8	0	0	7	1	0	15	1	0
Speaker Intention	6	1	1	2	4	2	8	5	3
Effects on Other Participants	5	1	2	2	1	5	7	2	7
Sub-Concepts									
Self-Presentation	7	1	0	4	4	0	11	5	0
Social Distance	7	1	0	1	7	0	8	8	0
Power	4	1	3	0	1	7	4	2	10
Type of Awareness									
Meaning-based	5	3	0	0	8	0	5	11	0

In the post-LAI, the patterns of ratings are much different. In the first feature of the Leading Concept, Situation Constraints, nearly every student explicitly acknowledges the influence of various situation constraints and received a rating of “Yes” with only one student rated as “Some,” and no students rated as “No.” Ratings for Speaker Intention have shown notable improvements. Half of the students now acknowledged speaker agency as an influence on language choices (rated as “Yes”), five provided implicit evidence of this concept (rated as “Some”), and only three did not provide any evidence (rated as “No”). Ratings regarding Effects on Other Participants also improved with seven of the students now integrating consequences

into their explanations and were thus rated as “Yes,” and two were rated as “Some.” Although seven students were still rated as “No.”

In the ratings of the subconcepts, both ratings of Self-Presentation and Social Distance improved quite notably. For Self-Presentation, 11 students’ explanations illustrated an explicit and integral understanding of self-presentation and were rated as “Yes” and the remaining five were less explicit but still provided some evidence (“Some”). For Social Distance, half of the students now incorporated explicit and integral evidence that language choices reflect social distance of closeness (earned a “Yes” rating) and the second half provided some evidence but it was less explicit or integral (earning ratings of “Some”). However, the subconcept of Power showed a mixture of changes with an increase to four students who provided explicit evidence of the concept (ratings of “Yes”), a decrease to two who provided only some evidence (ratings of “Some”), and an increase to ten students who provided no evidence of this concept (ratings of “No”). Finally, five students were rated as “Yes” for Meaning-Based Awareness because they discussed the creative and expressive nature of language choices and the remaining 11 discussed language choices as having stable or fixed meanings (ratings of “Some”). The above patterns therefore provide evidence of growth in the entire group’s growth in metapragmatic awareness between pre- and post-LAI. Specifically, when considered as a whole group, students began to more explicitly integrate conceptual knowledge about the Leading Concept of pragmatics and the three subconcepts. (In order to illustrate the qualitative changes in students’ awareness, I present excerpted transcripts for one NM and one EM student following the next section.) However, in order to understand the growth displayed here, it is important to tease apart the qualities of development observed in each group.

Role of expert mediation in development of LAI explanations

The patterns of growth between the EM and NM groups are quite distinct. EM participants were quite comparable to the NM participants in the pre-LAI, particularly considering the ratings for the Subconcepts and Meaning-Based Awareness. In the Leading Concept, for Situation Constraints, both groups are split nearly evenly between being rated as “Yes” and “Some.” Regarding Speaker Intention from the Leading Concept, only one EM student and three NM students received a “Some” rating, and the remaining seven EM students and five NM students received “No” ratings. The pattern for Effects on Other Participants is nearly identical to Speaker Intention. Here, no student from either group received a “Yes” rating, one EM student and three NM students received “Some” ratings, and seven EM and five NM students received “No” ratings. The remaining features in the coding scheme (including the three subconcepts of Self-Presentation, Social Distance, and Power as well as a rating for Meaning-Based Awareness) are essentially identical between the two groups with the majority of students earning a “Some” rating for the features.

In the post-LAI, the EM group becomes quite distinguishable from the NM group. For the Leading Concept, a majority of the EM students explain the texts’ language choices in relation to all three features of the Leading Concept (rated as “Yes”). In the NM group, however, Situation Constraints contributed to almost all students’ explanations (all but one received a “Yes” rating) but Speaker Intention and Effects on Other Participants were much less explicitly or integrally included and thus many more students received ratings of “Some” and “No” for these features than the EM group. EM students continued to be rated better than the NM students for the three Subconcepts. All but one EM student explained the language choices in terms of but Self-Presentation and Social Distance (thus earned “Yes” ratings). For Power, half of the EM

participants received “Yes” ratings, one received a “Some,” and three received a “No.” In comparison, in the NM group’s ratings for Self-Presentation, students were split 50/50 between those whose explanations provided explicit evidence (“Yes” ratings) and those who only provided implicit or less integral evidence (“Some” ratings). For Social Distance, only one NM student received a “Yes” rating and the remaining seven were much more implicit for this concept (received ratings of “Some”). For Power, no NM student received a “Yes” rating, only one received a “Some” rating and remaining seven received a “No” rating. Finally, the EM group was also rated higher in the post-LAI for Meaning-Based awareness. All five students who earned a rating of “Yes” came from the EM group because they described the language choices in terms of their expressive and creative abilities. The remaining three EM students received a rating of “Some.” Whereas all NM students only referred to static meanings of language choices and thus received a rating of “Some” for this feature.

These positive changes in EM ratings also led to greater average individual increases in Awareness Scores²⁰ (see Table 4.7). All EM participants increased their score by at least 1.50 points (out of 7), with an average increase of 3.00 (SD=0.71). This increase happened across all three components of the score, with most of the increase being shared between the Leading Concept and the subconcepts. EM participants increased their Leading Concept score by an average of 1.56, the subconcepts by an average of 1.06, and the Meaning-Based score by 0.38 points.

²⁰ As a reminder, each rating of “Yes” earned 1 point, each rating of “Some” earned 0.5 points, and each rating of “No” earned 0 points, with a maximum possible score of 7 points.

Table 4.7: Mean LAI Awareness Scores

	EM Participants			NM Participants			Total		
	Pre	Post	Δ	Pre	Post	Δ	Pre	Post	Δ
Leading Concept	0.94	2.50	1.56	1.06	1.75	0.69	1.03	2.13	1.09
Subconcepts	1.38	2.44	1.06	1.31	1.38	0.06	1.34	1.91	0.56
Meaning-Based	0.44	0.81	0.38	0.44	0.50	0.06	0.44	0.66	0.22
Total Score	2.75	5.75	3.00	2.81	3.63	0.81	2.81	4.69	1.88
SD	0.43	0.97	0.71	0.50	0.82	0.97	0.82	1.74	1.38

Note. The total maximum possible Awareness Score was 7 points – 3 points total for the Leading Concept, 3 points total for the Subconcepts, and 1 point total for Meaning-Based Awareness

By contrast, only two of eight NM participants, Charlotte and Kacey, increased their total score comparably to the scores of the EM participants (i.e., a change of 1.50 points or more), and Elizabeth actually decreased her total score by 1.00 point: the average total score increased for NM participants by an average of only 0.81 points. The increase is primarily accounted for by an average increase in the Leading Concept score of 0.69 points. The Subconcepts score and the Meaning-Based score each slightly increased by a mere 0.06 points.

In order to illustrate the different patterns of development in awareness that were present in the data, this section now presents pre- and post-LAI excerpted transcripts for one EM student (Yuki) and one NM student (Keshia). Both Yuki and Keshia had pre- to post-LAI change scores that were near the average for their respective groups. Yuki improved her Awareness score by 3.50 points and Keshia improved her score by only one point. This analysis highlights the resulting awareness that each student developed after a semester abroad and, in the case of Yuki, with the help of the EM program.

Analysis of Metapragmatic Awareness in a Single NM Student: Keshia

In the pre-LAI, Keshia, an NM participant, did not provide much evidence that her conceptual knowledge of pragmatics was systematic or semiotic. Overall, her explanations of

language choices were generally based on descriptions and categories of the speakers, relationships, and situations of the LAI texts. Keshia particularly focused on explanations related to social closeness or distance.

Throughout her discussion of the two LAI texts (see Table 4.8 for relevant excerpts, transcripts can be found in Appendix H; numbers in parentheses refer to transcript line numbers), Situation Constraints is the only Leading Concept feature for which she provided evidence. In line 108, she briefly touched on how the situation constraint of speaking on the phone facilitates some characteristics of Text 2. In addition, throughout the discussion she identified some characteristics of the relationship between the speakers (98-99, 101-102, 132-133). Together these comments show that she implicitly relied on a few facts about the situation to justify the language choices in these texts. However, she never discussed what the speakers intended to convey (Speaker Intention) in these situations or what consequences may arise from their choices (Effects on Other Participants). This led to Keshia receiving a rating of “Some” for Situation Constraints but a rating of “No” for both Speaker Intention and Effects on Other Participants (see Table 4.9).

Table 4.8: Keshia's (NM) Explanations of Language Choices

Text 1	Text 2
PRE-LAI	
"I switch into more serious when I was reading this [Text 2] but it it's more (1.0) textbooky" (16-17)	"I immediately like (1.0) went to like friend mode" (6)
"I wouldn't say that they were friends... not like they were enemies but not like close, same age proximity friends" (96-99)	"I would say they are close proximity friends or like family members" (101-102)
"it's like still a little more distant" (143-144)	"phone does facilitate more like this... let me give you all the facts in the right way" (108)
	"either these people are really comfortable or lower class, like putain, that's not exactly very elegant to say" (132-134)
	"this being more familiar" (140)
POST-LAI	
"this one is very more drawn out... it's more drawn out, more formal" (41, 45)	"like friends speaking, making fun, joking" (34)
"they just seem older... it just seems more um adult" (58, 65)	"they're either like family or a couple or something like they they:: it's a very intimate relationship" (131-132)
"probably their relationship, it's probably more professional like two colleagues or something" (85-86)	"and then loulou [a pet name]... that's like cutesy which means I don't know it made me think it's like her boyfriend" (139-142)
"they probably are either trying like to be really professional or they don't really know each other that well or which might not make sense because French people don't talk to people they don't know" (101-104)	"like they might be really young" (178)
"they might be pretty like uh educated... they come off as I don't know:: (2.0) stuffy old dudes talking and having a smoke together" (114-116)	

Table 4.9: Keshia's Pre/Post-LAI Awareness Ratings and Scores

	PRE LAI	POST LAI
Leading Concept		
Situation Constraints	S	S
Speaker Intention	N	S
Effects on Other Participants	N	N
Sub Concepts		
Self-Presentation	S	Y
Social Distance	Y	Y
Power	N	N
Type of Awareness		
Meaning-Based Awareness	S	S
Total Awareness Score	2.5	3.5

There is also very little explicit evidence of her understanding of the subconcepts of either Self-Presentation or Power in her explanations of language choices, though she did appear to have an understanding of Social Distance. Regarding Self-Presentation, she briefly commented that Text 1 is more “serious” or “textbooky” and that Text 2 is more “friend mode” and that their choice of *putain* is “not exactly very elegant.” These explanations of language choices suggest that Keisha implicitly understood that a choice can convey a range of meaning from friend mode to elegance (similar to the t-shirt-and-jeans or suit-and-tie description in the concept diagram) but she did not explicitly use these adjectives in reference to how the speakers’ wished to present themselves. Therefore, she was rated as “Some” for Self-Presentation. Keshia more explicitly referred to the concept of Social Distance in lines 96-99, when she explained, “I wouldn’t say that they were friends... not like they were enemies but not like close, same age proximity friends.” She then continued and compared this to the speakers in Text 2 who seemed to be “close proximity friends of like family members” (101-102). In addition, she explained that the speakers in Text 2 address each other in a more “familiar” way (140-145), whereas Text 2 is a little more “distant.” This shows that she understood that language choices express a spectrum

of social closeness or distance, rather than relying on black and white rules of thumb regarding how to speak to friends or people you do not know. Therefore, she was rated as “Yes” for Social Distance. Finally, regarding Power, she did not ever explain the speakers’ language choices in light of differences or equality in power and therefore was rated as “No” for this subconcept.

Keshia’s final rating is in regards to how meaning-based her awareness appears to be. Throughout her discussion, Keshia gave some evidence about how centrally she used meaning to explain or justify language choices. To revisit a previous example, in line 133-134, she explained that *putain* is “not exactly very elegant.” Additionally, in lines 140-145, she equated the ways in which the speakers address one another as being distant in Text 1 and more familiar in Text 2. These explanations suggest that meaning does play a role in her explanations but that she relied more on static meanings rather than considering a language choice’s meaning-potential or possibility to create a desired social effect. Therefore, she was rated as “Some” for Meaning-Based Awareness.

In the post-LAI, all ratings remained the same except for the ratings of Speaker Intention and Self-Presentation, both of which earned one rating higher in the post-LAI. Keshia again explained language choices in light of situation constraints. For example, she described the situation in Text 2 as “friends speaking, making fun, joking” (34) whereas the situation in Text 1 is “two colleagues or something talking” (86). However, her explanations only briefly touched on a few facts about the situation and these facts were not described as being integral to the speakers’ language choices, so she was rated as a “Some” for Situation Constraints. Keshia improved her rating for Speaker Intention from “No” to “Some” because she explained that the speakers in Text 1 are “either trying to be really professional or they don’t really know each other that well” (101-102). She presented these two options as if only one is possible rather than

acknowledging that language choices are often influenced by multiple influences. Therefore, Keshia earned a rating of “Some” for Speaker Intention because she acknowledged Intention as a possible influence, even though it was not integral to her explanation. Finally, she retained her rating of “No” for Effects on Other Participants because she did not mention anything pertaining to the consequences of the speakers’ language choices.

Keshia also improved her rating of Self-Presentation to “Yes” and maintained her “Yes” rating for Social Distance in the post-LAI, whereas Power remained at a rating of “No.” Keshia explained that the respective language choices present the speakers as being “formal” (45), “more professional” (45), “educated” (144), and either “young” (178) or “stuffy old dudes” (116). The concept of Social Distance was again integrated into her explanations when she explained that the language choices were a result of the relationship between the speakers in each text. The two differing relationships were again described on a range from professional to very intimate (i.e., distant to close). In Text 1, she described this relationship as “professional” and between “two colleagues or something” that potentially “don’t really know each other that well” (85-86, 102). Whereas she described the relationship in Text 2 as “very intimate” such as between “like family or a couple” (131-132). Again, there is no mention of the role that power differences or equality may play in these language choices.

Finally, in the post-LAI, Keshia retained her “Some” rating for Meaning-Based awareness. In this discussion, she was more explicit about the meaning of some language choices than in the pre-LAI but she still relied on static meanings rather than meaning-potentials. For example, Keshia discussed the feature of *ne* presence in Text 1 and equates the *ne* absent choice of “on arrive pas” as being “informal or friendly” and “donc on n’arrive pas” (*ne* present) as being formal or professional (94-98).

Overall, she still explained language choices in terms of specific categories of speakers, relationships, and situations but in the post-LAI, she is more detailed and specific. Social closeness and distance are still important themes in these explanations but she also begins to consider speaker intention or agency. She incorporates her everyday empirical evidence accumulated from her study abroad experience and past coursework in a few ways. First, she commented that, “French people don’t talk to people they don’t know” (104). Second, she focused her explanations on conjectures about the speakers’ ages based on how they are speaking. This last use of everyday knowledge is particularly interesting because she generalized empirical experiences that she had throughout the semester (e.g., see Excerpt 4.4) to a new context. However, her interpretation is, in fact, incorrect. The speakers in these texts were neither “really young” (178) or “stuffy old dudes”(116) but rather approximate age peers who were either talking with their partner or an educated speaker in the context of an interview. This highlights an important weakness of everyday knowledge that is acquired through empirical experience in the world: namely that it is not as recontextualizable or reliable as concept-based, scientific knowledge.

Therefore, Keshia’s post-LAI explanations are different from her pre-LAI and display evidence of development, particularly in regards to developing everyday knowledge that relates to the concepts of Self-Presentation and Speaker Intention to greater degrees in the post-LAI. However, many of her ratings remained constant from pre- to post-LAI and her explanations were founded on her everyday empirical evidence. Though each NM participant may have displayed development in differing features of the coding scheme, Keshia provides a representative example of a typical NM student who showed some development of metapragmatic awareness during a semester abroad but that development is based exclusively on

everyday knowledge acquired through her lived experiences.

Analysis of Metapragmatic Awareness in a Single EM Student: Yuki

A contrasting example of developing awareness is seen in Yuki, from the EM group, who developed a much more systematic and principled approach to explaining language choices as a result of appropriating and internalizing the concepts taught through the EM program. Her ratings notably increased from mostly “Some” in the pre-LAI to mostly “Yes” ratings in the post-LAI (see Table 4.10).

Table 4.10: Yuki Pre/Post-LAI Awareness Ratings and Scores

	PRE LAI	POST LAI
Leading Concept		
Situation Constraints	Y	Y
Speaker Intention	N	Y
Effects on Other Participants	N	S
Sub Concepts		
Self-Presentation	S	Y
Social Distance	S	Y
Power	S	Y
Type of Awareness		
Meaning-based	S	Y
Total Awareness Score	3.0	6.5

In the pre-LAI, Yuki focused mainly on Situation Constraints in her explanations (see Table 4.11 for relevant excerpts, transcripts can be found in Appendix H; numbers in parentheses refer to transcript line numbers). When asked to explain why the speakers made their language choices, Yuki centered her explanation of both texts on facts about the situations. She stated that Text 1 is a TV or radio interview (27, 29, 45-46) and that the topic is “abstract, formal, and intense” (36) whereas Text 2 is a couple or friends (62-63) in an informal setting (88) whose objective in this conversation was to discuss a recent funny event (63-64). This focus on Situation Constraints led to a rating of “Yes” on the pre-LAI. She did not provide any evidence

that Speaker Intention or Effects on Other Participants played a role in these language choices so she was rated as “No” for those features.

Table 4.11: Yuki's (EM) Explanations of Language Choices

Text 1	Text 2
PRE-LAI	
“it sounds like an interview? of some sort... it seems like she is being interviewed” (27-29)	“maybe they're uh:: (1.0) like a:: couple or:: really good friends” (62-63)
“that's [the topic is] like pretty abstract and formal and intense” (36)	“they're talking about a really funny thing that happened” (63-64)
“and the setting... maybe they are on tv? or on the radio or something that is to be broadcasted” (40, 45-46)	“It's informal [social context]... they're equals an::d they're informal with each other yeah and in an informal setting” (85-88)
“it's formal [context] and that she's respected that she's an incredible person” (53-54)	
POST-LAI	
“ in terms of self-presentation ... it seems like u::m she probably wants to appear like she knows what she's talking about so she was formal (1.0) grammar and stuff she wants to seem professional... then J is- seems like an interviewer so:: by using like formal pronouns and also speaking- so they are both interacting on a professional level” (110, 118-125)	“so they're really close because they're using pet names... so:: in terms of closeness , they're close” (151-153)
“ in terms of uh closeness I guess it doesn't really matter... if it's vous than it's distant but I mean they're like in a professional setting so like they have no choice but maybe they're like secretly in love” (127-128, 134-137)	“then formality they probably if they're close they don't really care how they appear to each other” (156-158)
“then in terms of equality so they're both addressing each other like with respect because they are in a professional setting... so they're both using vous:: as equals... in order to express equality” (140-147)	“and then:: they're both equally - they're both tu” (160)

Yuki received a rating of “Some” for all three subconcepts in the pre-LAI. For Self-Presentation, she suggested that the speakers in Text 1 are “formal” (53) and that in Text 2

“they’re informal with each” (87) but she did not explicitly discuss how each speaker wanted or intended to present themselves. Regarding Social Distance, she only referred to the relationship between the speakers in Text 2 as being maybe “a couple or really good friends” (62-63). These examples of multiple close relationships implicitly suggest that she may have had some understanding that social closeness plays a role in language choices but the range of closeness and distance is not explicit or integral in her explanation. Finally, Yuki described the speakers in Text 2 as “equals” (87), which suggests that she somewhat incorporated the concept of Power into her explanations. However, this reference is not integral to her explanation so she earned a rating of “Some.”

Finally, her awareness is rated as “Some” for being Meaning-Based because she implicitly equated the topic of Text 1 to the static meaning of “abstract and formal and intense” (36) and referred to language choices in Text 2 as being “informal” (87). These meanings are implicitly integrated and are based on static meanings, rather than discussing the meaning-potentials of a language choice.

In the post-LAI, Yuki approached her explanations in a dramatically different fashion. She structured her entire explanation around the three subconcepts of Self-Presentation, Social Distance, and Power, often using some of the same characteristics of the speakers and situations from the pre-LAI as supporting evidence to guide her choices for each concept. This notable, unprompted restructuring shows that she had adopted a new strategy for explaining language choices and that she has internalized the EM concepts as tools for thinking about social situations and language choices. In turn, she also improved all of her ratings except one to “Yes” in the post-LAI.

For the Leading Concept features, Yuki was rated as “Yes” for Situation Constraints

because she explained that Text 1 is in a professional setting (135 and 142), that the objective of this conversation is “speaking about like a topic” (114), and that speaker J’s role is an interviewer (123). Regarding Speaker Intention, she explicitly explained that a speaker in Text 1 “probably wants to appear like she knows what she’s talking about” (118-119) and “she wants to seem professional” (121). In Text 2, she explained that the speakers here “don’t really care how they appear to each other” (157-158). Both of these comments incorporate intention into her explanation of language choices, thus earning a rating of “Yes.” Effects on Other Participants was the only feature coded as “Some.” Although she does not explicitly reference an effect or consequence, she described the speakers in Text 1 as appearing or seeming a certain way. This provides implicit or indirect evidence that she might be sensitive to consequences on another person as, for example, one cannot “seem professional” without the other participant(s) perceiving the speaker (and/or her language choices) as professional.

Yuki was very explicit and systematic in how she incorporated the three subconcepts into her explanations, thus earning a “Yes” rating for all three. In fact, she structured the conversation around each subconcept one by one for each text (e.g., “In terms of self-presentation...” (110)). She described the speakers in Text 1 as wanting to present themselves as “an expert” (115), “like she knows what she’s talking about” (118-119), and “professional” (121 and 125). In Text 2, the “formality” of the speakers is described as “not really caring how they appear to each other” (156-158). Regarding Social Distance, Yuki determined that this concept is less important to the situation in Text 1 (128-129) but concluded that the expressed Social Distance is “distant.” In comparison, she explained that the speakers in Text 2 are “really close” (151-153). Finally, in terms of Power, she explained that the speakers in Text 1 are “both using *vous* as equals... in order to express equality” (145-147) and for Text 2 the speakers are “both equally- they’re both

tu” (160). These explanations of each subconcept were very integral to her overall explanation of language choices and, therefore, she received a rating of “Yes” for each one.

Finally, Yuki received a “Yes” rating for Meaning-Based Awareness because her explanations integrated the semiotic meaning-potential of language choices. For example, she explained that the choices express certain meaning-potentials such as in line 147 where she explained that both speakers are using *vous* “in order to *express* equality.” Additionally, the evidence is clear that she was centrally focused on the meanings that are expressed and created by different language choices. She stated that the choice to use *vous* expresses distance but it is not possible for us to know if the two speakers really are close or distant relationally. She explained, “If it’s *vous* than it’s distant but I mean they’re like in a professional setting so like they have no choice but maybe they’re secretly in love” (134-137). This provides evidence that Yuki understood that this language choice (to use *vous*) has the power or ability to express or create a certain meaning in a situation even if the “true” feelings about social distance or closeness are contrary to that choice.

Overall, her development is particularly clear because there has been a qualitative transformation in how she approached her explanations altogether. In this LAI, she is much more systematic in how she applied and incorporated the concepts, which suggests that she has appropriated and internalized these concepts as tools for thinking about social situations and language choices. This is particularly evident in the way that she began to use the concepts as a strategy for talking herself through the explanations in a step-wise manner. In brief, the concepts were structuring her thinking, which is a key aspect of pragmatic concept formation and internalization (van Compernelle, 2014; van Compernelle & Henery, in press-b). She also considered speaker agency and the effects of choices on other participants to a greater degree and

acknowledged that at times one concept may be more relevant in a given moment than another. (In this case, Self-Presentation and Situation Constraints outweigh a speaker's possible desire to express social closeness or distance.) Finally, her explanations become much more meaning-based and acknowledge the semiotic and expressive power of language choices.

Yuki illustrated many of the characteristics of the development in metapragmatic awareness that were found within the EM group. Her systematic approach to the LAI task provides convincing evidence that she has appropriated the concepts that were taught during the journal discussions and can use them as tools to mediate her understanding of the social situations and language choices that were made in the LAI texts.

Development in Journal Explanations

The above results point to important distinctions in how the students in this study developed metapragmatic awareness, particularly from a summative, pre/post change perspective. However, the role of how expert mediation in this development becomes even clearer if we consider the nature of the explanations given in a few representative sample students' journals.

Analysis of Journal Explanations in an EM student: Kristina

One such representative student from the EM group is Kristina. She journals about *tu/vous* use a number of times throughout her journal, which provides the opportunity to examine how her orientation to the task of explaining this pragmatic practice develop and became more systematic over the course of the semester as Kristina learns how to think through the concepts and apply them to situations around her.

Early in the semester, Kristina journaled about *tu/vous* use for the first time in Posts #4 and #5 (see Excerpts 4.16 and 4.17 below). At this point in the semester, she had just begun teaching English in a local French elementary school for about an hour a week as part of an education course she was taking from the study abroad institution. In these posts, she reported on how both the students and the full-time teacher of the class addressed her with *vous* and the students address her as *madame*. Her explanations make several references to age and power differences as she attempts to explain the language choice but ultimately, she concludes that it is very odd and uncomfortable to her.

Excerpt 4.16

I was given a class of about 15 kids at the CM2 level--so about 10/11 years old. What I noticed about how they spoke to me is that they always used 'vous' and even went so far as to call *me* "madame." I am not used to being called 'vous' in conversation because I am usually either conversing with peers or with those older than me, so it was odd being in that position of authority. By using 'vous' the students were being respectful, as I was their teacher. (Kristina, Post #4)

Excerpt 4.17

The teacher for the CM2 class seems very nice, but I see very little of her when I go in... I have noticed though that she always uses "vous" with me instead of "tu," because I am at least ten years her junior and she is technically "in charge." I use "vous" with her as well, of course, so I suppose it is a reciprocal sign of respect. It just throws me because when she uses "vous" with me it makes me feel very old and proper. (Kristina, Post #5)

During the next journal discussion (JD 2), I asked Kristina to explain this post in further detail. Preceding Excerpt 4.18 below, we had already spent about 20 minutes discussing the concepts together and applying them to a few hypothetical social situations before turning to her journal posts. In this excerpt, I asked Kristina to tell me a little more about the reflections she made in Posts #4 and #5. Her explanations in this excerpt are very similar to the journal entries in that she explains the use of *vous* and *madame* in terms of age and being respectful or proper. Particularly in response to the students' language choices, she seems to have trouble reconciling that they are positioning her as a teacher and an adult, instead of the role of a student with which

she is more familiar. When she discussed her interactions with the teacher (beginning in line 149), she emphasized that she was both too young and the teacher's subordinate and therefore expected the teacher to use *tu* with her instead of *vous*.

Excerpt 4.18 Kristina (EM) JD2

- 118 K: I told them [the students] the first day
 119 oh what's your name? my name is [Kristina]
 120 I wrote it on the board and yet they still call me *madame*
 121 and it's just so funny because I I it throws me
 122 R: mhm
 123 K: because I think of *madame* as like you know *madame* like like
 124 R: ((laughs))
 125 K: the older kind of scary like I don't know mother or something
 126 and I feel like I'm not old enough to be *madame*
 127 I feel like even if they used *mademoiselle* that would be a little
 128 less weird but it's just funny because I'm like oh you can call me
 129 [Kristina] and yet they still
 130 when they are talking to me they slip up and call me *madame*
 131 some of them call me [Kristina] but some of them uh call me *madame*
 132 so I think that's really funny
 133 and uh it just seems very like like like very respectful and proper
 134 and you know [Kristina] is kind of casual
 ...
 149 K: and so um she's [the teacher] usually like getting like moving her stuff and
 150 packing up as I'm leaving but when she's you know yapping at me in
 151 French I'm trying to like take notes and remember things and
 152 but she always uses *vous* with me which I think is interesting just
 153 because I mean I guess I you know I just still feel so much younger
 154 I mean she's at least thirty something
 155 R: mhm
 156 K: and I feel like you know I:: I I guess I think of the *vous tu*
 157 like like I would use *vous* with her but I would think she'd use *tu*
 158 with me just because I'm I feel like I'm still like like I'm not her
 159 equal I feel like her using *vous* with me kinda makes her is kind of
 160 her way of saying like oh I consider you like a not on the same
 161 level but you know not below me per se
 162 R: mhm
 163 K: so um I thought that was interesting

As Excerpt 4.19 shows, I then drew her attention back to the concept diagrams we had previously been using and asked her to apply this situation to the concepts and use them as a tool to explain what social meanings are being expressed by the teacher's language choice. From the

earlier tasks in this meeting, Kristina was able to talk through the concepts and apply Self-Presentation (169-172) and Social Distance (175-177) with relative ease. However, she struggled a bit more to apply the concept of Power (beginning in line 178). Kristina had a hard time understanding why the teacher would want to express solidarity (through the use of reciprocal *vous*) when, from Kristina's perspective, the teacher clearly had more authority over. She resolved that the other two concepts were simply more relevant in this situation but the choice of *vous* was still funny to her and was not able to reconcile with the meaning potentials of such a choice.

In my response, I oriented Kristina to the concepts (i.e., diagrams) she was appropriating as a way of thinking about this situation. I led her to think in terms of the meanings that are expressed by this choice instead of the facts of the situation. I explained (beginning in line 199) that using non-reciprocal *vous-tu* in this situation would express an assertion of power instead of the conventionally preferred maintenance of solidarity or equality. This moment illustrates well Wertsch's (2007) definition of expert mediation in that I intentionally introduced mediating artifacts (i.e., the diagrams) into the course of ongoing activity.

Excerpt 4.19 Kristina (EM) JD 2 con't

- 164 R: ok so let's look at that situation then and talk about how it fits
 165 into these diagrams
 166 K: ok
 167 R: so if she [the teacher] is using *vous* with you, what kind of meanings is
 168 that expressing?
 169 K: well it it is more professional
 170 R: mhm
 171 K: and we're in a professional situation
 172 um so it's not not t-shirt-and-jeans it's more the suit thing
 173 R: mhm
 174 K: so that does make sense
 175 also it is maintaining distance because we're not going to get close
 176 R: ((laughs))
 177 K: I mean that'd be weird
 178 u::m but the power thing

- 179 like I said I do feel like she has more or I would think more power
180 than me so I was surprised when she didn't try to assert that power
181 you know by using *vous* in that way
182 R: is there a reason for her to assert power in that situation?
183 K: well I mean it's still her classroom
184 I'm just a guest and you know she:: you know she at any time could
185 tell me what to do I mean you know
186 R: ((laughs))
187 K: she doesn't really have to, you know, she just wants to get out of
188 there and eat lunch
189 R: right
190 K: so she doesn't really care what I do but I mean she could if she
191 wanted to like alright tell me today you have to teach the kids this
192 and give me something
193 R: mhm
194 K: so I'm still below her technically
195 R: mhm
196 K: but I think I think it is more of her her trying to maintain a
197 professional relationship which I respect but it's just it's just
198 funny
199 R: mhm yeah so I think the thing that's important to remember is that
200 um that there is a really strong preference for this *égalité*
201 K: yeah
202 R: to be equal and to be on an equal level with people and that that's
203 a way of um of maintaining respect also is to use *vous* but on an
204 equal
205 like I respect you as another human being but we're not close
206 K: yeah
207 R: and and you know that kind of thing
208 and as a professional like you've you've obviously at least been
209 entrusted to take care of the kids
210 K: yeah
211 R: for this 45 minutes or however long it is and um and so there's a
212 lot of reasons
213 so there's not really
214 I mean even though she has the power to:: tell you what to do or
215 change things
216 it's also there's not it doesn't sound like there is anything that
217 you've like done wrong or that you know that you've that there is a
218 reason for her to be like hey you need to chill out ((laughs))
219 K: yeah
220 R: or you know whatever
221 there is not a real reason for her to assert her power

Following this JD, Kristina worked hard to discuss other language choices beyond *tu/vous* use in the next journal entries but she returned to the subject twice more before the end of the semester and each time, each time she returned to the topic, she began to base her explanations more and more on the concepts as she appropriated them as a tool for thinking about language choices. In Post #8, Kristina wrote about an occasion when a friend of her host sister joined the family for dinner one evening. Though she did not have much opportunity to actually interact with this guest, Kristina wrote about the ambiguity of the decision to use either *tu* or *vous* with her (see Excerpt 4.20). In this post, Kristina began her analysis of the situation by applying the rules of thumb she was taught in previous French courses but wasn't satisfied due to the ambiguity of the situation. Instead, she turns to the concepts and uses them to ultimately guide her decision to use *tu*. In this post, even though she used her rules of thumb first, she also shows that she was beginning to appropriate the concepts as she could use them as a tool to come to a decision about how to use language in this ambiguous social situation.

Excerpt 4.20

I also struggled with the conundrum of whether to use "tu" or "vous" with her. When I was taught French in middle school and college, I was told always to use "vous" with people I just met. However, this girl was much younger than me and also she was a "family friend." Furthermore, I was not wanting to create "space" between us per say, especially if she was going to be in my "house" a lot, so after much consideration, I decided to tutoyer her. (Kristina, Post #8)

Her last post that addresses *tu/vous* use (Post #16, see Excerpt 4.21) is drastically different from her earliest posts. Here again she reported on an instance of *tu/vous* use that was surprising to her from an interaction she overheard at a local café. But instead of simply noting that it was odd, she first described the situation to the best of her ability (in effect, setting the stage for the reader to also understand the situation) and then applied the concepts. She moved through the three subconcepts in a step-wise manner (beginning with Social Distance, followed

by Self-Presentation and, finally, Power) in order to justify and explain the speakers' language choice. Though her analysis may not have completely captured the full depth of this complex language choice, the analysis allowed her to come to a distinct conclusion about why the speakers had chosen to use *vous* in this situation. Using the concepts as a systematic framework, she was able to work out the conflict that she originally noted from multiple dimensions and come to a meaning-based explanation. This development in her interpretations again provides evidence that Kristina had internalized the concepts as her orientation or strategy for accomplishing this task has transformed from earlier interpretations.

Excerpt 4.21

Just this morning, my roommate and I went to have breakfast at the [café]... While we were waiting for our food, I overheard two men at the table behind us in a deep conversation. They were both in their 40s and seemed to be more than just casual acquaintances from what I could tell--it definitely was not a business lunch or "professional" meeting. While I couldn't completely follow their conversation, they seemed to be talking about global affairs (in particular the middle east and how France and the EU is dealing with that situation).

What I found interesting about this situation was that even though the men seemed to be well acquainted, in a more casual environment and casually dressed while discussing a more neutral topic (concerning formal/informal) they were both using "vous" with each other. I found this odd because they seemed to be close, like I said, and so, therefore, were probably not using it to "create distance" between them. Furthermore, it was a relaxed conversation & setting so I am not sure they wanted each other to be perceived as more "t shirt and jeans." Therefore, the conclusion I drew is that they wanted to maintain the same level or respect for one another and be balanced, on a social scale, as equals. (Kristina, Post #16)

Analysis of Journal Explanations in an NM student: Charlotte

Comparisons can be made between Kristina's series of journal posts and related journal discussion and two journal posts from Charlotte, an NM student. Excerpt 4.22 below shows an earlier post from Charlotte. In this post, Charlotte reflected on her difficulties with "conversing with others properly" and was having a difficult time reconciling the situation constraints with language use. In particular, she reflects on the speed of speech and pauses between turns that she

has observed in her interactions. She could tell that language choices are influenced by many factors but she did not have a systematic framework to use to interpret the situations she witnessed and participated in. Therefore, she could not come to a conclusion about what to do in more ambiguous situations.

Excerpt 4.22

I guess the main cultural difference I am having trouble with is the way to converse with others properly. The way you have to speak to everyone depends on sooo many different things here. Their age, my age compared to them, their social standing, if I know them and how well I know them not to offend them, and the amount of time to wait before answering.... I guess these differences are a sort [of] distance between social status, that doesn't seem to be as important in France as in the US but the French language seems to be very interested in the presentation of formal and respectful language to those who are older and strangers. So I assume that the spacing between sentence[s] is about some kind of respect as to speak slowly to those older than you, and faster to people around your own age as a sort of acceptance to being in the same group in France. But it is still really hard for me to figure out what amount of time I am supposed to use when just meeting a person. (Charlotte, Post #7)

By her final post (Post #21, Excerpt 4.23), Charlotte was able to use her everyday empirical knowledge to make some conclusions about language choices. She provided evidence of development in that she has come to understand that what she was taught, or at least what she had previously understood from other learning contexts, was not true. During her semester abroad, she recognized several features of everyday French and how it varies from standard or written French. She became more aware of the wealth of language choices available to speakers of French. However, her conclusion about these new found features focused on French being a living and evolving language rather than what the social meaning or implications of using these features may be, except to say that there are differences between different modes of communication (spoken versus written). Her observations destabilized her understanding (as she questioned her previous knowledge of French) but she did not have a systematic framework to help make sense of these new experiences.

Excerpt 4.23

I realize that in English we do this as well but I find it very interesting, and difficult, that the way we are taught to speak French and write it are very different from what I hear from actually French speakers. For instance the lack *ne* when making a sentence negative is something I hear all the time in France but in my French classes in the US I would get in tons of trouble if I had said it like that. And the word for classes is *classe* not *cours* which I was taught was the only phrase for it. But I think this really leads me to my next point which is French is always evolving [evolving] just like English and as a live language it allows for a sense of freedom that I have been taught doesn't exist in French. (Charlotte, Post #21)

Interpretative Summary of RQ2

These findings sketch an interesting picture of how students' articulated metapragmatic awareness developed over the course of the semester. It is important to note that not every EM or NM student expressed their awareness in the same exact ways as Keshia and Yuki or Kristina and Charlotte. However, the NM students' development was generally characterized by expanded everyday conceptual knowledge about language choices and the EM students exhibited evidence that they had internalized the scientific conceptual knowledge about pragmatics and the social meanings of language choices over the course of the semester. Through the EM program, these students appropriated the concepts as psychological tools to interpret social situations and language use and, as a result, there was a transformation in how they approached the task of explaining social situations and language choices. This systematic framework allowed EM students to be able to explain even ambiguous situations to a greater degree than their NM counterparts.

Starting with the Leading Concept, students' explanations of language choices in the pre-LAI were often based on specific facts about the situation, speakers, and topic and rarely considered the influences of Speaker Intention or Effects on Other Participants. It seems that

students' conception of pragmatics at the beginning of the semester was quite skewed, placing the majority of the emphasis on Situation Constraints. This is depicted in Figure 4.1 as a triangle that favors Situation Constraints. This is certainly understandable if one considers that most pragmatic and sociolinguistic information included in traditional textbooks and classrooms—to the extent that this even occurs at all (Etienne & Sax, 2009)—tends to be centered on situation-based rules of thumb or “narrowly empirical representations of abstracted language use” (van Compernelle & Williams, 2012b, p. 185). Therefore, it is understandable that students began the semester by placing more weight on Situation Constraints than on the other two features.

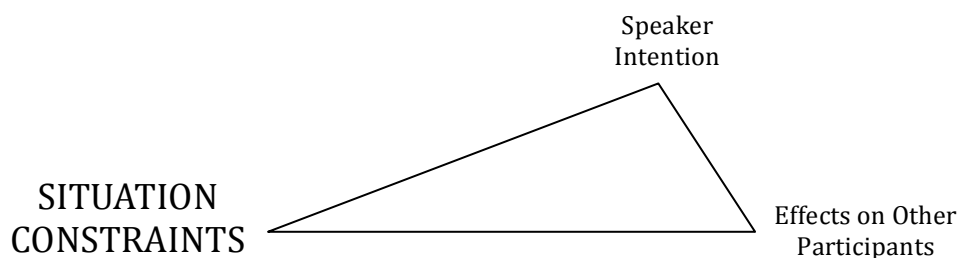


Figure 4.1: Students' Pre-LAI Understanding of Pragmatics

The degree to which students rectified this skewed perception by the end of the semester is different for each group of participants. By the post-LAI, the NM group began to include more Speaker Intention and more Situation Constraints into how they describe and justify language choices. Therefore, I propose that the NM participants' articulated understanding of pragmatics has developed but, not surprisingly, it does not consider all three influences (Situation Constraints, Speaker Intention, and Effects on Other Participants) in a principled manner. This is depicted in Figure 4.2, with the greatest emphasis placed on Situation Constraints, followed by Speaker Intention, and the least amount of emphasis or consideration is given to Effects on Other Participants.

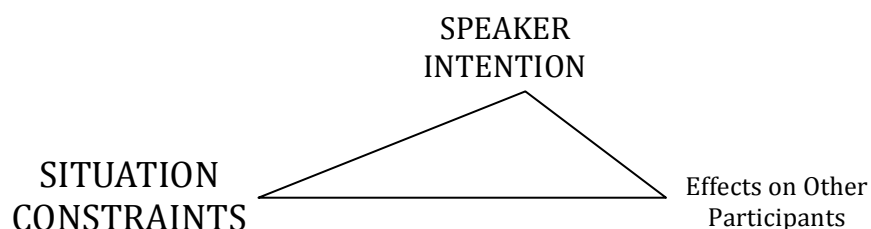


Figure 4.2: NM Students' Post-LAI Understanding of Pragmatics

In comparison, the EM group provided evidence that their understanding was much more principled in the post-LAI. As depicted in Figure 4.3, this group appeared to consider all three features in a principled manner (although all three may not be equally important at all times). Their exhibited awareness is more multidimensional and nuanced by the end of the semester. They consider multiple influences on language choices, particularly giving more attention to the agency of the speakers (Speaker Intention) and the consequences of language choices (Effects on Other Participants) in the post-LAI.

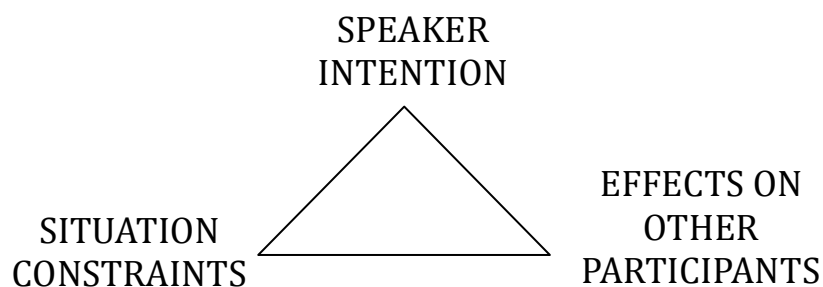


Figure 4.3: EM Students' Post-LAI Understanding of Pragmatics

Turning now to developments in students' articulated awareness of the three subconcepts (Self-Presentation, Social Distance, and Power), students show at least some awareness in the pre-LAI that the language forms speakers choose to use express different aspects of Self-Presentation and Social Distance but these references are often quite vague or implicit, leading to ratings of "Some" for most participants. The subconcept of Power had the least amount of

evidence. Half of the students from each group never referred to the concepts of either equality/solidarity or the possibility of power hierarchies (thus earning a rating of “No” for Power) and the other half only implicitly referred to these conceptual ideas (thus earning a rating of “Some”).

By the post-LAI, the NM students did not make much change in how they considered these subconcepts as they explained language choices. In this LAI, half of the NM group made more explicit references to the concept of Self-Presentation than in the pre-LAI but the ratings for Social Distance remained the same and fewer NM students explicitly integrated explanations related to the subconcept of Power. Nevertheless, some NM students did provide greater evidence that the concept of Self-Presentation can be expressed through language choices in the post-LAI.

The EM group, on the other hand, exhibited a notably greater awareness of all three subconcepts by the post-LAI and exhibited that they had internalized these concepts in that they often adapted their approach to explanations by structuring them around these subconcepts. This transformation reflects a key aspect of pragmatic concept formation and internalization (van Compernelle, 2014; van Compernelle & Henery, in press-b). In this LAI, seven of the eight EM students received a “Yes” rating for both Self-Presentation and Social Distance and half of the group also received “Yes” ratings for Power. The EM students were much more detailed in their analysis and explanation of the language choices in the LAI texts. In addition, as Yuki’s example in the previous section shows, the students developed a greater understanding that these subconcepts are not just reflective ways to classify and describe social situations but, rather, they reflect the meanings that are expressed and created by a speaker’s language choice. In other words, the EM students were better able to distinguish that language choices are a semiotic

resource that express certain meanings and thus can influence social situations, which leads us to the final group of findings regarding Meaning-Based Awareness.

The ratings regarding meaning-based awareness show that, in the pre-LAI, students often associated language choices with only stable social meanings rather than their meaning-potentials or the ability to create a certain social meaning through a language choice. In this LAI, many of “Some” ratings were earned when students associated certain choices with being “formal” or “informal.” By the post-LAI, the NM group stayed essentially the same except that the one “No” rating improved to a “Some.” However, over half of the EM students were rated as “Yes” in this LAI and three were rated as “Some.” As was mentioned above, many of the EM students referred to the creative and expressive potential of language choices (e.g. the speakers spoke this way because they either are close or want to become close) and the others associated language choices with static social meanings. However, in this LAI, the social meanings referred to by the EM students were more often based on the social meanings discussed in the subconcepts rather than generic meanings of formality.

RQ3 Results

RQ3: What is the relationship between the qualities of learners’ metapragmatic awareness and pragmatic language use?

The results from the Strategic Interaction Scenarios include two components: students’ metapragmatic awareness and students’ actual pragmatic language use. Comparisons are made between both groups on a pre and post basis.

SIS Pragmatic Awareness Development

Students' language awareness was elicited directly for this task through the planning stage of the SIS. In this stage, students were asked (1) to analyze the social situation for each scenario and (2) to make a language plan for how they would carry out the scenario.

In the analysis of the social situations, every EM participant increased his or her concept-based awareness scores from pre- to post-enrichment by at least 1.50 points with an average increase of 2.63 points ($SD=0.54$, see Table 4.12). In contrast, NM participants on average remained the same ($m\Delta=0.0$, $SD=1.17$). Two NM participants showed a decrease in ratings and a loss of 1.5 or 2.0 points, three NM participants maintained their ratings, and three NM participants increased their total score by 1.50 points (the minimum EM change score).

Table 4.12: SIS Situation Analysis Awareness Scores

EM Participants			
	Pre-SIS		
	M	Post-SIS M	M Δ
Leading Concept Subscore	1.50	2.56	1.06
Subconcepts Subscore	1.06	2.50	1.44
Meaning-Based	0.50	0.63	0.13
Total Awareness Score	3.06	5.69	2.63
SD	0.77	0.66	0.54
NM Participants			
	Pre-SIS		
	M	Post-SIS M	M Δ
Leading Concept Subscore	2.00	1.94	-0.06
Subconcepts Subscore	1.38	1.44	0.06
Meaning-Based	0.50	0.50	0.00
Total Awareness Score	3.88	3.88	0.00
SD	1.24	0.48	1.17

Note. The total maximum possible Awareness Score was 7 points – 3 points total for the Leading Concept, 3 points total for the Subconcepts, and 1 point total for Meaning-Based Awareness

The following excerpts illustrate how Kristina (an EM participant), displayed such development in her analysis of the social situations in the SIS. The following excerpts show her analyses from the pre-SIS (see Excerpt 4.24 for Scenario 1, Excerpt 4.25 for Scenario 2). For Scenario 1, she discussed some facts about the relationship between the speakers, particularly focusing on friendship as one example of social closeness. She also identified a few adjectives for how she would like to present herself in this scenario. For Scenario 2, she never described the relationship but focused on several aspects of her desired self-presentation.

Excerpt 4.24 Kristina's Pre-SIS Planning Stage Scenario 1

- 1 R: how would you describe the relationship between you and the other
- 2 person in this scenario?
- 3 K: u::m **pretty close**
- 4 I mean I wouldn't probable eat some- eat lunch with someone like not
- 5 really like at least somewhat good friends with, you know?
- 6 uh definitely **more than a causal acquaintance**
- 7 R: mhm
- 8 K: u::m (1.0) ho:wever:: if I don't know what they like to eat that's
- 9 kind of odd so **maybe I- there are a new friend?**
- 10 like they're um someone I've had classes with and I know them
- 11 R: mhm
- 12 K: but I I haven't really hung out with them so much out of school
- 13 R: mhm ok
- 14 ok and in your opinion then what is an appropriate or desired way
- 15 that you would want to present yourself in this convers- in
- 16 this scenario?
- 17 how do you want to come across?
- 18 K: I guess um I::: **usually try to be agreeable** ((laughs)) unless I
- 19 really don't want to go somewhere
- 20 R: ((laughs))
- 21 K: u::m and even then I mean I'm up for trying different things
- 22 so I **I do try to be like you know easygoing**

Excerpt 4.25: Kristina's Pre-SIS Planning Stage Scenario 2

- 1 R: how would you describe the relationship between you and the other
 2 person in this scenario?
 3 K: um **I would definitely have to be very polite**
 4 **and more professional**
 5 and u::m you know they're the uh- uh
 6 **very respectful**
 7 R: mhm
 8 K: um (4.0)
 9 yeah ((laughs))
 10 R: ok that's fine
 12 u::m ok so how- uh I mean being very polite and professional and
 13 respectful uh ok
 14 that that has a lot to do with how you want to present yourself too
 15 so I don't know if there is anything you want to add to:: what you
 16 think you would be a good way to present yourself in this scenario?
 17 K: u::m also **making sure that I'm um like flexible** because um you
 18 know I I need their help and you know make sure that's ok with them

In the post-SIS, Kristina's analyses of the situations shared some similarities with those from the pre-SIS but she expanded them to include more details and references to the concepts she was appropriating. For Scenario 1 (Excerpt 4.26), Kristina systematically applied each of the three subconcepts in lines 14-21. Self-Presentation was referred to in her description of the scenario being a casual conversation (which was later compared to trying to impress the other person by being "super intellectual" during the language plan portion). She discussed Power by acknowledging that it not important for this scenario. Finally, she talked about Social Distance when she acknowledged the semiotic ability to "establish or continue" close relationships. For Scenario 2 (Excerpt 4.27), in this SIS, Kristina added more detail about the nature of the relationship between the two speakers, discussing both the power difference and lack of importance of establishing a close relationship. In conjunction with this description, she also chose how she wanted to present herself. Again, her analysis of the social situation in Scenario 2 became much more systematic and concept-based in comparison to the pre-SIS.

Excerpt 4.26: Kristina's Post-SIS Planning Stage Scenario 1

- 5 AH: how would you describe the relationship between the two people in
 6 this scenario?
 7 KW: u::m **closer**
 8 um someone I'm having lunch with then it's not just a casual
 9 acquaintance
 10 it's not someone I would just be friendly with in class
 11 AH: mhm
 12 KW: and it's probably someone that I've hung out with before, um like my
 13 roommate,
 14 **u::m so:: it definitely would be a::**
 15 **it would definitely be a casual conversation**
 16 **something u::m**
 17 **I wouldn't really have to worry about impressing them or**
 18 **establishing power::**
 19 AH: ok
 20 KW: **it would be more of a either establishing a relationship or**
 21 **continuing one**
- ...
- 34 AH: in your opinion then what is an appropriate or desired way to
 35 present yourself in this situation?
 36 is there anything else that you wanted to add?
 37 KW: u::m I think I'd probably want **to be flexible** um if we
 38 don't know where we're eating
 39 AH: mhm
 40 KW: I mean I'm not so um um (1.0) controlling about food that I I really
 41 care
 42 um so then you're with a friend and you know you'd want
 43 to be more **easygoing** about it so

Excerpt 4.27: Kristina's Post-SIS Planning Stage Scenario 2

- 114 AH: so how would you describe the relationship between the two people
 115 in this scenario?
 116 KW: **um well the professor is definitely in the position in power**
 117 um I have to ask her: or him something **so I have to be**
 119 **very polite and respectful**
 120 **u::m (2.0) I'm not trying to establish a relationship with them** so I
 121 don't think it would be weird or unusual if she used tu with me
 122 and I used vous with her
 123 AH: ok
 124 KW: **u::m I would want to come across as more professional**
 125 and um use appropriate grammar
 126 at least try to ((laughs))
 127 AH: ((laughs))
 128 KW: u::m yeah especially because I'm trying to ask her a favor

Turning now to the second component of students' metapragmatic awareness, the EM and NM groups had comparable language plans in the pre-SIS. Both groups had an average total of 5.63 segments per language plan in each group (see Table 4.13). By the post-SIS, the EM group increased the number of segments in their language plan that were coded as Language-Related and, thus, articulated more total segments on average than the NM group. In addition, EM students increased the proportion of segments that were rated as Language-Related (74% Language-Related choices in post-SIS compared to 67% in the pre-SIS). In comparison, the NM group slightly decreased the average number of segments that they articulated overall and maintained the percentage of Language-Related segments (Pre-SIS: 56%, Post-SIS: 58%).

Table 4.13: Language Plan Segments

EM	Pre-SIS				Post-SIS			
	LR	TR	Total	%LR	LR	TR	Total	%LR
Ahmed	5	3	8	63%	6	0	6	100%
Yuki	6	1	7	86%	4	0	4	100%
Dahlia	5	2	7	71%	4	0	4	100%
Danielle	3	2	5	60%	7	1	8	88%
Gabrielle	3	0	3	100%	4	2	6	67%
Jenny	3	3	6	50%	7	1	8	88%
Kristina	3	2	5	60%	2	2	4	50%
Kay	2	2	4	50%	0	3	3	0%
EM AVG	3.75	1.88	5.63	67%	4.25	1.13	5.38	74%
SD	1.30	0.93	1.58	0.16	2.28	1.05	1.80	0.33
NM								
Charlotte	4	4	8	50%	5	3	8	63%
Keshia	5	1	6	83%	2	1	3	67%
Kacey	6	2	8	75%	6	2	8	75%
Zoe	0	1	1	0%	4	0	4	100%
Matthew	6	1	7	86%	3	2	5	60%
Carissa	0	4	4	0%	2	2	4	50%
Catherine	4	0	4	100%	0	0	0	0%
Elizabeth	4	3	7	57%	3	3	6	50%
NM AVG	3.63	2.00	5.63	56%	3.13	1.63	4.75	58%
SD	2.23	1.41	2.29	0.36	1.76	1.11	2.49	0.27

Note. LR=Language-Related Segments, TR=Task-Related Segments

To illustrate the pre- to post-SIS changes in language plans, Table 4.14 details Jenny's (an EM participant) language plans. In the pre-SIS, Jenny articulated three Language-Related segments and three Language-Related segments across both scenarios. The Language-Related plans included use of *tu* in Scenario 1, *vous* in Scenario 2, and full sentences in Scenario 2. Her Task-Related plans were to be "more conservative or quiet," flexible with scheduling, and showing her interest in getting help and learning. In the post-SIS, Jenny expanded these plans to include seven Language-Related segments and only one Task-Related segment. Here she added pragmatic features to her plan such as the use of abbreviations or contractions, slang, a more formal greeting, and "full out" (i.e., fully formed) questions.

Table 4.14: Jenny's Pre/Post Language Plans

Pre-SIS	Post-SIS
Scenario 1 (Lunch with a Friend)	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Use <i>tu</i> instead of <i>vous</i> ○ I feel like French culture isn't really out there so be more conservative or quiet 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How you address them and how they address you • Using abbreviations • More casual as compared to like full composed sentences • Slang versus more formal vocabulary
Scenario 2 (Scheduling a Meeting with Professor)	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Speak with <i>vous</i> ○ Be more flexible with meeting times • Be able to express what kind of help you need before the exam in full sentences in French ○ Showing your interest in getting the help and wanting to learn 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Use <i>vous</i> when I talk to her • A more formal greeting • Full out questions ○ More thorough I guess and flexible as far as what we decide

Note. All bullet points are excerpted idea units from the SIS planning stage, which are segments of her language plan. Solid bullets were coded as Language-Related segments, hollow bullet points were coded as Task-Related segments.

SIS Pragmatic Language Use

The distinct differences between EM and NM students' development in analyzing the social situations of the scenarios and articulating planned language choices provide an opportunity to examine if this consistency holds through in improvements in their pragmatic language use as well. As described in the Analysis section, each students' pragmatic language use was compared against 1) the Language-Related segments of his or her language plan and 2) pragmatic conventions.

In the pre-SIS, the EM and NM groups were similar in the degree to which they put their plans to use (see Table 4.15). In each group, four students fully or partially used all of the Language-Related segments of their plan in the pre-SIS. Four students left one or two segments unused. In the post-SIS, the EM group both articulated and used more segments of their language plans than the NM group. All but one EM student fully or partially realized all Language-Related segments of their language plan. However, for the NM group, only four students fully or partially used all segments of their language plan. The remaining four NM students left one or two Language-Related segments unused, just as in the pre-SIS.

Table 4.15: Use of Language-Related Segments of the Language Plan

EM	Pre				Post			
	Fully Used	Partially Used	Not Used	No Opp.*	Fully Used	Partially Used	Not Used	No Opp.*
Ahmed	3	1	1	0	4	2	0	0
Yuki	3	2	1	0	4	0	0	0
Dahlia	3	0	2	0	4	0	0	0
Danielle	1	0	1	1	6	1	0	0
Gabrielle	3	0	0	0	4	1	0	0
Jenny	4	1	0	0	6	0	1	0
Kristina	2	1	0	0	2	0	0	0
Kay	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
EM AVG	2.63	0.63	0.63	0.13	3.75	0.50	0.13	0.00
SD	0.86	0.70	0.70	0.33	1.85	0.71	0.33	0.00
NM								
Charlotte	2	1	1	0	3	0	2	0
Keshia	4	1	0	0	2	0	0	0
Kacey	4	1	2	0	4	1	1	0
Zoe	0	0	0	0	3	0	1	0
Matthew	4	0	2	0	2	0	1	0
Carissa	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0
Catherine	2	1	0	1	0	0	0	0
Elizabeth	2	1	1	0	2	1	0	0
NM AVG	2.25	0.63	0.75	0.13	2.25	0.25	0.63	0.00
SD	1.56	0.48	0.83	0.33	1.09	0.43	0.70	0.00

Note. *No Opportunity designates an instance when the conversation did not provide the occasion to use a Planned Language Choice.

In addition to the greater use of their own language plans, EM students also added more features that were considered to be conventional for each scenario from pre- to post-SIS whereas the NM students made no change. EM students had an average increase of 2.38 categories (SD=2.00) containing conventional features per student across both scenarios, although the majority of this growth came in Scenario 1 (see Table 4.16). In contrast, the NM students only increased the number of categories containing conventional features by an average of 0.25 categories (SD=1.71) per student and had essentially no change in unconventional features. EM students had a slight average increase in unconventional features, which occurred in Scenario 2.

However, these unconventional features were either intentional (i.e., articulated in the language plan) or were used in conjunction with conventional features in the same category (e.g., using one question in subject-verb formation along with a few others that used the more conventional *est-ce que* or verb-subject formation). When considering the category overall, the relative frequency of features still favored the conventional choices in these mixed categories.

Table 4.16: SIS Pragmatic Language Use - Categories of Conventional Pragmatic Features

		EM Participants			NM Participants		
Scenario 1 (Conventionally Informal)		Pre M	Post M	M Δ	Pre M	Post M	M Δ
Categories w/Conventional Use		3.13	5.00	1.88	3.13	4.00	0.88
	SD	1.05	1.00	1.05	1.05	1.32	1.83
Categories w/Unconventional Use		2.00	1.88	-0.13	1.50	1.63	0.13
	SD	1.00	0.93	1.45	0.87	1.32	0.93
Scenario 2 (Conventionally Formal)							
Categories w/Conventional Use		5.25	5.75	0.50	5.63	5.00	-0.63
	SD	1.39	0.83	1.22	1.22	1.32	1.11
Categories w/Unconventional Use		0.50	1.13	0.63	1.00	1.00	0.00
	SD	0.50	1.05	1.22	0.71	0.71	0.87
Total							
Categories w/Conventional Use		8.38	10.75	2.38	8.75	9.00	0.25
	SD	2.23	1.39	2.00	1.98	1.41	1.71
Categories w/Unconventional Use		2.50	3.00	0.50	2.50	2.63	0.13
	SD	0.87	1.00	1.50	0.71	1.41	0.93

Danielle and Gabrielle (both EM students) provide examples of intentionally using a feature that was classified as unconventional for this scenario. Each of them explicitly planned to use *tu* in the Post-SIS Scenario 2 instead of the more conventional choice of *vous* and this decision was clearly justified by their analysis of the social situation. They each founded this language choice on the concept of Social Distance and compared the scenario's situation to the close relationships they had developed with their language teachers at the study abroad institution there in France.

Excerpt 4.28, for example, presents a portion of Gabrielle's planning stage for this scenario. In this excerpt, Gabrielle structures her discussion of the social situation around the subconcept of Social Distance. At first, she determined that it must be more of a distant professor-student relationship because of the chosen mode of communication (in person instead of email) and therefore decided to use *vous* (154). However, when she later asked me to clarify additional details about the situation (166-167), I suggested that she imagine a course at the current study abroad program. In response, she changed her plan altogether (175) and chose to express the same closeness she felt with her current professor by using *tu* in the SIS scenario but also wished to maintain a suit-and-tie manner of presentation with her other language choices (184-186).

Excerpt 4.28 Gabrielle Post-SIS Planning phase

- 141 R: so how would you describe the relationship between the two people
 142 in this uh conversation
 143 G: u::m I would say:: distant kind of
 144 R: ok
 145 G: u::m I don't know it depends on how close you get to your professor
 146 but it seems like at this stage, I don't know you're kind of still
 147 a little bit awkward ((laughs)) relationship
 148 R: ok
 149 G: I just think that because like you're I don't know you're going to
 150 their office
 151 normally if I'm close to the professor I'll just email them
 152 R: ok
 153 G: and get it over with you know
 154 um:: an::d so I probably want to use the *vous* form
 ...
 161 R: mhm
 162 and what's a desired way to present yourself in this situation?
 163 G: um like say which class I'm in with him or her
 164 R: ok
 165 G: say my name and like
 166 I don't know is this like if this is an exam it should be in the
 167 middle of the semester though so I don't know
 168 R: it's part of the way through yeah
 169 mhm I mean you've had enough class but I mean it depends on if
 170 it's a huge class

- 171 G: a big class yeah
 172 R: or not but I would say that most French language classes aren't so I
 173 would lean towards thinking of a class here
 174 G: oh ok so then I guess
 175 oh:: that changes everything! sorry!
 176 R: ((laughs))
 177 G: then I'd probably just use the *tu* form, so like if I was talking to
 178 [her professor's first name] I'd probably just use the *tu* form
 180 R: ok
 181 G: but like yeah
 182 R: and how can the language you use help to show the relationship
 183 between the two people and how you want to present yourself?
 184 G: well I would want to present myself in a:: t- uh no suit-and-tie
 185 because I want to be formal in the sense of like um I'm not
 186 going to just fail this exam, like I have my head on my shoulders

Danielle also explicitly chose to use *tu* but remain more conventionally formal in her other language choices in this scenario (63-64). From the beginning, she equated the relationship in the scenario to the professor-student relationships that she had at the study abroad program. She explained from her personal perspective and experiences that her professor-student relationships at the study abroad program were quite close (55-62). The fact that she distinguished this explanation as her personal perspective suggests that she is purposefully diverting from a more conventional type of professor-student relationship. She even created a new term to define this unique type of relationship as a “friend-professor” relationship (65), distinguishing it from more conventional student-professor relationships.

Excerpt 4.29 Danielle Post-SIS Planning Stage

- 53 R: ok so how would you describe the relationship between these two
 54 people?
 55 D: u::m well from a personal perspective all of my professors
 56 I'm on a level with them that's like a friendly level
 57 and they all use *tu* with me
 58 specifically my French professors
 59 um a great example is my business professor
 60 R: mhm
 61 D: an::d we always have side meetings because we're always talking
 62 about internship opportunities

- 63 um however yes I would be:: formal yet
 64 I would use *tu* because she has used *tu* with me and it's a::
 65 friend-professor student-professor relationship
 66 and it's on a very friendly level
 67 R: ok
 68 alright so then anything else about what you think would be an
 69 appropriate or desired way to present yourself in this scenario
 70 D: u::m I would always use *bonjour*
 71 R: ok
 72 D: um an::d ask them how they are
 73 u::m (1.0) and then go into questions about the
 74 lecture or um class
 75 R: mhm
 76 D: an::d yeah no I'm very friendly with all of my professors
 77 an::d I could imagine going to coffee with all of them so
 78 R: ((laughs))
 79 D: partly because our lecture ha- or classes are so small
 80 that I get to know them
 81 um yes
 82 R: ok

These two examples show the way in which EM students agentively chose to use an unconventional feature. This choice was made purposefully and was based on the meaning they wished to express (social closeness) and the type of relationships they had built with their professors at this specific institution. However, they both acknowledge that this type of close relationship with one's professor is not guaranteed to occur nor typical but that, rather, a speaker must take into account the history of the relationship when making language choices.

Journal Reflections on Students' Own Language Use

The relationship between metapragmatic awareness and language use is further illustrated through instances when students reflected on their own language use in their journal. Reflecting on their own use was not a required prompt but nonetheless, this was a common theme in the journal posts. Students' explanations of these instances provide a clear glimpse into how the

qualities of their metapragmatic awareness influenced their evaluations of their own language use.

One such example comes from Kacey, an NM student. Late in the semester Kacey reflected on an interaction that she had with a French friend (see Excerpt 4.28 below). In this post, she wrote about the use of *tu* and *vous* in this conversation. She uses some rule of thumb terminology to explain the friend's choice to use *tu* but then explains that she used frequently used *vous* for grammatical reasons. She reported that she thought she made the situation awkward but was not able to explain why her choice had that effect. In this situation, Kacey's everyday knowledge helped her to identify that her choice was having an undesired effect but she did not have the psychological tools (i.e., mediating concepts) necessary to further explain why or to inform her future language choices.

Excerpt 4.28

I have been exposed to a lot of "real" French lately by making friends and going out and meeting new people. I hung out with a guy friend last night... One thing I noticed I had a hard time with was switching between *vous* and *tu*. He kept using the "*tu*" formation probably because we are friends and aren't formal but some of the verbs I only remember how to conjugate with *vous* on the spot so I feel like I might have been making it awkward. (Kacey, Post #9)

In contrast, Danielle, an EM student, had a similar experience with accidentally using an undesired *tu/vous* choice but her reaction was much different. Midway through the semester, Danielle wrote about an interaction she had with a coffee shop clerk in which she accidentally used *tu* instead of *vous* (see Excerpt 4.29 below). Her reaction to this accidental use was that she became so embarrassed that she left the coffees shop "red as a cherry" because she knew that her choice was expressing a social meaning that she did not intend to express.

Excerpt 4.29

Without coffee it is likely I wouldn't survive my Tuesdays, especially since French starts at 8:30, and my eyelids don't open until 9. My regular coffee shop, named A, is my favorite stop in the morning. Every time I walk in the man who makes my coffee says *bonjour*, and I give him my order. Its become repetitive and my reply is always the same, however today he asked me how I was doing, and I replied "I am doing well and you" with "tu" instead of "vous", I got really embarrassed and tried to switch it back to "vous", he laughed and understood what I was trying to get across, however I walked out of the shop red as a cherry because I was not trying to flirt or become good friends, I just wanted to reply and get my coffee. This is a problem in the morning when I am not even awake and I can barely speak French in the first place. (Danielle, EM, Post #7)

During the next journal discussion (JD3), I asked her to share more about this experience (see Excerpt 4.30). After retelling what happened (21-30), I asked her why the situation had embarrassed her. She explicitly credited the EM program and the systematic conceptual framework for giving her a deeper understanding of this language choice in particular. She explained that without our work together she probably would have just “shrugged it off.” This interaction illustrates how Danielle was appropriating the concepts as a tool to evaluate her own language use as the interaction impacted not only her cognitive processes but also her emotional processes. In this case, though her execution was unconventional, she immediately recognized it and could explain the implications of her accidental use in terms of the meaning she had just portrayed rather than simply shrugging it off and attributing it to learner error. Her dual intellectual and affective responses show that she had internalized the concept diagrams and personalized them as a tool for interpreting her interactions.²¹

Excerpt 4.30 Danielle (EM) JD3

- 21 D: he was like oh how are you doing?
 22 and I was like oh *bon et toi*?
 23 and I was like oh shit!
 24 R: ((laughs))
 25 D: *et vous* or whatever
 26 and he was like bon yeah ha ha ha like I'm good

²¹ See van Compernelle (2014) for a discussion of the role of emotions in internalization.

- 27 and then I just yeah walked out
 28 R: ((laughs))
 29 ok
 30 D: so:: um I mean I came back the next morning and it was all good but
 31 R: uh huh uh huh
 32 D: I mean there's obviously there-
 33 he understands, I mean he knows I'm American
 34 R: right
 35 D: so:: yeah
 36 R: ok so why do you feel like um so what about that embarrassed you?
 37 like why do you think that that embarrassed you?
 38 D: **because you've been teaching me all of the reasons why you should**
 39 **not do that!**
 40 R: ((laughs))
 41 D: **I probably wouldn't even have- like I probably would have just**
 42 **shrugged it off and not walked out of the shop like with a red face**
 43 R: ok
 44 D: **but because I've been like teaching myself and learning these things**
 45 **about conversation I was embarrassed that I like messed up**
 46 R: ok
 47 D: **on that particular situation because we had just talked about that**
 48 so yeah

Interpretive Summary RQ3

The results and analysis in response to RQ3 lead to one of the most important findings of this project: not only does expert-mediation support students in understanding pragmatics and in developing their metapragmatic awareness, but it also assists learners in being better able to articulate what language choices should be made in order to accomplish their goals and, most importantly, to use those choices as well as other conventionally expected choices during communicative language use (i.e., scenario performances). In cases when unconventional use still occurs (as in the example of Danielle), the EM program equipped students with a framework by which they could effectively evaluate their own unconventional use rather than merely attributing it to learner error or being awkward.

As reflected in the pre/post change in Awareness Scores, the EM students consistently improved their analyses of the scenarios' social situations. In the post-SIS, EM students' analyses had a more multifaceted perspective of social relationships and self-presentation. In addition, the EM students often approached their analyses more systematically. They clearly applied the concept diagrams (particularly those pertaining to the subconcepts) to the given scenarios. Finally, a few of them explicitly referred to the semiotic or creative power of language choices.

In relation to students' language plans, by the post-SIS, the EM students' language plans had more Langue-Related segments in comparison to the NM students. They were able to articulate a plan that was more concrete and discernable than their NM counterparts. They not only better defined or described their plan in terms of language use but also fully or partially used each Language-Related segment of their language plan as they carried out the scenarios.

Finally, in comparison to pragmatic conventions, EM students also improved their pragmatic language use by increasing the number of categories containing conventional features to a greater degree than the NM participants. However, looking at the number of categories does not capture the full picture of this development. For example, one student did not have any use of *nous* or *on* in pre-SIS Scenario 1 (*on* is the conventional choice) but he did use *on* in the post-SIS Scenario 1. This is certainly a positive change but it is not possible to know what he would have chosen in the pre-SIS, had the opportunity presented itself. More convincingly, however, he used the unconventional feature of *ne* presence in the pre-SIS Scenario 1 but switched to the conventional feature of *ne* absence in the post-SIS. This provides evidence that he has begun to appropriate this language choice as a pragmatic resource. There are a handful of these more explicit changes throughout the data. Such changes include instances where students had

categories in which they clearly changed either from 1) unconventional features in the pre-SIS to mixed or conventional features in the post-SIS, 2) from mixed features in the pre-SIS to only conventional features in the post-SIS, or 3) adding or improving the leave-taking or conclusion of the scenario.²² Remaining consistent with the previous findings, the EM students had more of these explicitly positive changes than the NM students (a total of 22 explicit changes were identified for EM students in comparison to only 16 in the NM group).

Therefore, the evidence certainly seems to suggest that there are consistent trends of development between metapragmatic awareness and pragmatic language use.

Summary of the Results

The findings of this project have revealed several important findings about students' observations, understanding, and use of pragmatic practices while abroad. Throughout the data there is evidence suggesting that that expert mediation helped students to develop in ways that were not possible for the non-expert-mediated students. Namely, the EM program made the categories of meaning (depicted by the concepts and pedagogical diagrams) relevant and explicit both through the materials and the assistance of the mediator. Expert-mediation often supported, enhanced, and helped students to systematize their observations, understandings, and use of pragmatic practices whereas NM participants were only able to develop to the extent that they could notice and make sense of their everyday empirical experiences.

It is clear that all students made observations about a wide range of pragmatic practices during their semester abroad. EM students, in particular, wrote more often and in greater detail about a wider range of pragmatic practices than the NM students. In addition, by the end of the

²² Leave-takings were included as an explicit positive change even if they did not include one in the pre-SIS.

semester, these students gave more details about the observations they made about the LAI texts in comparison to the beginning of the semester. EM students also became more specific and independent in their LAI observations compared to the NM participants.

On the subject of students' development of metapragmatic awareness, NM students developed some areas of their metapragmatic awareness during the semester, particularly in the areas of Speaker Intention and Self-Presentation. The EM students surpassed NM participants because they developed qualities of metapragmatic awareness that were multidimensional, systematic, and nuanced by the end of the semester.

Finally, in assessing the relationship between metapragmatic awareness and pragmatic language use, the findings revealed that EM participants, who developed better qualities of metapragmatic awareness, also developed the ability to apply such knowledge to their pragmatic language use, both in the SIS task and in their "real-life" language use, as reported in the journal. At the beginning of the semester, the groups were more or less comparable, but by the end of the semester, EM students again displayed greater development in metapragmatic awareness by exhibiting a more concept-based and sophisticated analysis of the scenarios' social situations and a language plan that had more Language-Related components than the NM students. In addition, EM students used their language plans to a greater extent and had a greater increase in conventional pragmatic features than NM students.

Chapter 5: Conclusion and Implications

The purpose of this project was to understand the role of expert-mediation (EM) on students' observations, understanding and use of pragmatic practices during a semester abroad in France. Specifically, the project addressed questions regarding: 1) the pragmatic practices study abroad students notice in interactions with and among L1 French speakers; 2) the ways in which study abroad learners' understanding of these practices develops over the course of a semester abroad; 3) how this developing understanding is related to learners' own pragmatic language use; and 4) the ways in which expert mediation can foster learners' observations, understanding, and use of pragmatic practices.

The students in this study noticed a wide range of pragmatic practices and developed their metapragmatic awareness during the semester abroad, though qualitatively different patterns emerged between individual students and particularly between the students who had access to expert mediation (the EM group) and those who did not (the NM group); namely, the NM students relied on their everyday empirical evidence gleaned from being abroad whereas EM students appropriated the concepts and were able to use them as tools to interpret their observations and plan and evaluate their own pragmatic language use. These findings lead to several important conclusions.

First, we can conclude that the study abroad context does, in fact, provide a rich context for students to observe pragmatic practices in interactions beyond the classroom, particularly when the experience is enhanced through instruction by an expert mediator. In this study, students noticed a wide range of pragmatic practices, including lexical, phonological, and syntactic variations as well as broader conversational practices, without specific instruction about what forms or practices to attend to (with the exception of *tu/vous* use for the EM students).

Pragmatic resources often became salient to different learners throughout the semester but they each noticed many different categories and instances of pragmatic practices. Observations did not always come easily to them in that the level of specificity or discernment about how the language varies was not always accurate. Nevertheless, students reported on several well cited pragmatic practices. When their attention is guided to language choices and where to look for them, such as through the EM program, students' observations became more specific as they more purposefully engaged in looking for language use, which, in turn, led to a greater number and wider breadth of observations throughout the semester.

Second, we can conclude that study abroad students in general develop metapragmatic awareness during a semester abroad; however, expert-mediation leads to more systematic awareness in comparison to the types of pragmatic knowledge students develop in the absence of instructional guidance. Although there were differences between individual students and between the EM and NM groups, students tended to develop a more multidimensional understanding of how language choices are made and the meanings that those choices index in comparison to the qualities of their knowledge prior to their semester abroad. The NM students' development in awareness was grounded in the everyday empirical experiences that they gathered during their semester abroad, whereas the EM students' knowledge was based on the scientific, systematic concepts they had appropriated during the EM program. EM students internalized the concepts, particularly the three subconcepts (i.e., self-presentation, social distance, power), and were able to use them as tools for thinking about pragmatic language use.

In line with Gal'perin's (1989, 1992) theory of human mental actions (see p. 11), the internalized concepts served as a SCOPA (Schema for Complete Orienting Basis for Action; see Lantolf & Thorne, 2006:310) and transformed the quality of EM students' orientation which also

led to a more high quality execution and control of mental actions such as interpreting pragmatic-related observations and their own pragmatic language use. The NM students' also developed how they oriented to the tasks by the end of the semester and thus showed some developments in their execution and control of the study's tasks. But, the lack of a scientific schema made the NM students' new orientations less reliable than the concept-based orientations that the EM students had developed. This confirms that the nature of one's orientation or the qualities of knowledge that they bring to a task impact the execution and control of that task.

Therefore, expert-mediation, particularly in the form of Concept-Based Pragmatics Instruction (CBPI, van Compernelle, 2014), provides students with important guidance and support during a semester abroad. The EM program in this study integrated CBPI into students' extracurricular interactions and experiences. It stressed a dialogic relationship between instruction and everyday interactions by equipping students with appropriate tools (i.e., concepts) for investigating and actively observing the L2-mediated world around them. The EM then returned to these observations and experiences during expert-guided instructional conversations in order to support learners in understanding and interpreting the possible meaning and significance of the interactions they had been party to. Most importantly, the CBPI program in this study equipped students with explicit, scientific concepts to teach pragmatics, rather than relying on less reliable rules of thumb. This quality of instruction and its link to practical activity exemplifies the Vygotskian idea of educational praxis (Lantolf, 2008), that is the dialectic unity between theory and practical activity. Lantolf (2008) argues that educational praxis "has the imperative of overcoming the limitations of everyday spontaneous development" (p. 37). Therefore, the importance of instructional guidance during study abroad lies not just in providing access to some form of pedagogical support but, more importantly, in providing access to

pedagogical arrangements that can assist learners in overcoming the limitations of everyday or spontaneous pragmatic knowledge.

Limitations

As with any empirical study, it is important to consider the limitations of this study in addition to its contribution to the field. There are some limitations regarding the study's scope and design. This study examines a small number of participants ($n=16$), who are further divided into two groups. Therefore, the quantification of results was limited to descriptive statistics to look for differences and trends in the data. Also, it is important to note that though the coding schemes were as systematic as possible, the lack of opportunity for a formal check of inter-rater reliability or a blind evaluation may have led to some subjectivity in the ratings. In addition, the qualitative treatment of the data focused only on select moments and episodes within individual student trajectories. These representative cases were purposefully selected and allowed for an in-depth exploration of students' observations and developing metapragmatic awareness. The qualitative analysis did not, however, follow individual developmental trajectories through detailed case studies, which is certainly an avenue for future work. Finally, the learners in this group were relatively homogeneous. Future research should expand sampling in order to include a greater number of participants, from more diverse proficiency levels, studying at different formats of study abroad programs, and/or who are studying other languages.

There are also limitations in the scope of data collection. Much more could have been learned about students' individual backgrounds, motivations, and study abroad experiences. For example, although this study was interested in students' observations that came from interactions with L1 French speakers, no attempt was made to explore or document their local social networks while abroad. In addition, much more could have been learned about how developing

pragmatic capabilities relate to important aspects of second language identities (Kinging, 2013) such as gender, race, sexuality, and socioeconomic class, thus taking a more full account of students' whole persons and the whole context of study abroad (Coleman, 2013).

There is one important adaptation that could improve the efficacy of the EM program used in the current study. The results showed that, on one hand, EM students discussed *tu/vous* use quite frequently and that these discussions began to incorporate a deeper metapragmatic awareness. On the other hand, students' observations of other linguistic variations were not always clear or in line with the findings of sociolinguistic scholars (e.g., Beeching et al., 2009; Coveney, 2002, 2010; Gadet, 1997). Therefore, future iterations of this EM program could be improved by explicitly providing students with a range of pragmatic practices in addition to the concept diagrams.²³ It is imperative that this set of linguistic variations be research-based and treated as a starting point for the students to make their own observations. Teachers could present various linguistic variations and highlight that sociolinguists have found these patterns or conventions. For example, van Compernelle (2014) selected the illustrative forms of *tu/vous* use, *nous/on* use and *ne* absence/presence because they are not only based on sociolinguistic research but also because they could be observed in a broad range of communicative situations. Students could then be sent out to listen for these forms and deduce if their observations are in line with or vary from the conventions cited in the research. In addition, students should be pushed to form their own hypotheses about other practices that they notice and, thus, expand the set of practices together as a class. In turn, this would continue to foster the dialectical unity between instruction and everyday practice as discussed above.

²³ The current EM program purposefully chose not to do this because doing so would have conflicted with the goal of understanding what pragmatic practices become salient to the students throughout the semester.

Implications

This project has important implications for research in the field of Second Language Acquisition and for L2 pedagogy, both in university foreign language curricula in general and within the study abroad context in particular. This section takes a brief step back in perspective to consider the general pedagogical implications of SLA research in the study abroad context and this particular study by discussing 1) pedagogical implications that have arisen in previous study abroad research, and 2) the particular implications of the current study.

This dissertation opened by briefly touching on the folk beliefs that so often surround language learning in the study abroad context. Namely, study abroad has long been regarded as an invaluable opportunity for language learning students and that parents, educators, and learners alike believe that study abroad students benefit enormously, both culturally and linguistically, from study abroad. As a field, study abroad research has shown that this context of learning promotes stronger gains for study abroad students in several of areas of language growth, such as oral fluency, pragmatics, sociolinguistic skills, communicative language use, and narrative skills (for a review see Chapter 1; Kinginger, 2009). However, as is common in the research addressing particular aspects of the student experience abroad (see Chapter 2 for a review), these studies highlight many individual differences, varying performances, and, from time to time, conflicting results. This research has led to important pedagogical implications that argue for the careful and purposeful integration of the study abroad experience into a more broad or long-term university foreign language curriculum. These implications often argue for practices that draw on the strengths of both the traditional classroom and the affordances of the study abroad context. The current study draws on and supports such affordances of the study abroad context and has important implications for language education.

Pedagogical Implications of Study Abroad Research

In response to the varied experiences, gains, and individual differences that the study abroad literature has highlighted, many researchers have argued for a change in how the study abroad experience is integrated into university foreign language curricula. For example, in concluding her book-length critical examination of study abroad research, Kinginger (2009) argues:

For language educators, a key lesson of this book is that language learning in study abroad is part of a long-term process that needs to be better apprehended and cultivated in its entirety. In designing language education for the long term, educators should carefully consider those aspects of language development that are best fostered in a sheltered classroom environment, and those that require students' active engagement in a broad array of extra-pedagogical interactive settings. (p. 221)

As a part of "cultivating" this context of learning, researchers have suggested many specific pedagogical activities for educators to integrate into their curriculum. Many of these suggestions fall into a timeline three different phases: activities for before, during, and after study abroad. Each of these phases will be briefly described below.

In order to prepare students to take full advantage of this context of learning, researchers have proposed a number of activities. First, a typical language course at home can serve as a great forum to prepare students for study abroad. Hernandez (2010) suggests that educators can increase students' instrumental and integrative motivation (which, according to this study, will help them to participate in the host community to a greater degree) by exposing students to more authentic materials and, when possible, interviewing and engaging with native speakers at home.

Similarly, Kinginger and Belz (2005) provide an example of the ways in which telecollaboration can provide an opportunity for students to interact with their peers abroad.

Beyond enhancing the traditional classroom, educators can also directly and explicitly prepare students for study abroad in many ways. Hernandez (2010) stresses the importance of helping students to readjust their goals and to have realistic expectations about language learning abroad. In line with this suggestion, if students are made aware that developing sociolinguistic and pragmatic abilities are a great strength of study abroad (for a review see Chapter 2 and Kinginger, 2009), they could benefit greatly from a course in language awareness (Kinger, 2008) or an online pragmatics course (Ishihara, 2007; Shively, 2010). Similarly, in their multi-perspective investigation of the home stay, Knight and Schmidt-Rinehart (2002) and Schmidt-Rinehart and Knight (2004) found that it was very important for students to be as prepared as possible through predeparture orientations for typical family practices in the host family as well as with communication norms and strategies. Finally, Kinginger (2009) and Jackson (2008) contend that training study abroad students in ethnographic observation skills in the predeparture stage would be a great asset to study abroad students as these skills of observation, participation, and reflection are useful modes for language learning abroad (Hassall, 2006).

There are also a handful of suggestions of ways to enhance students' language learning experience while they are abroad. The goal of these activities is to enhance students' engagement with the local community. Knight and Schmidt-Rinehart (2010) and Shively (2010) propose providing students with prompts for structured conversations with their host families. Knight and Schmidt-Rinehart (2010) implemented this practice and found that it led to a greater amount and more substantial conversations. Ducate (2009) and Engle and Engle (1999) suggest that service learning or internship programs also lead to greater engagement. Finally, Kinginger (2009)

suggests that study abroad students “can benefit from open forums, whether physical or virtual, in which observed practices may be contextualized in terms of their own cultural norms” (p. 129). In line with this argument, Stewart (2010) and Comas-Quinn, Mardomingo and Valentine (2009) used technology to provide students with such a forum in the form of e-journals (Stewart, 2010) and mobile blogs (Comas-Quinn et al., 2009).

If study abroad is regarded as a piece of a long-term foreign language curriculum, educators should also consider ways to support students after they return home from study abroad. Suggestions include incorporating challenging courses that complement the achievements of study abroad (Kinging, 2009), such as advanced literacy courses or language analysis courses that strengthen genres and repertoires that were not as clearly fostered abroad. In addition, Shively (2010) suggests that educators should facilitate and encourage students to stay connected with their in-country contacts and to continue to practice the social interactive skills that they fostered while abroad through online communities.

Implications of the Current Study

The current study expands upon the above-proposed implications in many ways. It has important implications for research in Second Language Acquisition and L2 pragmatics pedagogy, particularly regarding teacher training and applications to the study abroad context. This section will address each of these areas.

First, the current study has important implications for SLA research, namely that it supports and calls for a continued reconceptualization of pragmatic competence. The motivating force behind the expert mediation in this study was to provide study abroad students with support and a systematic framework by which they can interpret the language use and variations they hear and observe around them during study abroad (and, in turn, apply to their own language

use). It is imperative to understand that CBPI or meditational support such as this approaches language instruction from a different perspective than traditional perspectives of pragmatic competence (van Compernelle, 2014). As van Compernelle explains, rather than a focus on form-function mapping, this instruction begins with social meaning and maps the meaning categories onto relevant forms and functions. Though this shift may make comparisons to traditional L2 pragmatics research difficult (as development is primarily measured by students' appropriation of the concepts or understandings social meanings and secondarily by their use of the forms), this kind of instruction or mediation falls nicely into line with Taguchi's (2011) argument for a shift in pragmatics instruction to include a focus on social meaning and speaker agency. This study also points to the value of such a perspective. The EM students in this study were able to utilize their growing conceptual knowledge of pragmatics to interpret their observations and make informed language choices. When students were equipped with a framework and an understanding that language choices convey a complex set of meanings, intentions, and consequences, they were more aware of the implications of their own language use. Therefore, I argue that future research should continue to examine and foster the development of metapragmatic awareness in order to reach a more holistic understanding of the development of pragmatic competence.

Similarly, this study has important theoretical implications for what should be considered to be a mental action (Gal'perin, 1979, 1992) or pragmatic task in regards to investigations of pragmatic development. The students in this study applied their metapragmatic awareness to execute two distinct tasks or mental actions, interpretation and production of pragmatic practices, both of which proved to be important to exploring pragmatic development. Because the EM students comprehended more about pragmatics and the implications of language choices, they

developed their communicative capabilities in ways that were qualitatively better than the NM students. Just as Crystal's (1997) definition of pragmatics itself considers implications on both the speaker and other participants, pragmatic communication cannot simply be verbal output without also having comprehension. In this way, interpretation or comprehension is not inferior or a precursor to the verbal use of pragmalinguistic forms but, rather complementary to it. SLA theorists should therefore consider interpretation (metacommunicative comprehension) and production (verbal output) to be a dialectic and continue to explore the ways in which they inform one another by focusing more on pragmatic comprehension (e.g., Taguchi, 2007) as well as the co-construction of pragmatic meaning in interaction in future research.

This study also has important pedagogical implications for both teacher training and study abroad curriculum design. First, this study points to the value of training teachers in concept-based instruction and Vygotskian sociocultural perspectives of language learning. This pedagogy leads students to understand not just what they do but also why speakers use language in the way that they do. It is important to remember that students in the current study interacted with an expert in Second Language Acquisition, French pragmatics, and Vygotskian sociocultural theory. Future adaptations of the current expert-mediation program should begin with instructors receiving purposeful training and introduction to CBPI and Vygotskian SCT and consider the ways in which these instructors integrate concept-based teaching into their own philosophy of teaching. Due to the unique perspective and approach to pragmatics instruction of this program, it may be necessary for teachers to reconceptualize how they think about language and language learning (Lantolf & Johnson, 2007) and *learn to do* concept-based (pragmatics) instruction (van Compernelle & Henery, in press-b; Williams, Abraham, & Negueruela-Azarola, 2013).

This study also has important implications for study abroad curriculum design. Although the study focused on expert mediation that occurred *during* a semester abroad, it certainly can be expanded to include the three-phase timeline discussed in the section above. There are advantages to both approaches. For example, the current method that takes place throughout the semester abroad allows a diverse group of students from many different home universities to participate. Alternatively, through the use of e-journals and a distance-learning course for credit from the home university, it could be easily expanded and applied to a group of students from one university studying at one or many different programs abroad in a semester. The following paragraphs frame suggestions for how to adapt and implement the current expert-mediation program into courses or activities for before, during, and after study abroad. Although they certainly could be contained in regular semester long course abroad, depending on the needs of a given program.

Before students begin their semester abroad, students would benefit from some initial introduction to pragmatics, intercultural communication, and studying abroad. For example, students could participate in a mini course or workshop series as a part of a predeparture orientation that initially introduces them to pragmatics and the associated concept diagrams used in this study. This course could include both discussions of the concepts but also their applications to predetermined situations and role-plays, such as the framework presented in van Compernelle (2014). In addition, it could incorporate training in ethnographic skills such as those proposed by Jackson (2008) in order to prepare students to actively observe their host communities.

Perhaps most importantly, it is advantageous to incorporate concept-based support and guidance for students throughout their time abroad. This support could be in a one-on-one format

as employed in this study (if space and time allow). Alternatively, it could easily be adapted to a whole-class format as a part of new or existing language and/or culture courses that examine the use of French across various situations, registers, and genres. As a class (either in person or online through distance-learning resources), students could discuss and work with the concept diagrams as well as share and discuss the use and meanings of observed pragmatic practices from their journals. In addition, students could be further instructed in ethnographic research methods and analyze their own and surrounding language use via recordings or other data collection methods. Lastly, the observations and discussions could be further extended to both hypothetical social situations and communicative activities.

Finally, after students return from abroad, this systematic, concept-based framework could continue to be applied in language analysis courses such as those proposed by Kinginger (2009). In this way, these concepts could continue to be applied to registers and genres beyond what students experienced abroad. Such a course would also continue to encourage and facilitate interactions with contacts made during study abroad (as proposed by Shively, 2010) in order to provide continued application of the concepts and practice.

The conclusions and implications discussed in this chapter demonstrate that this study offered a very fruitful exploration in understanding the ways in which one type of expert-mediation (CBPI) can influence the development of students' observations, understanding, and use of pragmatic practices during a semester abroad. This study shows how educators can provide effective support and guidance to study abroad students and help them to more effectively interpret the rich experiences afforded by this context of learning.

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Appendix A: Language Awareness Interview Protocol

The following handout contains transcripts of two different spoken interactions, each between two speakers of French. Please read each conversation carefully and compare and contrast the language that is used in each.

A glossary of helpful vocabulary has been provided for your reference. However, in your comparisons, please focus on the ways in which the language differs between the two (e.g. style, vocabulary, grammatical structures, etc.). Your observations of the differences in language use are the goal, not difference in the content of what they are talking about.

Part 1 (Student-selected variations)

- Can you point out specific examples of how the language used in these conversations is different from one another?

Follow-up questions:

- Why do you think the speaker chose to say it in that way?
- What do you think that choice reveals about the social context of the conversation?

Part 2 (If no variations are pointed out, or variations are left out – Code as Prompted)

- Does anything stand out to you as being different between the two texts in the ways in which _____ ? (the speakers address one another, questions are asked, lexical choice, etc)

Follow-up questions:

- Why do you think the speaker chose to say it in that way?
- What do you think that choice reveals about the social context of the conversation?

Text 1

[**Note. This is an excerpt of a news interview from France 24, between a journalist and an economics professor/researcher from Université Paris-Sorbonne.
<http://www.france24.com/fr/20130429-claudia-senik-mystere-du-malheur-francais-pessimisme-crise-confiance-bonheur-bien-etre?page=3> **]

Below are two excerpts from one ten-minute conversation between two French speakers.

Vocabulary

la gueule	a look/face (e.g. often a sulking expression)
une étude	a study (research)
moreau	dark black (to have dark feelings)
un mal profond	a deep ache/illness
une échelle	a scale
avec étonnement	with surprise
le chômage	unemployment
se complaire	to wallow (in)
la preuve	proof
détendu	relaxed
angoissé	worried/distressed
se ressentir	to feel

(0 :22—1 :40)

Words in bold highlight relevant linguistic variations. These bolded words are for the benefit of the dissertation readers, and were presented in plain text to the students.

- 1 J: Bonjour et merci à être avec nous.
- 2 CS: Bonjour.
- 3 J: Alors **on** se parle de la gueule française, des manifestations du
- 4 pessimisme français, de la crise de confiance. Dont ce qu'**on** parle
- 5 eh de la version économique de ce pessimisme. Et **vous** dites
- 6 finalement dans **votre** étude que c'est la culture, leur culture qui
- 7 rends les français moreau, qu'il s'agit finalement à un mal profond,
- 8 **Claudia Sénik.**
- 9 CS : Oui, en fait, depuis que on peut mesurer le bonheur en quantifiant, c'est à
- 10 dire de situer sur une échelle du bonheur. Et bien, depuis les années
- 11 soixante-dix, on constate toujours que la France et les français sont
- 12 beaucoup moins heureux que d'autre, que la plupart d'autres pays
- 13 européennes.
- 14 J : /Et comment **vous** l'expliquez ? /
- 15 CS : /Et ils sont aussi beaucoup moins/ heureux d'après leur
- 16 niveau de vie. Et uh comment l'expliquer, eh pour moi, ce que
- 17 j'observe avec eh étonnement, c'est que on **n'**arrive pas du tout à
- 18 attribuer ça à des facteurs objectifs. Donc on **n'**arrive pas à
- 19 expliquer eh ce bonheur à réduire en prenant en compte le chômage,
- 20 les inégalités, et les conditions de vie de gens, leurs conditions

21 de vie privée ou professionnelle. Rien y est fait et il reste
 22 toujours cette espace de de des cas d'effet que uh /ils **ne** sont pas
 23 heureux/ –
 24 J : /Même si on a un bon travail, un bon revenue, et bien on **n'**est pas encore
 25 heureux en France./

(2 :47 – 4 :20)

26 J : Alors, est-ce que les français se complaisent finalement dans eh dans ce
 27 domaine, **Claudia Senik** ?

28 CS : Je ne sais pas s'ils se complaisent. En tous cas, je pense que le
 29 fait de se dire, de se sentir, ou de se penser malheureux, à la fin,
 30 finir par rendre malheureux. Je pense que **c'est** pas pure un manière
 31 de de de parler. C'est vraiment quelque chose dimensionnel. La
 32 preuve est quand on mesure les émotions et les sensations des gens
 33 en demandant « Est-ce que, est-ce que hier vous vous êtes senti
 34 joyeux, calme, détendu au contraire au stressé, nerveux, angoissé ?
 35 » eh on peut mesurer un espace de, d'état émotionnel. Et bien
 36 pareille, les français **n'ont que** un classement en terme de bien-être
 37 émotionnel. Donc **c'est pas** juste eh des mots. C'est aussi la manière
 38 de ressentir.

39 J : Donc comment **êtes-vous** justement parvenu à cette conclusion ?
 40 Comment **avez-vous** fait cette étude, Claudia Sénik ? **Est-ce qu'**elle est
 41 scientifique, on peut dire?

42 CS : Uh j'espère ! ((laughs)) Parce que j'ai pris uh une grande enquête
 43 européenne qui commence de 2002 et continue jusqu'à 2010 donc qu'**il**
 44 **y a** plein de pays, et mille personnes par uh par pays par année. Et
 45 dans ces uh j'ai retenu les pays qui sont les pays d'immigration
 46 traditionnels. Donc dans chaque pays, à la fois **il y avait** des des
 47 des natifs (enfin des français ou des anglais) et puis des immigrés
 48 de première et demi génération. Je me suis dite, si **on** prend les
 49 immigrés identiques. Et qu'**il y a** un qui s'installe en France et
 50 l'autre en Belgique, si le malheur français vient des circonstances,
 51 **on** devrait observer que ces deux immigrés, ils vont être-, bon celui
 52 qui s'installe en France sera moins heureux que celui en Belgique.
 53 Donc, est-ce que je l'ai regardé ? **Ben** non, ce **n'**est pas le cas, pas
 54 du tout.

Text 2

[Note. This is an excerpt from an episode of Un Gars, Une fille « Best of pognon » (1 :41 – 2 :25) <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=X8rpNTXewhs>]

Vocabulary :

Loulou/chouchou pet names such as honey or sweetie
gagner to win
un concours a contest
« niah niah niah » « blah, blah, blah »
un truc a thing (to do)
putain exclamation similar to shit

****Words in bold highlight relevant linguistic variations. These bolded words are for the benefit of the dissertation readers, and were presented in plain text to the students.****

- 1 ((Telephone Rings))
- 2 J: **Allo?**
- 3 A: **Allo, Loulou?**
- 4 J: **Ouais**
- 5 A: J'en ai une bonne pour **toi**.
- 6 J: Ouai ?
- 7 A: **Tu** sais quoi ?
- 8 J: Hm ?
- 9 A: **Y a** un **mec** qui m'a appelée et il m'a annoncée qu'**on** a gagné une
- 10 grosse voiture.
- 11 J: **Est-ce qu'**on sait pourquoi?
- 12 A: **J'sais pas** alors. **T'as** participé à un concours ou pas ?
- 13 J: **Bah** non et toi ?
- 14 A: **Bah non, non plus**
- 15 J: hm
- 16 A: En tout cas il m'a dit, eh, « madame **vous êtes** l'heureuse gagnante
- 17 d'une voiture... toute option... de l'année... » **niah niah niah**
- 18 J: ouais ouais ouais
- 19 A: Le seul **truc** est de payer la taxe
- 20 J: ((laughs)) eh **putain** évidemment ouais
- 21 A: Tu sais tout ce qu'il m'a demandé ?
- 22 J: Quoi ?
- 23 A: Mon numéro de carte de crédit !
- 24 J: ((laughs)) Oh non **c'est pas** vrai ! Pas subtil pour eux là-bas.
- 25 A: Donc, comme si, **moi, je** lui donnerais mon numéro de carte de crédit
- 26 par téléphone ?
- 27 J: Mais tant de bien mon **chouchou**
- 28 A: Ce que j'ai fait, j'ai payé **cash**. Mais je te préviens, **loulou**, c'est
- 29 ma voiture. **Je te la prête** pas. Ça soit bien clair ! C'est ma
- 30 voiture !

Appendix B: Scenario Planning and Debriefing Questions

These questions will be used for all of the scenarios to be performed.

A. Planning

1. What do you think about the relationship between each person in this scenario?
2. In your opinion, what's an appropriate or desired way to present yourself in this scenario?
3. How can the language you use help to show the relationship between the two people in this scenario and how you want to present yourself?

B. Performance of the Scenarios (See Appendix 2 for Scenario descriptions; researcher will play other's role)

C. Debriefing

Please reflect on your performance in the scenario. Did you encounter any difficulties?
Did your partner have any difficulties? How did your performance align with your plan?

Appendix C: Strategic Interaction Scenario Role Descriptions

Scenario 1: [Informal scenario]

Student's role: You're supposed to have lunch with a friend, and you've agreed to meet outside "la cave" at noon. However, you haven't decided where to go. You don't want to spend too much, but you're sick of eating from the sandwich vendors right next to school. You think it would be nice to go somewhere downtown for a relaxing lunch, especially since you don't have to be anywhere before 3pm. You're not sure what your friend likes to eat, so you'll need to ask and recommend some places the two of you could go to.

Other's role: You're meeting a friend for lunch at noon, but you don't know where you're going. You're pretty busy, so you want to go somewhere that's fast, like the sandwich vendor next to the cathedral, although you don't really have to be anywhere soon.

Scenario 2: [Formal scenario]

Student's role: You need to meet with your professor to discuss an upcoming exam, so you go to her office to ask if she's available now or sometime soon for the two of you to talk. Since the exam is next Monday, you would like to talk to her very soon. Normally, you're available in the mornings between 10 and 11 and in the afternoons from 3 to 5. On Fridays you don't normally come to campus, but technically you're free since you don't have any classes then.

Other's role: A student comes to see you about an upcoming exam. You can talk now for only a few minutes because you have a meeting soon. Otherwise, your office hours are Tuesday, 11-12, and Thursday, 2-3. In addition, you're normally around Friday mornings, so you could meet then.

Appendix D: Journal Instructions

Please write at least two entries per week. Though there is no length requirement, please try to address **ALL** questions from **BOTH** major themes listed below in each entry.

3. Write in your journal about any event in the last few days that impressed you or made you reflect on your language learning experience abroad. These experiences should mostly come from outside of the classroom but may be within or outside of your homestay.
4. An important benefit of study abroad is to have exposure to "real," everyday, spoken French. In French, just as in English, speakers vary the language that they use depending on the social situation at hand. (For example, think about the different situations in which you might say, "Hello, sir, how are you?" or "Hey, what's up?").

Describe in your journal any such language use or practices that you have noticed from the interactions with French speakers that you either witness or participate in.

- Why do you think the speaker chose to use language in that way in that situation?
- Can you explain what social meaning it expressed to the people involved?

Appendix E: Journal Discussion Protocol

Sample Questions

Warm-up

- Did you have a good week? How is your semester in France going so far?

Concepts

- Let's look at these concept diagrams [see below and Appendix 4]. Can you explain these concepts to me?
- Let's consider a few hypothetical social situations. Can you apply the concepts to these situations and describe what kind of language choices you would make in this situation?

Journal Observations

- In this entry, you mentioned (this linguistic practice/feature). Could you explain more about what happened in this situation?
- Have you heard other French speakers say this?
- Why do you think the speaker chose to use language in that way in that situation?
- Can you explain what social meaning this linguistic choice expressed to the people involved? or what it says about the social context?

Other

- Did any other interesting language or culture practices come up this week that you didn't write about?
- Do you have any questions for me?

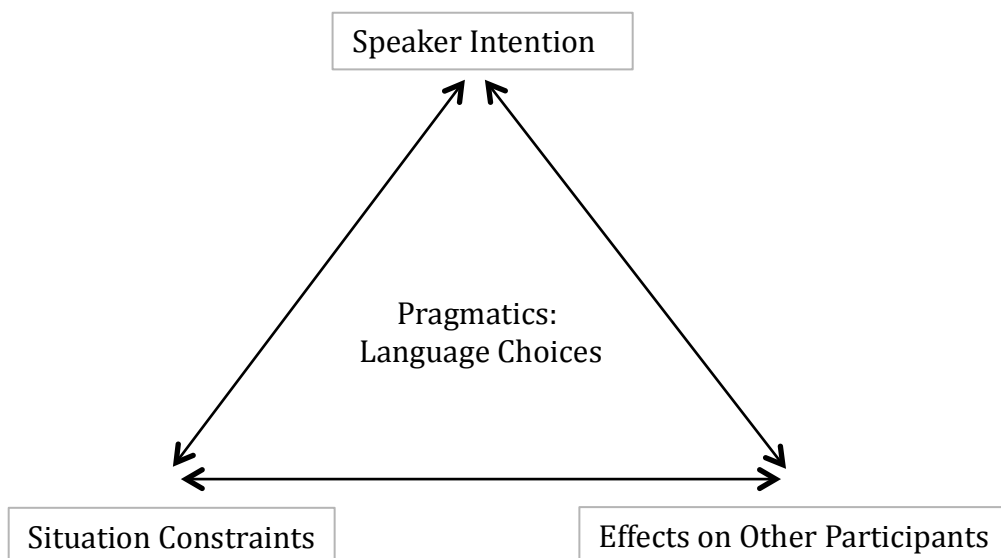
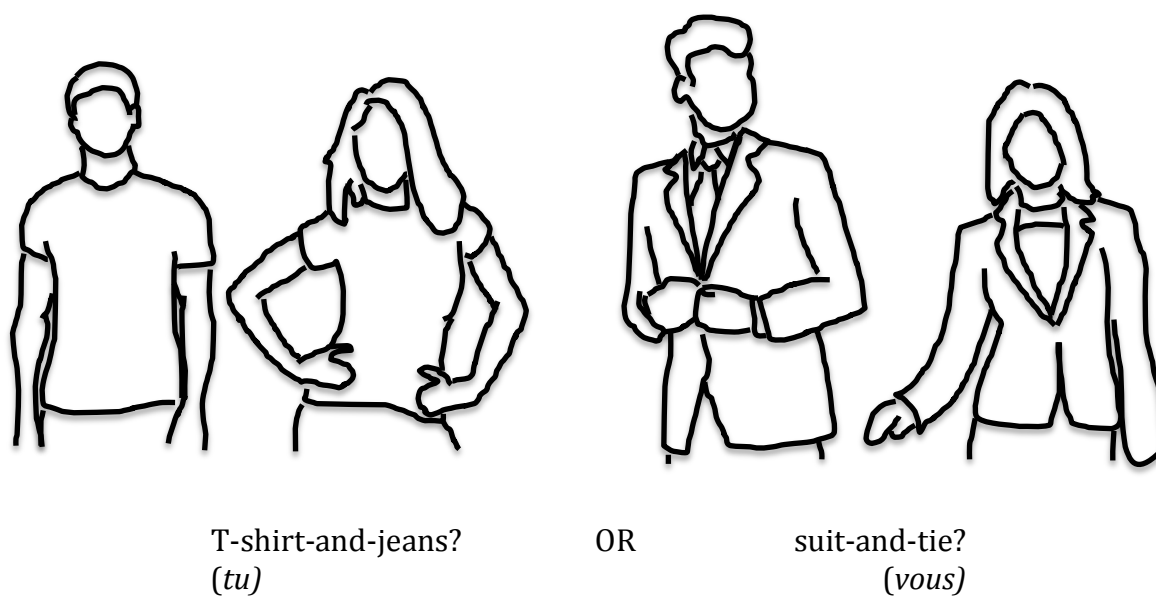
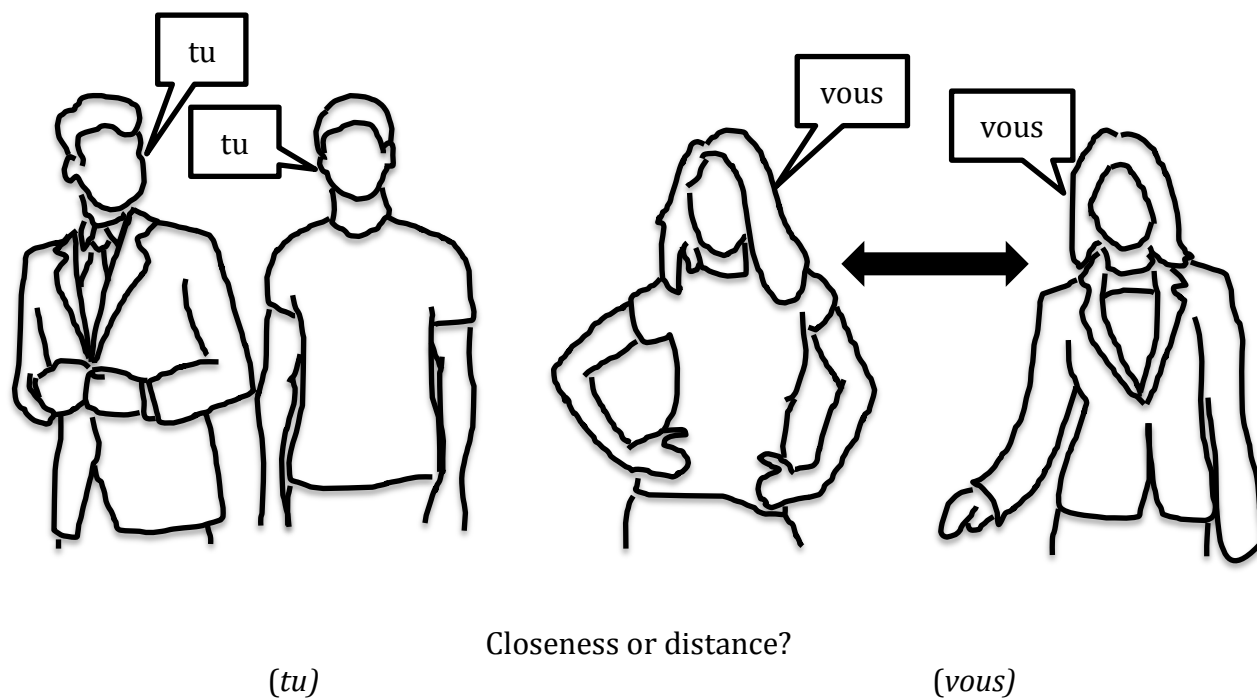
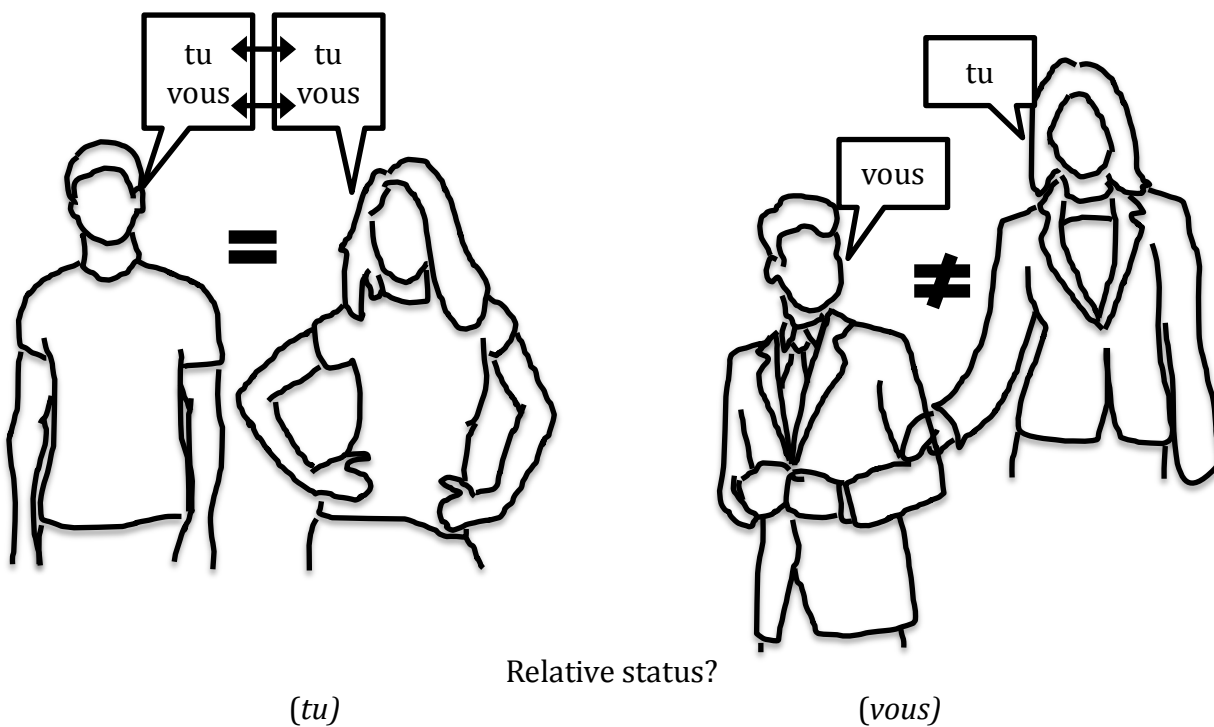
Concept Diagrams*Figure E1: Pragmatics**Figure E2: Self-Presentation*

Figure E3: Social Distance*Figure E4: Relative Power*

Appendix F: Handout of Concept Explanations

I. Many ways to say the “same thing”

In any language, at first glance, there often appears to be many ways to say the same thing but when you look closer, these variations each carry a slightly different meaning to the present conversation. Think about the different situations in English in which you might use “Hey, what’s up?” or “Hello, sir/ma’am, how are you?” Both of these examples serve the same function (to greet and ask about someone’s well-being) but carry very different meanings to the social situation. This semester we are going to look into similar variations that you observe between and with French speakers.

- Can you think of any specific examples of two ways to say “the same thing” in French?

The study of this kind of linguistic variation is called **Pragmatics**. David Crystal (1997) defines pragmatics as “the study of language from the point of view of users, especially of the **choices** they make, the **constraints** they encounter in using language in social interaction, and the **effects** their use of language has on other participants in the act of communication” (p. 301; emphasis added). From this perspective, the speakers of a language always have a choice in how they use language and what they say. This choice is influenced by several factors concerning the consequences (both positive or negative) of our choice. Figure 1 below presents a visual diagram to explain the concept of pragmatics.

Figure 1: Pragmatics

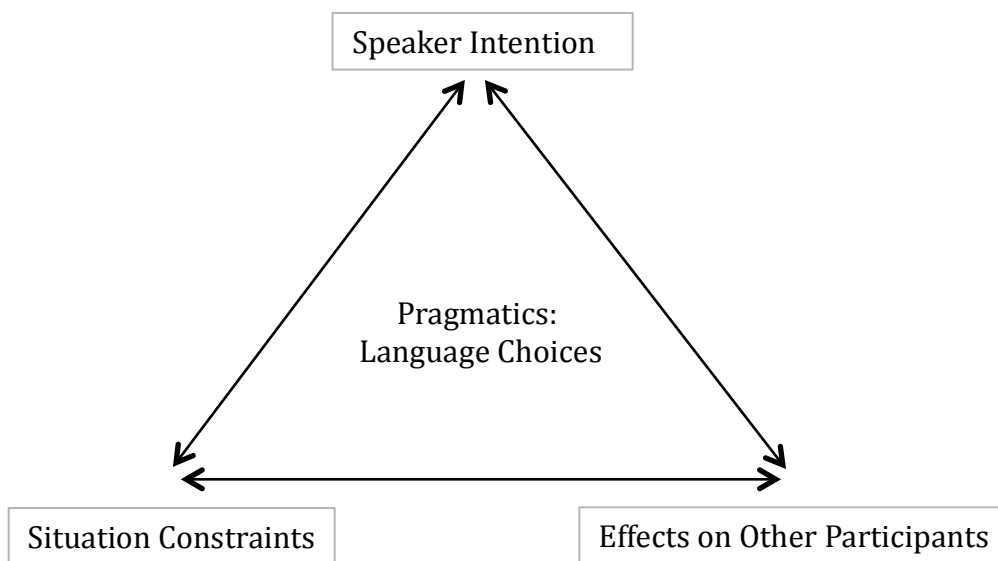


Figure 1 shows that three factors that influence language choices. First, what a speaker **wants to express** about him or herself, the situation, and how he or she views the other person will influence what he or she chooses to say (**Speaker Intention**). In other words, how are you

approaching the situation and what kinds of social meanings (such as being friendly, polite, or professional) do you want to express or create?

The second factor to consider is what the **situation will allow (Situation Constraints)**. This includes both facts about the setting (where is this conversation taking place, who else is present, etc.) as well as the task at hand (e.g. are you making small talk or asking for a really big favor?).

Finally, a speaker must consider not only what they want to express, and what the situation allows, but also how the **other person(s) involved will interpret** this language choice (**Effects on Other Participants**). For example, if you think “Hey, what’s up?” is a friendly way to greet someone, will the other person think so too? Or do you think they might interpret it as too casual or impolite?

Speakers consider all three of these factors simultaneously when deciding how they want to speak in a given situation (think about them as pressures or influences). In turn, each language choice that a speaker makes expresses a different social meaning (the outcome or product). The remainder of this handout will explain three different social meanings (outcomes) that a speaker might want to express in a given situation.

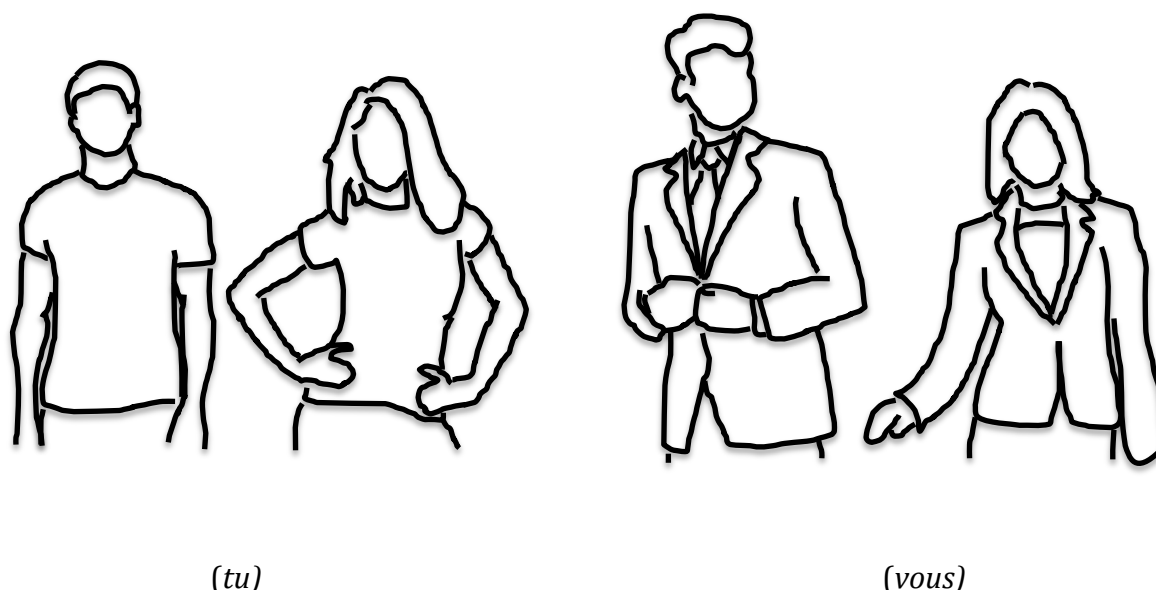
We are going to work with one familiar example of French linguistic variation in this handout, the choice between *tu* and *vous*-singular. However, these concepts can be at play for ANY pragmatic language choice.

II. Self-Presentation

The first step in choosing to use either informal or formal language (in this case, *tu* or *vous*-singular) is to decide how you want to present yourself, keeping in mind the conventional uses of these forms. *Tu* is conventionally informal. It is associated with informal speech, laidback/cool attitudes, friendliness, youthfulness, and liberalism in everyday contexts. By contrast, *vous* is conventionally more formal. It is associated with formal contexts, academic speech, upper class speech, conservatism, and formal writing. Remember that you can use these conventions to create the meanings you want to create. A helpful way of thinking about how to create meaning is to ask yourself: Do I want to seem “tee-shirt and jeans” (*tu*) or “suit-and-tie” (*vous*) right now? Then think about the consequences of presenting yourself as tee-shirt and jeans or suit-and-tie in different contexts.

- What can you infer from this explanation?
- When might you want to present yourself as tee-shirt-and-jeans? Suit-and-tie?
- Can you think of any situations in which the choice might be difficult, or where you might ‘mix’ the tee-shirt-and-jeans and suit-and-tie ways of speaking? Why?

Take a minute to look at the diagram below. How does this relate to what you understand so far about linguistic variation?

Figure 2: Self-Presentation

As you saw earlier, choosing between *tu* and *vous*-singular points to aspects of your own social identity: *tee-shirt-and-jeans* versus *suit-and-tie*. But at the same time, it points to the relationship you have or want to create with the person you call *tu* or *vous*. Here, two interrelated concepts are relevant: *social distance* and *power hierarchies*. We will discuss these in the next section.

III. Social Distance

The first concept, *social distance*, refers to the degree of familiarity or intimacy you have with another person. You can think about social distance as a continuum ranging from 'close' (very familiar or intimate) relationships to 'distant' (unfamiliar or nonintimate) relationships.

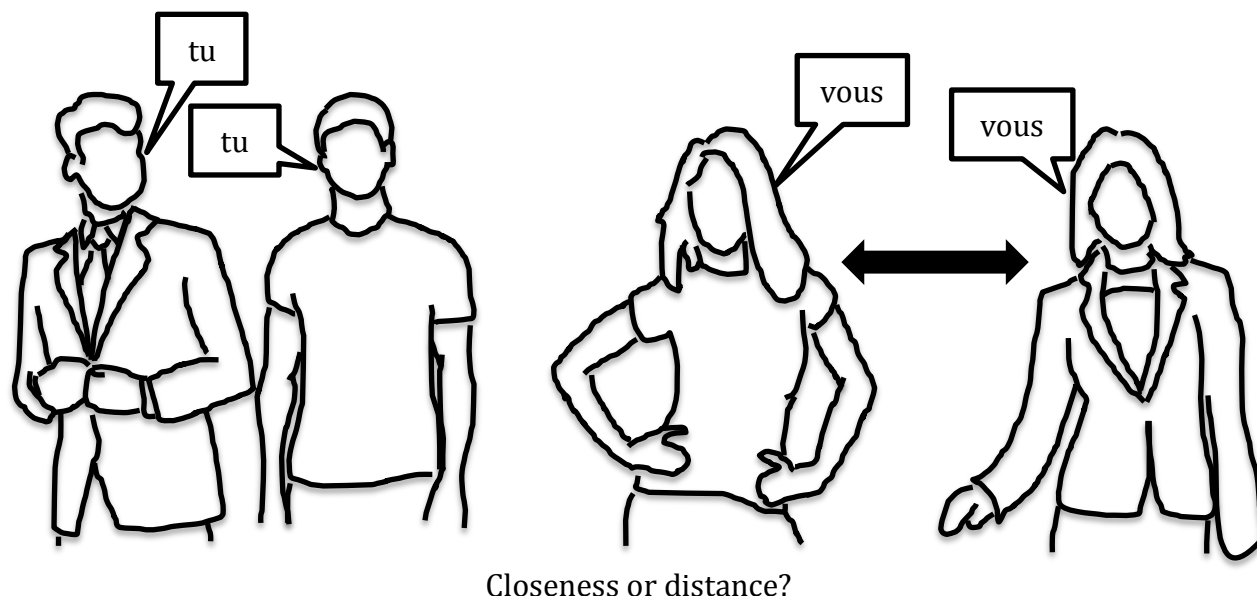
- What can you infer from this explanation?
- What are some examples of close relationships? Distant relationships? In between?

Marking closeness or distance can be achieved, in part, through your choice between *tu* and *vous* or other informal or formal language choices. You can point to closeness by using more informal language choices (*tu*) and distance by using more formal language choices (*vous*). Your choice of pronoun, therefore, has real consequences for your relationships.

- What can you infer from this explanation?
- Can you think of some examples when you would want or need to use *tu* to mark closeness? *Vous* to mark distance
- Can you think of any examples where the choice between *tu* and *vous* would be difficult? Why?

Now take a minute to look at the diagram below. How does this relate to what you understand so far about *tu* and *vous* in French? How does this fit in with your understanding of linguistic variation in general (e.g., conventions, stereotypes, tee-shirt-and-jeans, suit-and-tie)?

Figure 3: Social Distance



III. Power Hierarchies

The next concept, *power hierarchies*, refers to the relative status or power relationship that exists between two people. You can think of these relationships as existing on a continuum ranging from 'no power hierarchy' (total equality) to 'very unbalanced' (one person has a lot of power over the other). Of course, there are many relationships that fall in between these extremes.

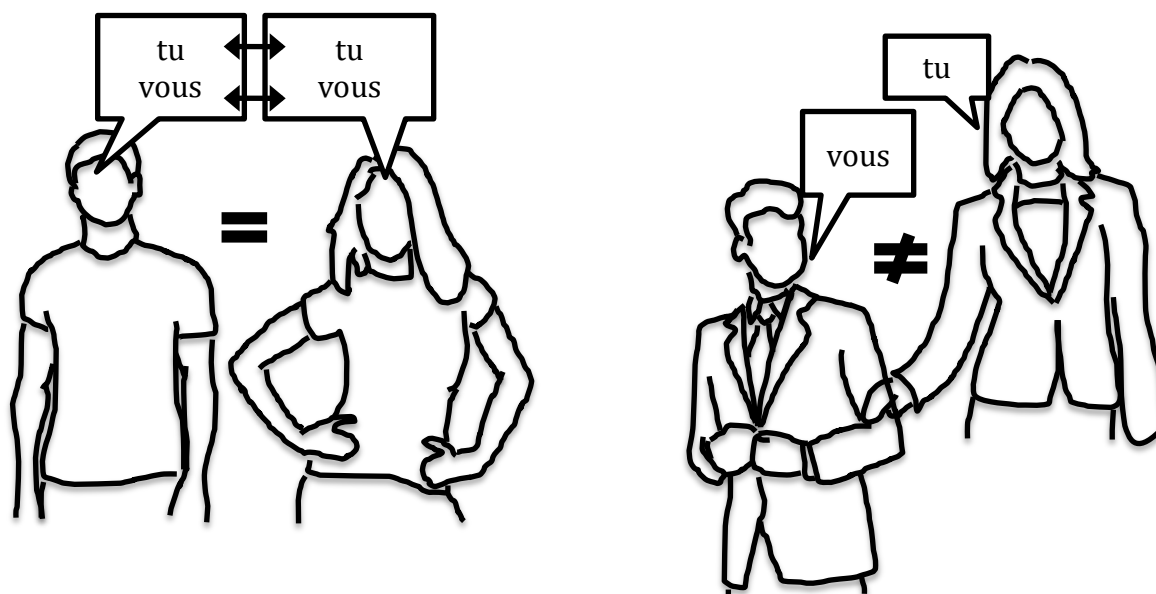
- What can you infer from this explanation?
- What are some examples of totally equal relationships? Very unbalanced relationships? In between?

Marking relative status can be achieved, in part, by your language choices – *tu* or *vous*, as well as the symmetry of *tu/vous* use—that is, both people using *tu* or *vous* versus one using *tu* and the other using *vous*. Symmetry (*tu-tu* or *vous-vous*) can point to solidarity or even equality by downplaying any power hierarchy that might exist. Asymmetry (one person using *tu* and the other *vous*) can emphasize or draw attention to a very visible hierarchy in the relationship—the person called *vous* is being put in a position of power while the person called *tu* is being put in position of lower or no power. For clarification, there is a very strong preference nowadays for symmetrical relationships (*tu-tu* or *vous-vous*). Asymmetrical relationships can be seen as rude or impolite, because of the history related to social class hierarchies a long time ago (for example, nobles called servants *tu*, while servants had to call nobles *vous*).

- What can you infer from this explanation?
- Can you think of examples where symmetrical *tu* relationships are appropriate? Symmetrical *vous* relationships?
- Can you think of examples where one person might call another *tu* but expect to be called *vous* in return (an asymmetrical relationship)? What meaning would this have for the relationship?

Now take a minute to look at the diagram below. How does this relate to what you understand so far about *tu* and *vous* in French? How does this fit in with your understanding of stylistic variation in general (e.g., conventions, stereotypes, tee-shirt-and-jeans, suit-and-tie)?

Figure 4: Power Hierarchies



Relative status?

Now, you have three concepts to guide your language choices (*tu* or *vous*.) First, how do you want to present yourself (*tee-shirt-and-jeans* versus *suit-and-tie*)? Second, how much social distance do you want there to be between you and the other person (*closeness* versus *distance*). Third, how do you want to mark the power hierarchy, if any, between you and the other person (*symmetry* versus *asymmetry*)? The decision you have to make is which concepts and meanings are most important when you choose between *tu* and *vous*.

- How do they relate to what you understand about *tu* and *vous* now?
- Can you think of any examples where the choice of *tu* versus *vous* would be easy? Why?
- Can you think of any examples where the choice of *tu* versus *vous* would be difficult or ambiguous? Why?

Appendix G: Background Questionnaire
(adapted from Pre-LCP, Freed, Dewey, et al., 2004)

Participant ID _____
(TBA by researcher)

Name _____

Email Address _____

1. What is your gender? _____ Male _____ Female

2. How old are you? _____

3. In what country were you born?

4. What language do you consider to be your first language? _____

5. What language(s) do you speak at home?

6. In what language(s) did you receive the majority of your precollege education?

7. Have you ever been to a French-speaking region for the purpose of studying French?

_____ Yes _____ No

8. If yes, when, where, and for how long did you study there?

9. Other than the experience mentioned above, have you ever lived in a situation where you were exposed to a language other than your first language? (e.g. by living in a multilingual community; visiting a community for purposes of study abroad or work; exposure through family members; etc.)

_____ Yes _____ No

If Yes, please give the following information for each experience: country/region, language, purpose, length of time

10. Rate your language ability in ENGLISH.

	Poor	Good	Very Good	Native/Nativelike
Listening				
Speaking				
Reading				
Writing				

11. Rate your language ability in FRENCH.

	Poor	Good	Very Good	Native/Nativelike
Listening				
Speaking				
Reading				
Writing				

12. If you know any other languages, please fill out a section below for each one.

Additional Language 1:

of Years Studied in a Formal School Setting: _____

	Poor	Good	Very Good	Native/Nativelike
Listening				
Speaking				
Reading				
Writing				

Additional Language 2:

of Years Studied in a Formal School Setting: _____

	Poor	Good	Very Good	Native/Nativelike
Listening				
Speaking				
Reading				
Writing				

13. How many years have you studied FRENCH in school in the past at each of the following levels? (0.5=one semester, 1=one academic year)

Elementary School _____
Jr. High/Middle School _____
Sr. High School _____
University/College _____

14. What year in school are you at your home university?

_____ Freshman
_____ Sophomore
_____ Junior
_____ Senior
_____ Graduate Student
_____ Other:

15. What is your major(s) at your home university?

16. Here at IAU College, are you enrolled in the French Honors Program?

_____ Yes _____ No

17. Here at IAU College, please list the courses you plan to take this semester:

Appendix H: Sample LAI Transcripts

Transcript 1: Keshia's Pre-LAI Excerpted Transcript

Note. Bolded text highlights relevant discussion that contributed to the Awareness Ratings

- 90 R: ok so in this first text why do you think the speakers chose to
 91 speak the way that they did to one another?
 92 K: it might have to do with the relationship
 93 R: ok
 94 K: o::f who's speaking to who
 95 (1.0) like this one
 96 (2.0) **I wouldn't say that they were friends**
 97 R: ok
 98 K: **not like they were enemies but not like close, same age proximity,**
 99 **friends**
 100 R: ok
 101 K: **this one I would say they are close proximity friends or like family**
 102 **members** and
 103 R: ok
 104 K: and that's how they are speaking
 105 but this one it's like (2.0)
 106 I couldn't tell you who these people are: but their relationship is
 107 more of like (1.0) **not like best friends** talking
 108 and **phone does facilitate** more like this is what happened, this is
 109 what is going to happen, this is why this is happening::
 110 let me give you all the facts in the right way
 ...
 129 R: an::d did the choices in the second text- or the way the speakers
 130 chose to talk does it reveal anything else about the conver- or the
 131 social context here?
 132 K: it might, it might (1.0) show that either **these people are really**
 133 **comfortable or lower class** like putain
 134 that's **not exactly very elegant** to say
 135 R: ((laughs))
 136 K: u::m yeah
 137 R: ok ok u::m alright
 138 does anything stand out to you as being different from
 139 between the two ways in which the speakers address one another
 140 K: in terms of **this being more familiar**
 141 and this one being::
 142 more like (1.0)
 143 not that it isn't familiar:: (1.0) but **that it's like still a**
 144 **little more distant**
 145 I guess I would say

Transcript 2: Keisha's Post-LAI Transcript

Note. Bolded text highlights relevant discussion that contributed to the Awareness Ratings

- 34 K: it just sounds **like friends speaking, making fun, joking**, you know
 35 R: mhm
 36 K: yeah
 37 and I also feel like they are speaking really fast
 38 R: ((laughs))
 39 K: ((XX))
 40 yeah there's just a lot of abbreviations
 41 whereas this one is **very more drawn out**
 42 more of vous and expliquez
 43 you know
 44 ((laughs))
 45 **it's more drawn out, more formal**
- ...
- 58 K: they just **seem older** too
 59 R: ok
 60 K: I don't know how to describe it
 61 yeah they just seem older because it's less like abbreviated
 62 language less um like there's no pet names like this one
 63 R: mhm ((laughs))
 64 K: allo loulou
 65 yup so it's just yeah it just **seems more um adult more informal**
- ...
- 78 R: why do you think they chose to speak that way in this situation?
 79 K: I mean other than the fact that they're doing like the social commentary
 80 like oh they ((XX)) so so::
 81 R: ((laughs))
 82 K: which I mean aren't like happy superficial conversations
 83 like oh you know I saw this guy and
 84 it's uh:: what they're speaking about
 85 probably their **relationship, it's probably more professional like**
 86 **two colleagues** or something talking or that sort of thing
- ...
- 94 um:: yeah even with uh:: how they say like donc on n'arrive pas
 95 where someone who's like more form- like informal or: friendly would
 96 have been like on arrive pas
 97 R: mhm
 98 K: instead of like you know using the ne::
 99 R: mhm
 100 K: just yeah
 101 they probably are **either trying like to be really professional or**
 102 **they don't really know each other that well** or
 103 which might not make sense because **French people don't talk to**
 104 **people they don't know**

- 112 R: is there anything else about what you think their choices in Text 1 reveal
 113 about the social context of the s- of the:: conversation?
 114 K: they- they uh **they might be pretty like uh educated** I would say
 115 u::m yeah they they:: (1.0) **they come off as** I don't know::
 116 (2.0) **stuffy old dudes talking and having a smoke together**
- 131 K: they're **either like family or a couple** or something like
 132 they they:: **it's a very intimate relationship**
- 139 K: u::m (2.0) and then loulou
 140 R: mhm
 141 K: that's **like cutesy** which means I don't know it made me think it's
 142 **like her boyfriend** ((laughs))
- 178 K: **like they might be really young**
 179 R: mhm
 180 K: ok that that those two words [*mec* and *putain*] yeah

Transcript 3: Yuki's PRE LAI Excerpted Transcript

Note. Bolded text highlights relevant discussion that contributed to the Awareness Ratings

- 27 Y: **it sounds like an interview? of some sort**
 28 u::m and the way that one of them is saying like shorter sentences
 29 and another one longer **it seems like she is being interviewed**
 30 R: mhm
 31 Y: so maybe it's for-
 32 and they are talking about a:: kind of grown-up topic
 33 R: ok
 34 Y: you know the look, the French look, right?
 35 R: mhm
 36 Y: so:: **that's like pretty abstract and formal and intense**
 37 R: mhm
 38 Y: so the topic is different
 39 R: mhm
 40 Y: **and the setting**
 41 R: and the setting?
 42 what do you mean?
 43 Y: uh I:
 44 R: what can you infer?
 45 Y: **maybe they are on tv?**
 46 **or on the radio or something that is to be broadcasted**
- 51 R: what do you think that those choices reveal about the social context
 52 of the conversation?
 53 Y: **that it's formal**

- 54 **and that she's respected that she's an incredible person**
 55 R: mhm
 56 Y: i don't know
 57 R: ok
 58 ok
 59 so then for Text 2 why do you think the speakers chose to speak
 60 the way that they did in this conversation?
 61 Y: um well if they're calling-
 62 A uses a pet name **so maybe they're uh:: (1.0) like a:: couple or::**
 63 **really good friends** and also they're talking about a really funny
 64 thing that happened
- ...
- 82 R: so um:: what do you think their choices reveal about the social
 83 context of this conversation?
 84 Y: that there::
 85 that it's **informal**
 86 R: mhm
 87 Y: that **they're equals and they're informal with each other**
 88 yeah and **in an informal setting**

Transcript 4: Yuki's POST LAI Excerpted Transcript

Note. Bolded text highlights relevant discussion that contributed to the Awareness Ratings

- 107 R: why do you think the speakers chose to speak in the way that they
 108 did?
 109 Y: so::
 110 **uh in terms of self presentation**
 111 R: mhm
 112 Y: so it seems
 113 so she's
 114 i think she's speaking about like a topic right?
 115 so she's some sort of expert?
 116 R: mhm mhm
 117 Y: or:: somebody who:: speaks about this for a living
 118 **it seems like u::m she probably wants to appear like she knows what**
 119 **she's talking about**
 120 so she was formal (1.0) grammar and stuff
 121 **she wants to seem professional**
 122 R: mhm
 123 Y: and **then J is- seems like an interviewer** so::
 124 by using like formal pronouns and also speaking-
 125 **so they are both interacting on a professional level**
 126 R: mhm
 127 Y: **in terms of uh closeness**
 128 **I guess it doesn't really matter** because they are just speaking
 129 about a topic

- 130 and then u::m
131 R: but if you had to decide on closeness or distance what would you say?
132 Y: u::h
133 R: what does their speech or language choices seem to reflect?
134 Y: **if it's vous than it's distant**
135 **but I mean they're like in a professional setting so like they have**
136 **no choice**
137 **but maybe they're like secretly in love**
138 R: ((laughs))
139 ok
140 Y: **u::m and then in terms of equality**
141 **so they're both addressing each other like with respect because they**
142 **are in a professional setting**
143 R: mhm
144 Y: and um (1.0)
145 **so they're both using vous:: as equals**
146 R: ok
147 Y: **in order to express equality**
148 R: alright and then what about the second text?
149 why did the speakers choose to speak the way that they did in this
150 text?
151 Y: **so they're really close** because they're using pet names
152 R: mhm
153 Y: **so:: in terms of closeness, they're close**
154 ((laughs)) u::m
155 R: mhm
156 Y: and then **formality they probably**
157 **if they're close they don't really care how they appear to each**
158 **other**
159 R: ok
160 Y: **and then:: they're both equally- they're both tu**