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UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY

Writing for the (Virtual) Other: Bakhtin and the Pragmatics of Writing in the Foreign Language

Classroom

by

Brandee Marie Strickland

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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Abstract

The main goal of this study is to explore practical implications of socially-based theories of language and writing, especially those of M.M. Bakhtin, within university second and foreign language classrooms. Specifically, I explore how these socially-based understandings might inspire computer-mediated communication (CMC) intercultural exchanges as a support in the development of L2 writing. I begin by examining the impact that socially-based theories of language, first posited within early Soviet Russia and later within the disciplines of sociolinguistics and pragmatics in the West, have had on the discipline of language teaching. I argue that that impact has been unfortunately limited. Later, I describe conceptualizations of L2 writing, positing that socially-based theories could lead to deeper understandings of what writing is and how it is developed. Finally, I explore the use of technologies within language classrooms and how these have been used thus far to support writing. Finally, I describe and present the results of two online intercultural exchanges inspired by socially-based theories, implemented within university classrooms. Two groups of Spanish language learners in Canada interacted through CMC with English language learners in Chile over the course of a university semester, through a bilingual blog and Dropbox to share a piece of writing for peer review. The data for this study include the transcripts of their writing in English and Spanish in the blog; the rough, corrected and final drafts of their essays; and responses to surveys and interviews. Drawing especially on Bakhtin's theories, I use a qualitative approach to analyze the data, identifying instances of intertextual contact and the passing back and forth of language across the students' messages. In my findings I suggest that intercultural CMC exchange offers positive conditions for the sharing of language, which can lead to contexualized learning of new items of language and the creation of intertextually richer student compositions in the L2.

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List of Symbols, Abbreviations and Nomenclature

Symbol Definition

AWE Automatic Writing Evaluation

BECTA British Educational Communications and

CALI Technology Agency

CALL Computer Assisted Language Instruction
CASLA Computer Assisted Language Learning

Computer Applications in Second Language

CMC Acquisition

L2

Computer Mediated Communication

EFL English as a Foreign Language
ELL English Language Learner
FIS French, Italian & Spanish

IADE Intelligent Academic Discourse Evaluator

ICL2E Internet-mediated Intercultural Second Language

Education

I Institute of Language and Literature

ILJaZV Institute for the Comparative History of the

Literatures and Languages of the West Second Language or Foreign Language

SGAV Structural Global Audiovisual Method SLA Second Language Acquisition

RANION Russian Association of Scientific Research

Institutes in the Social Sciences

VOIP Voice Over Internet Protocol

Introduction: A socially-based, technology-embedded L2 writing classroom

The work of university-level instructors of second and foreign languages, such as those who teach Spanish in Canada, is complex. To successfully understand the task of supporting foreign language learners, language instructors must position themselves at the intersection of a variety of disciplines. They typically must draw on: 1) research into linguistics, applied linguistics and Second Language Acquisition (SLA) for their understandings of language; 2) psychological theory regarding how the brain works and how to motivate their students, etc. and 3) educational studies, so as to be informed about theories of learning and subsequent changes or innovations in classroom practice (Cuq & Gruca, 2005; Shrum & Glisan, 2009).

A variety of different methods and approaches towards language instruction have been developed over what Louis G. Kelly has called the last 25 Centuries of Language Teaching (1969). Founders of each method and approach have drawn to different extents on language theory, psychological theory or educational theory in elaborating their philosophies of language learning. Communicative approaches towards teaching are currently favored within language classrooms; they have been the "dominant theme in language teaching" since the 1970s and beyond (Wheeler, 2013, p. 191). One major difference between the communicative approaches currently dominant in classrooms and previous methods and approaches is the underlying linguistic theory and understandings of language they rely on. Proponents of the communicative

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¹ There has been debate about the use of the terms "second language" and "foreign language." The field of second language acquisition has tended to group together learning situations in which non-native speakers study or acquire the official language of a country they currently reside in, and situations in which learners study a foreign language that is not official or dominant outside the classroom. However, Kramsch (2008) has argued that the study of a foreign language in a university setting is unique and should not be grouped together with non-academic studies of languages such as English. As I will be focusing primarily on the learning of Spanish, which is not an official language of Canada, I will sometimes refer to it as foreign language learning, as well.

approach tend to look not only towards traditional linguistic theory for understandings of language, but also draw on a variety of related disciplines that posit that understandings of the social world, or of socially-contextualized uses of language, must enter into attempts to understand and define language (Savignon, 1991; Shrum & Glisan, 2009). These include the disciplines of pragmatics and, to a lesser extent, sociolinguistics. For example, the notion found within the communicative approach that language learners must be familiar not only with "structure of language", but also with "ways of speaking in relation to social meanings and situations" is related to the disciplines of sociolinguistics and pragmatics,² as is the incorporation of the study of speech acts into language curriculum (Hymes, 1974, p. 120; Isihara & Cohen, 2010; Johnson, 2004). In drawing on these fields, adopters of communicative approaches have suggested that the development not only of *linguistic competence*, but also of *communicative competence* and other related socially-inspired competences should be key goals within foreign language classrooms (Johnson, 2004; Savignon, 1991).

I argue in this dissertation, however, that despite the influence of pragmatics and sociolinguistics within university foreign language classroom, there remains a tendency to underemphasize the importance of socially-grounded context and social interaction on the language learning process. Although sociolinguistic and pragmatic understandings of language are acknowledged within the communicative approach, it is still, in fact, the structuralist-cognitivist-universalist theories of language that underlie many classroom practices (Johnson, 2004; Kramsch, 1993). This is especially the case within lower-level language courses. As Claire Kramsch (2008) has explained, applied linguistics and SLA, which are typically drawn on

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² I will discuss both sociolinguistics and pragmatics in further detail in Chapter 1 of this dissertation.

in beginning and intermediate-level university language classrooms, are "based on psycholinguistic research that has studied universals of second language acquisition rather than culture-specific modes of learning" (p. 12).

As I explain in the upcoming chapters, the structuralist-cognitivist-universalist theories of language have had an impact as well on: 1) the teaching of writing and 2) the ways in which technology is conceived of in language learning settings. Regarding writing, these theories have led to a tendency to conceptualize writing as a derivative of oral language development. Thus, instructors, especially at beginning and intermediate language levels, often view writing as a means through which students can demonstrate their knowledge of language structure, rather than treating it as an important activity in its own right (Manchón, 2009). Alister Cumming and Abdolmehdi Riazi (2000) have explained that there are "not very many" models of "second-language writing" and that "very few are framed in terms that aim to account comprehensively for the complexities of educational circumstances" (p. 56).

Regarding language learning technology, I posit that a similar cognitive bias is also present within the field of Computer Assisted Language Learning (CALL), a subdiscipline of SLA that studies the use of technology for language learning purposes. Steven L. Thorne (1999) has argued that within the discipline of CALL, it is typically "psychological and cognitively oriented approaches" that have shaped the way technologies are studied and implemented within classroom settings (p. 35). In this light, technology is seen as a means for allowing individuals to interact mentally with systems of language, rather than as a potential tool for social interaction (Chapelle, 2003; Thorne, 1999).

Given this lack of emphasis on socially-based understandings of language, of writing and of technology use, even within communicative language classrooms, in this dissertation it is my

goal to demonstrate that knowledge of and exposure to additional socially-based theories of language, beyond those of pragmatics and sociolinguistics, can have a profound impact on the discipline of language instruction. I refer to a series of interconnected conceptualizations of language which were being explored in Russia around the time of the Russian revolution and which have subsequently influenced many humanity-based disciplines. While Mikhail M. Bakhtin and Lev S. Vygotsky are the two figures whose names seem to have spread farthest outside of Russia, their theories and understandings of language can be linked to the work of lesser-known figures also active at that time. These include Valentin N. Volosinov, Pavel N. Medvedev, and other participants in what is now known as the *Bakhtin Circle*, as well as the members of a discipline that Craig Brandist has called Russian "sociological linguistics," which all of whom will be discussed further in chapter 1 of this dissertation (2004, p. 2). As we will see, what these thinkers primarily had in common was their interest in understanding and studying real language in use within specific, social contexts. They also tended to consider writing to be a socially-based, yet unique use of language that was worthy of study in its own right (Brandist, 2008; Bazerman, 2004). Finally, some of their theories, namely those of Vygotsky, have been applied to the use of technology, giving rise to sociocultural studies of technology use, and socially-based conceptions of the potential roles of specific technologies within educational settings (Thorne, 1999; Wertsch, 1997).

In the upcoming chapters of this dissertation, then, I explore the socially-based theories of language of the aforementioned scholars, and their potential impact on foreign language classrooms. Specifically, I present my own research, in which I applied these theories within intermediate and high-intermediate level university language classrooms, examining the use of CMC technologies to support foreign language writing development.

In what remains of this introduction to my study, I will first describe the structure of the chapters to come, including the literature reviewed and the findings presented in the various chapters of my dissertation. Following that, I will define the overarching goals of my dissertation, including the fields and disciplines where I believe it has contributed with new findings.

Structure of this dissertation

Following the present introduction, I begin part one of my dissertation with an exploration of theoretical debates surrounding the notions of language, writing and technology that typically inform second and foreign language learning in the classroom. The first chapter of my dissertation offers an exploration of socially-based theories of language, especially those of several aforementioned scholars who were working on language-related issues around the time of the Russian revolution. I contrast and compare their descriptions of language with the more traditional theories that have been dominant in North American and European language-related fields. As I argue, the traditional structuralist-cognitivist-universalist theories present in the West have tended to conceptualize languages as relatively homogenous and fixed systems, stored within the individual mind, that allow for relatively straight-forward communication and information exchange. On the other hand, theories of language as conceived of by Russian scholars, especially those of Bakhtin, inspire alternate understandings, in which languages are viewed as complex, tending towards complexity and diversity, and organized around concrete and interconnected chains of discourse.

After completing my exploration of the various theories of language and their impacts on L2 classrooms, in chapter 2, I move on to an examination of the role of writing in foreign language classrooms. Through a brief description of the major methods and approaches that

have dominated the field in its recent history, I argue that classical or traditional language learning approaches, prior to the 20th century, tended to place a heavier emphasis on writing development. However, even when writing was included in these traditional classrooms, it was seldom viewed as a social or creative activity; instead being seen either as the mechanical use of script for reproducing texts, or as an activity designed to bring about a greater appreciation for classical works of literature. I also examine the ways in which the concept of written language, as opposed to oral language, has been treated within the field of linguistics and other languagerelated disciplines. I argue that these fields have generally underemphasized the importance of writing, tending to view it as a mechanical way to reproduce speech, and not as a languagemaking activity in its own right. Finally, I engage with the voices of other theorists, especially those who work within first-language composition studies, in arguing that to understand writing and to aid their students in developing their writing abilities, language instructors can look to the theories of Bakhtin, Volosinov and Vygotsky. In particular, I examine descriptions of what Charles Bazerman has identified as Bakhtinian "intertextuality" (2004, p. 53). In borrowing the term from Julia Kristeva's work, Bazerman has argued that the influences of one piece of writing on another, and the passing back and forth of language through dialogue, is present within all socially-based uses of language, and not only in literary works.³

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³ Julia Kristeva is the literary scholar who coined the term *intertextuality*. She is also credited as one of the first authors to introduce Bakhtin's work to Western academic circles outside of Russia. She first discussed intertextuality in several essays published in the 1960s in which she discussed Bakhtin's theories. She claimed that literary, individual and cultural texts and discourses are interrelated, such that any text is a "permutation of texts" (Kristeva, 1980, p. 36). Graham Allen has argued, "Whilst Bakhtin's work centres on actual human subjects employing language in specific social situations, Kristeva's way of expressing these points seems to evade human subjects in favour of the more abstract terms, text and textuality. Bakhtin and Kristeva share, however, an insistence that texts cannot be separated from the larger cultural or social textuality out of which they are constructed" (2000, p. 36).

In chapter 3 of my dissertation, I argue that the Russian socially-based theories of language are also important to draw on when examining how best to use new technologies within the language classroom, especially for writing development. I provide a review of the various technologies that have been used for language learning over the centuries. I posit that by drawing on Vygotsky-inspired sociocultural theory, instructors can avoid falling into common cognitive traps surrounding the use of technology, such as an overemphasis or exaggerated belief in the neutrality of technological tools, or, the opposite extreme, a belief that tools in and of themselves can lead to changes in language learning. Rather, by relying on sociocultural theory, language instructors can understand that uses of technology are always historically and socially situated, and that technology-embedded practices must therefore be evaluated within their overall contexts of use. I continue by providing a literature review on the use of specific, new technologies for writing development. These include 1) automated writing feedback and 2) the use of CMC technologies, such as: blogs, Dropbox and other file sharing programs for online peer review, Facebook and other social media, and Skype for Internet texting and telephoning. Finally, I discuss the links between sociocultural theory and Bakhtin's theories and the importance these can have in bringing about new, socially-based understandings of technologically-embedded activities within L2 writing classrooms.

In part 2 of my dissertation I move on to an exploration of how these various theories might be put into practice within language classrooms. In chapter 4, I describe a particular application of Bakhtinian socially-based theories within university foreign-language writing classrooms. I present an exploration of how CMC technologies can be used to allow classroom language learners to begin the task of participating in social exchanges with others and of seeing their acts of writing as "rejoinder[s]" to real dialogues in the language of study (Bakhtin, 1981a,

p. 277). Over the course of two semesters, I organized pedagogical interventions within two Spanish courses at the University of Calgary, and two English foreign-language courses at the Universidad de Concepción in Chile. The partner groups contacted each other: 1) by posting and reading each others' comments and introductions in a bilingual blog; 2) by exchanging a piece of writing and receiving feedback from their peers in the other country through email and Dropbox and 3) and, optionally, by engaging in one-on-one synchronous contact through Skype and/or Facebook. I provide a description of the student groups, their cities and educational institutions and programs of study and their beliefs and ideologies surrounding their respective languages of study. I describe the pedagogical task itself and how it was carried out. Finally, I present the research questions I addressed and the sources of data I used in analyzing the outcomes of the exchange, as well as my own hypotheses about what I might discover.

My research questions included the following: 1) In what ways did the students feel that use of a CMC (a Blog; Skype, email and/or Facebook; and Dropbox) for intercultural exchange impacted positively on the L2 writing classrooms involved?; 2) What were the challenges or difficulties identified by students regarding the aforementioned CMC activities within their language courses?; and 3) How did the use of CMC (a Blog; Skype, email and/or Facebook; and Dropbox) for intercultural exchange impact on the language use of the participants involved in the exchange? Did the exchange aid in bringing about more socially-based and intertextual uses and experiences of language, such as those described by Bakhtin? It was my hypotheses that the incorporation of the various CMC activities for an online intercultural exchange involving blog contact and a peer review of a piece of writing would have an impact on the students' use of written language, allowing them to consciously engage with and incorporate their partners' language into their own compositions.

In chapter 5, I discuss the results of the exchange and the impact I observed it to have on the language use of the students involved. I present the students' own feedback on their experiences, which they shared through end-of-semester surveys and face-to-face interviews. In their feedback, students from both countries described the aspects of the exchange that they felt were most beneficial, and other components that they found challenging or frustrating. Among the positive aspects of the exchange highlighted by the students were the opportunities to 1) read natural uses of language in social contexts in the blog and learn about life in another country; 2) get specific and detailed writing feedback from a peer; and 3) engage in face-to-face and written interaction with a peer in the partner group, thus forming relationships they hoped would continue even after the completion of the language course. On the other hand, in describing their frustrations with the exchange, some students complained that the blog did not inspire sustained, long-term interaction, while others felt that they had not received enough or sufficient writing feedback from their peers on the paper they had exchanged. As a whole, they called for further integration of the CMC exchange as an in-class activity.

In the same chapter, I also provide my analysis of: 1) the data from the blog, which included students' original posts and comments stored online, and 2) the rough drafts, peer feedback, and final drafts stored in Dropbox. I argue that these demonstrate that, through their written participation in the two online intercultural activities with the peer group, the students began to use language in many of the ways described by Bakhtin in his theories. Although the interactions between the students were somewhat limited due to factors I explore, there was evidence that the students were able to draw on each others' voices, in both their blog comments and through the creation of intertextually rich final compositions, in which they had actively engaged with their partners' words and feedback.

Finally, I conclude this dissertation by reflecting on the implications of the present study, both for classroom practice and as a basis for future research. I draw links between the students' intertextual sharing of language and Bakhtin's belief that conflict, or struggle, has a constant presence within the language use of individuals. Bakhtin has described the process of ideological becoming, through which individuals must expropriate and then attempt to assimilate into their own discourse the language they have come into contact with in others' speech. The process of "forcing...[language]... to submit to... [one's]... own intentions and accents," is, according to Bakhtin, a "difficult and complicated process" (1981a, p. 294). I argue that the notion of struggle as a component of written language use is present within the students' work, in the language they used both to comment on the blog and in their interactions in the peer exchange. I see this is an important issue to tackle in future research, in further projects involving CMC intercultural exchanges.

Goals, intentions and potential contributions of this project

Before advancing further into the upcoming chapters, I would first like to contextualize and clarify my intentions in designing and carrying out the present research project. I would also like to comment on the ways in which I believe this dissertation contributes to current research scholarship in a variety of disciplines.

Goals and intentions of this project: Applying Bakhtin's theories in language classrooms

As an instructor of foreign languages and a foreign language speaker of Spanish who has also taken graduate level courses in literature, I felt immediately touched by Bakhtin's theories when I encountered them in my literary theory classes. Bakhtin's descriptions of language inspired me to draw connections with my field and envision implications for foreign language

classrooms. Bakhtin has reflected on the process of adopting or appropriating the language of others, explaining the following:

As a living, socio-ideological concrete thing, as heteroglot opinion, language, for the individual consciousness, lies on the borderline between oneself and the other. The word in language is half someone else's. It becomes "one's own" only when the speaker populates it with his own intention, his own accent, when he appropriates the word, adapting it to his own semantic and expressive intention. Prior to this moment of appropriation, the word does not exist in a neutral and impersonal language... but rather it exists in other people's mouths, in other people's contexts, serving other people's intentions: it is from there that one must take the word, make it one's own. And not all words for just anyone submit equally easily to this appropriation, to this seizure and transformation into private property: many words stubbornly resist, others remain alien, sound foreign in the mouth of the one who appropriated them and who now speaks them... (1981a, p. 294)

These descriptions of language moved me, as they shed light on my own experiences of being a non-native speaker of Spanish. Furthermore, Bakhtin's work helped me conceptualize the process that my own students, of both L2 English in Chile and L2 Spanish in Canada, were going through as they struggled to use the new languages to express themselves.

In a research project that I carried out in 2008, I organized a CMC project within a beginning level Spanish language course with the goal of analyzing its impact on the attitudes and motivation of the participants. As a secondary research question, I focused on the theories of Bakhtin, hypothesizing that they would be relevant to the experience of learning a language through participation in a CMC intercultural exchange. Although it was not my primary research focus, the relationship between Bakhtin's theories and the students' descriptions of their own experiences while participating in the project proved to be the most interesting research finding. As I explained at that time:

Más de un estudiante señaló que la experiencia de estar en contacto con los estudiantes chilenos, leer y escuchar sus mensajes, y luego responder...les había mostrado diferentes características de la lengua...que son similares a las que Bajtín describía. Entre ellas se destacan la heteroglosia, o según los estudiantes, los diferentes usos de la lengua en distintos contextos y entre varios grupos culturales. También hemos observado el concepto bajtiniano

de la palabra neutra, la palabra ajena y la palabra mía, o como lo expresaron los estudiantes, el aprendizaje de las palabras y formas gramaticales al experimentarlas en los mensajes de los hablantes nativos chilenos e incorporarlos a sus propios mensajes.⁴ (Strickland, 2009, p. 117)

Bakhtin's theories, especially those that addressed language heteroglossy and the process of acquiring new words through contact with the other, were quite evident in the students' comments regarding the utility of the exchange.

Inspired by my preliminary findings, I set about in my PhD research to learn more about Bakhtin and his theories, in the process discovering a whole new, and complex, world of Bakhtin scholarship. What I have come to realize is that studying Bakhtin's works and attempting to speak about them with any kind of authority is a complex endeavour. As I explain in chapter 1 of this dissertation, Bakhtin prepared the majority of his work during the first half of the 20th century. However, as he experienced political, academic and professional difficulties throughout much of his life, a large number of his works went unpublished until the late 1960s and 70s, and others were only published following his death (Adlam & Shepherd, 2000). Much of what is available in Bakhtin's name, then, are texts recovered from his notes and prepared for publication by other scholars (Brandist & Lähteenmäki, 2010). Starting primarily in the 1980s, these works began to be translated into other languages, such as French, English and Spanish. Given that his writings can often only be accessed in this way, through the interpretive eye of other editors and translators, it can be difficult to know if one adequately comprehends his work.

⁴ "More than one student mentioned that the experience of communicating with the Chilean students, reading and listening to their messages and then responding... had exposed them to various characteristics of language... that are similar to those Bakhtin describes. Among these we can highlight heteroglossy, or, according to the students, differing uses of the language in distinct contexts and in various cultural groups. In addition, we can refer to the Bakhtinian concept of the neutral word, the foreign word and my word, or as the students explained, learning words and grammatical forms by coming into contact with them in the native speakers' messages and later incorporating them into their own messages" (my translation).

It has been said that many theorists, especially when they do not speak Russian, tend to overemphasize certain ideas and terms of Bakhtin, without truly grasping the sociohistorical context of his writings (Brandist, 2010; Ewald, 1993; Falconer, 1997).

Kay Halasek and Allan Bell are two scholars from language-related disciplines who have presented themselves in this light, as outsiders to the discipline of Bakhtin scholarship, when engaging with Bakhtin's theories. As a scholar of first-language composition studies, Halasek has explained that, in engaging with Bakhtin, she hoped to contribute to her own field and not necessarily to have an impact on Bakhtinian studies as a whole. Her goal was to make Bakhtin's work useful to scholars investigating alternative theories for composition studies, and to make his theories accessible to writing teachers. She admitted to taking many of Bakhtin's theories, out of context via translation and "reaccentuating" them for use within her own field (1999, p. x).

In his work, Bell (2007) has also explained that he is not a Bakhtin scholar, but instead attempts to draw connections between his own field and Bakhtin's theories. As he has stated:

I do not read Russian, and have therefore been reliant on translations, whose quality I have no way of judging... I do not have a background in much of the philosophy and literature forms the backdrop to and often the substance of Bakhtin's writing....Thus this chapter represents a sociolinguist looking from inside his own discipline at the work of Bakhtin, using largely Bakhtin's own words rather than secondary sources, drawing parallels with the history of Western sociolinguistics, and seeking insights to illuminate and challenge the principles and practice of contemporary sociolinguistics. While I note his biographers' caveat that Western scholars tend to pick from Bakhtin the cherries that suit their tastes (Clark and Holquist, 1984: 3), my approach to Bakhtin is as a sociolinguist, and I view him through that lens. (pp. 8-9)

Like Halasek, then, Bell has attempted to explore connections between Bakhtin's theories, as he is able to understand them, and his own discipline of sociolinguistics.

In my explorations of Bakhtin's work in this dissertation, my goals were similar to those explained by Halasek and Bell. My aim has been to draw connections between Bakhtin's

theories and the discipline of foreign language studies and instruction. Like Bell and Halasek, I cannot read Russian, and so can only access Bakhtin's theories through his translated texts, and as a participant in scholarly debates surrounding his work in English, Spanish and French. Furthermore, I am not a Bakhtin scholar, but rather an instructor of foreign languages, and it is in this capacity that I engage with Bakhtin's writings. Rather than contributing to or changing Bakhtin scholarship in and of itself, then, my goal throughout this dissertation has been to explore the practical implications that Bakhtin's theories can have for language classrooms. By researching and describing the practical applications of Bakhtin's theories within university-level foreign language classrooms, I hope to serve as a kind of ambassador, who can build bridges between my own discipline and the work of those who engage in Bakhtin scholarship.

Although there has been a critique of the tendency for scholars from other disciplines to adapt Bakhtin's theories for their own use, there is also now recognition of the fact that dialogue between Bakthin studies and other fields is fruitful. For example, in their call for papers, the 15th International Bakhtin Conference Organizing Committee (2014) specifically sought out presentations that explored the practical applications of Bakhtin's theories. As they explained, "Bakhtin is no longer a symbol, not a name of an ideology, but a well-used, carefully read book on every intellectual's bookshelf, an object of critical-historical, comparative, and theoretical interpretation but also – importantly – a powerful inspiration for action." They believed that "a dialogue between established Bakhtin research and... new fields of practical and theoretical knowledge" would prove fruitful, and so called for presentations that described:

Bakhtinian projects that lie outside the scope of traditional disciplines within Bakhtin-related knowledge, such as political theory, the social sciences, educational science, critical heritage studies, education studies, or any other field of knowledge that has discovered Bakhtin as a source for a better understanding of social and political practice in general.

My own project, in which I carry out research examining hands-on, practical applications of Bakhtin's theories for foreign language classrooms, fits within the scope of this new phase of Bakhtin studies. My aim has been to draw links between Bakhtin's studies and my own discipline, exploring the impact that Bakhtin's theories could have in terms of bringing about well-designed foreign language, technology-embedded, L2 writing classrooms.

Potential research contributions

The present research project offers findings that can have an impact on a variety of related disciplines. Among these are fields of L2 composition studies, first language composition studies, and SLA.

Regarding implications of the present project for the field of L2 composition studies, it can aid theoreticians who are attempting to build models of second language writing. Cumming and Riazi (2001) once argued that there were few models of writing that foreign language instructors could draw on for their classroom practice. In order to create such models, Cumming argued that researchers needed to "develop a theoretical understanding of second language writing that is relevant to education" and argued that this "requires attention to what particular teachers and students do, think, and accomplish in and through writing in relation to the settings in which they live" (1998, p. 62). In chapters 4 and 5 of this project, I present just such an exploration of the participants' thoughts and goals surrounding the development of L2 writing, in Chile and in Canada.

Furthermore, in their discussion of foreign language writing models, Cumming and Riazi also pointed towards the importance of studies in which writing interventions are implemented and evaluated within educational settings. As they explained, "there are... numerous appeals for educators... to organize second language writing instruction to promote collaborative or

community-based learning, to capitalize on new technologies, to implement curricular changes, and to utilize writing as a cultural tool..." (p. 63). My description of the implementation of a CMC exchange as a support for writing development within foreign language university classrooms offers an exploration of innovative writing instruction of this kind, making use of new technologies to bring about a change in curriculum and to promote collaborative learning. My findings, discussed in chapter 5 of this dissertation lead me to believe that the incorporation of authentic interactions with speakers the language of study, through diverse CMC activities, can be key components of university language programs. Thus, the description, analysis and results of the present project, together with my exploration of lesser-explored, socially-based theories of language, contribute to the field of second language writing instruction.

It may seem unlikely that this dissertation, which focuses primarily on second or foreign language writing development, could also contribute to debates within the discipline of first language composition studies. However, I would argue that it does for two main reasons; first, in that it involves a study of writing in another language besides English, and second, because it dialogues with those who are exploring Bakhtin's impact on composition studies as a whole. Regarding the study of writing in languages besides English, Ken Hyland (2004) has identified this as an important branch for the field of composition studies. He has explained that "the hegemony of English in international research settings has led to a general sorry neglect of professional academic writing" in languages besides English (p. 153). He has called for inquiry into the following issues in languages other than English: 1) the major intercultural variations in the rhetorical preferences of different national academic cultures; 2) the ways in which academic writing is learned in different cultural contexts; 3) cultural and linguistic differences in writing practices that make cross-cultural academic writing difficult; 4) the roles of "interference and

developmental factors" in cross-cultural academic writing; and 5) practices that "characterize professional research writing in different cultures" (p. 153).

The present project addresses some of these areas, as it includes a study of cross-cultural academic writing and relates to a language other than English, in that it examines the writing of students in Canada as they prepare and then revise an academic writing assignment in Spanish. In presenting the native language posts and comments of Spanish speakers in Chile, I also address the issue of the rhetorical preferences of the Chilean students, which the Canadian students seem to have noticed and then drawn on in preparing their writing in Spanish in the bilingual blog. While it may not be a realistic, or even desireable, goal for L2 learners to acquire all of the rhetorical preferences of native speakers of a language, the fact that the CMC exchange brought to light some of these preferences suggests that it is a valuable tool to use when exploring these issues in the classroom. This project thus contributes to the discipline of first-language writing in drawing attention to the writing practices of L1 and L2 students in a non-English language.

Furthermore, this study is also relevant to the field of first-language composition in that it dialogues with Bakhtin's theories. His theories have been drawn on frequently within the field of composition studies during the last two decades, helping to inspire socially-based understandings of writing and to inspire a shift away from purely cognitivist and individualist understandings of composition (Halasek, 2005). However, unlike much of the Bakhtin scholarship related to composition studies, in my own project I also draw connections between Bakhtin's theories and other language-related studies that were underway in Russia at the time he wrote much of his work. I examine how his theories can be positioned within the discipline of Russian sociological linguistics, and the relationship between his work and that of Volosinov and

Vygotsky. I believe that contextualizing Bakhtin's theories in this way can lead to deeper understandings of the relationship between traditional linguistic theory, which Bakhtin and other of his contemporary scholars critiqued, and the cognitive-individualist understandings of writing against which contemporary composition theorists typically struggle.

In terms of SLA theory, the present study contributes by drawing attention to the fact that writing is still undertheorized and undervalued within largely uncontested mainstream cognitive understandings of second language acquisition. Such little attention is typically devoted to writing within the SLA field, that, as we will see in chapter 2 of this dissertation, entire textbooks devoted to presenting research findings often do not include a section on second language writing as an object of study. Instead, they merely list it, after speaking, as a second kind of output. Jessica Williams (2012) has explained that "writing is often seen as having a minor role in second language learning...[;]... like other output, it has often been seen as the result of acquisition, rather than as a facilitating factor" (p. 321). However, given that the field of SLA is frequently drawn on for classroom practice within university settings, in which literacy development is generally a key goal, the lack of theorization around writing is lamentable.

Williams (2012) is one SLA interactionist scholar who has argued that writing can, in fact, facilitate language development. As she has claimed, writing aids in language development due to:

(1) its slower pace, and (2) the enduring record that it leaves, both of which can encourage cognitive processes and interactive moves thought to promote language acquisition, and (3) the need for and the opportunity for greater precision in language use, which may encourage learners to consult their explicit knowledge as they plan, monitor, or review their production. (p. 321)

Williams has not, however, explored the social factors surrounding writing. In fact, there has been little to no engagement within SLA with the shifts in focus surrounding writing that have

taken place in first-language writing instruction, including their engagement with Bakhtinian theory (Cook, 2005). By hypothesizing and then practically testing the implications of Bakhtin's theories within second language acquisition settings, my study contributes with approaches towards writing that could be valuable in informing the field of SLA.

Part 1: Theoretical Considerations

Chapter One: Defining language: Traditional versus socially-based perspectives

When beginning an investigation... it is essential above all to get the feel of the actual subject matter – the object under investigation; it is essential to separate it from the reality surrounding it and to make a preliminary delimitation of it. At the outset of an investigation, it is not so much the intellectual faculty for making formulas and definitions that leads the way, but rather it is the eyes and hands attempting to get the feel of the actual presence of the subject matter. (Volosinov, 1973, p. 45)

How can we tell where language ends and the rest of the world begins? (Harpham, 2002, p. 110)

When trying to inform classroom practices, university instructors of second and foreign languages may draw on theories and research studies from a variety of disciplines, such as education, linguistics, applied linguistics, SLA and psychology (Kelly, 1969; Shrum & Glisan, 2009). They may examine a number of published works that attempt to bridge the gap between theory and practice, synthesizing debates and discoveries and their implications for the language classroom. However, before accepting the recommendations for classrooms offered by researchers in specific disciplines and sub-disciplines, it is important to take a step back to reflect on our object of study: language itself. As Volosinov (1973), cited above, has suggested, whether as teachers or researchers, we need to have a feel for and understanding of language if we hope to aid our students in learning and beginning to use it.

I propose that language teachers should look increasingly towards socially-based theories and descriptions of language, rather than relying primarily on the structuralist-cognitivist-universalist theories that have tended to drive linguistics, and other language-related fields of

⁵ For example, see Lightbown & Spada (2006).

study, in the West.⁶ It is true that in the latter part of the 20th century new fields have opened up that emphasize social factors affecting language, such as sociolinguistics and pragmatics (Labov, 1973; Johansson & Suomela-Salmi, 2011). As we will see, these have, to a certain extent, influenced understandings of language within L2 classrooms. Nonetheless, what has generally not been drawn on in L2 classrooms are the theories of language of the Russian philosopher Bakhtin, and related ideas about language explored within the field of linguistics in early Soviet Russia, in which traditional structuralist views of language were challenged and critiqued.

1.1 Traditional theories of language: Structuralist and cognitive linguistics

The intellectual and philosophical legacy that has inspired mainstream linguistics, especially in North America, has involved chains of thought and discourse that have tended to either entirely ignore, or deliberately set to one side, the social factors that have an impact on language (Harpham, 2002). Beginning with Ferdinand de Saussure, the founder of modern linguistics, and continuing with the influential theories put forth by Noam Chomsky, western linguists have attempted to study languages as objects, whether physical or mental, that can be separated out from the social situations and societies in which they are used (Harris, 1981; 2000). While the French linguist Saussure recognized that language was fundamentally social, he argued that linguistics as a scientific discipline, or what he dubbed *internal linguistics*, should only study and account for systems of language as they exist during a delimited period of time, in which little change is occurring, and divorced from individual speech in actual situations of use

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⁶ For a discussion of the dominance of cognitivist-universalist theories in Western linguistics, see Harpham (2002), Johnson (2004) and Lecercle (2004).

(Saussure, 1986⁷). For Saussure, what instead should be studied are word patterns shared across a group of individuals, "for the language is never complete in any single individual [and not represented through individual speech], but exists perfectly only in the collectivity" (p. 13). Although Saussure recognized that language was social in nature, he felt that the use of language by individual members of a community did not constitute a scientific object of study.

Building on but diverging from the field of structural linguistics that Saussure's theories had inspired, Chomsky, the North American linguist, headed another major shift in the field of linguistics in the late 1950s and early 1960s. Through his theory of *generative grammar*, Chomsky led the field of linguistics into the realm of psychology, emphasizing the importance of the individual mind in studies of language. Rather than studying texts and other physical products of language, Chomsky and Chomskyan linguists tend to be interested in the inner mechanisms, or systems, that drive language competence. Instead of viewing language as socially shared and situated, they attempt to understand and explain, "the inner mechanisms of the mind and the ways these mechanisms operate in executing actions and interpreting experience" (Chomsky, 2000, p.5).

At a philosophical level, Chomskyan linguists see all languages as superficial, but entirely legitmate, variations on what is, in fact, one universal faculty of language. The language faculty is seen as innate, such that the use of language by human beings is as natural and biological as a spider spinning a web (Chomsky, 2000). Language is an autonomous system in the brain that "has no necessary frame of reference in the social or cultural world" (Pinker, 1995,

⁷ According to an article by Bergonioux (2014) in the *Encyclopædia Universalis*, the original work, *Cours de Linguistique Générale*, was published in 1916 by two students of Saussure, based on their notes taken in his classes prior to his death in 1911.

p. 18). Therefore, the major interest of Chomsky, and those who have been inspired by his theories, is to seek an understanding of the deep structure of the one universal language or language faculty, rather than examining the social factors surrounding the use of any particular language by individuals in specific settings.

In his work, *Language Alone: The Critical Fetish of Modernity* (2002), Geoffrey G. Harpham has argued that much of postmodern thought has been built on the supposition that language is a concrete object, a system that exists independently of its users and that can be "studied as a thing apart from human beings and human behavior" (p. 5). He has posited that since the rise of comparative grammar in the early 19th century, language-related fields have operated on the assumption that studies of language, to be scientific, must understand languages as systems of signs that exist outside of human beings, separating out any "intellectual, political, and cultural factors" (p. 45). While Saussure attempted to study language as sign systems, and Chomsky argued that language involved mental systems of syntax, in both theories language is converted into a scientific object for analysis.

Although Harpham has recognized the innovative nature of much of Chomsky's thought, he has argued that Chomsky, and Chomskyan linguists in general, still err in their theoretical approaches, because their definitions lead to "a flight from concreteness, a purging of the language of all traces of the local, the social, the material, all contingent content, so that what remains is a systematicity..." (p. 56). Harpham has claimed that any and all attempts to view languages as narrow and well-defined scientific objects of study will never be able to comprehend the reality of language. For Harpham, that reality involves not neatly organized sign systems, but instead "an imponderably vast, contradictory, and amorphous mass" that

cannot be understood in isolation from the people who use it and their particular situations and purposes (p. 56).

Per Linell, in his work *The Written Language Bias in Linguistics: Its Nature, Origin and Transformations* (2005), presented what could be considered a related argument. He discussed what he saw as a paradox of modern linguistics and language sciences; although spoken language is understood to be primary, analysis of language is based on interactions with *written* language as a "permanent" object of reflection (p. 153). He argued that the activity of using language had tended to be objectified. Even the term "language use," for Linell, presupposed the idea of an autonomous and reified language that was merely put to use in discourse by individuals (p. 9). As he argued, "Instead of looking at language as a profoundly social-interactional phenomenon... it comes out as abstract systems or as competences of individuals..." (p. 9). Similarly to Harpham, Linell pointed at what he considered to be a myth about language circulating in both popular and academic circles; that it is an object that is somehow fixed and exists outside of the instances in which it occurs and the human beings who make use of it.

Jean-Jacques Lecercle (2004), a French philosopher of language, has called attention to what he defines as the postulates underlying modern linguistics, as inspired by both Saussure and Chomsky. According to Lecercle, these unquestioned, but misguided, truths include the notions that: 1) language is primarily informative and communicative; 2) there is an abstract machinery guiding language, that is not affected by extrinsic factors; 3) there are universal constants of language, that allow us to define it as a homogenous system; and that 4) the only way to study a language scientifically is to focus on dominant or standard languages (p. 20).

A question that could be posed is: to what extent are these views of language, and the lines of research they inspire, helpful for the language classroom? Chomsky has argued that his interest is not in providing insights about language for those teaching second languages, but rather in achieving a greater understanding of the human biological faculty that drives first language acquisition (2000). Saussure's wish was to describe systems of language in an objective manner. However, he recognized that users of a language generally do not analyze language in this way (1986). Thus, both Saussure and Chomsky have acknowledged the divorce between their own theories and the use or understanding of language in actual social situations.

Applied linguists and SLA scholars have tended to draw on these same structuralist theories, primarily Chomsky's, when exploring implications for language classrooms (Block, 2003). Researchers, such as Lydia White, have attempted to discover links between Chomsky's innatist views on first language acquisition and the learning of a second or foreign language (2003). These scholars have examined the production and linguistic knowledge of L2 speakers to determine whether they have access to the same innate facilities that they hypothesize are available to L1 speakers (Bayley & Preston, 1996; White, 2003). Other researchers have developed what has been dubbed an *interactionist* approach, examining in detail the role that the environment plays in triggering mental processes surrounding language learning. The vocabulary they have used to describe language learning and language processing resembles that present in fields that study computational processes and information processing. These researchers have discussed language learning using terms such as "comprehensible input," "noticing," "processing," "modified interaction," and "comprehensible output" (Gass, 1997; Long, 1996; Pica, 1994; Swain, 1985; Schmidt, 1990, 2001).

Although some researchers, such as Mathy Ritchie (2009), have suggested links between interactionism and the Russian psychologist Vygotsky's views on how social relationships drive mental development, others have argued that interactionism is in reality built on views of language that have little to do with how it functions in society (Johnson, 2004). In fact, Patsy Lightbown & Nina Spada (2006), having investigated the implications of SLA studies for the language classroom, argue that it is not, in fact, appropriate to draw links between SLA interactionism and Vygotsky. They have stated that:

In the interaction hypothesis, the emphasis is on the individual cognitive processes in the mind of the learner. Interaction facilitates those cognitive processes by giving learners access to the input they need to activate internal processes. In Vygotskyan theory, greater importance is attached to the conversations themselves, with learning occurring through the social interaction. (p. 47)

While SLA interactionists claim to be interested in the impact of social and environmental factors on language learning, they are building on an underlying model, that of Chomsky, that views language as something stored by and occurring within individual brains. Thus, actual use in social contexts is seen as largely irrelevant in terms of understanding language. In this sense, their underlying theories are not socially-based; instead, they continue to emphasize cognitive theories that see language learning as the interaction of individual minds with a homogenous language code. Thus, they grant little attention to context or the complexity of real-world language use.

1.2 Socially-based theories: Sociolinguistics, pragmatics and Russian sociological linguistics

Despite tendencies within Western linguistics and related fields to analyze language in isolation from social context, since the latter part of the 20th century there has been a growing movement towards socially-based understandings of language. The voices of those who call for an understanding and appreciation of the external social world and its impact on the individual

mind have grown stronger (Akhutina, 2003; Block, 2003; Holborow, 1999; Johnson, 2004; Lei, 2008). Researchers and scholars of language have attempted to bridge the divide between the mental and the social by developing new, socially-based areas of study, including sociolinguistics and pragmatics, thereby drawing on the ideas of linguistic scholars, such as William Labov, Dell Hymes, and Émile Benveniste (Johansson & Suomela-Salmi, 2011; Kress, 2001), and, to a lesser extent, on those of sociological linguists that worked in early Soviet Russia.

1.2.1 Sociolinguistics

One field developed in the West in the latter part of the 20th century that has attempted to understand language from a more social perspective is that of sociolinguistics. This field gained importance in the 1960s and 1970s, based on critiques of traditional linguistics issued by the North American scholars Labov and Hymes. They argued that the field of linguistics had a tendency to focus on abstractions rather than on actual language use, and called on linguists to carry out observations of interactions taking place within actual speech communities. Hymes (1974) called for a more radical reformulation of the field, suggesting that linguistic researchers should collaborate with anthropologists in studying communication as it takes place within various societies around the world, embedded in cultural practices. He argued that Chomskyan linguistics was flawed because it failed to focus on concrete communication. Instead, "[f]orms of formalization, the abstract possibilities of systems, hoped-for keys to mankind as a whole, seem to overshadow the dogged work of making sense of real communities and lives" (p. 7).

Hymes thus critiqued traditional linguists for focusing on structures of language and of the mind, rather than on social practices.⁸

Labov, another North American linguist who is often hailed as the founder of the discipline of sociolinguistics, echoed Hymes' concern with the field's tendency to focus on abstractions rather than actual language use. He called on linguists to carry out observations of language interactions taking place within actual speech communities (Spolsky, 2011). Labov expressed doubt as to "whether sentences that communicate nothing to anyone are part of a language" (1973, p. 183). As he explained, "it is difficult to avoid the common-sense conclusion that the object of linguistics must ultimately be the instrument of communication used by the speech community; and if we are not talking about *that* language, there is something trivial in our proceeding" (p. 187). He furthermore claimed that linguists who continued to study language in laboratory settings by eliciting intuitive judgments of grammaticality from native speakers, were only successfully tackling the structure of language, but not explaining its true variation and complexity.

The field of sociolinguistics that has developed since the call to arms launched by Hymes and Labov has led to an increasing number of studies involving observations of language in use in specific communities and settings. For example, sociolinguists of Spanish such as Yolanda

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⁸ Another related tradition of socially-based linguistics is one built on the theories and work of the British linguist Michael A.K. Halliday, called systemic functional linguistics, who in turn was inspired by the work of the sociologist Basil Bernstein (Ivinson, 2011). In his work, Halliday has critiqued the Chomskyan notion that the creative use of language is a purely individual, cognitive activity. Instead, he has argued that "[m]eaning potential is defined not in terms of the mind but in terms of culture; not as what the speaker knows, but as what he can do – in the special sense of what he can do linguistically..."(2007, p. 47). Halliday has claimed affinity with Hymes' critiques of linguistics, but argues that linguists should focus more on what users of a language can do, rather than on their competence, which refers by definition to "what the speaker knows" (p. 47).

Lastra (1992) and Carmen Silva-Corvalán (2001) have analysed specific language variables across countries and communities and in a variety of situations and social registers.

However, a closer look at traditional research methodology within the field reveals that sociolinguists have not tended to analyze the speech patterns of particular individuals. Instead, they have tended towards analyses of large samples across entire speech communities carried out in order to make broader generalizations (Divita, 2010; Mesthrie, 2008). For example, Labov has undertaken studies of particular linguistic variables that are "statistical and correlational," and which involve "analyzing large numbers of words containing a variable of interest in the speech of large samples of speakers and correlating them with different social groups" (Mesthrie, 2008, p. 70). The use of statistical measures to examine the relationships between linguistic and social variables has come to be known as "core sociolinguistics" (p. 69). It is often seen as the typical work carried out by sociolinguists (Tsitsipis, 2004).

However, some sociolinguists have criticized this traditional approach. What has been criticized within the field is not a failure to acknowledge the impact of society on language, but rather the lack of focus on the role of the individual. For example, David S. Divita (2010) has explained that traditional sociolinguistic studies, which have "sought to explain...large-scale patterns of variation," have completely overlooked the importance of the individual as a research focus (p.1). He has argued that sociolinguists' attempts to make generalizations across statistically analyzable variables have not permitted analyses of the language use of multilingual individuals across a variety of contexts, the languages choices or decisions they make, and how these choices relate to the construction or presentation of self and identity. Furthermore, he has explained that sociolinguistic studies of variation have tended to evidence a monolingual bias, in which it is generally assumed that a speech community is a "homogeneous population whose use

of linguistic variables from a single language can be predictably correlated with demographic categories" (p. 143). Another sociolinguist, Bell (2007), while acknowledging the contributions of researchers such as Labov, has made a similar criticism. Although sociolinguists have offered a much more socially-based understanding of language, they have still tended to ignore the ways in which diverse individuals within a given population may make use of more than one language for various purposes.

1.2.2 Pragmatics

The field of pragmatics, or pragmatic linguistics, has often included just such a close analysis of the discourse of individual speakers. Pragmatics has developed over the latter part of the 20th century, and has been seen to encompass a wide variety of sub-disciplines, ranging from discourse analysis, to the study of speech acts, to text linguistics and studies of genre (Zienkowski, 2011). What unifies all of these areas of study is the fact that they involve studies of "real-life" and "empirically observable language," something that, as we have seen, both Saussurean and Chomskyan models of language deliberately avoided (p. 1). According to Marjut Johansson and Elija Suomela-Salmi (2011), there are at least two main approaches towards pragmatics, one growing out of French structuralism and the other stemming from Anglo-American analytical philosophy and logic.

Pragmatists working within the French tradition have been inspired in large part by the work of the French linguist Benveniste. In a series of essays and articles written between 1930 and 1970, Benveniste both engaged with and critiqued structuralist Saussurean linguistics. In his critique, he pointed at the tendency to "atomiz[e]" a language and describe all known features of languages in identical terms, thus looking towards mathematical models and decomposing utterances into elements of smaller and smaller units. He argued that this represented "the

principle that linguistic analysis, in order to be scientific, should ignore meaning and apply itself solely to the definition and distribution of elements" (1971, p. 10⁹). However, he believed that the segmentation of language did not lead to a clear analysis of language or, its most important quality, meaning. In his reflections on the functions of language, rather than calling for the study of decontextualized language, he highlighted the "inter-subjectivity" of all language in real situations of use. He argued that:

Habit easily makes us unaware of this profound difference between language as a system of signs and language assumed into use by the individual. When the individual appropriates it, language is turned into instances of discourse, characterized by this system of internal references of which *I* is the key, and defining the individual by the particular linguistic construction he makes use of when he announces himself as the speaker. Thus the indicators *I* and *you* cannot exist as potentialities; they exist only insofar as they are actualized in the instances of discourse, in which, by each of their own instances, they mark the process of appropriation by the speaker. (p. 220)

Benveniste's insistence on meaning within language, and its relationships to individuals and their specific contexts of use, has provided a strong foundation upon which modern-day French pragmatists, such as Jacqueline Authier-Revuz and Catherine Kerbrat Orecchioni, have constructed their field of study (Johansson & Suomela-Salmi, 2011). They have focused especially on the process through which individual interlocutors make use of language systems. They pay close attention to the utterances, or *énoncés*, of speakers in specific contexts, taking into account factors such as "les protagonistes du discours (émetteurs et destinataire(s)... la situation de communication... circonstances spatio-temporelles... [et les] conditions générales de la production/réception du message" (Kerbrat-Orecchioni, 1980, p. 30-31). By taking into account these factors, French pragmatists adopt a model of language that is both socially and contextually based.

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⁹ The original work, *Problèmes de Linguistique Générale*, was published in 1966.

Within the Anglo-American tradition, the field of pragmatics that emerged in the 1970s is largely built on the work of analytic philosophers of language, such as Charles S. Peirce and Rudolf Carnap, and on the theories of philosophers who had called for studies of ordinary language, such as John L. Austin, Herbert P. Grice and John Searle (Biletzki, 1996). This field of pragmatics is usually well integrated within traditional linguistic theory, in that it is often seen as an extension of core concepts, such as syntax and semantics ("Pragmatics," 2006). It has been defined as "the study of grammatically coded aspects of context," as well as "the study of constraints on the appropriateness of utterances" (Biletzki, 1996, p. 457) and has often involved research into phenomena such as speech acts, among others (Ishihara & Cohen, 2010). Deech acts, as defined by Austin, are words uttered by individuals that do not report or describe anything in particular and which cannot be judged as true or false, but which instead perform an action in and of themselves, such as the words uttered by a priest during a marriage ceremony (1962¹¹). In focusing on these acts of language and the conditions in which they would be successful, or felicitous, Austin took into account factors surrounding the use of the language, such as the participants in the speech act, the context or circumstance in which the words were uttered, and the intention of a speaker and his or her speech behavior.

It is interesting to note that, although French and Anglo-American disciplines of pragmatics are often seen as quite distinct, two of the men hailed as founders of their respective fields, Benveniste and Austin, entered into dialogue through their work. The French linguist Benveniste praised, and also critiqued, Austin's theory of speech acts. In his article, Benveniste

¹⁰ Levinson (1983), for example, defined pragmatics in a list-like manner as "the study of deixis, implicature, presupposition, *speech acts*, and aspects of discourse structure" (my italics; p. 27).

¹¹ The text of this 1962 publication was taken from lectures Austin had given at Harvard University in the William James' lecture series ("William", 2014).

congratulated Austin for focusing on everyday language and for encouraging in-depth studies of the resources that real speakers make use of when expressing themselves. His main critique referred to Austin's linguistic analysis of performative verbs; Benveniste felt that Austin had included too wide a variety of utterances within the category of performatives. While Austin was unsure of the linguistic limits that might be placed on a performative utterance, Benveniste insisted that a performative verb must take or express the first person pronoun (1971, pp. 234-235). "I now pronounce you man and wife," when uttered by a priest in a ceremony is a performative utterance, while "Go get married," when exclaimed by a concerned parent or grandparent, is not. What sets performatives apart from other kinds of utterances, according to both Austin and Benveniste, is that they do not actually describe an action or event; rather, the utterance itself IS, and in itself PERFORMS, the action or event.

As we have seen, then, scholars working within both traditions of pragmatics have attempted to study the language use of real individuals in specific, real-world settings. They thus do not limit their definition of language to notions of the abstract and universal, but instead focus on specificities. Pragmatic linguists recognize that language can, and does, do far more than merely describe or reflect an external reality; it can, in fact, aid in the performance of that reality. This view of language seems somewhat akin to the notion that language involves "meaningful actions and cultural practices, interventions in the world" (Linell, 2005, p. 4), rather than the more traditional notion we have already examined in which language seems to be viewed as "an *inventory of forms* and rules for generating forms" (p. 4). Language is not only an abstract, mental system; it also exists in the world, and is used by human beings to do, and perform, a variety of social actions.

1.2.3 Alternative approaches: Russian sociological linguistics and the Bakhtin Circle

The fields of sociolinguistics and pragmatics that developed in the West in the latter part of the 20th century have offered a more socially-based understanding of and definition of language than that found within traditional linguistics. However, these two fields do not represent the only, and in fact not even the earliest, efforts to view language within its social settings of use. Previously, in the early 20th century in Russia, a socially-based discipline of language was developed that is not generally well-known or highly studied. Nonetheless, it was influential within its time and even provides a sociohistorical and intellectual context through which to understand the language-related theories of more well-known thinkers, including Vygotsky, ¹² members of the Bakhtin Circle, ¹³ and Bakhtin.

Brandist (2010), a Bakhtin scholar, has suggested that both Vygotsky and Bakhtin, although not primarily linguists, began to write and to publish in a sociohistorical context in Russia in which socially-based understandings of language were at the forefront. The period between the Russian Revolution in 1917 and the outbreak of WWII inspired innovative theoretical and practical approaches towards language, giving rise to a discipline that Brandist has dubbed *Russian sociological linguistics*. Saussure's theories of language had reached

¹² Vygotsky's theories relate primarily to the areas of psychology and child development and have been incorporated into sociocultural theory. Parallels between the theories of Vygotsky, the Russian sociological linguists and the writings of Bakhtin and will be addressed in this and other footnotes. Vygotsky's work will be discussed in more detail in chapter 2 of this dissertation.

¹³ What is now known as the Bakhtin Circle involved a group of young men, some professors and others scholars and students, who engaged in private and public debates and talks on philosophy and other issues of interest. The group was organized, disbanded, and then reorganized on at least 3 occasions within different Russian cities between 1918 and the late 1920s (Todorov, 1984). According to Brandist (2005), members of the circle included Matvei Isaevich Kagan (1889-1937); Pavel Nikolaevich Medvedev (1891-1938); Lev Vasilievich Pumpianskii (1891-1940); Ivan Ivanovich Sollertinskii (1902-1944); Valentin Nikolaevich Voloshinov (1895-1936); and others, including Bakhtin.

¹⁴ Among these scholars were Lev Iakubinskii, Lev Shcherba, Boris Larin and Victor Zhirmunskii at GIRK, the State Institute for Discursive Culture in Leningrad (Brandist, 2004).

Russia by the early 20th century, and Baudouin de Courtenay, a linguist who had worked in close contact with Saussure, had several students in Russia who became prominent linguists during this period (Benveniste, 1971; Brandist, 2010). With the onset of the Russian revolution, and the intense linguistic contact between the diverse regions that were united under the Soviet Union, many of those linguists began to react to the structuralist paradigm. In Brandist's words:

the rapid process of urbanization... meant that cities became multi-lingual and multi-dialectal environments. The drive to spread literacy and form a new public discourse... required that attention be given to linguistic and dialectal variation, raising the sociolinguistic problem to attention on a scale hitherto unknown. (pp. 4-5)

Thus, many linguists of the time devoted their attention to the study of every-day language use in specific social, often urban, contexts.

One linguist working during this period who was particularly prolific was Lev P. Iakubinskii, a former pupil of the aforementioned scholar, de Courtenay. In a series of articles published in the 1920s and 30s, Iakubinskii challenged Saussure's dichotomy of *langue* and *parole*, claiming that language was a medium of both intercourse and ideology. He also described a variety of discursive genres in which language is used for both conversation and public discourse, highlighting the fact that the idea of a common, unified language shared across social classes was a myth. He claimed that the recent attempt to introduce a common, urban language within Russia had led the peasants to feel linguistically self-conscious, in that they felt

¹⁵ Iakubinskii referred to ideology somewhat differently from Bakhtin. According to Brandist and Lähteenmäki (2010), Iakubinskii believed that class ideologies and class languages were inseparable, as the class structure of a society would impose a particular language on the members of the same social class, who would thus share a particular ideological point of view and speak the same class language. Bakhtin, as we will see, was less deterministic in his discussion of ideology, viewing ideologies as world views that were affected by but not entirely determined by social class.

the need to choose between their local dialects and the new, urban, national language (Akhutina, 2003; Brandist, 2004; Brandist & Lähteenmäki, 2010; Uhlik, 2008).

Boris Larin, another linguist who carried out most of his work in the 1920s, focused on similar concepts regarding heterogeneity within language when examining the complex linguistic situations of modern Russian cities. He saw borrowing and mixing between dialects as a natural process that occurs when members of different social groups live and work in close contact. He viewed monolingualism as the norm only for isolated linguistic communities of the past, with contact between languages and bilingualism the ideal for the future of Russia (Gulida, 2010). He shared his research on urban speech in at least two published articles, "On the Linguistic Study of the City" ("O lingvističeskom izučenii goroda", 1928) and "The Linguistic Characteristics of the City" ("K lingvističeskoj kharakteristike goroda", 1928). Larin argued that in contemporary Soviet cities, urban dwellers were bilingual in that they used not one, but several systems of speech, with a tendency for these systems to experience mixing (Uhlik, 2008). Mladen Uhlik has suggested that studies such as those of Iakubinskii and Larin were not unique. Instead, they "belong[ed] to the popular linguistic discourse in the '20s which supposed the existence of a diversity of languages and subsystems within the national language." As he has explained, "in the mid-1920s research on social dialects briefly flourished in the Soviet Union..." (pp. 286-287).

Around the same period of time within Russia, two other language scholars who focused on the disciplines of linguistics and literature, Medvedev and Volosinov, were adopting related views of language within their work. Starting around 1918 and continuing until the late 1920s, both men participated with Bakhtin in an academic and cultural group now known as the *Bakhtin Circle*. During that time period, both men published works that Jean Peytard (1995) has called

collective theses, which he believes expressed a kind of shared thinking among the members of the group. These include: *Freudianism: A Marxist Critique* (1976¹⁶) and *Marxism and the Philosophy of Language* (1973¹⁷), which are attributed to Volosinov, and *The Formal Method in Literary Studies* (1978¹⁸), attributed to Medvedev.¹⁹ As Peytard has noted, in these works there is a heavy emphasis on theories of language. They tend to share the belief that language is inherently social; that it is expressed through concrete utterances and participation in various speech genres; that it is not neutral but always involves "evaluative accentuation" on the part of a speaker; and that it is always multi-accentuated, through its use by speakers from a variety of social classes and in various social situations (Peytard, 1995; Volosinov, 1973, p. 21). ²⁰

In fact, in focusing more closely on Volosinov, we can see evidence of a link between the Bakhtin Circle's thoughts on language and the field of Russian sociological linguistics. Brandist (2008) has shown this connection in his study of a Soviet educational establishment in Leningrad in the 1920s and early 1930s, known as the *Institute for the Comparative History of the Literatures and Languages of the West* (ILJaZV). The Institute was at one point headed by

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¹⁶ Original work, Frejdizm: Kritičeskij Očerk, published 1927 ("Vološinov Valentin", n.d.).

¹⁷ The original work, *Marksizm i Filosofiya Yazyka*, was published in 1929 according to the translators, Ladislav Matejka and Irwin R. Titunik (1973).

¹⁸ Original work, Formal'nyi Metod v Literaturovedenii, published 1928 (Titunik, 1973).

¹⁹ While debates have been fierce between those who believe all of the disputed texts were authored by Bakhtin, and those who question Bakhtin's authorship of even those texts published in his name, other scholars have taken a more nuanced approach. In his discussion of the Baktin circle, Brandist has (2005) stated: "It seems much more likely that the materials were written as a result of lively group discussions around these issues, which group members wrote up according to their own perspectives afterwards. There are clearly many philosophical, ideological and stylistic discrepancies which, despite the presence of certain parallels and points of agreement, suggest these very different works were largely the work of different authors. In accordance with Bakhtin's own philosophy, it seems logical to treat them as rejoinders in ongoing dialogues between group members on the one hand and between the group and other contemporary thinkers on the other."

²⁰ Kellogg (2009) has argued that there is a parallel between the work of Vygotsky and Volosinov. He argues that in work by both authors, one finds "the notion of outside-in development, the common commitment to concrete, sensuous human communication as the object of study, the shared social purview as an explanatory principle" (p. 94-95). Their work shares a strong emphasis on language as a social phenomenon, reflective of the larger intellectual culture in Russia at the time in which they wrote.

Iakubinskii and it was, at least in part, through his work as director of the institute that he carried out and published some of the linguistic studies discussed above. Beginning in 1925, the Institute came under the administrative control of an association known as the *Russian*Association of Scientific Research Institutes in the Social Sciences (RANION). RANION took administrative measures to re-structure a variety of scientific institutes across the country, as well as providing grants for research. Among the other institutes administrated by RANION were the Institute of Language and Literature (IJal), which conducted research on social dialects, and the Institute of Experimental Psychology in Moscow, where Vygotsky and Luria were carrying out their research on child development, including the development of language.

Under the direction of RANION, the ILJaZV was divided into two major research tracks, linguistics and literature, with an understanding that the work of members in the two sections was often parallel. In fact, Volosinov participated directly in the ILJaZV institute, carrying out his postgraduate work in linguistics there. According to Brandist, Volosinov undertook graduate studies in the history of Russian literature at the Institute, and it was through his work and collaboration with other members there that he wrote his best known work, *Marxism and the Philosophy of Language*. Volosinov was, therefore, familiar with and influenced by the field of sociological linguistics, even citing Iakubinskii directly in his book. ²¹ Furthermore, Brandist (2008) states the little known fact that the original title of Volosinov's book included the following subtitle, *Basic Problems of the Sociological Method in the Study of Language* (p. 179). This provides even further support for the assertion that during the time that he was participating in an intellectual and philosophical circle that included Bakhtin, Volosinov was familiar with and

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²¹ In his 1973 work, on p.116.

dialogued with the work of the Russian sociological linguistics. Given this rich context within early Soviet Russia surrounding social understandings of language and linguistics, it is, perhaps, not surprising that these topics would gain a central focus within the work of scholars in related disciplines, such as the main focus of the present study, Bakhtin.

1.3 Bakhtin's socially-based theories of language

1.3.1 A sociohistorical context for Bakhtin

Many of the concepts explored by the aforementioned Russian sociological linguists, as well as Volosinov and Medvedev, are evocative of the issues brought forth by Bakhtin. Bakhtin, whose work has become increasingly popular over the last four decades, was a Russian thinker who was interested in a variety of problems related to philosophy, ethics, language, and literature. He authored the majority of his publications during the first half of the 20th century; however, due to his political difficulties a number of them remained unpublished even in Russia until near the end of his life, in the late 1960s and 70s, or even after his death (Adlam & Shepherd, 2000). Many of his writings were recovered from partially illegible or disordered notes and prepared for publication by other scholars, who often needed to make editorial decisions when publishing (Brandist & Lähteenmäki, 2010). Later, these works underwent further interpretation when they were translated into other languages, starting primarily in the 1980s. Perhaps for all of these reasons, Bakhtin's style of writing has been classified as "difficult" (Bell, 2007, p. 8). Furthermore, it has been argued that many theorists, especially those who do not speak Russian and so cannot access the original texts, pick and choose and heavily adapt specific ideas and terms of Bakhtin to complement their own fields, without

understanding the sociohistorical context of his works (Brandist, 2010; Ewald, 1993; Falconer, 1997).²²

Outside of Russia, Bakhtin's writings have become especially popular since they began to be translated into French, English and other languages. His theories have especially influenced the fields of literary criticism, discourse analysis, composition studies, and cultural studies (Bell, 2007). Bakhtin is well-known as a literary scholar, famous for his analyses of the writings of Fyodor Dostoevsky (1984²³) and François Rabelais (1965²⁴), as well as his descriptions of the development and cultural importance of the modern novel (Bakhtin, 1981a, b²⁵). When discussing the different views of Bakhtin within and outside of Russia, Rachel Falconer reflected on how best to interpret Bakhtin's theories, raising questions such as the following:

...do we approach Bakhtin as a historical critic, or do we approach him historically? Do we address him as a Renaissance critic or a critic of the modern area; alternatively, do we place his writing historically, in the era of Russia's transformation to totalitarian state? Or do we place him in a tradition of metaphysical philosophy, in which case the periods of literature he chose to study are of secondary importance? (p. 32)

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²² As I have explained in my introduction, I myself am in that position, as I cannot read Russian and so must rely on translations and discussions of his work in English, Spanish and French. It is for this reason that I am interested in exploring the linguistic contexts surrounding Bakhtin's work, so as to attempt to arrive at a more nuanced interpretation of his writings on language.

²³ In English, *Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics*. Original first and second editions of the work, *Problemy Tvorchestva Dostoevskogo* and *Problema Poetiki Dostoevsog*, published in 1929 and 1963, respectively (Morson & Emerson, 1989).

²⁴In English, *Rabelais and His World*. Original work, *Tvorchestvo Fransua Rable i narodnaia kul'tura srednevekov'ia i Renessansa*, published 1965 (Adlam & Shepherd, 2000).

²⁵ This is a collection of four essays, mostly written in the 1930s and 40s but published much later: 1) "Epic and Novel", originally "Epos i Roman: O Metodologii Issledovania Romana," published 1975; 2) "From the Prehistory of Novelistic Discourse," originally "Iz Predystorii Romannogo Slova," published 1967; 3) "Forms of Time and of the Chronotope in the Novel," originally "Formy vremeni i khronotopa v romane: Ocherki po istoricheskoi poetike," published 1974, and "Discourse in the Novel," originally "Slovo v Roman," published 1965 (Adlam & Shepherd, 2000).

It may seem inevitable for individual scholars to interpret Bakhtin in differing ways depending on the traditions and fields of study within which they work. The texts authored by Bakhtin at different points in his career demonstrate his interest in a variety of related disciplines, such that Bakhtin's philosophies have been said to be influenced by the Russian Formalists, Alexander Veselovsky, Ernst Cassirer, Victor Zhirmunski, György Lukács, Immanuel Kant, Georg W. F. Hegel and the German Romantics and Idealists, among others (Brandist, 2004; Brandist & Shepherd, 1998; Poole, 1998; Schmidt, 2011).

However, the specific Russian context in which Bakhtin's work arose, namely the field of Russian sociological linguistics and the socially-based approaches towards language it had inspired, has received less attention. In recent decades, Brandist and a number of other scholars more familiar with Russian disciplines of language and linguistics have begun to show the links between Bakhtin's work and the language scholarship going on within Russia in the 1920s and 1930s. In fact, in some early notes prepared for "Discourse in the Novel" years before its actual publication, Bakhtin made an explicit reference to a 1923 article by Iakubinskii, entitled "On Dialogic Speech" (as cited by Brandist & Lähteenmäki, 2010, p. 70). However, this citation was removed from the published version of the essay, possibly by editorial decision, such that Bakhtin's knowledge of and interaction with this school of thought have generally not been recognized. As Brandist and Mika Lähteenmäki (2010) have argued:

the nature of the interaction between the thinkers who comprised what is now generally referred to as the 'Bakhtin Circle' and contemporary Soviet linguistics and philosophy of language has generally been neglected... research has often revealed that rather than being a remarkable innovator, Bakhtin adopted ideas that were current at the time but have now receded from the view of scholars. (p. 69)

In this light, we might argue that while Bakhtin's thoughts on language have been viewed as highly unique, and while they might seem so in the context of the structuralist and cognitive traditions that have tended to dominate Western linguistics, they can be linked to a tradition of thought within Russia that began much earlier, and which encompassed and influenced the work of the Russian sociological linguists, as well as the Bakhtin Circle. Their work emphasizes the complex nature of languages when put into use by individuals in specific social settings, rather than viewing languages as stable and homogenous systems shared and used identically across a language community.

1.3.2 Bakhtinian notions of language: Diversity and dialogue

In keeping with the Russian sociological tradition, the descriptions that reoccured in so many of Bakhtin's texts emphasized the study of language not as an abstract entity, but rather in use in specific situations. Bakhtin (1981a) has highlighted the inherent diversity of language, its *heteroglossia*, and the ways in which individuals struggle to use language to express themselves after first coming into contact with it in specific contexts, as put into use by others. This is related to his view of discourse, as either *authoritative* or *internally persuasive* and to his description of *speech genres*, or relatively stable forms of contextualized utterances (1986²⁶). His theories, similar to those of Volosinov and Vygotsky, call into question the duality of mind and body, as they suggest that the individual consciousness is inherently social and is developed through participation in social spheres.

Bakhtin's emphasis on language is especially evident in one of the essays included in the book, *The Dialogic Imagination* (1981a). While the essay, "Discourse in the Novel," remained unpublished in Russia until the latter part of the 1960s, its initial drafts were written during the 1930s, while Bakhtin was living in internal exile within the Soviet Union in Kazakhstan

²⁶ Original work, *Problema Rechevykh Zhanrov*, published in 1978 (Adlam & Shepherd, 2000).

(Brandist & Lähteenmäki, 2010; Clark & Holquist, 1984). In this essay, he highlighted the importance of language within a specific genre, the novel. As we have seen, Bakhtin appears to have been aware of the language fieldwork that had been carried out by Russian linguists such as Iakubinskii in the previous decade. In fact, he engaged with their publications, as well as with writings by Volosinov, when he criticized linguists working within the Saussurean paradigm for studying language as an abstract system, rather than observing it in diverse settings of use. He claimed that the traditional dynamic evoked in language-related fields, which involved a conception of language on the one hand as a unitary and rigid system of rules or norms, and on the other hand, posited a sole individual who would speak the language with complete freedom and creativity within those rules, was false. That vision, according to Bakhtin, was problematic because there is no one static and unified language.

Instead of homogenous and fixed languages, Bakhtin referred especially to what he labeled *heteroglossia*, or "the internal stratification of any single national language into social dialects, characteristic group behavior, professional jargons, generic languages, languages of generations and age groups, tendentious languages, languages of the authorities, of various circles and of passing fashions, languages that serve the specific sociopolitical purposes of the day" (1981a, p. 262-263). As we have seen, a similar concept was present in the work of Russian sociological linguists, such as lakubinskii and Larin, as well as in Volosinov's aforementioned book, in which he discussed the "multiaccentuality of the ideological sign," relating such linguistic diversity to Marxist class struggle (1973, p. 23). However, in Bakhtin's discussion of what he calls heteroglossia, as in his discussions of ideology, there is little direct reference to Marxist thought. While Bakhtin does not refer to class struggle as such, he does highlight that the tendency towards heteroglossia in language is not individually creative and

tension-free. Rather, it involves constant struggle between centripetal forces, which attempt to ensure monoglossic unification and centralization of language and the natural, centrifugal forces that push language into increasing stratification. As Bakhtin (1981a) explained:

Unitary language constitutes the theoretical expression of the historical processes of linguistic unification and centralization, an expression of the centripetal forces of language. A unitary language is not something given [dan] but is always in essence posited [zadan] – and at every moment of its linguistic life it is opposed to the realities of heteroglossia. (p. 270)

Although centripetal forces, such as educational institutions or government organizations, may attempt to bring about a linguistic system with unified "abstract grammatical categories" (p. 271), language when put into use by individuals in a variety of contexts is inherently more complex and tends towards "decentralization and disunification" (p. 272). As Bakhtin explained, "the authentic environment of an utterance, the environment in which it lives and takes shape, is dialogized heteroglossia." Furthermore, he argued that any act of language is "social" but at the same time "concrete, filled with specific content and accented as an individual utterance" (p. 272). Language in, this sense, is understood not as an abstract system that can be understood by separating it entirely from those who use it. Instead, any act of language is contextualized; it is social and yet carries the accents of a specific individual in a concrete situation.

Bakhtin argued that when individuals use language they do not interact freely with abstract linguistic items, but instead struggle to make use of utterances they have already come across in previous situations, spoken by other language users, for their own particular purposes. The act of communicating with language always requires, then, the appropriation of utterances used by other speakers, which already participate in chains of discourse on a given topic or in a given area of human experience. Bakhtin explained that:

As a living, socio-ideological concrete thing, as heteroglot opinion, language, for the individual consciousness, lies on the borderline between oneself and the other. The word in language is half someone else's. It becomes "one's own" only when the speaker populates it with his own intention, his own accent, when he appropriates the word, adapting it to his own semantic and expressive intention. Prior to this moment of appropriation, the word does not exist in a neutral and impersonal language (it is not, after all, out of a dictionary that the speaker gets his words!), but rather it exists in other people's mouths, in other people's contexts, serving other people's intentions: it is from there that one must take the word, make it one's own... Language is not a neutral medium that passes freely and easily into the private property of the speaker's intentions: it is populated – overpopulated – with the intentions of others. Expropriating it, forcing it to submit to one's own intentions and accents, is a difficult and complicated process. (p. 293- 294)

Bakhtin thus classifies language use, for all speakers, as instances of ideological struggle. In our language interactions with others, and in our attempts to adapt language to our own purposes, we explore and dialogue with our own and others' voices and beliefs.

In addition to describing the natural heteroglossia of language, Bakhtin also highlighted the belief that language is, as he called it, *dialogized* (1981a, p. 320). That is, even within an instance of speech of one individual, the language transmitted retains traces of th ways in which other speakers have used it it. In one of his earliest works, *Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics*, Bakhtin also explored the dialogized, or *polyphonic* nature of language (1984, p. 40). While praising the works of Dostoevsky, Bakhtin described the characteristics of polyphonic, or multivoiced, literature, stating that in a polyphonic text the protagonists' voices and viewpoints are allowed to engage in dialogue with each other, both externally and internally. That is, a polyphonic work depicts not only "rejoinders in a dialogue," but also a series of microdialogues going on within individual consciousnesses, in which the protagonists anticipate, grapple with and respond to other characters' words and viewpoints (p. 40). In fact, Bakhtin compared the dialogic nature of words to the nature of ideas, explaining that, "like the word, the idea wants to be heard, understood and 'answered' by other voices from other positions" (p. 88). Furthermore,

he stated that "the idea lives not in one person's isolated individual consciousness... [it] begins to live... to take shape, to develop, to find and renew its verbal expression... only when it enters into genuine dialogic relationships with... the ideas of others" (pp. 87-88).

These statements by Bakhtin, in which he likens the word to the idea and concludes that both are inherently social, can be related to Volosinov's work on the philosophy of language (1973), as well as Vygotsky's reflections on the nature of human mental development and language (1987²⁷). Bakhtin, in line with other contemporary Russian thinkers, claimed that ideas and language exist on a social, rather than on an individual, cognitive plane. He argued that when we speak, we make use of the other's words and ideas both intentionally, through direct or indirect quotation or parody, and unconsciously.

Furthermore, the others' words may be present within our own consciousness as either "authoritative discourse" or "internally persuasive discourse," which sound reminiscent of Volosinov's "inner" and "outer speech" (1981, p. 342; 1973, p.15). Bakhtin describes authoritative discourse quite critically, as language bound to authority, such as the discourse of traditional religious texts. According to Bakhtin, these discourses remain alien and cannot be adapted or altered, for they "demand our unconditional allegiance" and, as they are associated with authority figures that cannot be questioned, they "cannot be represented... only transmitted." (p. 344). It is only when the language of discourse and the language of others becomes internally persuasive, that is, when it is brought into the consciousness to be evaluated, that it can begin to be assimilated and modified for our own purposes. This assimilation,

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²⁷ This publication includes essays written by Vygotsky in the 1920s and 1930s, but few of his writings were published at the time. His collected works, *Sobranie sochinenie: Voprosy teorii i istorii psikologi*, were published in several volumes in Russia in 1982 (Daniels, 2005; Minick, 2005).

although creative, never takes place without a struggle, as language continues to be adapted to new contexts, new relationships and new ideological thought. For Bakhtin, this process of assimilating the words of others within our own consciousnesses is crucial for our development, or "ideological becoming" as human beings (p. 342). As he explains,

In the everyday rounds of our consciousness, the internally persuasive word is half-ours and half someone else's. Its creativity and productiveness consist precisely in the fact that such a word awakens new and independent words, that it organizes masses of our words from within, and does not remain in an isolated and static condition. It is not so much interpreted by us as it is further, that is, freely, developed, applied to new material, new conditions; it enters into interanimating relationships with new contexts. More than that, it enters into an intense interaction, a *struggle* with other internally persuasive discourse. Our ideological development is just such an intense struggle within us for hegemony among various available verbal and ideological points of view, approaches, directions and values. (1981a, p. 346)

Bakhtin touches here on notions of ideology as they impact on language use. He argues that ideology, or the ways in which we view the world, permeate the language we use. At the same time, our words and ideologies constantly come into contact with, and are impacted by, the words and ideologies of others.²⁸ Bakhtin thus conceives of the processing and using of language as a potentially conflict-ridden enterprise in which the discourses of others must be brought into our own consciousness, connected with our already existing systems of verbal knowledge, and later put into use in specific, contextualized situations.

While Bakhtin's notions of heteroglossia, authorative and internally persuasive discourse, and ideological becoming clearly share an intellectual heritage with the work of Vygotsky,

²⁸ It is interesting to compare Bakhtin's notions with those of another well-known scholar who has worked with the concept of ideology, Louis Althusser. Louis Althusser has tended to relate his definition of ideologies closely to Marxism and Marxist class struggle; he agreed that ideologies were historically and socially situated "world outlooks" (1991/1971, p. 110). However, he was also concerned with the ways in which ideologies were realized in institutions and through rituals and practices, and how they contributed to class struggle in that they aimed to bring about reproductions of the already existing relations of production. On the other hand, Sarah Warshauer Freedman and Arnetha F. Ball, citing Pam Morris (1994), have argued that Bakhtin's use of the term "ideology" in Russian refers "not necessarily [to] a consciously held political belief system; rather it can refer in a more general sense to the way in which members of a given social group view the world" (2004, p. 4).

Volosinov, and the Russian sociological linguists, Bakhtin himself focused more closely on the development of voice, or style, by individuals, as opposed to entire social groups or classes. While he did recognize an inherent struggle present within every individual's attempt to use language, he did not suggest that class or social group was entirely determinant of language use. Indeed, although Brandist and Lähteenmäki (2010) have argued that Bakhtin's ideas should not continue to be thought of as entirely original when viewed against the background of Soviet sociological linguistics, they have acknowledged that Bakhtin's focus on the individual was unique for his time. They claim that many other Russian sociolinguists tended "to equate language with both class and ideology... as causally determined by the class-structure of society." Bakhtin, on the contrary, rejected this deterministic view. Instead, Bakhtin saw language acquisition as an active process of "appropriation of others' words or alien discourses and making them one's own words" (p. 86).

In fact, in an article written during Bakhtin's lifetime, but only recently published in English in the *Journal of Russian and East European Psychology*, Bakhtin focused on the development of individual style in writing (2004²⁹). He discussed his own experiences as a teacher in 8th grade writing courses, arguing that focusing on grammar alone, or teaching students syntactic forms without helping them incorporate these expressively into their own compositions, was an ineffective way to teach writing. Instead, he argued that it was important to aid students in becoming "more vivid, more concrete, and emotional, and, most important, ...[to begin] to reveal the personality of the writers, so that their own living individual

²⁹ According to the translator's notes, this was originally published in 1997 as "Voprosy stilistiki na urokakh russkogo iazyka v srednei shkole."

intonation... [can] be heard" (p. 22-23). Bakhtin thus emphasized the ways in which individual speakers, and writers, grappled with others' voices, struggling to give their utterances individual, expressive purposes and intonations.

In addition to the aforementioned works of Bakhtin, there is another essay, written somewhat later in his life, in which he also focused heavily on language, "The Problem of Speech Genres" (1986). According to Clark and Holquist (1984), this was written between 1952 and 1953, while Bakhtin was working as the head of the World Literature department at the Mordov Pedagogical Institute in Saransk, Russia. The topics covered herein may be considered central to his work in that period of his life, as he stated in an interview in 1966 that he was writing a full book on the subject of speech genres that would be finished later that year (Adlam & Shepherd, 2000, p. 35). That book, if written, has unfortunately never been found or published. Nonetheless, the essay, which first became available in Russia in 1978, included a detailed theory of language and the role of speech genres.

In his essay, Bakhtin once again highlighted that uses of language are diverse, and that the meaning of language in a given setting cannot be understood by looking at language as an abstract system. Therefore, rather than expecting syllables, words or even sentences to carry meaning, Bakhtin suggested that what should instead be focused on by linguists is the "utterance" (1986, p. 71). An utterance, for Bakhtin, is a unit, not of language, but of speech communication. It may be as short as one word or as long as a novel, but what characterizes it is the fact that it is being addressed to someone in a specific context and that it expresses a

complete meaning and anticipates a response from another speaker.³⁰ Bakhtin compared a linguistic unit, such as a sentence, to the utterance, explaining that:

The sentence as a language unit lacks all of these properties; it is not demarcated on either side by a change of speaking subjects; it has neither direct contact with reality (with an extraverbal situation) nor a direct relation to others' utterances; it does not have semantic fullness of value; and it has no capacity to determine directly the responsive position of the *other* speaker, that is, it cannot evoke a response. (p. 74)

Thus the sentence, as an abstract unit of speech, carries with it no definite meaning. Rather than expecting to understand communication, then, by examining abstract linguistic units such as the sentence, Bakhtin suggested that those interested in studying language should focus on concrete utterances, both written and oral, as they exist in "various spheres of human activity and communication: chronicles, contracts, texts of laws...various literary, scientific, and commentarial genres, official and personal letters, rejoinders in everyday dialogue... and so on" (p. 62).

Bakhtin went on to say that the communicative utterance is characterized not only by the referential relationship it expresses between a speaker and the object being described.

Furthermore, each utterance is dialogically related to previous and related utterances, for, according to Bakhtin, we take our words from the discourses of others. As he has explained:

when we select words in the process of constructing an utterance, we by no means always take them from the system of language in their neutral, *dictionary* form. We usually take them from *other utterances*, and mainly from utterances that are kindred to ours in genre, that is, in theme, composition, or style. (p. 87)

Thus, language is not a neutral, stable or homogenous system that should be studied in isolation of its contexts of use. Language, when viewed in communicative contexts, involves complex

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³⁰ Volosinov also argued that it was not words that carried meaning, but rather whole utterances in specific instances of communication (1973).

relationships between 1) a speaker, who is always responding to some prior speech and at the same time anticipating future responses; 2) a listener, who actively responds to what is being said; and 3) the previous utterances related to the topic and situation of speech. In this sense, all utterances are involved in a "complexly organized chain" of communication that affects the language that is produced in any given interaction (p. 69).

This leads us to another notion that Bakhtin developed in detail in the essay, that of *speech genres*. Speech genres are "relatively stable types of utterances," both oral and written, that develop continuously and grow more complex through use over time (p. 60). Bakhtin distinguished between primary speech genres, such as face-to-face dialogue, and secondary genres, including novels and scientific research, stating that all areas of activity involving language have "repertoire[s] of speech genres" (p. 60). Exposure to speech genres, or previous language in use from similar areas of activity, influences the form of individual utterances, including their content, linguistic style, such as lexical and grammatical resources, and their compositional structures.

The speech genres we have been exposed to over time both constrain, or limit, and enable our ability to communicate with language. They constrain our use of language in that they do not allow us to be completely free in how we manipulate linguistic systems. As Bakhtin explained in "Discourse in the Novel," the words we use are not neutral words that can be made use of freely and without a struggle (1981a). Instead, Bakhtin (1986) stated that:

...the unique speech experience of each individual is shaped and developed in continuous and constant interaction with others' individual utterances. This experience can be characterized to some degree as the process of *assimilation* – more or less creative – of others' words (and not the words of a language). Our speech, that is, all our utterances (including creative works), is filled with others' words, varying degrees of otherness or varying degrees of "our-own-ness," varying degrees of awareness and attachment. These words of others carry with them their own expression... which we assimilate, rework, and re-accentuate. (p. 89)

Thus, the use of language involves processes of struggle. We struggle to engage with and appropriate utterances we have encountered in the mouths or texts of other speakers, in speech genres similar to our own. While speech genres thus constrain our use of language, they also make interpersonal communication possible. As Bakhtin argues, we do not speak in sentences, but rather in speech genres. These speech genres facilitate communication, allowing us to build our interactions on shared experiences, rather than having to reconstruct entirely original utterances with every act of speech.

1.4 Implications for language classrooms: Traditional versus socially-based theories of language

In this chapter, I have explored at least two markedly differently over-arching approaches towards understanding and defining language. On the one hand, we have examined the structuralist and cognitive theories of language inspired by Saussurean and Chomskyan notions of linguistics, and on the other hand, the socially-based understandings of language present within the disciplines of sociolinguistics and pragmatics. Furthermore, we have explored the work of the Russian sociological linguists and their potential impact on the writings of Bakhtin and other scholars in the Bakhtin circle. Within the first tradition, we have seen the tendency, whether in the interests of scientific rigour or for specific philosophical reasons, to exclude any emphasis on social setting, social context, or real-life use of language. Instead, within these disciplines, language has tended to be conceptualized as either 1) a homogenous and stable system that can be observed and understood in and of itself, without appealing to context or individual, real-world use, or 2) a faculty of the human mind, that can best be understood by observing underlying universal properties of language, rather than superficial and everyday expressions of language. On the other hand, within the second tradition, we have seen that

numerous thinkers in different disciplines have offered up protests, in various times and locations throughout the 20th century. Starting with the Russian sociological linguists, whose ideas were reflected in the work of Bakhtin, and then reappearing in other places and times in the work of Western pragmatists and sociolinguists, we have seen critiques of the notion that language can be understood as anything but social, complex and specific.

1.4.1 Non-socially-based theories in the language classroom

The various approaches towards understanding and defining language can and do have a real and significant impact on foreign and second language classrooms. As we have seen, structuralist and cognitive disciplines of language are founded on the assumption that "language itself" is an object that can be defined and studied scientifically, abstracted away from the speakers, communities, and contexts in which language activities take place (Harpham, 2002; Linell, 2005). Although socially-based understandings of language are gradually gaining in appeal, for the most part it is traditional, non-social views of language that continue to have a major impact on the kinds of approaches and methods that are adopted by language instructors (Block, 2003; Kramsch, 2008).

Although the discipline of foreign language teaching and learning has a rich history that pre-dates the modern field of linguistics, over the past century it has been structuralist and cognitive theories that have tended to dominate within foreign language classrooms (Cuq & Gruca, 2005; Johnson, 2004). In the United States and in France around the 1940s, structuralist linguistics first began to have a major impact on the language classroom when it was incorporated into the audiolingual method, and the structural-global-audiovisual method (SGAV). In both of these traditions, in keeping with structuralist views, oral language was seen as primary, the language brought into the classroom was closely controlled and organized around

repetition, and there was little to no emphasis on the use of real-world materials or language (Cuq & Gruca, 2005; Germain, 1993).

Since the 1970s, the method of language instruction that has dominated in foreign language classrooms in the West in the latter part of the 20th century is commonly called the communicative approach (Eisenchlas, 2010; Kramsch, 2008). This approach purports to place communication, especially oral interactions, at the center of language teaching. It has been suggested that its development grew out of the need to prepare adults in Europe and North America to use languages functionally to participate in increasingly intercooperative markets (Richards & Rogers, 2001; Germain, 1993). Furthermore, it grew out of the theories of language of both Chomsky, who emphasized the individual, creative use of language, as well as one of his critics, the sociolinguist Hymes and, more recently, out of pragmatic understandings of language (Eisenchlas, 2010; Germain 1993; Peterwagner, 2005). Hymes, an influential linguist who is often hailed as the founder of Western sociolinguistics, argued that the appropriate use of language could not only be explained by what Chomsky had called linguistic competence, or the mastery of linguistic structure, but also by what has come to be known as communicative competence, or knowledge about the rules of appropriate communication in particular speech communities (Hymes, 1974). The communicative approach has thus been aligned with sociolinguistic understandings of language (Germain, 1993).

However, some critiques of the communicative approach have argued that in practice it seems to involve little systematic inclusion of sociolinguistic knowledge or socially-based views of language. Kramsch (2008) has argued that the communicative approach, far from embracing the diverse, sociolinguistic realities of languages and language communities, has adopted a functional view in which language is defined primarily as a neutral channel for interpersonal

communication, as well as for the exchange of information. Furthermore, she has claimed that the communicative approach "has not taken into consideration what language education also has to deal with, namely: cultural and moral conflicts, historical incompatibilities, identity politics, and the struggle for symbolic recognition" within language learning settings (p. 9). She has called for the creation and continued development of what she has labeled a "socioculturally aware applied linguistics," which would draw on the theories of those who have examined social and cultural aspects of language and language learning, such as Vygotsky and Bakhtin, among others.

David Block (2003) has made a similar argument, pointing out that the communicative approach in specific, and interactionist views of language in general, have overemphasized referential uses of language and failed to take into account the variety of other uses to which languages are put, such as phatic language, ludic speech, and language for negotiation of identity, etc. Within the interactionist approach, instead, individual cognitive mechanisms surrounding language learning have become the primary focus, with little or no attention given to the social realities of language use outside experimental, laboratory or classroom settings.

Susana Eisenchlas (2010) has lamented the structure-based view of language still found within typical "communicative" classrooms, explaining:

Despite the focus on meaning and communication ostensibly espoused by many language teachers, most programs and textbooks still have a strong focus on grammatical structures as the basis of selecting and sequencing material. Course objectives are still described primarily in linguistic terms (and relatively narrowly at that) that are easily testable. The focus of instruction, despite claims to the contrary, is still narrowly defined at sentence level and focused on morphosyntactic features. Discourse, pragmatics, culture, gender and other social and contextual variables that affect communication remain absent from the curriculum. What many teachers call 'communication' is more often than not oral drilling of the target structures. (pp. 15-16)

Take, for example, the views of language expressed by two foreign language educators, James F. Lee and Bill VanPatten, the latter of whom is also a specialist in the field of SLA. In their book *Making Communicative Language Happen* (2003), they state what they consider to be accepted and uncontested findings within the field of SLA regarding language acquisition. Although they do not refer directly to Chomsky, the views of language they express can clearly be related to Chomskyan theories of language. They argue that second language learning involves the unconscious construction of "implicit language systems" that contain rules of syntax governing sentence structure (p. 18). These systems develop through exposure to "meaning bearing...input," but also reflect "universal patterns of acquisition" that depend on internal mental processes and which are independent of actual exposure to and use of language (p. 21).

This understanding of language as primarily an individual, mental system that is merely triggered by exposure to input has much in common with Chomsky's theories, as summarized earlier in this chapter. Furthermore, Lee and VanPatten assert that, in the language classroom, the primary purpose of language that needs to be focused on is the "cognitive-informational purpose" (p. 2). Through information-exchange and information-based tasks, learners will "use language to get information and then do something with that information" (p. 2). This is in line with Kramsch's critique regarding a tendency for instructors to focus on language as merely the transmission of information, ignoring other functions that could be relevant to the experience of language learning.

Lecercle (2004) has posited that this way of conceiving of language continues to dominate within fields that draw on linguistics to understand language. This has brought about the assumption that learning a foreign language is primarily learning to communicate in that language, rather than engaging with culture or literature. Structuralist and cognitivist ways of

conceptualizing language have thus led to the exclusion of many facets of language from fields of language education, which would involve "le language en tant que phénomène social, historique, politique et matériel" (p. 69). Although applied linguists and language instructors adapting a communicative approach towards language learning attempt to prioritize communication, they continue to work with underlying theories of language that are structurally, and not socially, based.

1.4.2 Real and potential impact of socially-based theories of language: A Bakhtinian language classroom

Although, as we have seen, disciplines such as pragmatics and sociolinguistics have called for the adoption of more social understandings of and definitions of language, they do not appear to have had a uniform impact on approaches towards foreign language instruction, even in settings that claim to adhere to a communicative approach. In their discussion of linguistic variation in the Spanish language classroom, Manuel Gutiérrez and Marta Fairclough (2006) have stated that although sociolinguists have documented the extreme variation that is present within the Spanish language, world wide and even within individual countries, this same variety is not typically present within the language classroom. Instead, studies have shown that in foreign language settings, students instead are presented only with formal variants of the language, such that they fail to develop the communicative competencies they need to converse in non-academic settings. Gutiérrez and Fairclough encourage foreign language instructors to incorporate "awareness of other dialects and cultures" and to "bring the communities and their language varieties into the classroom" (p. 186). However, they feel that in the majority of cases, sociolinguistic theories have not had a sufficient impact on current foreign language classrooms,

which still lean towards a view of language as homogenous and standardized, and spoken by an ideal, monolingual native speaker.

I would argue, similarly, that the theories of language of Bakhtin, and other related Russian scholars, have also had only a minor impact on language classrooms. The work of Bakhtin and the Bakhtin Circle appears to have been more influential in other fields, such as education, psychology, literary theory, and discourse analysis, than in studies of SLA and language teaching. Although Caryl Emerson has claimed that Bakhtin is "in every classroom," he does not appear to be so ever-present within foreign language classrooms. This is unfortunate, given that Bakhtin and his contemporary linguistic scholars offered theories that could have deep philosophical and practical implications for classroom settings, which have begun to be explored by a limited number of researchers (Hall, Vitanova, & Marchenkova, 2005; Johnson, 2004; Wertsch 1997). In fact, scholars such as Kramsch (2008), Harpham (2002), Block (2003) and Marysia Johnson (2004) have called for the application of more socially-based understandings of language, especially those of Bakhin, not only within the disciplines of foreign language education, but also within disciplines such as linguistics, and SLA.

Bakhtin, and the other scholars he dialogued with in his works, promoted an alternative view of language, one that has much in common with socially-oriented fields such as sociolinguistics and pragmatics, but which precedes them. The work of Bakhtin, the Bakhtin Circle, and the Russian sociological linguists, all pointed towards a theory of language that is socially-based and tending towards complexity, rather than one that is only structurally-based, and tending towards simplification. As we have seen, Bakhtin, building on the work of other contemporary scholars, described language as complex, heteroglossic, or tending towards complexity and diversity, and multivoiced or dialogic, in that it is organized around

interconnected chains of discourse. Language as it exists in the world, we might argue, is not and has never been a simple and abstract system; rather it plays out in specific contexts, used by active speakers and listeners who struggle to do a variety of things within diverse settings and genres. Language lives through social dialogue; and it is this dialogue, this active and contextualized presence of language, that must be brought into and grappled with in the language classroom.

Within the classroom, Bakhtin's theories of heteroglossia, plurivocity and dialogue can be far-reaching. As Kramsch (2008) has argued, the theories of language of Bakhtin, combined with other socially-based theories, can help educators take into account situations involving "cultural and moral conflicts, historical incompatibilities, identity politics, and the struggle for symbolic recognition" (p. 9). That is to say, Bakhtin's notions of language and dialogue as sites of struggle can lead to a greater understanding of the true complexity of language learning settings, in which relationships between speakers and languages are not necessarily harmonious or uncomplicated.

Rather than positing language learning as a straight-forward, transmission-based process, Bakhtin has suggested that it is primarily through plurivocity, or the incorporation of multiple, heteroglossic voices into one's own speech, that individuals are able to acquire and make use of a language, something that always represents a struggle. Bakhtin's view of language incorporates both social components of language, or the typical genres that structure forms of speech, and the individual grappling with the words of others to compose an utterance. For the language teacher, it highlights the importance of exposing students to situations in which they can come into contact with the voices of others. This may be carried out by using technology to bring a wide variety of audio-visual materials into the classroom, such as interviews, songs, and

blogs.³¹ Additionally, CMC technologies can be used to set up online intercultural exchanges between students of a language and speakers of that language in various other countries.

The inclusion of these kinds of materials and exchanges will allow students to be exposed to more heteroglossic and dialogic language, as they come into contact with the diverse voices of others. In addition, as Robert O'Dowd (2007) has noted, CMC exchanges can be designed to focus on certain cultural issues and cultural frames of reference, thus integrating studies of culture into programs of education. When addressing the issue of teaching culture in the language classroom, Alice Omaggio Hadley (1993) has cautioned teachers to avoid exposing students to stereotypical snapshots of "folk dances, festivals, fairs and foods" (p. 360). Instead, she has called for the study of culture through direct contact with native speakers and pedagogical activities involving taped interviews, dialogues, and other authentic materials that address a given topic using various dialects and cultural perspectives. Through activities such as these, instructors can help their students begin to interact with other cultures and ideologies by exposing them to real-life language used by individuals from various linguistic and social backgrounds.

In her book, *A Philosophy of Second Language Acquisition*, Johnson (2004) called for the elaboration of a new philosophy around language and language learning, based in large part on the socially-based views of language of both Bakhtin and Vygotsky. She stated that rather than

³¹ In their contribution to a collection of essays on the teaching of Spanish, Gutiérrez and Fairclough (2006) drew on sociolinguistic studies to suggest that "sociolinguistic variation should be explicitly taught in... classrooms through TV programs, films, magazines and other media" (p. 174). In the same collection of essays, Salaberry and Lafford called on teachers of a second language to incorporate "more interaction with different types of native speakers of Spanish.... [through].. the use of target language authentic video materials, films or television, or live or taped role plays between native speakers in the classroom" (p. 121).

continuing to view language learning as acquisition of discrete and abstract systems, language educators and researchers needed to understand the following:

New voices of the target language's sociocultural and institutional settings need to be experienced, absorbed, and appropriated by L2 learners not for the sake of appropriation but to help L2 learners become active participants in the target language culture. The appropriation of new voices needs to take place in real-life contexts, which may be similar to L2 learners' native language contexts, but because these contexts are now filled with different people, with different voices, they need to be reappropriated. Second language learners should not be presented with a false sense of security regarding the existence of one shared reality such as the post office, the bank, or the doctor's office or with a false sense that if they master the grammatical rules and structures of the target language, they will automatically achieve mutual understanding with members of the target language culture. The theory and research based on Vygotsky's and Bakhtin's ideas would require that we all be "reconditioned" regarding our current expectations as to the existence of one universal voice, one linguistic code, and one reality that can be conquered and completely understood by all the participants. The complex processes that lead to the establishment of intersubjectivity, the mutual understanding of a shared reality by participants in a given sociocultural context, need to be carefully examined. (p. 174)

Johnson's critique of language learning activities centered on formulaic tasks, such as visiting the post office or the bank, could easily be applied towards typical communicative approaches within the classroom. In these classrooms, by the admission of scholars such as Lee and VanPatten, language is generally reduced to the functional exchange of information. What Johnson calls for, drawing on the socially-based theories of language of both Bakhtin and Vygotsky, is an approach towards language learning that does not call for the transmission of dominant, stable and universal linguistic systems, but instead prioritizes hands-on experiences with diverse voices, thus representing the heteroglossic diversity found in the world.

In the remaining chapters of this thesis, I will examine the ways in which these alternative approaches towards defining language can play out in the language classroom. First, in chapter 2, I will continue by examining the implications of these socially-based theories for the specific case of the development of writing in a second language. Later, I will take these

theories into account when examining the use of CMC technologies in the language classroom, especially for writing development. Finally, I will describe a hands-on application of these theories within a university, Spanish language course in Canada and university English language course in Chile.

Chapter Two: Writing in second and foreign languages

Texts do not appear in isolation, but in relation to other texts. We write in response to prior writing, and as writers we use the resources provided by prior writers. When we read we use ... knowledge and experience from texts we have read before to make sense of the new text, and as readers we notice the texts the writer invokes directly and indirectly. (Bazerman, 2004, p. 53)

Within university language classrooms, learners tend to transition from lower-level language courses to upper-level, writing-intensive courses in which written competence is necessary for success. For example, a quick review of the course descriptions on the department web page of the Department of French, Italian & Spanish at the University of Calgary shows that, for the upper-level Spanish courses, written essays may constitute 35 to 40% of the students' final marks (http://fis.ucalgary.ca/courses). Furthermore, a brochure that offers a description of the undergraduate degree in Spanish highlights the fact that students graduate from the major with strong "oral and written skills, so they can build careers in international business, foreign affairs, immigration services, teaching, media" ("Spanish", 2013; my italics). In discussing the goals of many academic foreign language programs within North America, Kramsch (2008) has explained that "SL/FL education is inherently linked to institutional, moral, and political values that are culture-specific and are linked to the technology of the word. It is linked to the value of literacy and the high culture of literature and the arts" (p. 7). Thus, the development of writing skills, and literacy as a whole, tend to be seen as crucial within university foreign language education in North America.

While the development of written language may be emphasized within upper-level university foreign language classrooms, studies of SLA and applied linguistics, which are often

drawn on for the beginning and intermediate-level language classes, have not tended to focus on the development of L2 written communication. As Cumming and Riazi (2000) have stated, fields of applied linguistics and language acquisition have generally involved "theoreticallyoriented inquiry focused on *oral* aspects of second-language proficiency and spoken discourse in classroom contexts" (p. 57; my emphasis), but have offered few models for explicit writing instruction and development. Kramsch (2008) has argued that what is often taking place in beginning level classrooms, even at the university level, is in fact "foreign language learning," rather than "foreign language education" (p. 4). While foreign language education would also highlight the development of literacy and exposure to literature, foreign language *learning* emphasizes or al language, especially for face-to-face interpersonal communication and information exchange (pp. 8-9). The presence of these somewhat contradictory views towards the development of oral and written language within language classrooms reflect historical debates and turning tides surrounding: 1) approaches and methods of second and foreign language learning; 2) oral and written language as defined by language-related fields such as linguistics, and their primacy and importance; and 3) first and second language literacy as defined and understood within educational disciplines such as composition studies.

In this chapter, I will take a close look at the role of writing and writing instruction within foreign language classrooms across the major methods and approaches that have dominated the field in its recent history. Subsequently, I will examine the ways in which the concept of writing has been discussed in language-related disciplines such as linguistics and the field of SLA, arguing that their definitions have had an impact on teaching fields. Finally, I will argue that to understand writing and aid their students in developing their writing abilities, language instructors must look beyond these fields when conceptualizing writing and literacy. They must

draw on the work of theorists and researchers who have examined writing and writing development within social contexts of use. These include: 1) the writings of the Russian thinkers Vygotsky, Volosinov and Bakhtin; 2) studies of genre; and 3) current fields of first language composition studies and, to a lesser degree, second language composition studies.

2.1 A history of writing within second and foreign language teaching

It is often thought that the grammar-translation method was the only method of foreign language instruction that existed in the West prior to the 20th century, and that this method emphasized the written translation of canonical, literary texts in the language of study. However, researchers who have examined the history of the field have shown that this is far from the case (Amedegnato, 2010; Germain, 1993; Kelly, 1969; Wheeler, 2013). Over the centuries there have been a wide range of methodologies and approaches used in language classrooms, in which writing and oral language learning and practice have taken varying levels of dominance.

2.1.1 Sumerian as a foreign language

It is the existence of writing systems that have allowed scholars to trace early histories of language learning. While there were surely numerous instances in which speakers of different languages came together, it is only through written archives that we find a lasting record of these endeavours in distant eras. Using surviving written documents, historians have found examples of language learning in the ancient civilization of the Akkadiens, as far back as 2350 BC, in what is modern day Iran. The Akkadiens had conquered the Sumer civilization, and as they did not have a writing system of their own, they adopted the Sumerian custom of carving onto cuneiform tablets, as well as the writing system itself. It has been concluded, based on archaeological data, that Akkadien people who were in training to become scribes learned to write and interpret the Sumerian cuneiform symbols. Since most Sumerian symbols represented entire words, the

process of learning to write involved the use of bilingual dictionaries, with Sumerian words alongside the Akkadien meaning and pronunciation (Amedegnato, 2010; Germain, 1993; Wheeler, 2013). For this reason, it has been argued that by this time in history, around the turn of the 2nd and 3rd millennium BC, Sumerian was no longer actually read out loud, but was only written (Rubio, 2006). Sumerian language learning was thus limited to the learning of individual words, and did not involve analyses of other kinds of texts or literature (Wheeler, 2013). Thus, in this ancient language learning setting, we can see that writing was prioritized, but that it was defined as the ability to write individual Sumerian symbols or words, as well as to recognize their meanings or equivalents in the oral form of the Akkadien language.

2.1.2 Ancient Egyptian writing

Historical surveys of foreign language learning generally move from the Akkadien civilization to that of the Egyptians, a civilization that lasted 3,000 years, between 3150 BC and 30 BC. Again, it is only the presence of written documents that allows historians to speculate about foreign language learning within this civilization. Archaeologists have found multilingual documents, as well as written evidence of the existence of professional translators. While some individuals may have learned foreign languages with the use of private tutors, there is little concrete evidence that this was the case. What does appear at a later point in the history of this civilization related to foreign language learning and writing is a kind of language learning similar to that which later appeared in the Greek and Roman civilizations: learning the ancient forms of one's own language (Germain, 1993; Wheeler, 2013). As Garon Wheeler (2013) has explained, the Egyptian hieroglyphic writing system, which appears on monuments and also in documents written on papyrus, was modified at different points over Egyptian history, with the creation of simplified forms of writing for use on official, as opposed to religious, documents: first the

hieratic script and later, the demotic script. Eventually, the old language became virtually unintelligible, and yet the ancient texts, such as those found in the "Books of Instruction" or "Ma'at doctrines," were seen as immutable (German, 1993; Wheeler, 2013). It was believed that the maxims found in these texts should be studied by scribes so that they could continue to interpret and pass the messages on to the general population. What the Egyptian scribes in training did, then, was learn to read, write and recite the ancient texts, and to understand their messages, or meanings. As Wheeler stated, "The maxims were learned as units along with their meanings. Students were able to read and recite the maxims as well as write them from the teacher's dictation. There was also some grammar, such as verb conjugations, but it played a minor part" (p. 14). Thus, we can see that writing was a key part of Egyptian language learning; it was viewed as the ability to make exact copies of and interpret ancient symbols, with no emphasis on the creative use of the written system to create original texts.

2.1.3 Ancient Greek writing

Foreign language learning within what is now known as the Greek civilization, which lasted from 1200-300 BC, also consisted primarily of ensuring that students had access to ancient, prized texts. However, this language learning was different in that it was not only scribes who learned to read and write, but all male members of the wealthy classes. Elementary school students first learned to write the alphabet of their time, then two letter syllables, and finally longer and longer combinations, which they needed to comprehend and reproduce. They eventually moved on to the study of traditional texts that were valued as examples of great literature, including the work of poets, epic poets and historians. Their study of these works included memorization, analysis, recitation and translation into modern Greek, as well as a close

study of the contextual details surrounding the text, such as the biography of its author and where it was written, etc (Amedegnato, 2010; Wheeler, 2013).

Furthermore, in order to read and understand the ancient texts, the students needed to be familiar with ancient forms of the Greek language. For this reason, the Greeks created grammatical analyses of their language that have continued to influence the way languages have been described and understood for centuries, arguably even to the present day. These included the grammatical concepts of gender, number, case, mood, voice and tense and the first modern list of parts of speech, which included: nouns, verbs, participles, articles, pronouns, prepositions, adverbs, and conjunctions.³² Thus, while it appears that young people did not write older forms of their language, they were expected to learn to read, recite and understand major works written in the archaic forms of language, as well as to appropriately analyze the grammar. The influence of the Greek educational system and learning of language and grammar has been long-lasting. This is due in large part to the impact they had on the educational system of the Roman Empire, the culture that provides the closest link between ancient and modern forms of language learning (Wheeler, 2013).

2.1.4 Greek in the Roman Empire

The Romans were perhaps the first civilization with a clear record of foreign language learning. In early Roman culture, especially around 1 BC after the Roman Empire took over the Greek peninsulas as one of its colonies, Greek language and culture were highly regarded. Many Roman families had Greek slaves who spoke Greek to the children from an early age and Michael Paravati (2011) has also argued that there was unofficial bilingualism in the lower

³² See Dionysius Thrax's book of Greek grammar, written in 1 B.C. and subsequently in use for over 1000 years. An English-language version is available online. See Thrax (1874).

classes as well. Greek slaves who were brought to the Roman Empire were often educated in their native Greek language and also learned Latin for communicative and professional purposes. In primary school, the children of wealthy Romans were instructed in the Greek alphabet and pronunciation, and later copied words and passages onto wax tablets. At more advanced levels, they studied Greek texts, with a focus on memorization, translation, rhetoric, and style; the goal was for the students to be capable of producing translations of texts in the style of the great writers of antiquity (Amedegnato, 2010; Germain 1993; Wheeler, 2013). The development of writing was seen, as in the Egyptian context, as a means of exposing students to important texts and works of literature in the language of study.

2.1.5 Latin in the Roman Empire

In the latter years of the Roman Empire and prior to its fall in the West, it was Latin itself that eventually became the foreign language of study. In various parts of what had been the Roman Empire, the vernacular languages began to differ heavily from traditional, written Latin. Eventually, "students had to learn 'proper' Latin before they could begin their true studies, which in the Middle Ages typically meant a syllabus of grammar, rhetoric (public speaking and effective use of language), logic, arithmetic, music, geometry, and astronomy" (Wheeler, 2013, p. 27). The learning of Latin generally involved the study of grammar and memorization of rules, rather than oral practice, especially given that eventually there were no longer any native speakers of Latin who could lead the students orally. Some debate took place over the centuries regarding whether explicit teaching of grammar, or inductive study rich in examples, was

preferable.³³ Over time, it became more frequent to use the native language of the students, rather than Latin itself, to provide grammar explanations that could be used in translating the Latin texts to the students' native languages. One instructor of language, Roger Ascham, perfected what has come to be known as the double translation technique. This included an initial oral recitation of the text in Latin by the professor, followed by explanations of the background of the text in the native language of the students. The text was then translated into the native language by the teacher orally, followed by a study of the parts of speech. Then the child, alone, translated the passage from Latin to his or her native language, and after the original was taken away, back into Latin. Ascham believed that young scholars should first engage in translation of texts by classical authors and, at a more advanced level, should imitate the classical texts in practicing writing of their own (Ascham, 1761; Amedegnato, 2010; Wheeler, 2013). Thus, while the students did undertake translations between Latin, the language of study, and their native language, they did not engage in any creative or original writing in the second language of study.

2.1.6 Grammar-translation

The grammar-translation method of foreign language instruction, originally employed for Latin but eventually applied to a variety of other foreign languages, was one of the most widely-used methods from the 1800s until well into the 20th century.³⁴ Wheeler (2013) has argued that the method is widely misunderstood in modern times, as it is often believed to involve the

³³ For example, prominent scholars and educators such as Desiderius Erasmus and Jan Comenius called for inductive approaches to the learning of grammar in sixteenth century Europe, rebelling against the deductive approach towards the learning of Latin and Greek (Wheeler, 2013).

³⁴ See, for example, an editorial published in 1936 in the *Classical Bulletin*, in which it is argued that proponents of the "new methods" of language teaching are too quick to judge teachers who make use of "traditional grammar-translation" methods in their classroom (Kleist, p. 36).

translation of classical texts into the native language of the student. However, the man who is generally cited as the founder of the method, Heinrich Ollendorf, was actually a reformist who argued that students should be exposed to everyday language, as opposed to classical texts that they would be incapable of grasping. In his textbooks, he began by teaching vocabulary and then a series of sentences that demonstrated the grammar of the language, with numerous phrases or short texts to be translated into the native language. This was followed only much later by explanations of the rule. In this sense, in early examples of the method, grammar was taught inductively. In fact, while the grammar-translation method is criticized today for its lack of authentic language and overemphasis on the memorization of grammar rules, in Ollendorf's time it was praised for its natural use of language, for what are now seen as artificial sentences, "were [then] seen as examples of real, everyday language, as opposed to the unhelpful prose learned from literature" (Wheeler, 2013, p. 118). Over time, the emphasis on deductive learning of grammar became stronger; academic language learning in the grammar-translation involved the memorization of vocabulary, the ability to analyze and discuss second language syntax and grammar in the first language, and large amounts of translation into the first language (Germain, 1993). While there was a sense that students should learn to write more concrete language rather than merely imitating classical texts, writing skills continued to be viewed as the ability to translate into the first language, rather than the production of original texts in the second language.

2.1.7 Reformists in the 19th and 20th centuries: Focus on oral language

In the late 19th and early 20th centuries a number of methods arose that were seen as alternatives to the classical and grammar-translation methods. The majority of these reacted to what they saw as classical paradigms by highlighting the importance of oral language

development (Germain, 1993; Wheeler, 2013). First, in the latter part of the 19th century, some methods that became quite popular attempted to model second language learning on the "natural" or "direct" methods by which children learn their first language. The two most successful methods were developed by Lambert Saveur in Europe and Maximilian Berlitz in the United States. Both methods focused on everyday conversation and communication as the key for language learning. While Saveur's textbooks on foreign language learning were quite successful in his day, it is the method developed by Berlitz that has gained long-lived recognition (Wheeler, 2013).

Maximilan Berlitz built a language-learning corporation that continues in the present day ("Berlitz", 2011). His method focused on language learning that took place outside of academic settings, especially as a means of preparing travellers to cope with the variety of daily situations they might come across in a foreign country. It stressed the sole use of the second language in the classroom, and emphasized oral conversation (Stieglitz, 1955). Both vocabulary and grammar were taught without recourse to the native language through demonstration and dramatization. As Wheeler (2013) has explained:

The focus was on speaking and aural comprehension, and grammar was taught through examples, usage, and analogy. The vocabulary and grammar points were carefully chosen to enable the learner to proceed from the known to the unknown. Written materials were not used to introduce information but only to reinforce and review what had been covered in class. (p. 142)

It was believed that through this method, students would gain the habit of not only speaking, but eventually also thinking in the foreign language. Writing and reading were seen as secondary and there was little direct development of writing abilities, other than as out-of-class activities designed to review classroom material.

Within the late 19th century in Europe, two other men also emphasized second language learning as the development of oral habit. However, they drew on linguistic theory and targeted their methods towards learners in academic settings. William Viëtor critiqued the grammar-translation appropriation for drawing too heavily on isolated sentences, rather than connected texts, and for failing to acknowledge, as he believed, that the foundations of a language resides in its sounds, and that students should have training in phonetics. His method also placed a heavy emphasis on reading, as a core of each lesson involved a text, such as a story or a song, which was read out loud by the teacher and later examined by the students. In class, students would respond to comprehension questions and retell the texts in the target language. Writing came in when students would rewrite and answer on paper the same questions they had previously responded to orally (Wheeler, 2013).

A second scholar, Henry Sweet, has often been considered the intellectual leader of the reform movement. In 1900, he published his book *The Practical Study of Languages: A Guide for Teachers and Learners*. He aimed at modernizing the field of foreign language learning, offering his critique of traditional and classical approaches and claiming that "learning to read a dead language is a different process from learning to speak a living one" (Sweet, p. 2). Like Viëtor, Sweet emphasized phonetics, believing that students should begin their studies with an introduction to the phonetic alphabet and only later learn to spell the target language (Wheeler, 2013). He also believed that oral language was primary, stating that studies of all languages should be "based on phonetics, and starting from the spoken rather than the literary language" (Sweet, p vii). He felt, similarly to Viëtor, that language learners should study the language by examining a series of connected texts, among which he identified 3 main kinds of texts: 1) descriptions in the present tense; 2) narratives in the past tense; and 3) dialogues, which involve

more colloquial language. Sweet explained that language studies should be organized so as to cover the 4 basic skills of speaking, listening, reading and writing. However, he focused on writing primarily as familiarity with a script and the physical characteristics of a text, and not with the creative use of language. Discussing writing, he explained, "We can be original in our own language only... this is why original writers are seldom good linguists: they know instinctively that their own language is the only instrument of thought they can hope to handle freely, and so they have no inducement to try to master any other" (Sweet, p. 221). Sweet, then, was skeptical that foreign language learners would have any real use for composition in the foreign language, beyond letter writing for basic communication.

Despite the work of the aforementioned reformists, in the United States, prior to World War II, there appears to have been little movement towards a focus on oral language within academic circles. In fact, in a nation-wide survey of high school and university language learning carried out in the early part of the 20th century, it was concluded that the reform methods for language study were not feasible within language classrooms in the United States. In a survey on university language learning commonly known as the Coleman Report, first published in 1929, the committee members evaluated 3 methods of language learning and recommended a 4th. These included: 1) the grammar method, which they generally disliked, finding that it bored students and did not include adequate emphasis on literature; 2) the natural or direct method, which was heavily criticized for being non-academic, non-systematic and with a lack of emphasis on literature; and 3) Vietor's reform method, which was praised for its scientific and systematic approach, but considered unfeasible in American schools, for there were few teachers who spoke the language adequately, little access to appropriate materials, and minimal hours spent on language learning within the school curriculum. What was

recommended as the preferred approach in the report was identified as the *reading method*. This method involved the reading of abundant literary texts and translation practice; grammar was seen as a tool for understanding the readings. As summarized in the report, "classroom efforts during the first two years should center primarily on developing the ability to understand the foreign language readily through the eye... reading experience must be adequate and the results of all other types of class exercise must converge toward the same end" (Coleman, 2012, p. 170³⁵). The composition scholar Lester Faigley has argued that within the United States prior to World War II, first language writing instruction mainly involved the task of responding in some way after reading famed literature (1992). It seems that a similar approach was taken within second language studies. However, it was not thought feasible for high school students of a foreign language to write, speak or comprehend foreign languages. Instead, it was believed that they could best learn a foreign language by reading and appreciating its canonical texts.

One additional method that appeared during this period of time has been dubbed the active method. It has been called "une synthese, une combinaison, une conciliation" between the more traditional language learning approaches of antiquity and those proposed by reformists, such as the direct method (Amedegnato, 2010, p. 44). This method was especially targeted towards school-age, child language learners and was inspired by the writings of Jean Piaget. Proponents of the active method attempted to motivate young language learners by designing activities that would promote creativity, self-discipline or autonomy, and collaborative work in class. Furthermore, in the active method, not only oral, but also written language was

³⁵The work was originally published in 1929 at the University of Michigan, as Volume 12 of the publications of the American and Canadian Committees on Modern Languages ("Google Books," 2012).

incorporated into the classroom; the active method involved, "le retour au texte écrit comme support didactique et la rehabilitation de la traduction" ("a return to the written text as a didactic support and the rehabilitation of translation"; p. 45, my translation). The active method is unfortunately mentioned in only a small number of works in French that have researched the history of language teaching, having been largely ignored in North America (Amedegnato 2010; Puren, 1988). Therefore, it is difficult to know exactly what kind of writing activities might have been included. It is likely, though, that these activities would have encouraged the students to use the written language for creative purposes, as this was one of the goals of the method. This may be one of the few examples in the history of L2 writing in which writing for individual, creative expression was emphasized.

2.1.8 Audiolingualism: World War II and influences of structuralism and behaviorism

Throughout the 20th century, the field of linguistics and the theories developed within it increasingly influenced the field of foreign language learning. We have seen how phonetics was incorporated into the work of early language learning reformists. In later decades, the work of structural linguists, such as Saussure in Europe and Leonard Bloomfield in North America, was drawn on heavily within language classrooms (Amedegnato, 2010). Both European and North American structuralists were similar in emphasizing oral language as the primary object of study for linguistics. However, Saussure's theories emphasized meaningful relationships within language systems between signals (or sounds) and significations (or thoughts), as determined by societal convention, giving rise to the field of semiotics (Saussure, 1986). Bloomfield, on the other hand, adopted a behaviouristic approach to language and linguistics, calling for the phonological and grammatical classification of languages, and contrastive analysis of the

superficial, structural differences between languages (Bloomfield, 1933; Germain, 1993; Wheeler, 2013).

Around the mid 1900s, the language-learning situation in the United States underwent a major shift, when the U.S. government began to encourage language learning as part of the *National Defense Education Act* (Salaberry, 2001). In a report issued to the government by a civilian committee that had examined the status of language training, it was concluded that, "the enormously increased responsibilities of the United States in international affairs have produced an awareness of the need for people of the highest competency in knowledge of foreign areas and languages. This awareness is nowhere keener than in the departments of the Government..." (as cited in Deichelmann, 1951, p. 424). Due to the perceived threat of communism and a belief that the United States should take a leading role in international politics to combat it, the government began to take an active interest in motivating present and future government officials to learn foreign languages, especially for functional and communicative purposes (Deichelmann, 1951). This gave rise to one of the most well-known language learning methods in the 20th century: the audio-lingual method.

The audio-lingual method has been described as one of the few throughout the history of language teaching that was based on both a clear theory of language and a theory of learning (Melero-Abadía, 2000). It is generally held that the method was developed in the United States after World War II and that it emerged when structural linguists, such as Charles Fries, drew on the educational theories of behavioral psychologists, such as B.F. Skinner, to develop a specific language teaching method. In combining these two theories, linguists elaborated a recommended method for language teachers in which, "language was viewed as a system of structurally related elements for the coding of meaning" (Richards & Rodgers, 2001, p. 55). Learning a language

was assumed to consist of "mastering the elements or building blocks of the language and learning the rules by which these elements are combined" (p. 55). Furthermore, it was believed that learning was primarily a process of habit formation in which oral expression was primary, and that grammar should be learned inductively rather than deductively (Cuq & Gruca, 2005; Germain, 1993; Wheeler, 2013). The theories underlying the audio-lingual method gave rise to very specific procedures in the classroom. The teacher was seen as a central figure, providing models of the target language for students to imitate. Mistakes were seen as to be avoided, as it was believed they could lead to the formation of inappropriate language habits. Therefore, classroom lessons were typically organized around model dialogues, which students repeated in chorus, memorized and finally adapted for their own use through substitution of certain key elements. Grammar was introduced into the lesson through the selection of certain structures for pattern drills (Amedegnato, 2010; Richards & Rodgers, 2001).

Few scholars who have summarized the method have directly addressed writing development, other than to emphasize the fact that oral language and dialogues came first. It was believed that comprehension preceded production; therefore, both speaking and writing were carefully controlled. Two scholars and professors of Spanish in the 1970s, who published interconnected articles, debated the utility of the audio-lingual method for the development of writing. Juan Estarellas (1972), who seems to have favored a more reformist approach in line with Sweet and Viëtor, critiqued the treatment of reading and writing within the method. He believed that there was an overemphasis on the immediate introduction of whole words and complex syntactic structures, which led beginning and intermediate level students to have difficulties recognizing and reproducing appropriate phonemic-graphemic relationships when

writing.³⁶ Instead, he believed that language learning and writing development should begin with an introduction to phonemic-graphemic relationships through exercises such as 1) association of phonemes with their grapheme transcriptions; 2) discrimination of phonemes; 3) pronunciation and imitation; and 4) exercises in syllabication, stress, linking and intonation.

In responding to the first article, William Heflin Jr. argued that the kind of exercises for writing development mentioned by Estarellas were, in fact, already found in some audio-lingual textbook materials (1973). He referred to what he considered a commonly used textbook, *Spelling-Writing and Reading Drills (1961)*, arguing that the book included "sound-letter instruction at the word-and phrase-level, with emphasis on the most troublesome points of native-language interference" (p. 99).³⁷ The goal of the audio-lingual method, according to Heflin, was to aid students in engaging in meaningful and functional communication. However, it clearly offered a stronger emphasis on the development of oral communication, with the development of writing seen as the ability to transcribe oral language.

In Europe around the same period, some slightly different methods were in development. One of these was the structural-global audiovisual approach (SGAV) in France, which was inspired more directly by the linguistic theories of Saussure, and by Gestalt, rather than behavioral theories of psychology (Amedegnato, 2010). While it differed from the audio-lingual approach in that it made use of humour and emphasized the importance of emotional and non-verbal aspects of communication, it shared with other approaches of its day a prioritization of

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³⁶ He states, "It seems clear... that students taught by the audio-lingual method will always have problems with discrimination and imitation because they do not spend enough time on phonology and move into syntactic structures or dialogues right away. It also seems clear that they will always have problems with reading and writing because they learn this by whole words and so they are not fully aware of the phonemic-graphemic relationship in the target language" (p. 96-97).

³⁷ I have not been able to find any bibliographical references to this textbook other than the title and year of publication, as stated in-text by Heflin.

everyday, spoken language over the written, delaying any focus on writing until more advanced levels of study (Germain, 1993; Wheeler, 2013).

2.1.9 The communicative approach

While a number of other methods have been developed in the latter part of the 20th century, it is the communicative approach that has undoubtedly received the most widespread attention. It is currently considered to be the dominant approach towards foreign language teaching within Europe and North America (Richards & Rogers, 2001; Wheeler, 2013). In fact, in Wheeler's 200-page historical survey of language teaching, published in 2013, the communicative approach is the final one to be discussed. While Wheeler argued that communicative language teaching was developed in the late 1970s and 80s and continued to be dominant up to the time he published his work, he dedicated only 3 pages, out of 200, to describing it, perhaps because he felt that the most influential approach of the day needed little explanation.

It has been argued that communicative language teaching is an approach, and not a method, as it does not call for a specific curriculum to follow within classrooms (Wheeler, 2013). Instead, supporters of the communicative approach argue that foreign language programs should be targeted towards language use in specific settings, depending on the needs of the students. The original proponents of the communicative approach drew heavily on pragmatic understandings of language, believing that language teaching should "promote the development of functional language ability through learner participation in communicative events" (Savignon, 1991, p. 265). Unlike instructors of the audio-lingual method, those who adopt communicative language approaches do not, in theory, equate language learning with repetitious exposure to linguistic structures and error-free imitation. Instead, they believe classroom instruction should

be based on "meaningful language use, real-world communication, interaction among learners, and learning of new information" (Shrum & Glisan, 2009, p. IX).

Proponents of communicative language teaching approaches, like other 20th-century methods, have been inspired by both psychological and linguistic theory. They have drawn on cognitive psychology, which, unlike behavioral psychology, focuses on the mind and mental states as mediating behavior. Cognitive psychology posits that "an organism should be understood as an active and independent contributor to its behavior, rather than just as... a passive [entity]...Hence, an organism's behavior reflects the active reception, transformation, reduction, elaboration, organization, selection, storage, and retrieval of information..." (Moore, 2013, p. 669). Learning, from within this viewpoint, does not represent the development of habitual responses to similar stimuli, but instead involves active effort on the part of individuals with deep mental lives. Chomsky applied these cognitive theories towards linguistics, suggesting that first-language learning and use was an individual, internal, and creative process, and did not come about through rote repetition of stimuli in the environment (Chomsky, 1972). These ideas have been applied towards the field of second language teaching in that learners are encouraged to use the language creatively for communication, with errors no longer seen as potentially dangerous habits to be avoided (Germain, 1993).

Furthermore, the work of more functionally or socially minded linguists, especially those working within the field of pragmatics and sociolinguistics, have also been incorporated into the communicative approach (Amedegnato, 2010). Sandra Savignon and other researchers, such as Michael Canale and Merril Swain (1980), drew on Hymes' notion of communicative competence when they suggested that language learners needed more than linguistic competence to function when making use of the language; they also needed to know the socially defined rules of use of

the language in specific settings or situations, depending on their communicative purpose. These include other competencies such as sociolinguistic, strategic and discursive competences (Cuq & Gruca, 2005; Germain, 1993).³⁸

It could be argued that the emphasis on discursive competence might lead to a stronger focus on writing development within the communicative approach than in previous 20th century methods. If students must learn to make use of different kinds of discourse, depending on the sociolinguistic contexts in which they find themselves, then the appropriate use of forms of written discourse must surely be included. In his historical survey of the major language methods and approaches, Ozouf Sénamin Amedegnato (2010) has argued that, within the communicative approach, writing has undergone at least some level of rehabilitation.

However, writing and writing instruction are still underemphasized in comparison to oral language development within communicative classrooms (Cook, 2005; William, 2012). In fact, little attention has been paid to the role of writing within the communicative approach in historical works that summarize its major characteristics. For example, in his text Wheeler (2013) gave no specific examples as to what might take place in a communicative classroom, other than stating that the emphasis would be on real communication, with the goal of developing the competences listed above. In her detailed study of the teaching of Spanish as a foreign language, Pilar Melero Abadía (2000) included excerpts from textbooks within the various methods and approaches, detailing the kinds of activities that were most common within these classrooms. In the example she gave from communicative textbooks, there was a heavy

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³⁸These three kinds of competences are defined by Cuq and Gruca (2005) in the following ways: 1) sociolinguistic competence involves knowledge of sociocultural rules of how to use the language appropriately; 2) discursive competence assures cohesion and coherence of different types of discourse; while 3) strategic competence involves the ability to use verbal and non-verbal strategies to compensate for communication difficulties.

emphasis on reading and oral discussions inspired by authentic texts, ranging from restaurant menus, to utility bills, comic strips, and newspaper articles. However, the accompanying writing activities involved only discrete tasks, such as filling out small worksheets with the main ideas of texts, or, at most, making lists. She provided no examples in which the students were asked to write cohesive paragraph-length or even sentence-length texts for specific communicative purposes.

As we have seen in this brief summary of the major methods and approaches towards foreign language learning, during the 20th century the field has undergone a major shift in focus. Previous approaches towards language learning, such as the classical approach, included a strong emphasis on language learning as exposure to and written imitation of canonical works of literature and authors. However, since around the turn of the 20th century there has been an emphasis on the development of orality, rather than written literacy, within foreign language classrooms, especially within the audio-lingual and other related methods. The communicative approach, with its emphasis on real language in use, has highlighted the fact that discursive competency involves knowledge of and ability to manipulate various kinds of discourse, including written discourse. Nonetheless, on the whole it seems that foreign language writing development continues to be understudied and underemphasized in the language classroom.

In a 2005 work on second language writing, Vivian Cook stated that "since the decline of audiolingualism as a teaching method, there has been little public debate about the respective roles of spoken language and written language in language teaching or about how to teach the writing system itself" (p. 424). Rosa Manchón (2009) has posited that there is a difference between classroom activities in which students "write to learn," in which writing is associated with learning content or demonstrating knowledge of content; and "learning to write, in which

students work on developing their writing itself, especially those who aspire to publish or seek out further education in the language of study" (p. 2). In a similar line of thought, Lee and VanPatten (2003) have highlighted the difference between classroom "language practices that use writing," or exercises in which students use writing to demonstrate their knowledge of the language, and "writing as communication," in which writing is conceived of as some kind of communicative act (pp. 244-245). They argue that the former is far more prevalent in second language classrooms than the latter. Overall, there seems to be a general lack of emphasis on writing development within second language classrooms. It is my belief that typical views and models of writing, especially those expressed within traditional linguistic theory as developed around the turn of the 20th century, have contributed to this lack of attention towards writing.

2.2 Linguistics and SLA: Theoretical views and models of writing

When teachers of a second language try to define and understand writing for their classroom practice, they may draw on linguistic theory. What, then, do linguists say about writing? In a work from the mid-20th century entitled *The Story of Language* (1949), Mario Pei, a scholar of Comparative Linguistics who taught Romance Languages at Columbia University, devoted a chapter of his book to writing. Within that chapter, "The History of Writing," he offered the following definition of writing: "writing is a symbol of the spoken language" (p. 95). He went on to discuss systems of writing, or scripts, around the world, such as pictographs, logographs, syllabic writing systems and the alphabet.

Another more recent textbook, *Contemporary Linguistic Analysis* (1996), includes chapters on linguistic topics such as phonetics, phonology, semantics and the classification of languages, as well as a chapter on writing and language. In this chapter, the authors have defined writing as "the representation of language by graphic signs or symbols" (O'Grady &

Dobrovolsky, p. 549). It could be concluded from both of these works that, for linguists, writing is equivalent to the development and use of specific scripts. In neither of the publications is there a discussion of the diverse ways in which human beings make use of writing; there are no observations about genres or types of discourse, or about ways in which writing styles or norms may differ across disciplines.

A second discipline that could be seen as relevant for language teachers, when defining writing, is the field of SLA. However, introductory texts on SLA that have been prepared for teachers seem to offer even fewer discussions of writing than those of linguistics. For example, Susan Gass and Larry Selinker (2001) have no specific chapters devoted to writing in their textbook, *Second Language Acquisition: An Introductory Course.* When searching for the term "writing" in the index, one can find the following reference: "The typical behaviorist position is that language is speech rather than writing. Furthermore, speech is a precondition for writing." (p. 69). While Gass and Selinker are not behaviorists, but rather applied linguists working within a cognitive approach, they have not defined their own, alternative position regarding writing.

In another well-known textbook, Lightbown and Spada (2006) addressed the implications of SLA research for the classroom, but once again with no specific chapter devoted to writing. They did not clearly distinguish writing from speaking, with the term *writing* only appearing in statements such as the following: 1) "speaking (and writing) mediate thinking..." (p. 47); and 2) "using the term 'collaborative dialogue', Swain & Lapkin and their colleagues have carried out a series of studies to determine how second language learners co-construct linguistic knowledge while engaging in production tasks (i.e. speaking and writing)" (p. 48). Overall, within the aforementioned texts there seems to be little emphasis on writing as an activity with unique

properties, except for: 1) writing as script; and 2) writing as production. Writing is viewed as a second form of production, and as a derivative of speaking.

What has given rise to this derivative definition of and understanding of writing within the field of linguistics? In his work, *Rethinking Writing* (2000), the linguist Roy Harris has argued that it is not only within the field of linguistics, but in fact within Western societies as a whole, that writing is assigned such a derivative role. He describes three different beliefs about writing and literacy that societies may hold: 1) a crypto-literacy view in which it is believed that writing is magical or invented by God; 2) a utilitarian view in which writing is "regarded as a technical device for representing spoken language, the latter being the primary vehicle of human communication" (p. xi); and 3) a full view of literacy, which may not yet exist, in which writing is viewed as a new kind of language, with its particular mode of operation in the human mind.³⁹

Harris had argued that current Western societies are primarily operating with a utilitarian view, adopting a surrogate model in which writing is valued for the ways it replaces speech in disseminating information, and generally seen as a convenient extension of the spoken word. Furthermore, Harris believes that the field of linguistics has had a strong impact in shaping this view of writing, especially due to the impact of Saussure and structural linguistics. In Saussures's day, beliefs around writing, even those held by linguistic scholars, tended to involve a contradictory mix of crypto-literacy and utilitarian views, in which writing was often given a privileged standing as a marker of civilization and superior consciousness, even while phonetics was gaining increasing importance within the field. Saussure saw the distortion present within

³⁹ In his 1967 work *De la Grammatologie*, or *Of Grammatology*, the French Philosopher Jacques Derrida argued similarly that writing should not be seen as a secondary form of language. He believed, in fact, that this view of writing was already changing, arguing that "it seems as though the concept of writing – no longer indicating a particular, derivative, auxiliary form of language in general…, no longer designating the exterior surface, the insubstantial double of a major signifier… is beginning to go beyond the extension of language" (1976, p. 29).

society and his discipline on matters related to language and literacy, and insisted that a modern science of language should clearly separate the spoken and the written (Harris, 2000), explaining that "writing obscures our view of the language. It is not a garment, but a disguise" (1986, p. 29). Due especially to the influence of Saussure and other structural linguists, the separation of spoken and written language has become one of the maxims of 20th-century linguistics (Basso, 1974; Harris, 2000). However, Harris laments that, "unfortunately, the lesson was generally interpreted as meaning that linguists need not bother with writing, because writing was not really 'language'" (p. 15).

Linell, a European linguist, has also addressed the contradictory beliefs surrounding oral and written language (2005). He has pointed to what he considers a paradox: while oral language is viewed as primary, much of the vocabulary we use to talk about language, such as sentence and word, is based on the ability to look at language and separate it into units, a property of written, not spoken language. Linell argued that it is humanity's relationships with artifacts and texts, with written language, that has given rise to the tendency to view and analyze languages as objects, rather than as series of actions or activities. Modern linguists consciously prioritize oral language, to the extent that the vocabulary used to describe language, such as utterance and discourse, tend to refer to oral, rather than written instances of language.

Nevertheless, they build on underlying theories that objectivise language, viewing it as a series of discrete forms to be described or combined and put into use.

As we saw previously in our survey of foreign language teaching methods, general attitudes and beliefs about language and writing influence the way writing instruction plays out in classrooms. The modern belief that writing is secondary to, and a mere surrogate for or extension of, oral language, has contributed to approaches towards writing in second language

classrooms. Cumming, who focuses specifically on second language writing, has commented on the tendency to over-emphasize forms, rather than composing processes and the sociocultural purposes and functions of writing, in second language writing instruction, arguing that "[a] micro-perspective on language forms... informs conventional methods of grammatical instruction and pedagogical practices responsible for responding to students' writing" (Cumming, 2001, p. 8). Thus, there is a tendency for language instructors to include writing as a support skill that allows students to demonstrate their knowledge of language, rather than as a purposeful, communicative act. At an even deeper level, however, the ways in which second languages as a whole continue to be taught within the classroom reflect the contradictory beliefs around written and oral language that have been highlighted by Harris (2000) and Linell (2005). As long as language, whether oral or written, is understood as a unified object, or stable system that can be abstracted away from social contexts, it will continue to be presented to students in ways that undermine its complex, flexible, and social nature.

In an essay written in 1974, the U.S. cultural and anthropological linguist Keith Basso called attention to the lack of importance given to written language within both linguistics and linguistic anthropology. He highlighted the fact that writing is not only a "pale and impoverished reflection of language," but is in fact a communicative activity in its own right, calling for the study of writing systems as part of what he called "the ethnography of communication" (p. 426). This ethnography of communication would focus on writing not only as "the internal structure of written codes", but also on the study of "the social and cultural factors that influence the way written codes are actually used," which would differ in different sociocultural settings (p. 426). Thus, for Basso, "the activity of writing... [is]... a dynamic

component in the conduct and organization of social relations" and is worthy of study in its own right, and not merely as a written record of oral language (p. 426).

As we have seen, Basso (1974), Harris (2000) and Linell (2005) have critiqued the lack of emphasis on, and contradictory beliefs surrounding, writing within language-related fields and have called for change. However, I would argue that while these authors' points and critiques are compelling, they have neglected to focus on certain disciplines and lines of thought in which both writing and oral language have been seen quite differently.

First, there is the French pragmatic tradition inspired by Benveniste. As we have seen, these pragmaticians have focused especially on the process through which individual interlocutors make use of language systems, through their *énoncés*. Although *énoncés* may take place within oral acts of language, they are also studied as written acts. Indeed, Benveniste himself took care in pointing out that there were certain forms or structures of language, such as the French preterite tense, that tended to appear almost exclusively in written texts. While linguists who focused on oral language use might claim that the preterite tense had disappeared from the French language, Benveniste argued instead that the preterite tense continued to exist within written, as opposed to oral, utterances. As he explained:

The distinction made here between two planes of utterance within the language puts the phenomenon that for fifty years has been the called the 'disappearance of the simple forms of the preterite' in French into a different perspective. The term 'disappearance' surely is not proper... On the one hand, it is a fact that the aorist is not used in the spoken language and is not one of the verb tenses proper to discourse. On the other hand, as the tense of the historical narrative, no other tense could take its place. (1971, p. 210)

In this way, Benveniste gave importance to the written word, even calling for close attention to texts, books, and newspapers as utterances worthy of linguistic study.

However, even prior to the field of French pragmatics inspired by Benveniste, socially-based descriptions of writing had appeared in the work of Vygotsky, Volosinov and Bakhtin. In the work of these scholars, as in that of Benveniste, writing was defined as an important and unique component of human communication. The work of all of these figures, especially Bakhtin, has inspired recent studies of genre and composition in the first language, but seems to have had less impact on research into second language writing.

2.3 Socially-based views of writing: Vygotsky, Volosinov, Bakhtin and composition studies 2.3.1 Vygotsky: Writing as a system of language

In the previous chapter of this dissertation, I examined the thoughts on language of scholars and linguists around the time of the Russian revolution, drawing connections between the work of a group now known as the Russian sociological linguists, and the writings of Bakhtin and other members of the Bakhtin circle. Another scholar who was active in the field of language-related research at that time was Vygotsky, who worked as a psychologist in Russia in the 1920s and 30s (Lantolf & Thorne, 2006). In his theory of human psychology, Vygotsky suggested that culture, and not only biology, was key in shaping the human mind. Specifically, Vygotsky argued that human behavior is not directly controlled by stimuli in the natural environment. Instead, we learn to use signs and tools to regulate our own behavior, as well as our environments. The development of this self-regulation comes about through social interaction; ways of behaving and the use of signs and tools are first encountered socially, as a means to interact with others and to mediate the external environment. However, these

behaviors are eventually internalized, leading to the reorganization and development of the mental system (Vygotsky, 1978⁴⁰).

An important example of this process of internalization, and how it restructures mental activity, is regarding interactions with language. According to Vygotsky, the use of language as a sign system originally serves the social purpose of allowing us to interact with others. However, as it is internalised it also becomes an internal mental function, known as internal speech, which helps to organise thought. What is important about Vygotskyan theory for the understanding of writing is the fact that it emphasizes individual social contexts and how they shape the human mind and actions. As Vygotsky argued, "human learning presupposes a specific social nature and a process by which children grow into the intellectual life of those around them" (1978, p. 88). Vygotsky not only focused on oral language; he also defined writing and reflected on the importance of and difficulties surrounding writing instruction for children. He described writing not only as a physical object, nor as a mere written reflection of speech. Instead, he focused on concrete differences between written and spoken language. He explained that "understanding of written language is first effected through spoken language, but gradually this path is curtailed and spoken language disappears as the intermediate link. To judge from all the available evidence, written language becomes direct symbolism that is perceived in the same way as spoken language" (1978, p. 116). Thus, as was suggested by Harris (2000), writing itself is a system of language, and not a mere reflection of oral speech.

In his essay "Thought and Language," Vygotsky also turned his attention towards the activity of writing and the differences between oral and written language. He argued, "written

⁴⁰ This publication includes essays written by Vygotsky in the 1920s and 1930s, but few were published during his lifetime. The original work, *Razvitie Vysshikh Psikhicheskikj Funktsii*, was published in 1960 (Minick, 2005).

speech is a separate linguistic function, differing from oral speech in both structure and mode of functioning" (2012, p. 191⁴¹). He went on to examine specific properties of writing that generally differed from those of speech, observing that: 1) writing required a higher level of abstraction than oral speech; 2) it might be addressed to an absent or imaginary person or to no one in particular; 3) the motives for writing might be more abstract and removed from immediate needs; 4) written language was generally deployed to its fullest extent and must explain the situation fully, unlike oral speech. Peter Smagorinsky (2011) has highlighted the fact that Vygotsky was adamant in proposing that writing instructors should emphasize meaning, and not merely teach writing as a mechanical skill for recording and transposing speech.

Here, in Vygotsky's work, we can already see a much closer focus on writing as something other than a graphemic system used to reflect oral speech. Instead, writing was seen as a meaning-based, social activity that required specific skills from language users that differed from those of oral speech.

2.3.2 Volosinov and Bakhtin: Writing and speech genres

What can the work of Volosinov and Bakhtin add to our understanding of writing? As we saw in the previous chapter, both Volosinov and Bakhtin rejected the tendency within linguistics to separate language from its social contexts of use when analyzing it, and instead called for theories that would recognize its contextualized diversity. As Volosinov stated, the focus of study within linguistics, should not be "merely acoustic phenomenon, nor physiological processes of sound production, nor sound reception, nor the (psychological) experience of inner

⁴¹ Again, Vygotsky's essays were written in the 1920s and 1930s but generally published much later. At least part of the English work *Thought and Language* (2012) was published originally in the essay *Umstvennoe Razvitie Detei v Protsesse Obucheniia*, in 1935 (Minick, 2005).

signs. This complex must be included within social context and the specific situation of communication" (1973, p. 47).

When describing the study of language in context, both Volosinov and Bakhtin seemed to emphasize oral communication rather than writing, when they called for research into the area of *speech genres*. Volosinov refered primarily to oral exchanges in his discussion of the "problem of speech genres," explaining that our use of language is guided by "repertoires of speech forms" that we adjust depending on our interlocutors and the immediate context of speech (1973, p. 20-21). In his examples of speech genres, he referred to oral exchanges, such as those found in "unofficial discussions, exchanges of opinion at the theater or a concert... [and] on-the-job communication of the strictly technical kind" (p. 20). He believed that speech genres had been stabilized especially within certain kinds of fixed social situations, such as "the genre of the light and casual causerie of the drawing room", "the case of conversation between husband and wife, brother and sister" and even "workers' lunchtime chats" (p. 97). However, he believed that these genres, and concrete language as a whole, had been completely overlooked by linguists, as they focused on abstract system of language, rather than on specific, contextualized examples of language in use.

Although Volosinov did not focus closely on writing and composing processes within his notion of the speech genres, he did suggest that speech genres could also impacted on specific acts of written language. For example, he explained that dialogue, or social interactions between speakers and listeners, existed not only in verbal communication, but also in written works, for "a book, i.e., a *verbal performance in print*... orients itself with respect to previous performances in the same sphere, both those by the same author and those by other authors" (p. 95). Volosinov's description of the relationships between written works, such as books, and verbal

performance gives rise to the notion that individual written utterances, like oral utterances, are not independent, but rather linked to other written utterances that have preceded them.

Bakhtin was clear about including written utterances, as well, in his discussion of the speech genre. In both "Discourse in the Novel" and "The Problem of Speech Genres," he defined speech genres as both oral and written utterances that grow more complex over time, as they are drawn on by language users (1981a; 1986). In fact, he saw the differentiation of a supposedly unitary language into various speech genres as one of the basic characteristics of language, its tendency towards stratification. Speech genres, for Bakhtin, included "oratorical, publicistic, newspaper and journalistic genres, the genres of low literature [and].... the various genres of high literature" (1981, p. 288-289). As we saw in chapter 1, Bakhtin distinguished between primary speech genres, such as face-to-face dialogue, and secondary genres, including novels and scientific research. He believed that linguists, and researchers in any field that focused on language, should study these specific speech genres, both primary and secondary, arguing that "to ignore the nature of the utterance or to fail to consider the peculiarities of generic subcategories of speech... leads to... excessive abstractness, distorts the historicity of the research, and weakens the link between language and life" (1986, p. 63).

As a literary scholar, he was particularly interested in problems related to writing: the issue of style and specific composing processes. He believed that styles of writing, both individual and general, could not properly be understood or studied without first understanding speech genres. A successful style within one genre might, when transferred to another genre, be completely unsuccessful. Style across genres is "inseparably linked to…particular types of construction of the whole, types of its completion, and types of relation between the speaker and other participants in speech communication (listeners or readers, partners, the other's speech, and

so forth)" (1986, p. 64). Thus, style has a generic nature and must be analyzed on the basis of the characteristics of specific genres. Furthermore, compositional processes are influenced by the familiarity that speakers and writers have with genres, for "the selection of the lexical, phraseological, and grammatical resources of the language, but above all... [the] compositional structure" of an utterance is affected by the ways in which speakers and writers position their utterances and texts within specific speech genres (p. 60).

Furthermore, Bakhtin saw the presence of dialogue and multiple voices not only in face-to-face oral exchanges, but also within written and oral utterances, even monologues. He argued:

In the makeup of almost every utterance spoken by a social person... a significant number of words can be identified that are implicitly or explicitly admitted as someone else's, and that are transmitted by a variety of different means. Within the arena of almost every utterance an intense interaction and struggle between one's own and another's word is waged, a process in which they oppose or dialogically interanimate each other... the utterance [is not]... a direct, single-voiced vehicle for expression. (1981a, p. 354-355)

Thus, difficulties in writing are not only encountered when writers struggle with the notions of audience, subject matter, and the formalities of the system of language, but also as they encounter and dialogue with the utterances, both oral and written, they have previously encountered.

2.3.3 Bakhtin and first-language writing: Modern composition and writing studies

The impact of Volosinov and Bakhtin's concept of speech genres on the discipline of first-language composition has been considerable. In fact, Bakhtin has been identified as the "most important theoretical influence for genre research" within the field of pragmatics (Solin, 2011, p. 120). At the time when Volosinov and Bakhtin referred to the issue of speech genres, there was still no systematic study of genres, such as that which has been underway since the

1970s in studies of first-language composition (Solin, 2011). Bakhtin referred to some work that had already been carried out in his day, involving ancient rhetorical genres and the linguistic classifications of simple speech genres. However, according to Bakhtin, these studies underestimated the true diversity of speech genres, as well as their realization through individual, concrete utterances in various spheres of human activity (1986). In current research on genres, there are a wide variety of approaches, but what underlies many of these is the assumption that "genres as forms of semiotic practices are socially based" (Solin, 2011, p.119).

The classification of genres and the question of their stability are two issues that have been debated within composition studies (Solin, 2011). In terms of classification, it has been debated whether genres can best be classified according to the formal features they share, or according to communicative purpose. Regarding the stability of genres, it has been argued, especially by theorists drawing on the work of Bakhtin, that genres are only relatively stable, and in reality are flexible and tend to be adapted by users in specific contexts. By drawing on Bakhtin's vision of genre, researchers are increasingly coming to the realization, as explained by Solin, that "genres are not simply formal classes... [and that] theoretical models must take account of issues like hybridity and genre change" (p. 131). Thus, although there is a tendency to adopt a rather static view of genres, the work of Bakhtin can aid researchers in the field in their attempts to move away from this and beginning to recognize the true diversity and flexibility of speech genres.

In his 2004 essay, "Intertextualities: Volosinov, Bakhtin, Literary Theory, and Literacy Studies" (2004), the American educator and scholar Bazerman applied the theory of speech genres, as developed by Volosinov and Bakhtin, towards the field of writing and literacy development. Bazerman argued that their theories of speech genres, in fact, contained within

them the notion of *intertextuality*. Bazerman acknowledged that the term intertextuality, as first introduced by the French literary scholar Kristeva, had had a great impact within literary fields, but he argued that its impact outside of the field of literary studies had been minimal.⁴² That was, he believed, partly due to the fact that Bakhtin himself had focused in large part on studies of literature, rather than on rhetoric and uses of writing outside the literary realm. Nonetheless, Bazerman felt that the concept could aid scholars of writing and rhetoric as they conceptualized and defined writing; especially if they drew on Volosinov's work on the subject as well as Bakhtin's.

Bazerman believed that the concept of speech genres involved the notion of intertextuality, in that it highlights the ways in which we as writers interact not only with the text we are writing and with potential readers, but also, and fundamentally, with other texts. He argued that, "enhanced agency as writers grows with our ability to place our utterances in relation to other texts, draw on their resources, represent those texts from our perspective, and assemble new social dramas of textual utterances within which we act through our words" (p. 60). He posited that writers of all kind operate within complex "intertextual landscapes" of speech genres; therefore, a major task for fledgling writers of any kind is to become familiar with previous relevant texts, learn how to dialogue with them, and then successfully position their own texts within their disciplines (p. 60).

Like Bazerman, Paul Prior (2009) recognized the importance of the theory of speech genres for writing studies, arguing that it had had a profound influence on fields that study

⁴² The French theorist and literary critic Gérard Genette is also associated with the term intertextuality. In his essays entitled *Figures* published in the late 1960s and early 1970s, he described intertextual relationships in literary texts. He claimed that literary texts are not individual creations, but rather particular manifestations that result from reshuffling the "themes, motifs, [and] key-words" found within overall literary systems (Genette, 1982, p. 5).

genres. Prior highlighted the fact that various kinds of oral and written genres are often interrelated, such that any given text draws on a variety of both. For example, he explained that:

a group may engage in planning 'talk' (which might include written notes, drawings, diagrams, and so on as well as presentational and conversational talk); that planning talk may lead to a series of written drafts that are perhaps reviewed through a series of oral and written responses (with annotational genres including textual editing, marginal comments, and extended comments); and all of this activity may culminate in a final written text that is then read in certain typified ways and prompts other responses. (p. 218)

Thus, various oral and written utterances may influence the contents of a final written text, such that writing and speech are interrelated. However, he felt that the writings, especially of Bakhtin, were flawed in that they did not offer any distinction between written and spoken genres of utterances. Instead, he suggested that the concept of the "composed utterance" could be relevant within genre and writing studies (p. 21). A composed utterance, as opposed to a spontaneous one, involves more deliberate attempts to incorporate chains of previous utterances within it and a more elaborated history, production, and reception. There may be instances in which a composed utterance results not (only) in a final written product, but (also) in an oral performance, such as in a composed speech, a memorized recitation, or a play in the theatre. Prior felt it was important to recognize the complexity of composed utterances, as opposed to spontaneous ones, stating that "composed signs (whether material artifacts, enacted performances, or both) are not unique in having a history, but are special in the ways that histories are aligned and are sedimented into and impinge on the present" (p. 20).

In a book published in 1999, Halasek, a university professor of composition, made use of Bakhtin's theories to offer what she considered a call for pedagogical reform within first language writing instruction. Drawing on Bakhtin's concepts of heteroglossia and authoritative and internally persuasive discourse, Halasek argued that university level writing instruction

could only be effective if it supported students in the process of ideological becoming. In terms of writing development, Halasek defined ideological becoming as the process of recognizing voices and viewpoints that inform one's use of language and one's treatment of a given topic, as well as learning to examine them critically. She relied on Bakhtin's notion of the connections between utterances, stating that "all discourse is intertextual in that it speaks to other utterances as well as *from* them. Every utterance is created in response to and in anticipation of other utterances, past and future" (p. 65). Halasek claimed that within the academic world novice writers are often criticized for drawing within their writing on non-academic voices, such as those of parents or other figures from their lives. To control their writing for academic purposes, students need to identify the academic and non-academic voices that influence what they write, and make a conscious effort to form their own critical opinions of and responses to these voices. While Halasek does not give concrete examples of how this pedagogy might take place, I would argue that it might start with the introduction of the notion of intertextuality in the language classroom, alongside an exploration of the ways in which different previous acts of language are present with the voices, and writings, of themselves, their peers, and other kinds of texts.

Therefore, traditional writing pedagogy that imposes certain forms on students, and which does not value the knowledge they bring with them to the classroom, encourages passivity in writing and language use. On the contrary, "[a] pedagogy of possibility seeks to engage students in responding to monologic discourses, to work their way out of subservience to those authoritative discourses" (p. 182). To be successful as writers, students do not need so much to reject the non-academic voices informing their discourses, nor to passively regurgitate the academic treatments of these topics. Instead, they must learn to critically engage with a variety of influential voices when constructing their own texts. Thus, for Halasek, writing pedagogy

should not attempt to impose proficient use of generic and discursive forms, but rather help students to engage with and then "release themselves from the power of the authoritative word" (p. 184).

2.4 A Bakhtinian foreign-language writing classroom

Given the lack of emphasis on writing within contemporary approaches towards foreign language learning, it is my belief that socially-based theories, such as those of Bakhtin, when applied towards the language classroom, can provide a powerful tool for focusing on written genres of communication. As we have seen, Bakhtin's theories have drawn attention to the fact that language learning, including writing development, involves not only knowledge of a language code, but also comes about through engagement with a diversity of voices and with specific discourse genres. His theories can help us to highlight the importance of conceptualizing writing as an activity that takes place for specific purposes and audiences, and which is constrained and enabled by relationships to other texts, utterances and similar genres.

A review of the literature reveals that while Bakhtin's notions of genres have been drawn on for the L1 composition classroom, there have as of yet been few applications of Bakhtin's notions of genre towards the teaching of L2 or foreign language writing. Elena Cotos (2011) included the concept of genre when designing an L2 writing course for English as a Foreign Language (EFL) graduate students that included the use of an Intelligent Academic Discourse Evaluator (IADE). This web-based automatic writing evaluation program analyzes the introduction section to research articles and generates immediate, individualized, and discipline-specific feedback regarding the use of vocabulary and rhetorical moves. In addition to the feedback program, the students were given access to a database of thousands of research articles from their respective disciplines, which they could use independently to read and analyze writing

from these genres. They also studied the use of rhetorical moves, as defined by John Swales (1990; 2004), during in-class lessons. Cotos' results showed that the students were able to revise their written work using the automatic feedback, creating subsequent drafts of their essays that were given higher ratings by independent observers. Although Cotos did not refer to Bakhtin in her discussion of genre, her use of a corpus of written work as a resource for her students to draw from when composing their own texts points to Bakhtin's notions of the interconnectedness of utterances over time.

Graciela Reyes (1999) is another researcher working with genres who has highlighted the phenomenon of intertextuality as an important one within studies of writing. As a linguistics professor in the field of Spanish pragmatics and foreign language writing development, she has discussed the importance of intertextuality, explaining that no written (or oral) text exists in isolation, since it always imitates, reproduces, or responds to other texts from similar genres. Thus, when we construct written texts, we do not work in isolation, but tend, both consciously and unconsciously, to connect our words, styles and genres with those we have already come into contact with.

Although it may seem that Reyes' descriptions and Cotos' approach towards the teaching of writing have much in common with the ideas highlighted by Bakhtin, it becomes clear through a close reading of their publications that they are more concerned with what it means to be a proficient writer and less with the Bakhtinian notion of ideological becoming. Reyes goes into great detail to explain how writers should take into account context and audience, how they can achieve coherency, relevance, and grammatical accuracy, and the steps they should go through in the writing process so as to properly organize and later proofread their texts. In her study, Cotos devotes her attention towards the development of appropriate rhetorical moves. However, in

doing so, both researchers focus almost entirely on the form of writing, and on how thoughts are best put onto paper. They do not question, as did Bakhtin, Volosinov, Vygotsky and Halasek, the process by which ideas are exchanged, developed, and examined consciously through contact with others.

In her 2004 contribution to a work on the implications of Bakhtin's theories for studies of literacy, Guadalupe Valdés examined the different views around writing and composition within fields that focus on mainstream, first-language writers and non-mainstream, second language writers. She highlighted the fact that Bakhtin's theories, as well as socially-based theories in general, were generally much more present within first-language composition classrooms. On the other hand, within bilingual and second language classrooms in North America, she argued that:

little attention has been given... to the extensive work that has been carried out on literacy as a social and cultural practice... The view that there are multiple literacies rather than a single literacy, and that these literacies depend on the context of the situation, the activity itself, the interactions between participants, and the knowledge and experiences that these various participants bring to these interactions, is distant from the view held by most L2 educators who still embrace a technocratic notion of literacy and emphasize the development of decontextualized skills. (p. 23)

Instead, Valdés argued, the research that most teachers and teacher educators draw on is the psycholinguistic research carried out in the field of SLA, which often emphasizes the acquisition of grammatical structures. However, in her article Valdés has raised the question as to whether a narrow focus on grammatical structure can actually prepare students to engage in appropriate writing outside the classroom. In discussing English language learner (ELL) writing classrooms, she has written:

What I am questioning is whether academic language can, in fact, be taught or learned effectively in the self-contained, hermetic universes of ELL classrooms. I am arguing that in order for students to eventually engage as writers... the classroom must be opened to multiple

texts and multiple voices. Students must be encouraged to see themselves as having something to say, as taking part in a dialogue with teachers, with students in their classrooms, with students in their school, with members of their communities, and with other writers who have written about issues and questions that intrigue them. I maintain that students should not be encouraged to merely pretend to talk to distant audiences so that their teacher can correct their vocabulary and syntax. They should be made aware of other voices, of how they speak, how they write, of the ways they say and do not say what they mean, of the resources they use to gain attention, to persuade, and to explain, and then, they should be encouraged to respond. From the perspective of Bakhtinian theory, students should [be] invited to see themselves as being active participants in 'a social dialogue' and to see their writing as a 'continuation' and 'rejoinder to that same dialogue (Bakhtin [1981] 2002, p. 277). (p. 33)

I would argue that Valdés' critique of ELL classrooms, and Halasek's use of Bakhtinian theory to bring about changes in first language writing pedagogy, are relevant to the university foreign language classroom as well. If students of a foreign language do not have access to other texts, or related voices and ideas, to draw on and respond to when composing their written work in their L2, how can they be expected to fully develop their ideas and produce appropriate compositions? If successful writing does involve exposure to and conscious interaction with a variety of voices and texts, or speech genres, in the target language, how can we bring about these kinds of interactions in the language classroom?

Bakhtin's theories can lead teachers and researchers of foreign language pedagogy to design classroom curricula and tasks that will allow them to expand the walls of their classrooms, from the very initial stages of language instruction. If authentic oral and written uses of a language involve concrete, contextualized utterances that are enabled by familiarity with other voices and with specific speech genres, then mere exposure to writing textbooks, or even to interactive pair work with classmates, will simply not offer the kinds of opportunities necessary for deeper language development.

However, it is now possible to bring a variety of voices and genres into the classroom, and to open the classroom up to the world, by making use of tools such as CMC technology to

allow students in the classroom to communicate with speakers of the language, to share their writing online and get feedback, and to participate in online oral and written discussions. While these kinds of activities are still not standard within university language classrooms, research has shown that students can benefit from the opportunity to participate in online exchanges, both oral and written. If these activities are designed appropriately, they can allow learners to find a communicative, contextualized purpose for their writing, and begin to adapt their writing for particular audiences (Abrams, 2011; Ducate & Lomicka, 2008; Elola & Oskoz, 2011; Fageeh, 2011; Lee, 2010; Shrum & Glisan, 2009). Through virtual contact with native speakers of a language, students will ideally have opportunities to observe the ways in which language varies in different contexts of communication, depending on who is communicating, about what, and why.

Chapter Three: Using (CMC) technology in the language classroom

An artifact is not... a concrete object (for example, bowls, statues, computers, number systems, language, etc.) that can be studied apart from humans engaged in practical goal-directed activity... Artifacts are simultaneously material and conceptual (or ideal) aspects of human goal-directed activity that are not only incorporated into this activity, but constitutive of it. (Lantolf & Thorne, p. 62)

In this chapter I will argue that uses of certain technological tools, especially CMC technologies, can be influential in bringing about classroom climates in which students can experience language, and writing, in more socially defined ways. It is my belief that instructors can draw on socially-based theories of language, such as those of Bakhtin, to design class-related activities to foment hands-on use of the language for intercultural contact, both written and oral, with native speakers of the language. Specifically, I argue that they can make use of CMC technologies, such as blogs, Skype and file-sharing programs, for these purposes. I will first undertake an overall review of the technologies that have been used for language learning. I will continue by examining in greater detail the literature that has examined the use of specific, new technologies for writing development. Finally, I will discuss the links between Bakhtinian and other socially-based theories of language and writing and the use of technologically-embedded activities in the language classroom.

3.1 Technology in the language classroom

3.1.1 A brief history of the use of technology for language learning

Throughout the history of language teaching, various technological tools have been introduced into human society, often being adapted for use in the language classroom. These include tools that may seem very basic now, such as textbooks or the chalkboard, and others as

recent and seemingly innovative as online, multi-player interactive games and other forms of Web 2.0 technology. It has been suggested that technology is often an "ill-defined concept" encompassing "a range of tools, artifacts and practices" (Zhao, 2003).⁴³ Researchers adopting a sociocultural view of history have highlighted the fact that many cultural and technological tools, perhaps even those that have had the greatest impact on human development, are mental and symbolic as well as physical, such that even language can be viewed as a form of technology (Wertsch, 1997). On the other hand, given the impact of computers and the Internet in recent decades, other studies have limited their analyses of technology to the use of computers in classroom settings (Chapelle, 2001; Zhao, 2003).

In this chapter I will take an intermediate view of technology, defining it as the various physical tools that have been adapted for classroom language learning. Although the language classroom has involved the presence of both teachers and students since its inception, the technological tools physically present within the classroom have undergone changes. The technologies put to earliest use facilitated written transmission of language (Germain, 1993; Kelly, 1969). These included clay tablets, on which Akkadian scribes in training learned to scratch Sumerian cuneiform symbols. A similar tool continued to be used by Egyptian scribes until it was discovered that they could use reeds to write on dried papyrus scrolls, which made the writing faster and produced a document that was lighter and easier to transport (Germain, 1993). The continuous development of similar technologies, which eventually led to the modern-day paper, pens and pencils, have influenced the activities that could be carried out in

⁴³ Raymond Williams (1983) included the word *technology* in his study of particular English vocabulary words that are difficult to define or have made major changes over time. As he explained, the root "tekne" hailed from the Greek and originally referred to "an art or craft." However, the development of particular ideas about science in the 19th century "opened the way to a familiar modern distinction between knowledge (*science*) and its practical applications (*technology*)" (p. 313).

the language classroom, including the kinds of notes students were able to take and the texts they could reasonably be expected to produce.

Another writing technology that seems to have been in use in the classroom since at least the 17th century, according to Kelly (1969), is the blackboard, which allows teachers to draw the attention of an entire class to a specific drawing or piece of text. The blackboard later gave rise to other tools that were designed to be cleaner, such as the feltboard, and, eventually, the whiteboard. Other related tools have been developed over time, such as the overhead projector, the multimedia projector and the SmartBoard (Salaberry, 2001; Shrum & Glisan, 2009; Strickland & O'Brien, 2013). These tools also allow instructors to direct the attention of the entire class to a specific item, initially primarily text-based, but increasingly allowing for multimedia presentations.

An important tool that has been present in the classroom for centuries but which has undergone important modifications over time is the book. Although different teaching theories have influenced the ways in which textbooks are designed and used, Kelly (1969) has pointed out that the use of books has also been influenced by both their physical format and the extent to which they were actually available to students. In most ancient cultures books were rare and costly to produce, as each copy had to be written by hand, and thus were available only to the wealthy, who could afford both books and private tutors. Even in the medieval European classroom, it was still only the teacher who would have a copy of a book, with "the pupils taking down both the text and commentary from dictation" (p. 258). Kelly has suggested that it was only during and after the high Renaissance, perhaps as late as the 17th and 18th centuries, that the development of the printing press, together with improved forms of production, gradually made the book affordable enough so that pupils could be expected to have individual copies of printed

books. This was a necessary condition for the rise of the Grammar Translation method of language teaching, in which students needed to have individual copies of texts for translation (Cuq & Gruca, 2005; Richards & Rodgers, 2001).

Before examining the technological tools that have incorporated modes of representation other than the written, it is important to point out that one of most recent tools to have an impact on the language classroom, the computer, was originally primarily a text-based medium. In the early 1960s and 1970s, some pioneers interested in computer-based language learning activities designed text-based computer programs that allowed students to do exercises and receive feedback and grammatical explanations targeted to their specific mistakes (Chapelle, 2001). The original emphasis was on drill-like exercises and programmed instruction that fit within a behaviorist model of language learning (Blake, 2008; Robinson, Molenda & Rezabek, 2008).

The various aforementioned technologies, although diverse in nature, share a common function, in that they all facilitate the task of writing or of sharing or displaying written text.

They have thus been useful in permitting students to develop their reading and writing skills in a specific language, under the guidance of an instructor. However, the need to bring extratextual modalities into the classroom has been recognized in language-teaching settings, especially since the development of modern linguistics at the close of the 19th century. As we have seen, theories and methodologies that inspired the direct method and natural approach, the audiolingual method and the communicative approach have all placed the development of oral comprehension and production as central (Germain, 1993, Wheeler, 2013). With those goals in

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⁴⁴ It has been suggested that in Western educational settings, literacy development tends to be equated with the development of reading and writing. This is, in fact, an issue that is being struggled with at the present time, as society as a whole attempts to re-assess definitions of literacy in an era in which texts are increasingly multimodal, and no longer limited to the physical pages of a book (Baguley, Pullen & Short, 2010).

mind, instructors have turned to technological tools to aid them in providing their students with exposure to and practice with extra-textual aspects of language.

One of the earliest audio technologies used in the language classroom was the phonograph. M. Rafael Salaberry (2001) has found evidence that language teachers used the phonograph to offer models of pronunciation and intonation for their students to listen to and imitate. Kelly (1969) has also stated that "by the thirties the phonograph had become a common item of classroom equipment" (p. 242). However, it remained difficult for students to use the phonograph for recording, so when the magnetic tape recorder was developed in the 1940s, it was quickly adopted within the classroom for this purpose and especially incorporated into the language laboratory.

Other technologies that were introduced during the 20th century included the radio, which was even used as a medium for distance language learning courses, television, including satellite broadcasts, and film and other videos (Salaberry, 2001; Shrum & Glisan, 2009). While radio and television could be used to bring listening activities into the classroom, they initially could only be accessed through real-time broadcasts, making it difficult to coordinate with class schedules. Eventually, these media could be recorded onto cassette and VHS tapes for later reproduction. However, copyright restrictions that limited playback of radio and television broadcasts made it difficult for many instructors to incorporate these technologies into their classrooms (Gascoigne Lally, 2000).⁴⁵ Instructors have also experimented with video and film, showing them with and

⁴⁵ In my experience, this is an issue that continues to complicate the use of Internet technologies in the language classroom to expose students to authentic materials.

without captions and subtitles, and including textual and picture-based advanced organizers to facilitate comprehension (Salaberry, 2001).

At the present time, a great majority of the technologies used in the language classroom are affiliated with the computer, as well as with computer-like mobile devices. The use of computer technology within educational settings has undergone many developments since the computer was first introduced in the mid-1960s (Chapelle, 2001; Salaberry, 2001). The field that focuses on computer applications for language learning has operated under a number of titles such as computer-assisted language instruction (CALI), computer applications in second language acquisition (CASLA) and CALL (Chapelle, 2001; Shrum and Glisan, 2009). As previously mentioned, early uses of the computer involved expensive mainframe computers to create drill-like exercises for language laboratories, as supplements to face-to-face classroom instruction. More recently, the development of microcomputers, with increasingly sophisticated audio and graphic capabilities, has allowed computers to become more accessible to teachers and learners (Chapelle, 2001). Many technologies that previously existed in other formats are now presented through the medium of the computer, such as digital texts, which often incorporate images, sound and video (Baguley, Pullen & Short, 2010). Other new technologies include computer-assisted pronunciation training, often involving automatic speech recognition, and computer-based assessment, including computer adaptive testing (Chapelle, 2001; Strickland & O'Brien, 2013).

Moving beyond the individual computer, the introduction of the World Wide Web in the mid-1990s has provided relatively easy access to audio, video and textual materials in almost every language (Shrum & Glisan, 2009). Over the past decade the tools and information available on the World Wide Web have had a strong impact in many areas of Western society,

including politics and journalism (Richardson, 2006). While the initial World Wide Web, or the Web 1.0, was composed mainly of static Web pages that a limited number of experts could update periodically, the Web 2.0 allows for a much greater level of interactivity, in which numerous users, potentially even unregistered users, can make use of applications to add content to existing sites (Han, 2011; Richardson, 2006). A prime example is Wikipedia, the free online encyclopedia that anyone with Web access can edit by adding or modifying text or uploading images. ⁴⁶ One researcher has even cited Wikipedia as the "symbolic beginning of Web 2.0" (Han, 2011, p. 25), while others consider the interactivity found on the Web 2.0 to involve the "harnessing [of] collective intelligence" (O'Reilly, 2006). The Web 2.0 also allows for quick sharing of content, such as audio, video and image files, as well as social interaction and online collaboration through a variety of online tools.

Although research has shown that many educational systems have been reticent to consider the ways in which the Web could influence their teaching and learning practices (Crook et al., 2008; Richardson 2006), some researchers and instructors are enthusiastically experimenting with uses of the Web 2.0 (Richardson, 2006; Shrum & Glisan, 2009, Thomas, 2009). Some of the services and applications available on the Web 2.0 that have been used in language learning settings include Weblogs or blogs, wikis, audio and video broadcasting (known as podcasting) and other media sharing sites, as well as social network sites and massively multiplayer online games (Bryant, 2006; Crook et al., 2008; Han, 2011; Kurt, 2009;

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⁴⁶ There are a variety of wikis on the web. A wiki is "a website where anyone can edit anything anytime they want" (Richardson, 2006, p. 59). These pages usually have an "edit" button which, when clicked, allow the code behind a page to be edited. The page can thus be formatted to include text, audio and video as well as links to other websites. In contrast to a blog, which is usually created and updated by just one person or organization as a whole (with some exceptions in educational settings), a wiki can theoretically be a collaborative creation among a variety of individuals.

Richardson, 2006). With the development of CMC technology, such as email, chat and Internet-based telephone, it is possible to use the computer for communication both within the classroom and with speakers of languages around the world (Thorne, 2008).

In addition to the Web 2.0 applications, other technologies that are often used in language classrooms include learning management systems and mobile devices. Many university courses are now presented to students through Internet-based course or learning management systems, such as Blackboard and Desire 2 Learn (Thorne, 2008). On the other hand, mobile devices, such as tablet computers and smartphones, are not uniformly integrated into university-level language coursework. However, it has been predicted that cell phones and other mobile media, which can often record and reproduce images and video and connect wirelessly to the Internet, may soon replace the traditional computer, suggesting the need for incorporating them into language learning settings (Molenda & Boling, 2008; Thorne, 2008).

In a report prepared by the British Educational Communications and Technology Agency (BECTA), the potential of the World Wide Web was highlighted as a resource that learners should be encouraged to "draw upon and contribute to" (Crook et al., 2008, p. 35). Some primary advantages of making use of the Web 2.0 in the language classroom that have been highlighted in the literature are the potential: 1) to connect language learners to the target languages and cultures (through blogs, media sharing and social network sites); 2) to encourage them to work collaboratively to create materials for sharing (for example, through wiki spaces); and 3) to give them a platform on which to publish their own work (Karchmer, 2008; Richardson, 2006; Shrum, 2009).

However, it has also been acknowledged that the use of the Web will put teachers in new and at first potentially difficult roles, as they go about the process of "inspiring, coordinating,"

and evaluating Web 2.0 learning practices" (Crook et al., 2008, p. 35). Some issues that teachers will have to face when making use of the Web 2.0 include finding a balance between authentic and free uses of the Web with the need for safety and institutional control, handling plagiarism or "cut-and-paste" research, deciding how to assess collaborative work such as wiki projects, as well as teaching learners to critically evaluate the information found in Web sources (Crook et al., 2008, p. 5). Indeed, research has shown that K-12 students in general, and especially elementary school students, tend to feel comfortable browsing the web but have difficulty performing appropriate keyword searches for specific information, struggle with synthesizing the information found across different web sites, and are generally unlikely to question the authority of the information they find on the Web (Kuiper & Volman, 2008). Educators who make use of the Web 2.0 in the classroom need to consider these issues as they decide how best to provide supportive pedagogy for their students.

3.1.2 Important issues underlying the use and implementation of technology

Research on the use of technology for language learning has drawn attention to important issues surrounding the use of technological tools for learning purposes. The use of language learning technologies are affected by both educational beliefs, goals and expected outcomes, as well as the contexts of use surrounding the tools themselves. Thus, when studying and making use of any technological tool, it is important to avoid making certain unquestioned assumptions about technologies. These include technological determinism, on the one hand, and an overemphasis or exaggerated belief in the neutrality of technological tools, on the other.

Regarding technological determinism, it should be noted that research studies on the use of technology in the classroom, with contributions from sociocultural theory, have led to the important realization that technologies in and of themselves do not determine any particular

success, failure or revolution in language learning and teaching (Wood & Smith, 2005).

Research has shown that it can be difficult to evaluate the overall effectiveness of technologies.

For example, Yong Zhao (2003) carried out a meta-analysis of studies published in academic journals that had attempted to assess the effectiveness of technology use in language learning settings. He came to the conclusion that it was impossible to evaluate the technologies as a whole, when divorced from use and context. He explained:

...the effects of any technology on learning outcomes lie in its uses. A specific technology may hold great educational potential, but, until it is used properly, it may not have any positive impact at all on learning. Thus, assessing the effectiveness of a technology is in reality assessing the effectiveness of its uses rather than the technology itself...to further complicate things, the effectiveness of an educational approach is highly mediated by many other variables—the learner, the task, the instructional setting, and of course the assessment tool. Thus, even the same use of a particular technology in different instructional settings may result in different learning outcomes. (p. 8)

Zhao's statement highlights the fact that it is not the technology that can be evaluated as helpful or not for language learning. Both the learning context and the ways in which the technology is used within a pedagogical task are crucial factors to consider during assessment. Technologies are always put into use by human beings, acting as agents, in particular contexts (Wertsch, 1997).

In the case of language learning, classrooms involve unique groups of teachers and learners, with specific goals, following particular pedagogical methodologies and approaches. Furthermore, it is important to note that it is not only the tools that have changed over time, but also beliefs about education. Al Januszewski and Michael Molenda (2008) have cited a trend in the field of educational technology towards more learner-centered and constructivist views, explaining that:

the theoretical lenses of cognitive and constructivist learning theories have changed the emphasis in the field from teaching to learning... from a field driven by the design of

instruction to be 'delivered' in a variety of formats to a field which seeks to create learning environments in which learners can explore... in order to arrive at meaningful understanding. (p. 2)

Therefore, it is not only technologies that continue to be developed over time, but also the theoretical orientations present within educational fields, which define the kinds of research being undertaken and the ways in which technologies are conceptualized and put into use.

The use of one technology in particular, the tape recorder, demonstrates the link between technology use and theoretical beliefs about language learning. In his discussion of the various mechanical media that have been used within the language classroom, Kelly (1969) described two very different applications of the same tape recording technology. According to Kelly, tape recorders were not truly available in the U.S. until after World War II, when the U.S. government confiscated the German patent on magnetic tape and began to manufacture it in the U.S. When they did become widely available, they were adopted primarily by followers of the audiolingual method. Within audiolingual language labs, double-track recording machines were connected to instructor-controlled consoles. Students were expected to work individually during the sessions, although all students were together in the same room. The primary activities included "listening and analyzing the characteristics to be imitated...exact mimicry...[and] variation of patterns" (Kelly, p. 246). The use of tape recorders for individual but controlled practice in laboratory settings meshed well with audiolingual beliefs surrounding languages and language learning. For example, one audiolinguist of the time stated that, "a main objective of the language laboratory is to afford a type of learning experience that will produce unhesitating, automatic oral responses with little or no reliance upon analytical crutches" (Anderson, 1964, p. 202). Another researcher of the time hypothesized that in those settings, "imitative practice could be recorded, judged, erased, re-recorded, to the point of learning" (Lorge, 1964, p. 409).

However, Kelly (1969) also found evidence that tapes were used in some teaching settings to record messages, which were exchanged with partner schools overseas. This is a quite different use of the same technology. It surely involved alternative learning goals, such as the use of language for communication or culture learning.

The example of the tape recorder is reflective of issues that continue to surround the implementation of technologies in specific settings; namely, that it is not the technologies themselves that are revolutionary or that have a direct impact on language learning. When technologies are introduced into classrooms as a result of administrative decisions, with little or no training provided or connection to theory and teaching methodology, the results will likely be disappointing. Rather, it is up to individual teachers to incorporate tools into their classrooms, to achieve specific learning goals that fit within their professed methodologies and beliefs about language learning (Wertsch, 1997).

When evaluating and assessing the tools themselves, as James V. Wertsch (1997) and Thorne (2003) have stated, it is essential to realize that tools are not completely neutral. Rather, technologies have specific properties and historical uses that may impact on the learning process or interfere with the goals of agents. First, the material natures of the tools themselves lead to limitations on the ways in which they can be used. As Wertsch (1997) has explained, "even if a new cultural tool frees us from some earlier limitation of perspective, it introduces new ones of its own" (p. 39). The ways in which technologies aid us in performing actions by removing limitations are called *affordances*, while the limits they impose are known as *constraints* (Lamy & Hampel, 2007; Wertsch, 1997). Each technological tool involves constraints in addition to the affordances it may provide. For example, one affordance offered by CMC technologies is the possibility of communicating with speakers of the language who are physically and temporally

distant. However, they also constrain communication in that they generally offer fewer cues for personal interaction than what is available during face-to-face contact (Wood & Smith, 2005). In this sense, specific characteristics of CMC tools, such as whether they can be used for synchronous or asynchronous contact, via textual, oral, or visual modes, imply specific affordances and constraints. These factors should be considered when adapting technologies for classroom use within specific CALL tasks.

A related issue to consider when using technologies in learning settings is that they generally exist outside the classroom as well. Technologies are thus "historically situated," and as Wertsch has explained, "this history typically leaves its traces on mediational means and hence on mediated action" (1997, p. 58). That is to say, the patterns and histories of use of specific technological tools influence the ways in which they continue to be used. Students tend to have previous life experience with most of the technologies found within the classroom.

In his sociocultural study of CMC technologies, Thorne (2003) examined the ways in which students' prior uses of these technologies impacted on emergent practices within the language classroom. He argued that it was likely that students would come to the classroom with differing experiences surrounding CMC technologies, which would affect the ways in which they engaged with the tools. For example, speaking of email, one of the most basic CMC technologies, Thorne explained:

To take a tool like e-mail as an example, it may function primarily as a family information medium for the generation that adopted it after retirement, or be used as a collaboration tool for academics writing articles together... I know individuals for whom e-mail is an 'impersonal' medium ill-suited for intimate or non-work related communication; yet in a recent survey I distributed in a graduate seminar comprised of adult students from a number of countries around the world, 65% (n=17) responded that the emotions they expressed are as or more intimate through e-mail as in face-to-face (F2F) contexts. (p. 40)

Given that CMC technologies, such as email, are generally present in students' lives outside the classroom, these previous uses, or what Thorne refers to as *cultures-of-use*, may have unexpected influences on a teacher's attempts to utilize them in a classroom activity. For example, during one CMC project, Thorne experienced difficulties setting up online exchanges between undergraduate students at Penn State University and university students in France. The CMC project was designed to include an initial period of email exchanges, followed by synchronous chat sessions. While the students participated satisfactorily in the chat sessions, many of them avoided sending emails and reported that the email exchange was not a source of motivation. In their comments at the end of the semester, the students explained that they generally used email for communication with their professors or other authority figures, but not to communicate with their peers. Instead, they preferred to engage in peer contact through synchronous chat programs. Therefore, they felt uncomfortable using the email technology for interpersonal contact with their peers. The email technology was thus constrained, in that the students saw it as a technology that allowed for formal contact and information exchange, but not as a medium through which to develop interpersonal relationships with their peers.

The cultures-of-use surrounding various technologies, which are constantly emerging and changing over time, are thus important factors to take into account when adapting them for use in language learning settings. That is not to say that technology cannot be implemented in novel ways in the classroom. Rather, it implies that teachers may need to guide their students in discovering the ways in which technologies they already use for other purposes can also be engaged with in educational and language learning settings (Chapelle, 2001). This has been referred to as the *bridging* or *bridging-activities model* by researchers who have studied how to help students realise the potential that common technologies, such as video games or social

networking sites, have as language learning tools (Reinhardt & Zander, 2011; Thorne, 2008). It has been suggested that, as learners become more versed in the use of computer technologies in their daily lives, engaging in bridging activities will become one of the most important technology-based tasks within the language classroom.

As we have seen, research regarding technology for language learning, and sociocultural studies regarding tool use in society, has shown that the incorporation of technology in the language classroom is a complex issue. Technology has been present in language learning settings throughout history and has been used by proponents of various methods to complement the teaching and learning process in different ways. When adapting various technologies for use in the classroom, instructors should first clearly define language learning goals, the tasks that can best address those goals, and how technology may or may not help them carry out the tasks. Furthermore, when selecting a technology for use, it is important to consider its specific material properties, and the affordances or constraints these will impose on the learning task. For example, while asynchronous email technology will offer students ample time in which to compose a message and focus on form, it may also constrain the communication in that there will be fewer contextual cues available to students regarding their message recipients than would be present with synchronous video chat. Finally, instructors also need to take into account the cultures-of-use surrounding a technology, especially regarding the ways in which their students may already be interacting with technology outside the classroom. These previous experiences may constrain the usage of a given technology. However, by aiding their students in turning already familiar technologies into language learning tools, teachers will engage in the very important task of supporting their students in becoming autonomous users of the language of study, both within and outside the classroom.

3.2 The use of technology to support writing development

Research regarding the applications of technology for foreign language writing has focused on tools for automatic writing evaluation and feedback, as well as on the use of CMC technologies as a support for writing development. The research that was carried out and which will be described in Chapters 4 and 5 of this dissertation will involve the use of specific CMC technologies. While automatic writing evaluation involves a direct interaction between a learner and the computer itself, CMC technologies involve the use of a computer as a means to facilitate communication between human beings.

3.2.1 Automatic writing evaluation (AWE)

There has been a great amount of research in recent years regarding the impact of computer programs that can offer AWE within language classrooms (Chen & Cheng, 2008; Cotos, 2011; Warschauer & Ware, 2006; Yang, 2004). However, there continue to be difficulties associated with programming computers to recognize and correct grammatically incorrect sentences, such as those that might be produced by language learners (Chi Yang & Akahori, 1998). Some programs that are capable of correcting common grammar and spelling errors, such as the spell and grammar checking software for a variety of languages found in Microsoft Word, have been used with language learners with positive outcomes, although at times these have difficulty recognizing the kinds of errors made by non-native speakers (Rimrott & Heift, 2008; Shrum & Glisan, 2009).

Language software programs such as "Tell Me More" and "Rosetta Stone" provide writing corrections for language learners at the sentence and individual word level (Lafford, 2004; Sargent & Foster, 2000). Other commercial self-authoring programs, such as "Fun With Texts," allow learners to interact with written texts inputted by the instructor through activities

such as fill-in-the blanks, text prediction, word unscrambling, and sentence ordering, which may be appropriate as warm-up activities prior to engaging in writing (Harbusch et al, 2008; "Fun", 2012). However, little to no studies have been published testing the effects of such software on students' writing skills. Furthermore, there is little research data on foreign language software that can provide writing feedback on paragraph-length texts and longer written works. Programs such as "Tell Me More" provide writing prompts, but learners are instructed to save and submit their texts to instructors for feedback (Lafford, 2004).

Some higher-level writing softwares that can provide feedback at the sentence and discourse level, such as "Criterion", have been developed for writing in English, which may benefit EFL learners (El Ebyary & Windeatt, 2010; Fang, 2010). However, assessment and correction software adapted for other languages do not tend to appear in the research literature, except as the development of prototypes that are still not commercially available (Harbusch et al, 2008).

3.2.2 CMC technologies

CMC technologies, to facilitate synchronous or asynchronous online communication, are increasingly easier to access in the language classroom. The tools may differ not only in terms of their temporal characteristics, but also in the modes of communication they offer. While the original CMC tools, such as email, text chat and discussion forums, were limited to linguistic-written and spatial-visual modes, Marie-Noëlle Lamy and Regine Hampel have pointed out that the recent incorporation of Voice over Internet Protocol (VoIP) has allowed for the inclusion of linguistic-oral modes of communication, through video conferences, oral chat and other new voice tools (2007). While these kinds of activities are still not standard within university language classrooms, research has shown that students can benefit from the opportunity to

participate in online exchanges, both oral and written. If these activities are designed appropriately, they can allow learners to find a communicative, contextualized purpose for their use of the language (Abrams, 2011; Ducate & Lomicka, 2008; Elola & Oskoz, 2008; Fageeh, 2011; Shrum & Glisan, 2009).

Nonetheless, not all attempts to carry out CMC projects for intercultural and language exchange have been uncomplicated. Research projects focusing on intercultural exchanges have highlighted instances of miscommunication or communication breakdowns, which can be expected as a component of these kinds of exchanges. It has been suggested that if learners are properly supported and are encouraged to reflect more deeply on the miscommunications encountered, these instances, rather than constituting a negative component of the exchange, can be seen instead as important learning experiences that may lead to increased intercultural competence (Kramsch & Thorne, 2002; Thorne, 2008; Ware, 2005).

3.2.2.1 Blogs

Margaret H. Beauvois (1992, 1995, 1997, 1998) has spent decades researching the benefits of integrating CMC tools, such as email and synchronous text chatting, into L2 writing courses. However, blogs and other Web 2.0 publishing tools have so far received less empirical attention. Blogs are one of the most widely used Web 2.0 services, with close to a million blogs currently registered by Google's Blog search engine (http://www.google.com/blogsearch). Blogs are web-based publications ordered chronologically, which can include text as well as pictures, videos and links. They usually involve "a mixture of comments on what is happening on the Web and the world out there" (Lovink, 2007, p. 3) and may be kept by individuals or larger organizations. Readers can usually respond to blog publications by posting comments, and they can subscribe to a specific blog to receive updates by email or RSS feed when new items are

published to it. While there are software services that allow for the creation of blogs, such as Manilla, these may require some effort to create and to host online (Kurt, 2009; Richardson, 2006). A simpler option is to use a blogging website, such as blogger.com, or wordpress.com, in which all content is created and stored online and which generally include free hosting (Richardson, 2006).

Aaron P. Campbell (2003) has argued that blogs can be an effective tool for writing development, as the fact that they are published online and available for others to read gives a more communicative nature to the writing task. Furthermore, readers can respond to and interact with writers by posting comments on their blog entries. On the other hand, some experimental studies that have made use of blog projects for L2 writing development have found that the use of the blog format itself does not necessarily motivate students to engage in more writing than what is assigned and does not necessarily make the experience of writing more communicative or interactive (Lin, Groom & Lin, 2013).

In 2008, Lara C. Ducate and Lara L. Lomicka published one of the first articles that described a pedagogical use of blogs for university-level language learners. The project was carried out within intermediate-level French and German university classes over the course of two semesters. In the first part of the course, the students were allowed to choose among several suggested blogs published by native speakers of French and German. They visited those blogs throughout the semester to learn more about the writers and used worksheets to prepare summaries of the topics discussed. At the end of the first semester, they researched a cultural issue that had been mentioned in the blog and presented it to the class. During the second semester, the same students were instructed to publish posts in personal blogs, writing each week on assigned themes related to the topics covered in the course. They were also required to read

and comment on each other's posts. The teachers graded the blog writings and offered feedback, but as the focus was on fluency and not form, the students were not required to re-write the blogs nor correct their mistakes. The instructors' observations, as well as the students' own comments in questionnaires and interviews, suggested that the students enjoyed the project and felt that it helped them expand their reading, writing, vocabulary, and cultural knowledge. The difficulties associated with the project included finding appropriate native speaker blogs that were frequently updated. Furthermore, many of the students suggested that they would have enjoyed sharing their blogs and getting comments from native speakers, rather than only sharing with their classmates. The authors suggested that finding a partner group in another country and allowing the two groups to read and comment on each other's blogs would be an interesting future project.

In another article published the same year, Idoia Elola and Ana Oskoz used a blog as a forum for an online exchange between U.S. exchange students in Spain and language students at the home institution in the United States. Their purpose was to measure whether the use of a shared blog would help develop the intercultural competence of both the students abroad and those located in the U.S. As the goal was to study intercultural competence and not language development, both groups of students participated in their home language of study, English. Both groups of students used the blog to converse about cultural topics, which were initiated by the home students after their in-class discussions. Each post also contained questions for the students who were studying abroad in Spain. Both groups of students were able to use the comment feature on the blog to share thoughts and ask questions. Finally, the students in the U.S. reflected on what they had learned in the blog through in-class presentations. In their results, when comparing surveys completed by students at the start and finish of the semester, the

researchers found that not only the study abroad students, but also the home students, showed that they had learned about Spanish culture, as well as their own, over the course of the semester.

Another more recent research project, which involved the use of a blog for second language writing development, was carried out in a second grade classroom at an elementary school in a poor New England community, in which the majority of students did not have access to computers at home (Gebhard, Shin, & Seger, 2011). Many of the students in the class spoke Spanish at home and so had varying levels of English literacy. The study evaluated the participation of 19 grade two students in a class blog set up by their instructor, aided by a technology specialist and co-researcher. The classroom was equipped with four laptops for students to use, while both parents and students were provided with computer workshops and access to the blog at a local public library. The blog was designed to be both a pedagogical and social activity, as the students were instructed to practice writing five genres of texts (letters, recounts, informational reports, arguments and explanations in response to literature), which they were studying as part of their classroom curriculum. They were instructed to read and comment on each other's texts and also received comments and feedback from their instructor. Parents also participated in the blog by reading and commenting on their children's work. Through an analysis of students' writing in the blogs, it was found that their writing became increasingly complex over the course of the semester, and that they used the comment feature on the blog to correct and comment on each other's work and to carry out speech acts, such as giving praise, thanking, joking, apologizing, requesting and giving information, agreeing and disagreeing, defending opinions and giving evidence.

One final study, carried out with university L2 English learners in Taiwan, demonstrated some of the difficulties involved in engaging L2 writers in blogging activities (Lin, Groom, &

Lin, 2013). The curriculum for the first-year writing course for English majors focused on "details of language use, mechanics, content and organization" and an explanation and use of academic genres of writing, such as comparison-contrast essays, and argumentative essays (p. 131). Rather than simply writing the essays and submitting them to the instructor, as in the traditional course, students were required to post their assignments online in the blog, and to read their classmates' publications. In final interviews carried out with students who had participated in the blog, the students reported that the addition of the blog to their coursework was a fresh, novel and convenient way to share their work with the instructor and their classmates. They also felt that by reading their classmates' assignments they were able to "pick up" some new English expressions and usage (p. 133).⁴⁷ However, the reality of the blog writing was often disappointing or frustrating for the students. They felt uncomfortable with their language abilities and were worried about placing their writing online with mistakes, so they often opted to write shorter essays. Furthermore, other than being anxious at the thought of making mistakes, they did not find the experience of writing and publishing their work online any different from simply submitting their essays to the instructor. As the authors explained, the students seemed to view the blogging "more as a new technological platform for reading and writing activities than as a new form of literacy practice in its own right" (p. 134).

3.2.2.2 Dropbox and other file sharing programs

Dropbox is a Web 2.0 application that makes use of cloud technology to allow multiple users to share editable files, either online or through a folder stored on their individual computers or mobile equipment (Albors-Garrigos & Ramos Carrasco, 2011). Any files added to or edited

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⁴⁷ This is reminiscent of Bakhtin's notions of intertextuality, or the "assimilation" of others' words into one's own speech (1986, p. 89). I will further discuss this notion in my results in chapter 5 of this dissertation.

within the folders are automatically updated and synced between the multiple devices making use of the shared space online. Dropbox has been used in some educational settings as a tool for students who are collaborating on group projects and so need to share and co-edit files (Moreno, 2012). It has also been suggested that encouraging students to use file-sharing programs, such as dropbox, is pedagogically justifiable, for "it's not likely that knowing one's way around Blackboard will be helpful in life after college, whereas knowing how to use online collaborative and writing tools could be advantageous" (Godwin-Jones, 2012, p. 9). Instructors can make use of Dropbox and other similar tools to share classroom materials and files with students (Davies, Otto & Ruschoff, 2013), while students can use them to engage in collaborative learning activites (Siegle, 2010).

Although it is easy to imagine the pedagogical value of file-sharing tools that allow multiple users to edit a document stored and shared online, research evaluating their effectiveness at encouraging collaborative work within specific student populations is still underway, and little to no research has been carried out within language classrooms. Some research that has been carried out with related applications, such as GoogleDocs and Etherpad, two free, online collaborative writing tools, have led researchers to suggest that the tools in and of themselves will not automatically lead to collaboration (Brodahl, Hadjjerouit & Hansen, 2011). Learners will need assistance regarding how to work collaboratively and should be guided as they learn to use new tools to engage in writing.

A limited number of previous studies have involved the use of intercultural peer review with the use of online file-sharing and other writing tools. ⁴⁸ Paige D. Ware and O'Dowd studied online intercultural peer review as a component of a university-level language course (2008). They made use of a learning management system, Blackboard, to allow L2 learners of Spanish to communicate asynchronously with L2 learners of English. These students were divided into two conditions. In the e-tutoring condition, the students were explicitly asked to give each other form-focused feedback on the messages they had exchanged, while in the epartnering condition, they were merely informed that they had the option to do so. In their results, the researchers found that it was only in the e-tutoring condition that the students tended to give each other form-focused feedback, while in the e-partnering condition, the students tended to avoid commenting on each others' language use. The students in both conditions expressed agreement with the statement that getting feedback from the native speakers on the accuracy of their writing would be helpful. However, based on their findings, the researchers suggested that students do not tend to "integrate... [peer feedback]...into their online interactions unless given explicit directions to do so by the language instructor" (p. 54).

Constanza Tolosa, Martin East and Helen Villers (2013) have also described an online exchange between eleven-year old students learning Spanish as a foreign language in New Zealand and peers of the same age learning English as a foreign language in Colombia (2013). This exchange took place through Moodle, a learning management program in use within the students' educational establishments. During the semester, the students exchanged messages on

⁴⁸ Martin Guardado and Ling Shi (2007) have called for the further incorporation of electronic peer feedback within ESL classrooms, through the use of "synchronous chat system interactions, asynchronous email, and bulletin-board postings" (p.444).

topics related to the content of their language program. Each student wrote their original messages in their language of study, but they were expected to read the messages received from their partners and then send feedback (in their native language, which was their partners' language of study). Finally, all students were asked to prepare a final draft of each message, after receiving feedback, which they should save in their Moodle accounts. However, these final drafts were not submitted to their instructors.

In analyzing the students writing, the researchers found that when making comments on their partners' messages, both groups of students tended to make changes directly to the text, or to "give the correct answer," and did not generally add explanations or comments. Furthermore, the researchers found that when preparing their final drafts, the students tended to incorporate any and all corrections they had received, even when they were inappropriate or inadequate. As the researchers explained, "The fact that the tutees appeared to accept their tutors' direct error correction at face value prevents any analysis of language acquisition on the part of the tutees. It also raises questions about the efficacy of peer tutoring, given that a good proportion of genuine errors were not noted, and that, on occasion, the correction itself was in error."

3.2.2.3 Facebook and other social media

Social network sites, such as Facebook and Twitter, are other Web 2.0 tools that have attracted large numbers of users. The researchers danah m. boyd [sic^{49}] and Nicole B. Ellison (2008) have defined social network sites as "web-based services that allow individuals to (1) construct a public or semi-public profile... (2) articulate a list of other users with whom they share a connection, and (3) view and traverse their list of connections and those made by others

⁴⁹ This author asks that her first and last names be written in lower-case letters, for ideological reasons.

within the system" (p. 211). Many social network sites allow users to upload photos and videos and to send each other public or private messages, as well as offering internal chat functions.

Some previous research has focused on the use of Facebook in language classroom settings. For example, Geraldine Blattner and Melissa Fiori (2011) created a closed academic group on Facebook for the members of an intermediate-level university Spanish language course. After a brief training session, the students were instructed to search for authentic Facebook group pages in Spanish on topics related to Spanish-speaking cultures. They placed the links on their own group page accompanied by descriptive posts, so that all class members could access them. Later, each student chose a group page and completed an assignment analyzing aspects of language and culture they had observed, which they handed in to their instructors. Many of the students focused in their reports on sociopragmatic features, such as norms for greetings and good-byes present in the Facebook pages. They also highlighted new and interesting vocabulary they had come across. The researchers suggested that Facebook and other social network sites can aid learners in developing not only linguistic, but also sociopragmatic, competence as they observe language in specific social and cultural contexts.

In another project that made use of social network pages, Jonathan Reinhardt and Victora Zander (2011) used Facebook with 11 intermediate-level university learners of English at a U.S. university, as part of a reading, writing and speaking course. Within the framework of bridging-activities model, which suggests that students can learn to take advantage of everyday activities and practices and adapt them for L2 learning purposes, the instructor researchers attempted to encourage their students to make use of online social network sites for L2 socialization (Reinhardt & Sander, 2011; Thorne, 2008). The students first completed surveys to reflect on how and when they used the L2 and whether or not they made use of it in their online social

networking. Later, they participated in a Facebook training session in the computer lab, creating a Facebook account if they did not already have one and adding the instructor as a friend. They were encouraged but not required to add their classmates as well and to comments on each other's posts as well as to chat in English. In post-activity surveys, many of the students reported that they were able to recognize the value of Facebook and other social network sites for language learning and socialization. However, others felt that the training session was boring or useless, as they were already skilled users of social network sites. The results highlight the fact that it is important to take into account current cultures of use surrounding a technology when attempting to make use of it in the language classroom. While students are already skilled at using Facebook in their personal lives, they may feel resistance when asked to use it for an educational purpose.

3.2.2.4 Skype

The tools we have examined thus far that offer online modes of communication, such as blogs, Dropbox and Facebook, are limited to linguistic-written and spatial-visual modes of contact. Furthermore, they primarily allow for asynchronous, or time-delayed, contact between individuals. However, in the last decade the incorporation of VoIP has allowed for the inclusion of linguistic-oral modes into CMC tools, through video conferences, oral chat and other new voice tools (Lamy & Hampel, 2007). These tools will primarily support oral language development and practice, but could also be used as a support for writing development, for example as a way in which students can contact each other orally to go over feedback they have shared during an online peer review process.

One of the most widely-used VoIP software products is Skype, which allows individual users to connect their computer or mobile devices and engage in synchronous audio

conversations, with the option of video, as well as text and file sharing (Elia, 2006; Godwin-Jones, 2005). The use of Skype and other similar mobile communication technologies are blurring the boundaries between telephone and computing devices. As Charles Wankel and Patrick Blessinger (2013) have argued:

the traditional boundaries between phones and computers and the Internet are becoming more and more integrated. For instance, traditional mobile phones now act more like computers, and traditional computers now act more like phones. Voice, data, and video continue to converge across these platforms with the Internet as the common medium of exchange (p. 4).

Skype is freely downloadable and involves no cost when communication takes place on the Internet from computer to computer; thus it allows for far more affordable long-distance communication than traditional telephone devices.

Skype has primarly been used in the language classroom to facilitate oral exchanges between classmates. In fact, the facilitation of intracultural communication between classmates has been more common in research literature than that of intercultural communication. For example, in a study carried out in 2010, the researcher analyzed occurrences of negotiation of meaning and comprehension in either audio chat, video-conferencing or face-to-face L2 interactions (Yangua, 2010). The subjects were 15 pairs of Spanish L2 learners enrolled in third semester Spanish at a university in Southern California. They were randomly assigned to one of three conditions and received corresponding instructions. In the audio and video chat conditions, both of which involved the use of Skype (with or without video), the students were seated at computers on opposite sides of the room and used headphones to communicate. In the face-to-face condition, the students sat in chairs facing each other. All students completed a jigsaw task

⁵⁰ Emily Gillen Ballou (2002) has speculated that this may be due to the difficulties of setting up communication between groups of students in distant locations, across differing time zones.

in which they had to share information to make a decision about what items to take on a trip to South America. The items were deliberately chosen so that the students would likely not be familiar with them and would have to negotiate for meaning to complete the task, for example, by asking specifically "What is that?" or "Do you know what that is?" All interactions between students were recorded and later analyzed.

Results showed that, while all groups engaged in negotiation for meaning, the percentage of negotiated turn taking was highest for the audio chat condition, while video chat and face-to-face showed lower levels. On the other hand, in the audio condition pairs were more likely to reach only partial agreement as to the exact meaning of the target word. In the face-to-face and video chat conditions, visual cues were often used to reach full understanding. Further research is needed to determine whether it is beneficial for language learners to engage in more negotiation for meaning, even if it does not result in complete understanding. However, the results of the study would suggest that both audio chat and video conferencing are useful CMC tools that learners can make use of for oral practice, especially when given specially designed tasks that elicit negotiation of meaning and high levels of interaction.

Skype has also been incorporated into the language classroom as a tool that can facilitate telecollaborations, or online audio contact between language students in diverse locations.

Suzanne Cloke (2010) made use of Skype for an end-of-semester group chat session between university students of Italian as a foreign language in Australia and university students of English as a foreign language in Italy, after the students had collaborated on an online project over the course of the semester. Although there were some technological challenges associated with using Skype for the group conference, both groups of students rated the experience positively and expressed a desire to use Skype for more synchronous contact in future exchanges.

Sarah Guth and Nicoletta Marini-Maio (2010) asked Italian students of English and American students of Italian to engage in a telecollaborative project that involved a wiki and Skype for weekly audio conversations on pre-determined topics. The bilingual skype sessions were held in a language laboratory, while the work in the wiki was done ouside of class. Several of the Skype sessions were recorded and the students were later asked to listen and reflect on their own and their partners' uses of both the L1 and the L2. In end-of-semester interviews and surveys, the students explained that they felt that the use of Skype had helped them to overcome their linguistic insecurity and that they had improved their listening and overall conversation skills. On the other hand, many of the students felt that it was difficult to engage in the Skype conversations due to the limits of their language abilities. They often needed to make use of online resources, such as Web dictionaries, to follow the conversation. Thus, they needed to "speak, read, listen and write all at the same time," which they found overwhelming (p. 423). The researchers suggested that the students might benefit from further training in participating in multimodal online environments and engaging in online multitasking while making use of Skype in online exchanges.

In summarizing the previous literature that has focused on the use of technology in the language classroom, I would draw attention again to the notion that it is in great part the pedagogical tasks themselves, and not the technologies alone, that impact on the effectiveness of a specific tool for writing development. Depending on the goals and beliefs of instructors, blogs and other CMC tools have been used as: 1) a platform on which to publish traditional classroom assignments (Lin, Groom & Lin, 2012); 2) a platform through which classmates and parents can read and respond to student L2 writing (Lin, Groom & Lin; 2012; Gebhard, Shin, & Seger, 2011); 3) a source of authentic reading materials for L2 students who read and comment on blogs

kept by native speakers (Ducate & Lomicka, 2008); and 4) a forum for writing or oral exchanges or interaction, both intracultural (Yanguas, 2010, 2012; Reinhardt & Zander, 2011) and intercultural (Elola & Oskoz, 2008). Specific definitions and beliefs about language and writing lead researchers and language instructors to create specific pedagogical tasks, and may inspire them to use the same technology in quite different ways.

3.3 Bakhtinian theories of language and the use of technology-embedded activities in L2 writing classrooms.

What are the ways in which an adherence to Bakhtinian and other related beliefs about language could impact on the selection and use of technology within the university language classroom? As Zhao (2003) has highlighted, it is difficult, if not impossible, to evaluate the effectiveness of the use of specific technologies without taking into account factors such as the learning context surrounding the technology and the ways in which it is used within a pedagogical task. Language instructors may make use of the same technology for quite different purposes, depending on the ways in which they define language and their beliefs surrounding the language learning process. As we saw in our discussion of the cassette tape, while most instructors were making use of the tape to lead their students in oral-repetition exercises within audiolingual language laboratories, others were using the same technology to allow their students to participate in orally recorded exchanges with language speakers in distant contexts (Kelly, 1969).

By making use of CMC technology within the framework of socially-grounded theories of language and writing, instructors can set up projects in which students in the classroom will communicate with speakers of the language, share their writing and thoughts online and get feedback, and participate in online oral and written discussions. Through virtual contact with

native speakers of a language, university students can experience and produce the language of study within specific, communicative contexts.

This socially-based view of the role and use of language-learning technology is quite distinct from that offered by many researchers working within the discipline of CALL. Much of the research within the field has focused on cognitive and interactionist views of language, examining how learners interact with the computer, or with their classmates, via CMC to receive modified input or negotiate meaning (Chapelle, 2001). The concept of interaction may include the notion of conversational exchange, but it is also often defined from a psycholinguistic perspective as the "intrapersonal activity involved in mental processing" of the language (Ellis, 1999, p. 3). Thus, the underlying construct of interest for many CALL researchers is the individual brain and its interaction with the language system, and how the use of certain technologies might affect this process (Chapelle, 2003). These researchers are generally not interested in studying how CMC and online exchanges might lead teachers and researchers to question their very understandings of language, in ways that Bakhtin himself has called for.

In recent decades, some researchers have begun to examine the impact of CMC intercultural exchanges on language learners from more socially-based perspectives (Thorne & Black, 2007). For example, Thorne is one researcher who, while still considering himself to be an SLA researcher, has used a socially-based approach in his studies of technology use. In fact, he has critiqued the field of SLA, suggesting that as it currently exists, it is generally incapable of encompassing certain uses of technology for socially-based purposes. He has argued that:

The study of CmC [sic] in a foreign language, and computer-mediated SLA of all varieties, bring into relief the need to diversity traditional approaches to SLA. Psychological and cognitively oriented approaches represent but one dimension of the complex phenomena and their interrelationships that need to be grouped together under the label of SLA. (1999, p. 34-35)

Rather than studying cognition, and language learning, as a phenomenon that exists within individual brains, Thorne draws on Vygotskyan (and to a lesser extent Bakhtinian) theory to argue for an alternative model: distributed cognition. He has argued that SLA researchers, especially those studying the use of certain kinds of technologies for socially-related purposes, should "extend beyond the confines of individual brains" in defining and describing language learning, and should instead take into account the fact that language learning involves "joint activity, within communities of practice, and mediation, through artifacts such as internet communication tools" (p. 36-37).

Since Thorne's call to arms in 1999, a field has developed that has been dubbed *Internet-mediated intercultural second language education*, or ICL2E.⁵¹ As Thorne and Rebecca W. Black have explained, the field is premised on the notion that "transnational dialogue and other forms of interaction can foster productive, and within the otherwise confined spaces of instructed foreign language classrooms, perhaps even necessary, conditions for developing intercultural communicative competence" (2007, p. 138). Rather than focusing on the cognitive impacts, then, of students' interactions with language systems or specific technological tools, these studies tend to examine the social dynamics that result from students' participation in online intercultural exchanges, including the shifts in communicative purpose, context, and genres of language that may come about through online intercultural exchanges.

⁵¹ Some of the major studies that have been grouped within this new discipline are: Basharina, 2007; Belz, 2005; Belz & Thorne, 2006; Byram, 1997; Kramsch, 1998; O'Dowd, 2006; O'Rourke, 2005; Schneider & von der Emde, 2000; Thorne, 2003; Thorne & Black, 2007).

While studies within the field of ICL2E have tended to involve a much more socially-based understanding of language and language learning, these studies have not, for the most part, been inspired by the theories of language of Bakhtin. Instead, they have relied on other sociocultural theories, such as activity theory, based especially on Vygotskyan theory (Thorne, 2006; Thorne & Black, 2007).

One exception is the work of Sebastian Dubreil, a professor of French at the University of Tennessee. In applying the theories of Bakhtin, as well as Vygotskyan sociocultural theory, to the field of foreign language studies, he has argued that interaction and learning, far from occurring within the individual mind, are actually intersubjective activities. Dubreil (2009) drew on Bakthin's theories of speech genres, when he declared that "meaning is not within the individual itself, but rather in the interplay between the self and the other. Consequently, understanding does not come from the individual's own observation and knowledge construction but through human interactions..." (p. 36). He went on to argue that CMC technologies could be used within language classrooms to bring about the kinds of collaborative settings in which students from different cultural and linguistic backgrounds could dialogue and share ideas.

The pedagogical research project Dubreil designed, with socially-based language theories in mind, involved small group, bilingual videoconferences between learners of French at an American University and French students learning English. The students were instructed to undertake bibliographical research around cultural differences or problems and then to design instruments they could administer with their exchange partners, such as interviews or surveys, to get more information about those issues. Finally, both groups of students presented the results of their research to each other on a website and through a class presentation. Rather than examining advances in language learning or production, Debreuil carried out a case study in

which he followed one student over the course of the semester, observing how her sense of identity and perspectives on American and French culture, and the relationships between the two, changed over the course of the exchange.

Socially-based understandings of the mind and of language learning, especially those inspired by Vygotsky, have been influential in inspiring researchers to focus on technology from a different perspective. Rather than studying the impact that technology-embedded pedagogical tasks may have on individual cognition, these studies focus on new understandings of language, and shifts in language use, that may come about through students' participation in intercultural exchanges, made possible through the use of CMC. It is this shift in understandings around language and writing, and the specific technology-embedded, classroom practices, that I will examine in part 2 of my thesis. I hope to show that it is not only Vygotskyan theory that can be drawn on for these purposes, but also the theories of language brought forth by Bakthin, the Bakhtin circle and the Russian Sociological Linguists. It is now time to explore how these theories might play out in practice, within a specific educational setting.

Part 2: Putting Theory into Practice

Chapter Four: Bakhtin's theories of language in the L2 writing classroom

Images of language are inseparable from images of various world views and from the living beings who are their agents – people who think, talk and act in a setting that is socially and historically concrete. (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 49)

In this chapter I will explore some of the practical applications of socially-based understandings of language, writing and technology within language classrooms. Specifically, I will describe two semester-long pedagogical interventions carried out within university level L2 Spanish and English courses. The intervention involved online intercultural communication between students of L2 Spanish at the University of Calgary in Canada and students of L2 English at the Universidad de Concepción in Chile through 1) the use of a bilingual blog, 2) further oral and written communication via email, Skype and Facebook and 3) a writing exchange and peer review via Dropbox.

My goal in implementing the online exchange was to carry out qualitative, naturalistic educational research to examine how socially-based views of language and writing, especially those of M.M. Bakhtin, might inspire the use of CMC for online intercultural exchange in order to bring a diversity of voices and uses of language into the classroom. Specifically, inspired by socially-based CALL paradigms such as ICL2E, which calls for transnational dialogue and other forms of interaction, I wished to examine how these kinds of exchanges might be used to support not only oral, but also written, language development within the L2 university classroom. ⁵²

As I argued in chapter 2 of this dissertation, socially-based understandings of writing, such as Bakhtin's thoughts on speech genres, have been influential in first language composition

⁵² For a discussion of ICL2E, see chapter 3 of this dissertation and Thorne & Black (2007).

classrooms, but have had less impact on L2 writing classrooms. Instead, writing has often been incorporated as a support skill that allows students to demonstrate their knowledge of language, rather than as a purposeful, communicative act (Lee & VanPatten, 2003; Manchón, 2009). Valdés (2004) has drawn on Bakhtin's theories to argue that L2 language learners should not merely "be encouraged to... pretend to talk to distant audiences so that their teacher can correct their vocabulary and syntax" (p. 88). Instead, they should begin the task of participating in social exchanges with others and of seeing their own acts of writing as "rejoinder[s]" to real dialogues in the language of study (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 277). This view of writing is related to Vygotsky's musings on writing and writing instruction as well; he proposed that instructors should emphasize writing as the transmission of meaning to an audience that might not be immediately present, rather than as a motor skill for recording and transposing speech (1978).

I was inspired by these notions of writing, as well as by the related Bakhtinian notions of speech genres and of intertextuality, as previously discussed, when setting up the CMC intercultural exchanges I will describe. I have drawn on the work of Bazerman (2009) in defining intertextuality, when linked to the theories of Volosinov and Bakhtin, as the notion that a variety of other texts, both oral and written, may influence each individual's use of language. Writing, then, is not just about the brain interacting with "language itself", but is also rooted in real instances in which ideas are exchanged, developed, and examined consciously through contact with others (Harpham, 2002).

When setting up an online exchange as a supplement to university-level language courses then, I aimed to expand the walls of the classroom, giving students the opportunity to use their language skills to interact, both in writing and verbally, with native speakers of the languages of study. Specifically, my intention was to examine how the use of CMC tools for intercultural

exchange could be added to already existing courses, rather than designing entirely new ones. Many foreign language instructors have stated that attempting to incorporate new technologies would take time away from other valuable in-class activities with the target language, and for this reason have avoided integrating them into their language classrooms (Burnett, 2000; Kim & Rissel, 2008; Lam, 2000). Therefore, my hope was to reflect on how instructors could incorporate CMC activities into their coursework without investing the exorbitant amounts of time or energy that might be required for more systematic modifications. While the changes involved in the present course programming have not been dramatic, my goal was to examine whether I could inspire shifts in communicative purpose and inspire intertextual language use within the classroom through a relatively small-scale CMC intervention. By intertextuality, I refer to instances in which the students would draw on each other's language, encountered through the various components of the exchange, when composing their own utterances.

Specifically, I hoped to create settings in which the participants would be writing with a specific purpose: to transmit meaning to a real, although physically distant, audience, as Valdés (2004) has called for. By reading and writing comments on their partner groups' blogs, publishing their own introductions and interacting with the partner group through Skype, email and Facebook, the students would be using written and oral language for specific, meaning-based, communicative purposes. Finally, in asking the students to create a draft of a piece of writing and then seek feedback from their peers, I hoped to use CMC to emphasize the socially-based writing process, rather than treating writing as a simple, decontextualized, final product. As Cumming (1998) has explained, "teaching writing involves far more than just assigning tasks for students to practice and then providing feedback on them, as has long been the prevalent model of instruction" (p. 68). Instead, I posited, the intercultural exchange experience would

allow the participants to draw on the feedback of their peers during the writing process, creating intertextually richer compositions in which the comments and voices of others would influence the writing produced.

I chose to make use of four CMC tools that were freely available online for the present exchange: a free online blogging tool (www.wordpress.com), Skype, Dropbox and Facebook, each of which has been discussed in more detail in chapter 3 of this dissertation. I selected these tools precisely because of the fact that they are free, easily available online and regularly used by the population at large.⁵³ As we have seen, according to the bridging-activities model, one important task for language teachers is to aid their students in turning familiar technologies into language learning tools, thus supporting them in becoming more autonomous users of the language of study (Thorne, 2008). By asking students to interact with technologies they might already be familiar with and could continue to make use of in the future, rather than with specially designed applications, my goal was to encourage the students to use CMC tools that were already ubiquitous outside the classroom for a specific language-learning purpose.

4.1 Context of study

The different phases of the online intercultural exchange involved undergraduate students enrolled in Spanish courses at the University of Calgary in Canada, as well as students enrolled in both English major and English elective courses at the Universidad de Concepción in Chile.

To better understand the study and the questions the research project was designed to explore, it is important to understand the contexts of learning in which it took place, including information

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⁵³ eBizMBA is an organization that uses the "Alexa Global Traffic Rank" and the "U.S. Traffic Rank" to calculate the popularity of various Web pages. They recently ranked the blogging tool Wordpress 5th on a list of the 15 most popular Web 2.0 sites (eBizMBA; 2014c). They have ranked Facebook as the most popular social networking site (2014b) and Dropbox as the most popular file sharing site (2014a). According to Wilson (2014), from 2013-2014, Skype gained 50% more traffic, or usage, than all other worldwide telecommunication companies combined.

about the cities and institutions in which it was implemented and the departments or programs of study, students and instructors involved.

4.1.1 Cities and universities in which the project took place

4.1.1.1 Calgary, Alberta, Canada and the University of Calgary

The University of Calgary is located in the city of Calgary in the province of Alberta, Canada. Calgary is a city that is experiencing constant growth; from 1989 to 2013 the population increased from 671,138 to 1,149,552 inhabitants, with a recently estimated population growth rate of 4.26% (City Clerk, n.d.; Statistics Canada, n.d.).

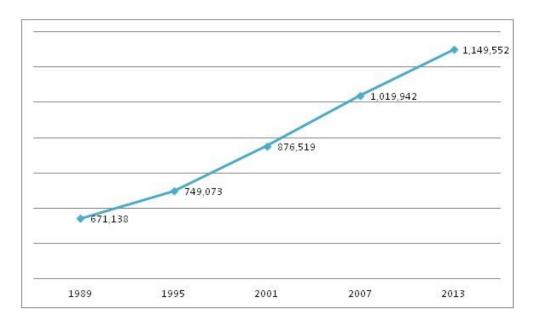


Figure 1: Calgary Population Growth by Number of Inhabitants: 1989-2013

This growth has been due in large part to migration to the city from other parts of Canada and the world. For example, from 2012 to 2013 the "natural increase" in population brought about by births within the province accounted for 10,260 new inhabitants, or approximately 35% of the population increase, while migration into the province resulted in 19,067 new inhabitants, accounting for 65% of the population increase (City Clerk; n.d.). Furthermore, as of 2011,

26.2% of the population of Calgary reported having been born in countries outside of Canada (Chiu, 2011).

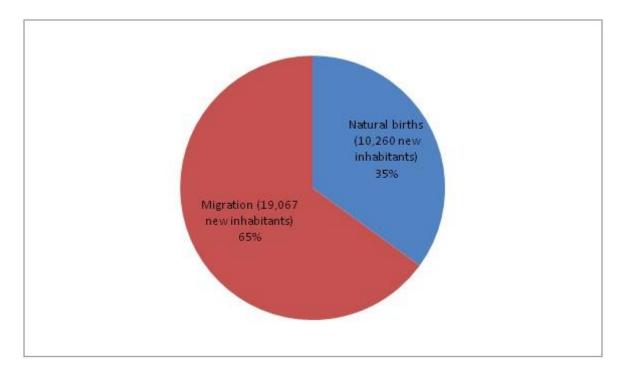


Figure 2: 2013 Census Results: Contributions to Calgary Population Growth 2011-2012

The linguistic situation of the city of Calgary, like that of Canada as a whole, is complex. The two official languages of the country of Canada are English and French. However, this by no means implies that all Canadians are bilingual in the two languages. There are five designated bilingual regions in Canada, and Alberta is not one of those (Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages, n.d.). Ronald Wardhaugh (1983) has explained that Canada is essentially composed of two separate nations, the nation of the French speakers and that of the English speakers. While the French speakers may have more of a sense of group identity, the English-speaking group is made up of speakers of diverse languages that are dominated by English. Furthermore, Lastra (1997) has suggested that the idea of bilingualism in Canada is for the most part false, because "en realidad la gente en su vida diaria oye uno de los

dos idiomas: o francés o ingles" (p. 70).⁵⁴ Either one language or the other tends to be dominant in different parts of the country, with low levels of bilingualism in both French and English in the general population.

The official language of Alberta is English (University of Ottawa, n.d.). English is also the predominant mother tongue reported by residents of the city of Calgary; according to the 2011 census, 752,525 of the city's inhabitants, or about 71% of those surveyed, reported speaking English as a mother tongue. Just 395 people reported speaking aboriginal languages, predominantly Cree, as a mother tongue (Statistics Canada, 2012).

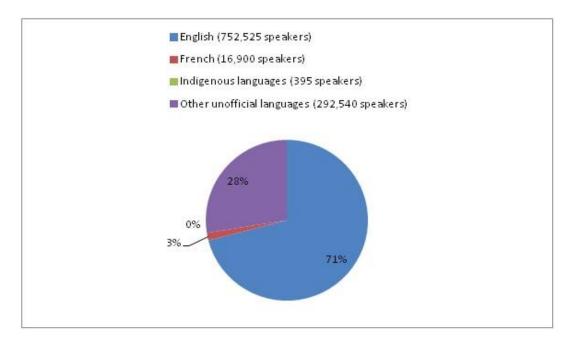


Figure 3: Calgary Mother Tongues in 2011

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⁵⁴ "in reality people in their daily lives hear only one of the two languages: French or English" (my translation).

On the other hand, perhaps due to its high migration rates, Calgary has a higher number of residents who report speaking different non-official languages, rather than French, as their mother tongues. While just 16,900 of the city's residents claimed to have French as a mother tongue, there were 292,540, or about 28%, who spoke other non-official languages as mother tongues. These included Chinese (both Mandarin and Cantonese), Punjabi, Tagalog, and, as the 4th most commonly reported mother tongue, Spanish, which exceeded French with 21,875 reported speakers.

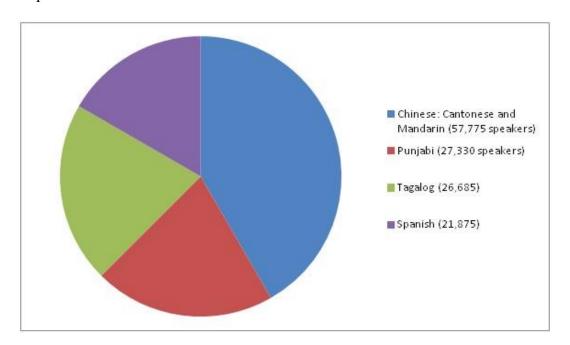


Figure 4: Most Frequent Non-Official Languages as Mother Tongues in Calgary in 2011

It is interesting to note that within the province of Alberta there are Spanish bilingual elementary, middle and high school programs. These programs do not target heritage language learners in particular, as no previous experience with the language is required prior to enrollment in the program.⁵⁵ According to the Calgary Board of Education, "the CBE's Spanish Bilingual

⁵⁵ See page 164 of this dissertation for a further discussion of and definition of heritage language learners.

program... is now the largest in Alberta, with 2,500 students enrolled at eight schools across the city" (2014). However, thus far this seeming interest in the Spanish language has not translated into high enrollment in or expansion of the Spanish language program at the University of Calgary.

The University of Calgary is one of two publicly-funded universities in the city of Calgary, founded in 1966.⁵⁶ As of 2010, the University of Calgary had 20,248 full-time undergraduate students enrolled, as well as 4,222 graduate students ("University", n.d.). The most commonly selected majors on campus in 2010, as reported in the Maclean's Guide to Canadian Universities report were: accounting, biological sciences, finance, natural sciences and nursing ("University," 2010). The University of Calgary is primarily noted as a "leader in traditional energy and engineering" and "the perception is that... it is... very strong in engineering and oil exploration" ("University," 2010, p. 80). On the University's web page, in a description of the university and its academic priorities and strategic direction, the research themes that the university claims to focus on include, "brain and mental health[,] human dynamics in a changing world [,] new earth-space technologies[,] engineering solutions for health[,] infections, inflammation and chronic disease in the changing environment[,] and energy innovations for today and tomorrow" (University of Calgary, n.d., para. 4). No mention appears of foreign language studies as a key component of the University of Calgary's overall mission as an educational institution.

⁵⁶ According to the Alberta Innovation and Advanced Education website, those two universities in the city are the University of Calgary and Mount Royal University. The city also has two publicly funded colleges (Bow Valley College and Alberta College of Art and Design) and two independent colleges that grant post-secondary degrees (Ambrose University College and St. Mary's University College), as well as one technical institute (Southern Alberta Institute of Technology).

In 2011, a planning document was prepared to set a goal and vision for the following five-year development of the university. The document that was produced highlighted the importance of communication and globalization and called for "meaningful, productive dialogue and two-way connection to the international landscape of ideas, art, science and culture for all life-long learners" as part of the university's vision to become a top international research institution (University of Calgary, 2011). However, the concept of language development, foreign language study, or a need for languages other than English was not included within the document.

The University's Spanish program is currently housed within the Department of French, Italian & Spanish, in the Faculty of Arts. According to an unofficial, internal report circulated within the department, enrollment within the programs of French, Italian & Spanish had all experienced a decline from 2008 to 2013, with fewer students as a whole enrolling in the major and minor programs.⁵⁷ Furthermore, the report results suggested that each semester there were more students enrolled in the introductory (200) and intermediate (300) level courses, with fewer students continuing on to the high-intermediate and advanced (400 and 500) level courses.⁵⁸ It appears, then, that despite the fact that Canada is considered to be a bilingual nation, and despite the large percentage of unofficial language mother tongues of the city's inhabitants, the study of foreign or unofficial languages as a whole, in particular Spanish, is not strongly emphasized on the University of Calgary campus.

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⁵⁷ For example, in 2008 there were 134 students enrolled in a major, double major, joint major or minor in Spanish, while by Fall 2013 there were 84, with the number having decreased each year.

⁵⁸ For example, in Fall 2012, 314 students were enrolled in 200 level courses, 165 were enrolled in 300 level courses, 81 were enrolled in 400 level courses and 28 were enrolled in 500 level courses of Spanish.

4.1.1.2 Concepción, 8th Region, Chile and the Universidad de Concepción

The Universidad de Concepción is located in the province and city of Concepción in the Octava or VIII Region, also called the *Bío Bío Región*, to the southwest of the country's capital, Santiago. According to a recent census, the city of Concepción had 214,234 inhabitants in 2012, although the total population of the province of Concepción, which includes a group of interconnected cities of which Concepción is the capital, was reported at 967,757 inhabitants. Between the 2002 and the 2012 census, the population of the entire Bío Bío region had experienced an increase of 5.7% ("Censo 2012," 2012). While the population is increasing, this is perceived within Chile as a decline in the growth rate, as the population growth rate for the region reported in 2002 was 14%; it is believed that Chile is on the path towards a lower population growth rate, similar to those present in more developed nations (Gubin, 2012).

There is no official language stipulated in the constitution of Chile.⁵⁹ However, the constitution itself was written in Spanish, also known as *castellano* by members of the population (Rojas, 2012). Furthermore, the Web page of the government of Chile is written in Spanish, suggesting that Spanish is the de facto language of the country.⁶⁰ No figures are given in the 2012 census reports regarding the percentage of Concepción or the VIII region, that speaks Spanish or other languages as a mother tongue, as it seems to be assumed that members of the population will be native Spanish speakers (Labbé Opazo, n.d.; Villa Valenzuela, n.d).

The city of Concepción appears to have a smaller population of recent immigrants and less linguistic diversity than the city of Calgary. There is little information regarding foreign or

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⁵⁹ The constitution is available online at: http://www.leychile.cl/Navegar?idNorma=242302

⁶⁰ Note, however, that there is an English language translation of the constitution available online through Chile's Library of Congress (http://www.leychile.cl/Navegar?idNorma=242302) and that the Government of Chile's web page also has an English-language version (http://www.gob.cl/), suggesting that English is highly valued.

unofficial languages spoken by residents of the city. In a synthesis of the census results for the 8th region, it is stated that just 0.4% of the population of the region, or 9,155 inhabitants, were born outside of Chile⁶¹: 30% of these were born in Argentina, 8% in Colombia, 8% in Perú, 7% in Ecuador, 5% in Spain, 5% in Brazil, 4% in the United States, 2% in Bolivia and another 31% in "other countries" (Villa Valenzuela, n.d.; p. 22). Note that Spanish is an official or dominant languages in 6 of the 8 countries identified.⁶² On the other hand, the small percentage of residents born in Brazil and the United States would suggest a minimal presence of Portuguese and English within the city.

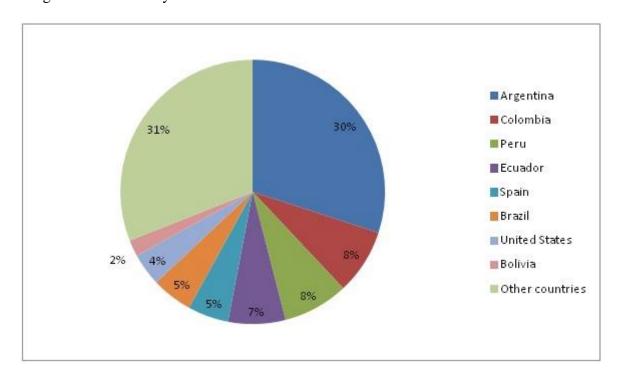


Figure 5: Birth Countries of the 0.4% of Residents of the VIII Region Born Outside Chile

⁶¹ This is considerably less than the 26.2% of Calgary's population born outside of Canada.

⁶² Spanish, or *castellano*, is the official language of Argentina (http://www.argentina.gob.ar/pais/55-idioma.php) and is co-official with various indigenous languages at the regional level in Colombia, Perú, Ecuador and Spain ("Base," 1998). In Bolivia, castellano is declared to be co-official at the national level with 36 other languages spoken by members of the indigenous populations (Ministerio de la Presidencia, 2009).

In fact, the only foreign language use reported in the 2012 census is that of English. It is stated that 6.3% of those who responded to the 2012 census in the Bío Bío region reported that they could "mantener una conversación en inglés", or "hold a conversation in English (p. 18). Although the census summary did not report on indigenous language use in the 8th region, it was noted that 8.81% of the region's population considered themselves to belong to an indigenous group, and that 92% of those specifically self-identified as Mapuche (Villa Valenzuela, n.d.). ⁶³

	City of Calgary (Canada)	City of Concepción (Chile)
Location	Province of Alberta, Canada	VIII (Octava) Región o Región del
		Bío Bío. Province of Concepción.
Population Estimates	1,149,552 inhabitants as of 2013.	214,234 in the city as of 2012 and
		967,757 in the province.
Population Growth Rate	Highest 2013 estimate: 4.6% (65%	Highest recent estimate: 5.7%,
	migration; 35% natural births).	(No information about contributors)
Percentage of residents	26.2% of the population, as of 2011	0.4% of the population of the region
born outside the country		or 9,155 inhabitants, as of 2012.
Official languages spoken	English: 752,525 speakers (71% of	No official language.
(and mother tongue	residents)	Spanish or <i>castellano</i> is de facto
speakers)		language.
	French: 16,900 speakers (3% of	No information on percentage of
	residents)	mother tongue speakers of Spanish.
Indigenous Languages	Primarily Cree: 395 speakers	No data on indigenous languages.
(and mother tongue	(0.3% of residents)	8.81% of inhabitants self-identified
speakers)		as indigenous, primarily <i>Mapuche</i> .
Other Non-official	292,540 mother tongue speakers	No data on mother tongues. 6.3% of
Languages	(28% of residents)	the population can "have a
		conversation in English."
	Most common:	Of the 9,155 inhabitants born outside
	1. Chinese- Cantonese and	Chile, countries of birth reported:
	Mandarin: 57,775 speakers (5% of	1. Argentina: 30%
	residents)	2. Colombia: 8%
	2. Punjabi : 27,330 speakers (2.5%	3. Peru: 7%
	of residents)	4. Ecuador: 7%
	3. Tagalog: 26,685 speakers (2.5%	5. Spain: 5%
	of residents)	6. Brazil: 5%
	4. Spanish: 21,875 speakers (2% of	7. United States: 4%
	residents)	8. Bolivia: 2%
		9. Other countries: 31%

Table 1: Comparison of the Cities of Calgary and Concepción

⁶³ The indigenous language of the Mapuche people is Mapudungun, although it is certainly not the case that all people who self-identity as Mapuche continue to speak the language.

Although over all there seems to be less linguistic diversity within the population of the city of Concepción than that of Calgary, the study of foreign languages, especially English, is viewed as an important component of the educational program at the Universidad de Concepción. The University was founded in 1919 by a committee that had been appointed by the government to study the possibility of opening a university outside of Santiago, to serve the needs of those who lived in the southern regions (Universidad de Concepción, n.d.-b).⁶⁴ From the time of its original founding, as reported on the university Web page, the major programs of study that were seen as key to develop included: "Farmacia, Dentística, *Pedagogía en inglés* y Química" (Universidad de Concepción, n.d.-b, para. 3; my italics).⁶⁵ Thus, the study of English was viewed as one of the most important disciplines at the time that the university was founded.

Currently, it seems that the importance of foreign languages has not been forgotten. On the university's Web page, the following message appears as an introduction to the institution's undergraduate programs:

La formación de los estudiantes en un mundo globalizado debe generar profesionales que no sólo tengan un conocimiento integral de su profesión, sino que además, sean capaces de comunicarse con otros idiomas y entender las diferentes culturas, se adapten a los cambios del entorno, posean una capacidad emprendedora, liderazgo, habilidades y aptitudes para trabajar en equipo, junto a un actuar socialmente responsable, basado en principios éticos. Estas habilidades y competencias constituyen el sello educacional que nuestra Universidad está empeñada en que sus egresados incorporen a su diario vivir. 66 (Universidad, n.d.-c, para. 1)

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⁶⁴ The Universidad of Concepción is one of 3 *traditional* universities in the city of Concepción. These universities, called "universidades tradicionales" belong to the "Consejo de Rectores" or "Council of Rectors." They receive higher levels of funding from the government, although many are not public. There are also at least 6 other private institutions that offer university degree programs in the city (Universidad de Chile, n.d.).

^{65 &}quot;Pharmacy, Dentistry, English Teaching/Pedagogy and Chemistry" (my translation and italics).

⁶⁶ "The academic preparation of students in a globalized world must create professionals who not only have an integral knowledge of their professions, but who are also able to communicate in different languages and understand other cultures, adapt to changes in their environments, possess entrepreneurial skills, leadership abilities and skills for working in a team, together with socially responsible behavior, based on ethical principles. These skills and competencies are the educational guarantee, which our university aims to ensure that its graduates incorporate into their daily lives" (my translation).

As we can see, then, the Universidad de Concepción as an institution continues to place an emphasis on the study of foreign languages as an important component of its undergraduate programs. As of 2013, the university had 24,140 undergraduate students and 2,180 graduate students enrolled in 91 different major programs, many related to engineering and education (Universidad de Concepcion, n.d.-a; n.d.-c).

	University of Calgary	Universidad de Concepción
Location	Calgary, Alberta, Canada	Concepción, 8th Region, Chile
Founded	1966	1919
Website	www.ucalgary.ca	www.udec.cl
Undergraduate student	20,248 full time students	24,140 full time students
enrollment		
Graduate student	4,222 full time students	2,180 full time students
enrollment		
Most studied majors	Accounting, biological sciences,	The Faculty of Engineering
	finance, natural sciences and	offers the largest number of
	nursing	major programs, followed by the
		Faculty of Education.

Table 2: Comparison of the University of Calgary and the Universidad de Concepción

This brief study of the contexts of foreign language study in Concepción and in Calgary points to several differences regarding the presence of a diversity of languages within the cities' populations, on the one hand, and the values placed upon English as opposed to Spanish: the two respective second languages of study. In section 4.4 and again in chapter 5 of this dissertation, upon analyzing the results of the study, I will again reflect upon these differing contexts, underlying ideologies about language and literacy in the L2, and how these might have impacted on the students' reactions to the CMC study. This is a reminder of the fact that languages and their study and usage are heavily impacted by social contexts, in addition to the cognitive factors most commonly addressed in SLA and CALL studies.

4.1.2 Programs of study and language courses of the exchange participants

The intercultural exchange was carried out with a total of four groups of students: two groups at each of the two aforementioned universities over the course of two academic semesters, from September to December of the 2012 and 2013 academic years. ⁶⁷ It is interesting to note that the various groups that participated in the exchange to be described were enrolled in different kinds of programs and courses with more or less emphasis on the development of writing. While my original intention was to treat the September 2012 project as a pilot study and only to report results from the 2013 study, I found that in both semesters the results were compelling and, despite their differences, that they complemented one another. Therefore, I have decided to describe both projects in this chapter and to report results from both in chapter 5 of this dissertation.

4.1.2.1 Spanish 405 in the Department of French, Italian & Spanish (FIS) in Calgary

At the University of Calgary, both the 2012 and 2013 phases of the project were carried out with undergraduate students enrolled in a "High-Intermediate Spanish 405" language course, within the FIS Department.⁶⁸ According to the course outline, available on the department website and prepared by the instructor, the development of written expression is a major component of the language course. In the course description it is stated that the class will involve "[i]ntensive study of Spanish grammar with the goal of attaining greater proficiency in written and oral communication" (Sánchez, 2012; my emphasis). It is important to note that

⁶⁷ The Canadian university semesters generally last 13 weeks and are in session from early September to mid-December, during the fall session, and from early January to early April, for the winter session.

⁶⁸ The FIS Spanish program uses the following proficiency scale: students in 200 level courses are expected to have "limited" previous exposure to the language, those at the 300 level have "some exposure," "feel comfortable in basic conversation" and can read and write in an academic context and those at the 400 and 500 levels are expected to have "native or near-native fluency in Spanish." (Department of French, Italian & Spanish, n.d.-a). There is evidence of some contradiction or confusion here surrounding the use of the term "native fluency" and the notion that the course is at a high-intermediate language level.

written communication is listed prior to oral in this description. On the same course outline, a description is given of the kind of writing development that is expected of the students. It is explained that, as an outcome of the course:

[e]l estudiante es capaz de escribir textos claros y detallados sobre una amplia serie de temas relacionados con sus intereses. Puede escribir redacciones o informes transmitiendo información o proponiendo motivos que apoyen o refuten un punto de vista concreto. Sabe escribir cartas que destacan la importancia que le da a determinados hechos y experiencias.⁶⁹ (Sánchez, 2012)

As we can see, the outline highlights writing development as a primary focus of the Spanish course. Furthermore, it describes the ability to engage in specific acts of composition, including the preparation of letters, reports and other essays to write about topics of personal interest and share personal points of view.

Despite the focus on writing in the course outline, the syllabus for this course, prior to the pedagogical intervention that will be described, did not include a strong emphasis on the writing process, but instead seemed to focus on writing as a task with which to demonstrate the proper use of grammar, or "writing to learn," (Manchón, 2009, p. 2). The students prepared two in-class assignments of 150-200 words in which they responded to writing prompts that called for the use of certain grammar points, with the aid of a dictionary. The coursework did not involve the use of drafts or peer review, and each of the assignments was to be written out by hand and then submitted during one class period. The other components of the coursework included two inclass exams that focused on vocabulary and grammar exercises and two in-class oral presentations on topics that had been researched by the students.

⁶⁹ "The student is capable of writing clear and detailed texts on a wide range of topics related to his or her interests. He or she can write compositions or reports transmitting information or making proposals that support or refute a concrete point of view. He or she knows how to write letters that underline the importance he or she gives to specific facts or experiences" (my translation).

4.1.2.2 Pedagogía en inglés in Concepción

The Chilean students who participated in the 2012 phase of the exchange were undergraduate students at the Universidad de Concepción majoring in *Pedagogía en inglés*, a program that would allow them to graduate with certification to teach English as a foreign language in the Chilean secondary school system. All of the students were enrolled in one of two sections of a required course for their major entitled "Comunicación creativa en lengua inglesa," or "Creative Communication in the English Language." It is a high-level course generally taken in the 8th semester of studies of the degree program ("Malla", n.d.). The course focused specifically on writing development: the students wrote five essays over the course of the semester, submitting rough drafts to the instructor and then exchanging their papers with their classroom peers for review. Their participation in the online exchange was a mandatory component of their coursework (personal communication with the instructor).

4.1.2.3 <u>UdeC English Online in Concepción</u>

In the second phase of the project, the Chilean students who participated were non-majors of English enrolled in an elective English program called "UdeC English Online". The program allows select undergraduate students to complete up to 4 semesters of basic and intermediate-level English, 70 combining an online language learning platform and face-to-face classes (Bañados, 2006). The English program is unique on campus in that it is not housed within an academic faculty or department. Rather, it exists as a somewhat independent organization that is

⁷⁰ The program uses the Common European Framework of Reference (CEFR)'s six proficiency levels (A1, A2; B1, B2; C1,C2). According to Bañados (2006), all students should reach a B1 level by the final semester and some motivated students may reach B2. In a CEFR document it is explained that the 6 levels correspond to "higher and lower interpretations of the classic division into basic, intermediate and advanced" (Council of Europe, 2001, p. 23).

financed primarily by the Vice Rector's office, accepting undergraduate students from a variety of faculties and departments on campus (Fuentes, 2013).

The self-professed goal of the program is to aid undergraduate students in achieving professional proficiency in the English language, so as to "facilitate students' proactive participation in an increasingly global society and give them opportunities to have an equal chance of success when applying for a job" (Bañados, 2006, p. 534). The program involves face-to-face classes with English teachers as well as independent work with an online platform. Some immediate automatic feedback is provided through the platform and students also submit assignments to an online portfolio that is assessed by their teacher. In the writing sections of the various units, students are asked to fill in forms, such as job or rental application forms, prepare invitations and thank you notes and prepare short essays of between 250-500 words ("Udec", 2011) and are later given feedback from their instructors. However, the program places an emphasis on "listening comprehension and oral production," with less attention given to the development of writing proficiency (Bañados, 2006, p. 541).

4.1.3 Instructors

At the University of Calgary, the same instructor, a native Chilean and speaker of Spanish, volunteered to allow the researcher to incorporate the CMC intercultural exchange into her Spanish course during both the 2012 and 2013 semesters of study. A permanent instructor within the Department of French, Italian & Spanish, she teaches 200, 300 and 400 level Spanish courses each semester. The instructor agreed to incorporate the various CMC activities into the curriculum for her courses. She also allowed me, as the researcher, to attend her class to explain the various components of the pedagogical project and to obtain the email addresses of the

students so as to provide support throughout the semester. I also contacted the students by email to invite them to complete optional surveys and face-to-face interviews.

At the Universidad de Concepción, the first phase of the project was carried out in a writing class taught by a sessional instructor and "academic collaborator" within the Foreign Languages Department (Departamento de idiomas extranjeros, 2011), who was originally from the United States. She agreed to incorporate the various CMC activities into the curriculum for her course, and provided the initial email contact between her students and myself. I then provided the students with email instructions and support throughout the semester and contacted them by email to invite them to complete optional surveys and face-to-face interviews at the close of the semester.

The second phase of the project carried out at the Universidad de Concepción was not incorporated directly into the coursework of the students who participated. Rather, it took place as a supplementary activity for those who signed up, with no direct impact on their English-language course and final grades. A total of three teachers, all Chilean and with permanent contracts within the UdeC English Online program, agreed to speak to their second, third and fourth semester students to ask if they would like to participate in the exchange, as an extracurricular activity. Those students who expressed interest signed up on a list, and the instructors then contacted me by email to give me their contact information. I then provided the students with email instructions and support throughout the semester. I also contacted the students by email to invite them to complete optional surveys and face-to-face interviews via Skype at the close of the semester.

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⁷¹ The exchange was mandatory, but due to an educational strike that occurred, not all Chilean students participated throughout the semester.

4.1.4 Student populations participating in the exchange

4.1.4.1 Student populations in phase 1: 2012 exchange

Phase 1 of the intercultural exchange was carried out in the Fall 2012 Canadian semester, from September to December, between students enrolled in Spanish 405 at the University of Calgary and students enrolled in the English major teaching program at the Universidad de Concepción. In Calgary, a total of 26 students were enrolled in the Spanish 405 course, mostly between the ages of 18-23. An exception were three mature students, all male and over 50 years of age, who had enrolled in the course due to personal interest, as a free-time activity. Ten students were majoring or double majoring in Spanish and four expected to complete a minor in Spanish. The other students were enrolled in a variety of majors, including film, communication and culture, English literature, linguistics, education, accounting, economics, international relations, international development and business. Five of the students enrolled in the course were born in Spanish speaking countries and had arrived in Canada at various ages;⁷² three others were born in Canada to Spanish-speaking parents.⁷³ Many of the Canadian students spoke mother tongues besides English, but all were proficient enough to enroll in university courses in the English language.

The Chilean students at the Universidad de Concepción who participated in the exchange were enrolled in one of two sections of a writing course, "Comunicación creativa en lengua inglesa," which was required for their English teaching major. A total of 31 students were

⁷² One student was born in El Salvador and moved to Calgary with family at age seven. Four other students were born in Colombia; one of these students arrived in Canada at the age of eight and the other two students at age nine. A fifth student moved to the U.S. at age ten and then to Canada at the age of 14.

⁷³ In the remainder of the study, I will refer to these students as heritage language learners of Spanish. Heritage language learners have been described as "those who have an ethnolinguistic affiliation" to a given language but who "may need to make adjustments in their speech as they move from informal oral settings to formal settings or to written communication and to develop a wider range of registers and genres for settings, audiences, and purposes other than friends and family" (He, 2010, p. 67).

enrolled in two sections, although only 23 participated in the online exchange, due in large part to a month-long educational strike. They were between the ages of 21 and 25 years old. One additional student was invited to participate who was from a different major program, but who had expressed interest in communicating with native speakers of English. He was a 25-year-old undergraduate student of geography, who had previously taken communicative English courses for non-majors. All of the Chilean students reported speaking Spanish as their mother tongue.

	Students in Canada	Students in Chile
University, Faculty and	University of Calgary, Faculty of Arts,	Universidad de Concepción,
Department/Program	Department of French, Italian &	Facultad de Educación,
	Spanish (FIS)	Pedagogía en inglés
Course of Enrollment	Spanish 405: "High-Intermediate	"Comunicación Creativa en
	Spanish"	Lengua Inglesa"
Number of students	26	31
enrolled		
Number of students who	26	23
participated in the		
exchange		
Student population	Seven heritage language learners: six	All non-native speakers of
	from Spanish-speaking countries and	English.
	one born in Canada to Spanish-	
	speaking parents. 19 non-native	
	speakers of Spanish.	
	Majors and non-majors of Spanish,	Majors of <i>Pedagogía en inglés</i>
	mostly between the ages of 18-23.	(English teaching), between the
		ages of 21 and 25.
	Exception: 3 retired men over 50 years	
	of age who took the course for	Exception: one non-major
	pleasure.	student of English not enrolled in
		the course, who participated in
		the exchange voluntarily.
Instructors	Class taught by a permanent instructor	Class taught by a sessional
	in the FIS department.	instructor within the Foreign
		Languages Department.

Table 3: 2012 Exchange Participants in Calgary and Concepción

4.1.4.2 <u>Student populations in phase 2: Intercambio ChilCan-ChilCan Exchange 2013</u>

The second phase of the research project, which took place in the Fall 2013 Canadian semester, involved different groups of students enrolled in Spanish and English courses at the same institutions. While the exchange continued to be offered in Canada as a component of the previously described Spanish course, an alternative population of Chilean university students was selected to participate in this second phase. The change in student population occurred for several reasons: first, because the instructor in Chile who had participated in the first semester of the exchange was on maternity leave and so was unable to continue; second, because during the initial phase of the project the English-major students went on strike and did not attend classes, and so to some extent did not participate in the online exchange, for over two 2 months. It was hoped that an alternative population of non-major students of English would be less likely to go on strike and so would participate more fully in the online exchange.⁷⁴

A total of 30 students in Canada participated in the second phase of the online exchange, which was given the name *Intercambio ChilCan/ChilCan Exchange 2013.* They were enrolled in another high intermediate-level Spanish 405 course, with the same instructor and roughly the same syllabus as that taught in 2012. The majority were between the ages of 20 and 29 and were undertaking various major programs at the university, such as International Relations, International Business, Sociology, Kinesiology, Geology, Hotel and Resource Management, Economics and Linguistics. Eight students were majoring or double majoring in Spanish and

⁷⁴ Strikes are a common occurrence within the major Chilean universities, occurring almost every semester. In my personal experience as a university language instructor in Chile, I have observed that the strikes tend to be organized at the level of the Faculty and major program. The UdeC English Online elective program that the second group of students were enrolled in, however, is not affiliated with an external major or faculty. Therefore, the students generally continue to participate in classes even when they are on strike within their major programs of study.
⁷⁵ Alejandra Deij, an instructor of English in the UdeC English Online program, suggested the name ChilCan.

three were minoring in Spanish. Some interesting exceptions were: 1) a full-time ninth grade teacher who had taken a sabbatical to do a Master's in Education and to take Spanish courses; 2) another K-12 teacher who was taking open studies courses as she prepared to enroll in a Master's program in Spanish; 3) 3 retirees who had signed up for Spanish classes for personal interest, including an 80 year old woman in her fourth year of a Spanish degree. There were also two exchange students, one from France and another from Germany, who were spending a semester at the University of Calgary. Seven of the students enrolled in the class were born in Spanish-speaking countries and had arrived in Canada at various ages;⁷⁶ one additional student was born in Canada to Spanish-speaking parents. Many of the Canadian students spoke mother tongues besides English, but again all were proficient enough in English to enroll in university coursework in the English language.

In the 2013 project, the participants in Canada communicated with 19 Chilean university students who were taking English elective courses in the "UdeC English Online" program at the Universidad de Concepción. The majority of the students were majoring in various fields of engineering, 77 although some were also enrolled in medicine, obstetrics, law and psychology. One student was finishing up his final year in an undergraduate program and at the same time enrolled in a first year master's program. All of the students were between the ages of 19 and 25, and were in at least their second year of university, and they were enrolled in either their second, third or fourth semester of English courses. Again, all of the Chilean students reported

⁷⁶ Two students were born in México. One of these students moved to Calgary at the age of 12 with her family and another had just moved to Calgary four years before as a young adult, with his wife. Four other students were born in Colombia; one of these students had arrived in Canada five years before as a young adult. The other three students moved to Calgary at eight, nine and ten years of age.

⁷⁷ These included environmental engineering, mechanical engineering, biomedical engineering, informatics engineering, electronic engineering and engineering in conservation of natural resources.

speaking Spanish as a mother tongue. The Chilean students participated by choice in the online exchange and completed the various activities in their free time, outside of class. Their decision to participate in the exchange had no impact on their grades in their English courses. See Table 3 on page 165 and table 4 below for a summary of the various student populations participating in the 2012 and 2013 phases of the exchange.

	Students in Canada	Students in Chile
University and	University of Calgary, Department	Universidad de Concepción,
Department/Program	of French, Italian & Spanish (FIS)	UdeC English Online
Course of Enrollment	High-Intermediate Spanish 405	Beginner and intermediate level
		courses for non-majors
Number of students who	30	19
participated in the exchange		
Student population	Eight heritage language learners: seven born in Spanish-speaking countries and one born in Canada to Spanish-speaking parents. 22 non-native speakers of Spanish.	All non-native speakers of English.
	Both majors and non-majors of Spanish, between the ages of 20 and 29.	All non-majors of English, enrolled in a variety of major programs between the ages of 19 and 25.
	Exceptions: 1) Full-time 9 th grade teacher on sabbatical to do a Master's in Education and take Spanish 2) K-12 teacher who was taking open studies courses and preparing to enroll in a Master's in Spanish; 3) 3 retirees who had signed up for Spanish classes for personal interest, including an 80 year old woman in her 4 th year of a Spanish degree. 4) 2 exchange students, from France and Germany	
Instructors	Class taught by a permanent instructor in the department.	Three teachers with permanent contracts within the English
T 11 4 201		program.

Table 4: 2013 Exchange Participants in Calgary and Concepción

4.2 Description of the pedagogical intervention

The pedagogical interventions were carried out in the Fall 2012 and 2013 Canadian semesters, within the previously described language courses. The interventions involved the use of various CMC technologies to facilitate communication between students in Chile and Canada, in both English and Spanish.

In both semesters, the students first used a blog available freely online to introduce themselves to the partner group and to make comments and ask and respond to questions, as a way to get to know their exchange partners. All posting and commenting was done outside of regular class time for both groups. As the researcher, I requested that each group post their introductions in their native or first academic languages, so that each of the groups could read and be exposed to native or native-like writing samples in their L2. Thus, the students in Canada prepared and posted their introductions in English, which was either their native language or their main language used for academic purposes, while the Chilean students prepared and posted their introductions in Spanish, the native language of all of the Chilean participants.⁷⁸

So as to avoid confusion about which language to post or comment in, I created two separate blog addresses for the Canadian and the Chilean student's blogs. Commenting on each blog was to be done in the same language in which the original post had been published. Thus, Canadian students posted comments in Spanish on the Chilean students' blog introductions and Chilean students posted comments in English on the Canadian students' introductions. Figures 6 and 7 on pages 170 and 171 depict screenshots of the two sites, in English and Spanish.⁷⁹

⁷⁸ This appears to be a unique use of blogs, as in my review of the literature in chapter 3, I found no published research describing the use of a blog as a component of an online exchange between language students with distinct first languages, living in different countries.

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⁷⁹ I have deleted the original blog pictures and inserted pictures of my own, to protect the students' privacy.

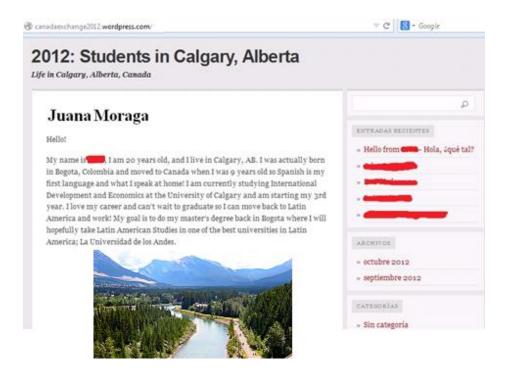


Figure 6: Screenshot of the Blog in English



Figure 7: Screenshot of the Blog in Spanish with Comments

After posting, reading and commenting on the blog introductions of their partner groups, the students were encouraged both semesters to use Skype to contact one or more partner students. During the first semester, the students were simply given a list of names, emails, and Skype usernames of students from the partner group who were interested in communicating further via Skype. During the second semester, to encourage more Skype contact, I began the semester by organizing an in-class group Skype chat between the two groups of students, in which they introduced themselves orally and then asked and responded to questions they had prepared. Later, I matched up all students who were interested in communicating by Skype with one recommended partner, sending an email to both potential partners with the suggestion that they email each other to set up Skype conversations. During the second, but not the first, semester of the exchange, I also created an optional Facebook page that the students could choose to join and use to contact each other and share information with the group as a whole. In the ethics consent form they signed at the start of the semester, the students were informed about the potential privacy risks related to the use of CMC, including "the collection of unencrypted data via electronic means (e.g. email, skype, social networking sites, etc)" and were instructed to discuss any concerns they might have with the researcher. No students voiced any concerns, and their participation in both Skype and Facebook were entirely voluntary.

After participating in the blog introductions, and potentially also contacting each other by Skype and Facebook over the course of the semester, the members of the two classes were instructed to use the file-sharing program Dropbox to exchange the rough draft of a piece of writing they had prepared for their language courses and to give each other feedback. Again, this appears to be a unique use of Dropbox, as a tool to facilitate online intercultural peer review activities within studies of language. In the present instance of peer review, I attempted to avoid

some of the issues noted in my literature review in chapter 3: 1) the tendency for students to avoid drawing attention to each others' errors; and 2) what may be a tendency for students to passively accept online feedback from native speaking peers. In the present project, in requiring students to submit a rough draft of a composition, a copy of the peer feedback they had received, and a final draft of the same composition to their language instructors for a final mark, it was my intention to encourage the students to both give feedback and to actively engage with the feedback received. Furthermore, by using Dropbox, the students were able to share and save files independently, outside of class time and thus did not have the factor of limited time to access the CMC technology, which may have affected the student in the previous studies, who worked only during class time using online tools administered by their educational institutions.

The peer review was carried out each semester as follows. In the case of the Canadian students, I visited their language course to give them a visual demonstration regarding the use of Dropbox and also gave them instructions, in person and by email, regarding the kinds of corrections and feedback I hoped they would give each other. I contacted the Chilean students by email to give them the same instructions. However, I did not mandate any particular kind of feedback, as I wanted to give the students a certain amount of freedom regarding the ways in which they chose to edit or comment on their partner's work. See Appendix C to read the Dropbox instructions I sent to both groups of students.

After submitting their rough draft to their instructors, they uploaded it to Dropbox and emailed a designated partner asking for feedback. I had formed suggested pairs of one Canadian and one Chilean student for the written exchange, based on the interactions I had observed in the blog. After receiving feedback from their partners, both groups were instructed to prepare a final draft of their essays to submit to their instructors and to upload to Dropbox. I created separate

folders in Dropbox for the rough drafts, drafts with feedback, and final essays of the students' work in English and Spanish. See figures 8, 9 and 10, on pages 173 and 174, for screenshots that show how the folders appear in the Dropbox website.

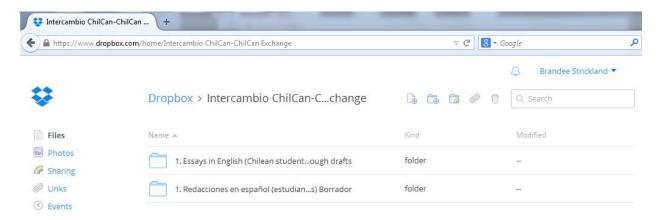


Figure 8: Main Dropbox Folders

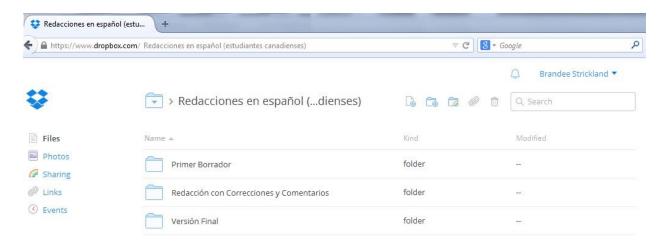


Figure 9: Dropbox Folders for Essays in Spanish

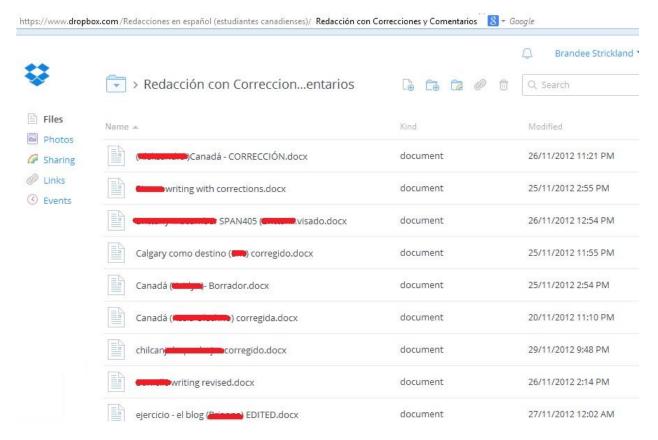


Figure 10: Dropbox Folder for Essays with Revisions in Spanish

During the Fall 2012 exchange, the students from the University of Calgary were asked to take into account what they had learned about the Chilean students to prepare, outside of class, a persuasive essay of at least 150 words. Their assignment was to write an essay convincing their partners to visit Canada for tourism or to improve their English. See Appendix D for a copy of the writing prompt. In the same semester, the Chilean students prepared an essay for their English writing course, on which they were required to get feedback from the Canadian students before submitting the final draft. Their assignment, which was selected by their instructor according to her course objectives, was to write a discursive essay on one of several suggested topics, such as teenage pregnancy, crime, or child labor.

During the second phase of the project, the writing exchange was carried out similarly for the Canadian students. Once again, they were asked to prepare a rough draft of a short written essay and then to share it with a Chilean partner for feedback. However, this time I had been in touch with a bilingual journal from the United States, Tribuno del Pueblo, that was interested in publishing short articles that had been written by the students participating in the online exchange, on a topic assigned by the journal. Thus, the Canadian students were given the option to choose between two different topics, and were told that if they wished to publish their articles, they should select the second topic for their assignment: 1) the same persuasive essay topic as in the previous semester, or 2) a response to the Tribuno del Pueblo's proposed question: ¿Desde tu perspectiva como persona joven (o no tan joven), cuáles son las esperanzas y aspiraciones que tienes para la humanidad? ¿Cuáles son las barreras para la gente joven y cómo se pueden vencer?⁸⁰ This assignment also required a minimum of 150 words and was written outside of class time. The students who chose the second topic were asked to compose their response in Spanish, but were notified that if they later wished to publish, they would need to prepare an English version of the text as well, as the *Tribuno del Pueblo* is a bilingual journal. See a copy of the assignment in Appendix E.

The second phase of the writing exchange was also different for the Chilean students who participated in that, as non-major students of English in a program that emphasized oral language development, they were not required by their instructors to submit drafts of any written assignments or to seek writing feedback from the Canadian students. I contacted them to let them know that they could feel free to submit something that they had written in English to their

⁸⁰ From your point of view as a young (or not so young) person, what are the hopes and aspirations that you have for humanity? What are the barriers that young people face and how can they be overcome? (my translation)

partners in Canada. Furthermore, I shared the writing prompt from the *Tribuno del Pueblo* and invited the Chilean students to prepare a text in English on the topic, which they could send to their Canadian partners for feedback, if they were interested in publishing their work.

4.3 My role in the pedagogical project

Throughout the online intercultural exchange, I was to present and involved in the project as both a pedagogical coordinator and, at the same time, as a researcher. I visited the Canadian classrooms as a coordinator to demonstrate the use of the various online tools, and provided support by email to both Chilean and Canadian students when questions arose. At the same time, I was also present as a researcher, in that I contacted the students, both in person and by email, to ask if they would volunteer to participate in the research portion of the project by completing surveys and face-to-face interviews. On the other hand, I did not participate directly in the online activities within the blog and peer revision process, as I did not post blog entries or comments of my own or post or revise essays in Dropbox.

To a certain extent, then, my role in the CMC exchange was somewhere between that of a participant observer, who "participate[s] in some aspects of life around them and record[s] what they can" and that of the "complete observer", who may record the behavior of others with "little if any interaction" (Bernard, 2013, p. 313). I chose to take on this intermediate role, between that of instructor, participant, and researcher, because I believed that it would allow me to observe the students' work online without direct interference, as I did not have an online presence. At the same time, as I was not the instructor of the course and did not have any impact on the students' marks in in their courses, I hoped to elicit more genuine feedback from the students regarding their reaction to the online exchange.

4.4 Research paradigm, research questions and methods of analysis

4.4.1 Research paradigm, representativeness and reliability of this study

In addition to setting up the aforementioned online intercultural exchanges using CMC within university language classrooms, I also wished to collect and analyze data regarding the impact of the experience on the students and their use of language. It was my belief that qualitative research methods were best suited to this particular project, given that: 1) the CMC projects took place in naturalistic, educational settings; and 2) my goal was to describe the exchanges in detail and explore their impacts as a whole, rather than to isolate any particular variable(s) of interest.

While research studies can certainly incorporate both quantitative and qualitative methods of analysis, there are often differing research paradigms underlying projects that make use of primarily quantitative, or qualitative, data and data analyses. As Jessica V. Stahl, Nicole E. Taylor and Clara E. Hill (2012) have explained:

all research paradigms are guided by assumptions about the world and how it should be studied... These assumptions address the nature of reality (*ontology*), the relationship between the researcher and research participant (*epistemology*), the role of researchers' values in the scientific process (*axiology*), the language used to present the research to an audience (*rhetorical structure*), and the process and procedures of the research (*metholodogy*) used. (p. 22)

While traditional quantitative research studies, especially those of the natural sciences, are built on positivistic assumptions about objective truths that can be "apprehended, identified, and measured," qualitative researchers often adhere to constructivist beliefs. A researcher holding a constructivist approach would question the notion of a single, true reality that can be measured numerically (2012, p. 22). Rather than setting up carefully controlled, laboratory experiments to control error so as to arrive at particular numerical measurements, many

qualitative researchers aim to "map and explore the meaning of an area of human experience," which often involves "*immersion* in some aspect of social life, in an attempt to capture the wholeness of that experience, followed by an attempt to convey this understanding to others" (Mcleod, 2011, p. ix).

My own belief is that something as complex as classroom language learning, and the use of CMC for intercultural contact and writing development, is not measured most effectively through laboratory experiments nor quantitative measurements modeled on the natural sciences. Rather than designing my experiment so as to arrive at particular numerical measurements of writing development, quantity of intercultural contact, or amount of intertextual language use, I have instead employed qualitative research methods that have allowed me to undertake a more holistic exploration of the ways in which the CMC exchange played out in the respective classrooms and online environments. The data I have analyzed, as summarized in section 4.3.3, include qualitative content analyses of: 1) start and end of semester surveys to get feedback from the students on their experiences in the exchange and to assess their thoughts on writing as a whole; 2) face-to-face, open-ended interviews; and 3) the written documents included in the online exchange, which included the blog publications and various essays and revisions stored in Dropbox by the exchange participants.

The students' participation in all portions of the research was optional, as required by the ethics board of the University of Calgary. Therefore, it could be argued that the results presented in chapter 5 of this dissertation are not necessarily representative of the experiences of all participants, as not every student provided feedback. This is an issue that often plagues consensual qualitative research (Hill, Knox & Hess, 2012).

I would argue, however, that it is still beneficial to explore the classroom language learning experiences of voluntary student participants, even if we are uncertain as to the extent to which their particular experiences are representative of those of language learners as a whole. When engaging in this qualitative, classroom-based research, my aim has been to provide rich information about the impacts that the exchange had on particular students and their use of the language of study. By critically examining the feedback and written productions of those students who volunteered to participate, I have generated preliminary findings, along with suggestions as how to improve the exchange in the future so as to increase its impact on participating students.

While the data I have described here "express qualities, values, states of mind, and ideas; in themselves open to any number of qualifications," they still provide evidence as to the ways in which specific university students of a language reacted to the incorporation of CMC exchanges into their coursework and the impact on the writing they produced (Franklin, 2012, p. 17). In the future, I and other researchers can test the representativeness and the reliability of these findings by carrying out similar, and improved, CMC projects with other groups of students. Thus, it would be possible to begin to determine whether various groups of students react in similar ways to the incorporations of these kinds of activities within their language coursework, and the extent to which the findings I report below are truly robust.

4.4.2 Research questions

My research involves the implementation of online intercultural exchanges as an exploration of how socially-based theories of language might be put into practice within university language classrooms, especially for supporting the development of writing. In analyzing the results, I am interested in examining the students' reactions to the CMC exchange,

as well as the impact it had on their L2 language use, especially regarding the written language they produced as a result of the exchange.

In assessing the impact and effects of the online intercultural exchanges on the students that participated, I first wished to consider the students' own reactions to the exchange and its impact on them. Thus, I aimed to assess: 1) the potential benefits of the exchanges; and 2) the difficulties or drawbacks observed by the participants. I have formulated the following research questions: 1) In what ways did the students feel that use of a CMC (a Blog; Skype, email and/or Facebook; and Dropbox) for intercultural exchange impacted positively on the L2 writing classrooms involved?; 2) What were the challenges or difficulties identified by students regarding the aforementioned CMC activities within their language courses? While I did not have particular hypotheses regarding the particular feedback I would receive from students, it was my belief that many of the students would feel that the use of CMC tools for intercultural contact had had a positive impact on their classroom experiences, and that they would have specific observations regarding any difficulties they had faced over the course of the semester.

A second component of my research involves drawing connections between socially-based understandings of language and L2 writing and the inclusion of online intercultural CMC exchanges within university language coursework. I was especially interested in the concept of intertextuality as a component of language use and language learning. By closely examining the students' blog posts and comments and the various drafts and comments received on their course composition, I hoped to identify instances in which potentially new items of language were, consciously or unconsciously, borrowed and passed back and forth between the students in both countries. Thus, as I explored the data collected and its implications, I sought to respond to the following areas of inquiry: 3) How did the use of CMC (a Blog; Skype, email and/or Facebook;

and Dropbox) for intercultural exchange impact on the language use of the participants involved in the exchange? Did the exchange aid in bringing about more socially-based and intertextual uses and experiences of language, such as those described by Bakhtin? My own belief was that the written contact between the students would have an impact on the students' writing and that they would be able to draw on their partners' texts, both when composing their blog posts and as they modified their essays during the peer review process.

4.4.3 Data and data analysis methods

4.4.3.1 <u>Survey instruments</u>

4.4.3.1.1 End-of semester surveys

Voluntary surveys about their experiences with the online exchange were distributed to the exchange participants at the close of the 2012 and 2013 semesters. The surveys provide information about the students' reactions to the use of the blog for communication with the partner group, Skype and email contact throughout the semester, and the use of Dropbox for writing feedback and peer review. In 2012 the survey was distributed on paper in person to the Canadian students, who were asked to complete it at the end of class time, if they could stay late and return it immediately to me, or at a later date by submitting the survey to a mailbox in the Spanish Centre on campus. The Chilean students received the survey by email and were asked to complete it and return it by email, or in person at a face-to-face interview that I carried out one month after the completion of the exchange. In the 2013 exchange, both groups received and completed the survey online, by clicking on a link I had provided them through the *Fluidsurvey* online survey tool (www.fluidsurvey.com). I made minor changes to the survey in 2013 when I adapted it for online use. In the Fall 2012 semester, a total of 15 students completed the survey

and in the Fall 2013 semester, 11 students completed the survey. See Appendices F, G, H and I for copies of the 2012 and 2013 surveys in English and Spanish.

4.4.3.1.2 Start-up/writing survey

During the 2012 phase of the exchange, I noticed that the Chilean students who participated in end-of-semester interviews tended to reflect on the importance of writing in English and felt that the written feedback they had received was important, whereas the Canadian students did not tend to mention these same issues. Based on this observation, I felt that I needed to gain a better understanding of both groups of students' thoughts about writing and their language studies as a whole, beyond what they had expressed spontaneously in their survey and interview responses. Therefore, I requested permission from the ethics board of my university to modify the project by implementing a start-of-semester survey for the students in Canada and Chile who participated in the Fall 2013 exchange. In the survey, students were asked to express their thoughts on the importance of writing in Spanish/English and how they went about doing a writing assignment in Spanish/English, with both multiple choice statements and open-ended, short answer questions. I gave both groups a link to an online survey and asked them to complete it online, voluntarily, at the start of the semester. A total of 13 students completed the survey. See Appendices J and K for copies of the surveys in English and Spanish.

4.4.3.2 Interviews

In both 2012 and 2013, I interviewed exchange participants in Canada and Chile who responded to my email request for interviewees following the close of the semester. Due to logistical issues surrounding students' availability and the limited amount of response from students, I was able to carry out a total of 10 interviews after the Fall 2012 exchange and 6

interviews after the Fall 2013 exchange. The interviews were designed to get more open-ended feedback from the participants regarding their overall use of Internet communication tools prior to the exchange, their experiences using the blog, Skype and Facebook to communicate with the partner group, their thoughts on writing in the L2, their feedback on the experience of the use of Dropbox and the peer review of a piece of writing, their feedback on the positive and negative components of the exchange and its impact and their suggestions regarding future similar projects. Interviews ranged from 20 minutes to 45 minutes in duration and were recorded using a Zoom H4n handheld audio recorder. All interviewees were students in the Fall 2012 and 2013 Spanish 405 courses and the 2012 and 2013 English courses in Chile. See Appendices L and M for copies of the interview questions in English and Spanish.

4.4.3.3 <u>Blog data</u>

The blog introductions that both groups of students published each semester and the comments they made on each others' posts are stored online and so provide physical evidence of the written interactions that took place as the students began to interact through posts and comments. The students completed a form at the start of the semester giving me permission, or not, to examine and analyze their participation in the blog as a component of my research. I have only included specific quotations from the blogs of those students who granted permission, though in all cases pseudonyms have been used to protect the privacy of the participants.

4.4.3.4 Essays stored in Dropbox

In both semesters in which the project was carried out, the students enrolled in the Spanish course saved a rough draft of an essay they had written in a folder stored online in Dropbox. At the close of the semester, many of those students also stored their final drafts in Dropbox before or after submitting the print copy to the instructor, although they were not

obligated to do so. Some of the Chilean students each semester also used Dropbox, although others preferred to email their files instead. In those cases where files were emailed rather than saved in a Dropbox folder, I copied those files into Dropbox for storage. The resulting folders in Dropbox provide a registry of the rough drafts, corrections, and final drafts of much of the students' writing in English and Spanish. The students completed a form at the start of the semester giving me permission, or not, to examine and analyze their written work for the course as a component of my research. I have only included specific writing samples from those students who granted permission, though in all cases pseudonyms have been used.

4.4.4 Summary of research questions, data, and data analysis methods

Tables 5 and 6, on pages 182 and 183, provide a summary of the data sources and methods of analysis I used to address each of my research questions.

Source of Data	Fall 2012 – Paper Survey	Fall 2013 – Electronic Survey
End-of-semester survey	15 surveys completed by students	11 surveys completed by students
	Winter 2013 – Paper Survey	Fall 2013 – Electronic Survey
Writing Survey	11 surveys completed by students 13 surveys completed by stude	
Interviews	Fall 2012	Fall 2013
	10 students participated in face-	6 students participated in face-to-
	to-face interviews	face interviews
Blog posts and comments	Fall 2012	Fall 2013
in English	25 posts and 22 comments	30 posts and 66 comments
in Spanish	23 posts and 44 comments	19 posts and 103 comments
Dropbox essays	Fall 2012 Fall 2013	
in English	22 rough drafts No papers were submitted.	
	21 essays with corrections	
	3 final drafts	
in Spanish	25 rough drafts	26 rough drafts
	25 essays with corrections	26 essays with corrections
	11 final drafts	19 final drafts

Table 5: Sources of Data

Questions	Data Sources	Methods of Analysis
Area I: Students' Reactions and Feedback regarding the Online Intercultural Exchange	Survey responses	Coding and content analyses of student feedback
Question 1: In what ways did the students feel that use of a CMC (a Blog; Skype, email and/or Facebook; and Dropbox) for intercultural exchange impacted positively on the L2 writing classrooms involved?	In-depth interviews	Coding and content analyses of interview data
Question 2. What were the challenges identified by students regarding the aforementioned	Survey responses	Coding and content analyses of student feedback
CMC activities within their language courses?	In-depth interviews	Coding and content analyses of interview data
	Blog postings	Descriptive quantitative analyses of frequency of blog posting and comments
Area II: The CMC exchange as a socially-based experience of L2 language and writing Question 3: How did the use of	Blog postings	Data coding and identification of potential intertextual uses of language in the blog, in which language was shared between students in publications and comments.
CMC (a Blog; Skype, email and/or Facebook; and Dropbox) for intercultural exchange impact on the language use of the participants involved in the exchange? Did the exchange aid in bringing about more socially-	Analyses of essays published in Dropbox	Case study of students' peer review process and outcomes, as well as data coding and identification of potential intertextual uses of language, in which language of the other was incorporated from a revision into the final draft.
based and intertextual uses and experiences of language, such as those described by Bakhtin?	In-depth Interviews	Data coding and subsequent identification of relationships between data themes and socially-based descriptions of language and writing.

Table 6: Research Questions, Sources of Data and Methods of Analysis

4.5 Students' initial thoughts and goals regarding writing

Before viewing the project results, it is interesting to take into account the goals and thoughts, or ideologies, of the various students enrolled in the courses regarding the importance of writing in their second language or language of study. Language ideologies are "belief systems shared by members of a group...that apply to language" (Wortham, 2001, p. 256). Educational practices, such as the present project, take place within specific settings and involve participants with existing sets of belief about language and literacy. Furthermore, as we have seen, Bakhtin has emphasized the fact that languages and language use are closely related to and reflective of ideologies, or ways of seeing the world. Therefore, the present study can be more appropriately contextualized by taking into account the ideologies towards language and literacy expressed by the participants.⁸¹

While unfortunately only a small percentage of the students from each country who participated in the online exchange also completed the optional survey and interviews, many of those who did were able to reflect on the importance of writing in the L2 for them. In fact, the ideologies surrounding literacy in their languages of study were somewhat different for the Canadian versus the Chilean students who responded to the survey. That is to say, on the whole, the Canadian students were somewhat less convinced of the importance of literacy, or writing development, in Spanish than the Chilean students were of the importance of English literacy. However, the Canadian students who spoke Spanish at home, or who had very clear professional

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⁸¹ The majority of the results I have regarding the students' thoughts on writing are from participants in the 2013 exchange, as it was in this second phase of the project that I implemented the start up survey in which I asked specifically about the importance of writing in the L2. However, the Chilean students in both 2012 and 2013 tended to talk about writing in English during their interviews, so I have also included this information.

goals surrounding the Spanish language, were more likely to feel that literacy, and not only oral development, was important.

A number of students in Canada who gave feedback felt that writing in Spanish was important for them, especially those who spoke Spanish outside the classroom and who believed that they might be using it in their future careers. For example, Trinidad was one student participating in the study who was born in Colombia and who had moved to Canada at age nine. She was enrolled in a Law and Society major and was not majoring or minoring in Spanish. In regards to her thoughts on what she hoped to gain from the course and whether she thought she would write in Spanish in the future, she expressed the following in her start-of-semester survey:

I hope to be able to use my Spanish to write in my career once I graduate. I will always communicate with friends and family in the language but I want to be able to interact at a higher level than I do right now. My main concern is to be able to say I am fully bilingual when it comes to my future jobs... to widen my professional vocabulary to be able to use the language in a work environment in my future once I finish my degree. I hope to be able to improve my spelling as well to be able to write in a professional manner in my work life in the future. (start-up/writing survey, October 18, 2013)

Other students who spoke Spanish outside the classroom or who had clear future career goals regarding the use of Spanish expressed similar thoughts. For example, Diego, who had also moved to Canada from a Spanish-speaking country at the age of ten, explained that his main motivation in taking the Spanish course was to gain "higher Spanish proficiencies... mainly writing skills" as he also hoped to use Spanish in a future career in the oil and gas industry (start-up/writing survey, October 2, 2013). Other students who did not speak Spanish at home but who had specific, often professional goals for their Spanish studies also expressed an interest in

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⁸² Pseudonyms have been assigned to each student participating in the study, assigned either by the students themselves or, in default, by the researcher.

developing their writing skills as part of the course. For example, Caroline thought that improving her writing in Spanish would be important as part of her future plans to be a language teacher, in which she would be "writing essays and planning daily teaching lessons" in Spanish (start-up/wrting survey, September 27, 2013).

One other student, who neither spoke Spanish at home nor had clear plans to use the language professionally, also expressed an interest in improving her writing skills. Luchi, a retiree who already had several degrees, had signed up for Spanish classes due to personal interest in the language and through the course hoped to gain "pride and enjoyment at being able to read, *write*, understand and communicate in Spanish" (start-up/writing survey, September 28, 2013; my italics). She expressed strong agreement that she would continue to write in Spanish outside the classroom, explaining that she hoped to send emails in Spanish to Latin American friends, as well as to carry out research and then write essays in Spanish on topics of personal interest.

While the aforementioned students expressed an interest in writing development and seemed to understand their goals related to writing in Spanish, a number of other students were either less articulate in expressing their writing goals or were more or less uninterested in writing in Spanish. Alice, another non-native speaker of Spanish enrolled in the course, felt that she would continue to write in Spanish outside of the classroom, as she hoped to have a future career in translation or immigration. However, when asked what she hoped to gain from the course, she placed less emphasis on writing development, explaining instead that she hoped to gain a "better understanding/use of grammar" and the "ability to speak more freely and clearly" (start-up/writing survey, September 30, 2013). Eight other students, all non-native speakers of Spanish, explained that they did not anticipate writing in Spanish outside of the university,

except through emails or texts with Spanish speaking friends. Finally, three other students explained that they did not expect to write at all in Spanish once completing their coursework, although one of the three students still hoped to "speak and read it" (start-up/writing survey, September 27, 2013). In Figure 11, on page 187, we can see the same data expressed in percentages: 69% of the Canadian students surveyed and interviewed across both semesters articulated that writing in Spanish was important for them, while the other 31% did not.

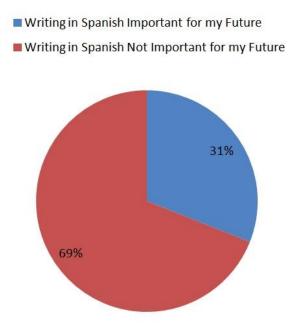


Figure 11: Canadian Students' Thoughts on Writing in Spanish

In general, the Chilean students who completed surveys and interviews from both semesters, both major and non-major students of English, seemed to be more convinced than the Canadian students that writing development was important. It may not be surprising that the initial group of students, who were majoring in English teaching and enrolled in a writing course, felt confident that they would use English in their future teaching careers. In fact, all but one of the 14 major and non-major students in Chile who participated in face-to-face interviews and pre

and post-semester surveys expressed the belief that being able to write in English was important and hoped that they would be able to do so in the future. In figure 12 on page 188, we can see the same data expressed in percentages: 93% of the Chilean students surveyed and interviewed expressed the belief that writing in English was important for their futures, while just 7% of the students did not. Some students from both groups lamented that they often did not have the chance to practice their oral use of English with native speakers; however, at the same time they did not question the importance of being able to communicate, and especially write, in English in their futures.

For example, Paula, a student enrolled in the UdeC English Online Program, felt that writing in English was important, "practicamente en todo⁸³" (start-up/writing survey, September 27, 2013). As she explained it:

Hay mucha literatura en inglés, hay muchas personas de distintos lugares del mundo con las que tratar. Y... el manejo del idioma abre muchas puertas al mundo laboral. Además existen becas y oportunidades de extender la educación superior en otros continentes... En mi carrera debe investigarse y elaborar papers. Para ello creo que es preferible desarrollarlos en inglés para que su lectura sea un poco más universal y para tener mejores posibilidades en el mundo laboral.⁸⁴

Thus Paula, an engineering student, had clear goals regarding writing in English. She hoped to use the language not only to read literature and interact with people from around the world, but also to apply for scholarships, to study abroad and to write and publish papers in English in her field, thus enhancing her employment opportunities.

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^{83 &}quot;in practically everything"

⁸⁴ "There is so much literature in English, there are so many people from different parts of the world to interact with. And... being able to use the language opens so many doors for employment. There are also scholarships and opportunities to pursue higher education in other continents... In my field you have to do research and write papers. I think it's better to develop them in English, so that they can be read more universally and so you have more possibilities of employment" (my translation).

Most of the students expressed interest in writing in English so as to be able to do further studies abroad, for work-related purposes, and with an interest in publishing. For example María, a student of biomedical engineering, explained, "Espero poder hacer investigación científica y poder publicarlas en revistas internacionales, para así darlas a conocer a nivel mundial" (start-up/writing survey, September 27, 2013). Felipe, also a student of engineering, believed that achieving a high level of written and oral English would allow him to "lograr ser un profesional más completo que pueda trabajar en cualquier lugar del mundo" (start-up/writing survey, September 27, 2013). He hoped to do graduate studies in an English speaking country and imagined that in the future he would prepare professional documents in English in his employment.

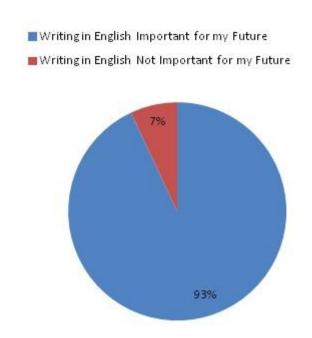


Figure 12: Chilean Students' Thoughts on Writing in English

⁸⁵ "I hope to be able to do scientific research and publish it in international journals, so that they can be disseminated world-wide" (my translation).

⁸⁶ succeed at becoming a more complete professional who can work in any part of the world" (my translation).

It is interesting to note, then, that there seems to be some amount of mis-match between the goals that the non-major students of English professed and the emphasis of the English program that they were enrolled in. The students were confident that not only speaking but also writing in English was important for their future academic and professional aspirations. However, the English program they were enrolled in aimed to "develop integrated linguistic skills, with an emphasis on *listening comprehension and oral production* and a focus on learning for authentic communication" (Bañados, 2006, p. 534, my italics). In fact, when the second half of the online exchange was carried out with the non-major students, the coordinators of the English program specifically stated that their goal was for their students to have access to "la interacción comunicativa oral" and that for them this was more important than writing development (E. Bañados, email communication, August 3, 2013).87 The push towards the development of oral, communicative language, rather than professional written language, may be a result of the fact that the UdeC English Online program is not housed within the education or foreign language faculty and instead seeks to provide basic and intermediate level English courses for students from a variety of disciplines. However, as those students who completed surveys and interviews believed that writing in English was also a key skill to have, it may be important to consider taking their goals and needs into account.

The students' beliefs, attitudes and goals regarding their language studies and the development of literacy in their second languages reflected somewhat different ideologies about their respective second languages. That is, the Chilean students seemed to hold ideologies linking the English language with professional and academic success. They viewed English as

⁸⁷ "interactive oral communication" (my translation).

an internationally important language that would allow them to participate in important professional opportunities, such as travelling and studying abroad at the graduate level, finding better employment, and publishing their work at an international level. On the other hand, the students in Canada had somewhat more varied ideologies surrounding the importance of the Spanish language and literacy. Some students, especially those who spoke Spanish at home and who had specific career goals related to the language, believed that writing in Spanish was important and beneficial. However, others viewed Spanish more as a medium for oral expression in their personal lives, rather than as an important professional or academic tool.

The language ideologies expressed by the students in Chile and Canada are surely not only individual, but are also reflective of societal and institutional beliefs in their respective contexts. Thomas Ricento (2000) has explained that assessing "the role (symbolic and/or functional) of.... [a] language within a particular social niche" requires an understanding of specific sociohistorical contexts (p. 1). As we have seen, the Chilean students were studying English as a foreign language in a context in which they did not have much exposure to linguistic diversity in their local community, as few residents of their city had been born outside of Chile or spoke languages besides Spanish. On the other hand, the Chilean government offers an English-language translation of its official Web page and an English translation of the government constitution is available online, suggesting that the English language is highly valued at the national level in Chile. Furthermore, the study of English has been identified as an important field at the Universidad de Concepción since its initial founding, and mastery of foreign languages is still seen as a key outcome of undergraduate studies on campus. Thus, ideologies surrounding the importance of English and English literacy are in evidence within the wider societal contexts surrounding the Chilean students.

Ricento (2000) has described the "clustering" of ideologies that may occur in the case of "dominant" languages, such as English (p. 1). 88 Alistair Pennycook (2000) has called attention to the existence of individualist ideologies that emphasize the individual benefits that can be attained through the use of a dominant language, like English, attributing these beliefs to the prevalence of "liberal-laissez-faire" economic and academic policies. Dua (1994) has suggested that in many contexts ideologies around English "are sustained by socioeconomic and market forces... [and]... the educational system [that] reproduces and legitimizes the relations of power and knowledge implicated with English" (p. 132). It would seem that the ideologies surrounding the study of English language in the Chilean context are examples of these kinds of belief in English, as a dominant world language that can provide individual benefits to those who are able to employ it.

On the other hand, the ideologies surrounding Spanish in Calgary are found within a sociocultural context in which members of the community speak a diversity of languages, but in which these non-official languages are not necessarily valued as necessary for academic or professional development. As we have seen, in the University of Calgary's description of its undergraduate programs, the study of foreign languages is not highlighted as a component of the university's goals for its students, as it is on the Universidad de Concepción's web page. It is, perhaps not surprising, then, that fewer of the students in Canada, as compared to the Chilean students, cited writing literacy in Spanish as an important outcome for them. Instead, many of these students were interested in simply completing the course for credit, or in developing their

⁸⁸ He argues that is is "clear that simple, often deterministic, formulations of relationships between language status and individuals, groups, and nation states are untenable; language policies are always socially situated and continually evolving...; support of colonial languages, such as English, is not always or inherently repressive or reactionary; and... policies that favor linguistic pluralism do not always have as their goal the promotion of greater social and economic equality" (2000, p. 2).

oral abilities in the language. They were likely influenced by language ideologies, present within Canada and worldwide, in which minority or non-official, non-dominant languages have come to be seen as less intrinsically valuable than dominant languages (Cummins & Danesi, 1990; Heller, 1999; Mady, 2013).

It is important to note, though, that the population of language learners in Canada, unlike Chile, included a noticeable percentage of heritage language learners of Spanish, who reported speaking Spanish at home. Given that Spanish is one of the non-official mother tongues most reported in the Calgary census, it is not surprising to find heritage language learners enrolled in Spanish classes at the University of Calgary. This subgroup of language learners tended to evidence ideologies in which they saw writing development as important for their future professional, if not academic, careers.

Martin Guardado (2008) has studied the language ideologies of Spanish speakers in Western Canada, demonstrating that some Spanish-speaking parents are able to instill ideologies in their children that emphasize the importance of language and literacy in their mother tongues. These ideologies may be in competition with other, more mainstream ideologies. For example, some of the parents Guardado inverviewed reported that local teachers had encouraged them to speak English at home with their children rather than Spanish, as the teachers claimed that that "the language of the children is English because they live here... and they are being educated in the Canadian culture" (p. 63). Thus, heritage language learners of Spanish may come into contact with contradictory ideologies surrounding the importance of a need for literacy in the Spanish language.

As we can see, the students involved in the exchange showed evidence of holding complex ideologies surrounding the study of English as a foreign language in Chile and the study

of Spanish as a foreign language in Canada, and L2 literacy development. These ideologies, or socially-influenced beliefs surrounding their languages of study, are likely to have influenced their participation in, and reactions to, the online intercultural exchange, which I will continue to explore in the following chapter.

Chapter Five: Results and impact of the CMC online intercultural exchanges

There is a paradox here... [;]... computer technology can be alienating, and further dehumanizing, by removing people from the tactile company of others and reducing, even when such technology is used for communicative purposes, face-to-face contact. Yet this same technology, from an opposing point of view, provides a nexus of connectivity, social interaction, and community building, albeit in novel formations. For most first world inhabitants, an ever-expanding proportion of life in late modernity is mediated by communication and information technologies. (Thorne, 1999, p. 5)

In this chapter I will present results of the online exchange compiled from surveys, interviews and the blog and writing exchange data and reflect on their implications. I will argue that the exchange, although somewhat limited in scope, did indeed enrich the students' language learning and literacy experiences. Specifically, the use of the various CMC technologies for L2 written communication allowed many of the students to draw on the partner groups' writings to create intertextualities between their own writing and that of their native speaking partners. In this way, they were able to enrich and enhance their own compositional practices, and begin to experience writing in their second language as a socially situated, and dialogical, practice.

5.1 Research area I: Students feedback regarding the online intercultural exchange as well as challenges identified

In analyzing the results of the intercultural exchange, I aimed first to explore the participants' reactions to the project, so as to explore the impact it had on their own experiences with their L2 language course and literacy development. I have classified the students' feedback into two categories and will thus report on the aspects of the exchange they found: 1) most beneficial and; 2) most challenging or frustrating. Their feedback provides evidence of the ways

in which their understandings of L2 language and literacy both impacted on, and were impacted by, their experiences in the online exchange.

5.1.1 Research question 1: Positive impacts of the CMC intercultural exchange in the L2 classrooms

The major benefits of the CMC exchange that were described by students from both countries in surveys and interview were: 1) getting to know people in a Spanish-speaking country by reading their blog publications; 2) getting writing feedback from native speaking peers through email or Dropbox; and 3) the use of Skype, Facebook and email as a way to interact, both orally and in writing, with native speakers of the language, especially in the second phase of the project.

5.1.1.1 Reading and publishing in a blog with a partner group

Nearly all of the students in both Chile and Canada who were surveyed and interviewed each semester agreed with the statement that they had enjoyed reading the blog entries of the members of the partner group. One Canadian student, Brady, explained in an interview that "[i]t was really interesting not only to read about the people from Chile but also the people from the class" (interview, December 13, 2013). Alice, also a Canadian student, wrote in a comment section on her survey, "[t]he blog was a lot of fun – great to learn about other people and cultures" (end-of-semester survey, December 3, 2012). Other students also remarked that they had enjoyed seeing the photos that accompanied the introductions and learning about the lifestyles of the partner group. Josh, in Canada, commented that "it was interesting... A lot of them lead pretty interesting lives... I feel like they tend to be more involved with their politics

⁸⁹ One student out of the 26 who responded to the survey across the two semesters marked that he neither agreed or disagreed with the statement, while the other 25 agreed that they had "enjoyed reading the blog entries of the Canadian/Chilean students"

and their communities than we are" (interview, December 16, 2013). Also commenting on the differences between the groups that he had observed in the blogs, a Chilean student, Ángelo, said in his interview about the Canadian students that, "some of them lead very interesting lives, according to what they wrote... many of them practice some extreme sports or they are adventurous... Also, many of them travel to different countries, something that in the Chilean group probably... doesn't happen too often" (interview, January 4, 2014). Finally, Maggie, another Chilean student, observed similarities, rather than differences, between the two groups when reading over the blog, explaining that "... me pareció divertido, algunas historias que contaban... hubo similitudes entre mis compañeros y las otras personas y allí uno se da cuenta que al final somos todos estudiantes y tenemos casi las mismas vivencias, estemos donde estemos" (interview, January 10, 2013). Lamien, a Chilean student, also felt that it was fun to read the introductions of the Canadian students and to compare them to the daily lives of her classmates in Chile.

The students also commented on the kinds of language they were exposed to in the blog. In her interview, Jennifer commented that she liked the fact that each group posted introductions in their main or native language, as it allowed them to read colloquialisms and slang in the language of study. Other students also commented on the natural use of language they were exposed to by reading their partner groups' blog introductions. Sean, a Canadian student,

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⁹⁰ Angelo requested to do his interview in English rather than Spanish. The other Chilean students were interviewed in Spanish.

⁹¹ In this and future parenthetical notes I will offer translations into English of the Chilean students comments. This and all future translations are my own personal translations. "I thought it was fun, some of the stories they told… there were similarities between my classmates and the other people and so you realize that, in the end, we are all students and we have the same life experiences, no matter where we are."

commented on the contextualized language he was able to view in the Chilean students' introductions. He explained in his interview that:

Some of them, the words, I could guess what it is, but I would not use it. Like they take a course, they use "cursar"... I would never have imagined this is the verb to do it. So I learned quite a bit reading the way they write, which is good because you want to be able to read what people write instead of reading from the textbook. (interview, December 10, 2012)

Paolo, a Canadian student, also remarked that he enjoyed observing the Chilean students' use of language in context, because "it's always interesting for me to see how the grammar goes" (interview, December 12, 2012). Finally, one Chilean student, Lamien, stated that she had appreciated: "la forma de escribir... la naturalidad de escribir en ingles" that she had sensed when reading the Canadian students' introductions (interview, December 28, 2012).

Overall, the students from both groups who participated in the surveys felt that reading the blog introductions of the partner group was beneficial. They were able to browse numerous introductions, with accompanying photos, written in the native languageof the partner group (their L2).⁹³ Many of them also felt that they were able to learn about and reflect on similarities and differences between their own lives and habits and those of the partner group. By reading the introductions, they felt that they were exposed to a natural use of the language, even learning some new expressions. Their comments point towards the Bakhtinian notion of speech genres, intertextuality and language learning through the process of observing typical instances of language use of the other in contextualized settings, or what the students here have called

^{92 &}quot;The way they write... the natural way they write in English."

⁹³ As I have explained, all of the Chilean students introduced themselves in Spanish, which was their native language. All of the students in Canada introduced themselves in English. Although English was not the native language of all of the Canadian students, they all have academic proficiency in English, to the extent that they were accepted into academic programs at a Canadian university.

"natural" uses of the language. I will further explore these dimensions of the exchange in section 5.2.1 of this chapter.

5.1.1.2 Intercultural writing exchange and peer review

Not all of the students surveyed and interviewed had received writing feedback from their partners or felt that the feedback they received was helpful in improving the quality of their work, a fact that I will discuss further in section 5.1.2 below. However, for those students who did communicate closely with a peer to send a draft of a piece of writing and get comments, it was often the component of the exchange that they felt to be the most helpful. Furthermore, 22 of the 26 students who responded to the survey felt that Dropbox was easy to use and an effective way to share files with their peers. As one Canadian student, Anna, commented in her final survey, I liked how it was a win-win situation for both of us. We were helping each other by editing each other's work. It was also easy and took very little time to transfer documents back and forth' (end-of-semester survey, December 3, 2012). The reported benefits included getting an additional form of feedback besides that of the instructor of the course, getting detailed explanations of corrections, and using the corrections to improve one particular piece of writing and their writing overall.

Many students expressed in interviews and surveys that they appreciated having additional feedback and opinions on their writing beyond that of their instructor. Josh, in

⁹⁴ The other 4 students either marked that they "did not agree nor disagree" or failed to mark that section of the survey.

⁹⁵ This mutual exchange and benefit was possible only in the 2012 exchange, in which both groups of students were required by their instructors to submit a piece of writing for review. As we will see in my discussion of the difficulties or challenges, in the 2013 exchange it was only the Canadian students who submitted and received a piece of writing for review. While the Chilean students expressed interest in improving their writing in English in an initial survey, they were not required by their instructors to submit or get feedback on a text they had written. While I gave them the instructions regarding how to use Dropbox and told them they were welcome to submit something they had prepared in English to their partners for feedback, none of the Chilean students took advantage of this opportunity in the 2013 exchange.

Canada, explained that he had enjoyed trying out some of the new things he was learning in the course, especially the subjunctive mood. He felt that it was the "perfect time to test it out," and to see if it worked and if he got positive feedback on his use of it from his partner. Brady, in Canada, expressed a similar idea when he talked about the difference between the first writing assignment he had done for class, in which he had not been able to ask for feedback, and the piece of writing he prepared as part of the exchange. He explained:

What I think was really helpful was... normally when I write, I have someone else look over it... so the struggle...with that first one, was I kind of knew what I wanted to write but I felt like I didn't really know who to go to get feedback, to make sure I was on the right track... I felt like I was just on my own, flying solo... a lot of the grammar mistakes I made in that one could have been prevented if I had someone to ...explain some things to me beforehand. But with this... he helped me understand what I was doing wrong and ways I could fix it, which ended up making the final draft a lot better.

Varinia, a Chilean student, commented in her interview that she had appreciated the writing exchange because it gave her "más opiniones, aparte de lo que siempre nos dice la profesora" (interview, December 28, 2012). Leimen, a Chilean student, commented that the experience of having a peer edit her work was refreshingly different from the experience of having a professor do so, in that, "cuando te corrige el profesor sientes una relación de verticalidad, que es diferente que cuando otro alumno lo hace". Thus, the students seemed to appreciate having more input on their writing, beyond that of the instructor.

In their final interviews, several students also commented on the fact that the feedback they had received from their peers, as opposed to what they often got from their instructor, was

⁹⁶ "more opinions, besides what the professor always tells us."

⁹⁷ "When the professor makes corrections you feel a vertical relationship, which is different when another student does it."

more specific in indicating what needed to be changed and why. Luchi, a Canadian student, was especially pleased with the comments she got from her partner. She explained in her interview:

She did a very good job... I really like the way she did colors; she did not cross out - I hate that - but she put the corrections, the suggestions. I texted her and told her I just love the way she did my paper, it was clean, and very easy to see; the red is my errors and the green is her suggestion. (interview, December 9, 2013)

By examining the revisions Luchi received in Dropbox, I see that Luchi's partner made corrections regarding her use of pronouns and prepositions. She also gave suggestions about alternative vocabulary and word choice. For example, rather than "Cuando llegas a Canadá para *visitar*, tendrás una ámplia elección..." her partner suggested she use the verb "conocer." Rather than the adjective "pintoresco," she suggested using the adjectives "bello y llamativo". She did not explain her suggestions in the document itself, but Luchi stated that she and her partner had been in touch by email and Skype to go over the corrections.

Carolina, a Chilean student, stated that the writing feedback she received was the most helpful part of the exchange. She explained that the feedback from her partner was more detailed, with explanations of why something was or wasn't written in a certain way. She stated that "cuando la profesora nos corrige...a veces no entendemos por qué... ahora teníamos la explicación" (interview, December 28, 2012). Pedro, in Chile, explained similarly that "[la profesora] solo marcaba nuestros errores pero no los explicaba... En el caso de la compañera de Canadá ella me ayudó y me dio ideas de lo que podía poner en vez de eso; ideas alternativas que sonaban más bien en el contexto de lo que yo estaba escribiendo" (interview, January 9, 2012). 100

⁹⁸ Unfortunately, neither Carolina nor her partner shared the corrections with me by email or Dropbox, so I have no record of the specific suggestions she received.

^{99 &}quot;When the professor corrects us... sometimes we don't understand why... Here we had an explanation."

¹⁰⁰ "[The professor] just marked our errors but didn't explain them... In the case of my partner in Canada she helped me and gave me ideas that sounded better in the context of what I was writing."

Again, by examining the revisions received in Dropbox, I can see that Pedro's partner wrote corrections into his document by hand and then scanned in and sent the file to him in jpeg form. She gave him numerous suggestions, especially regarding vocabulary and word choice. For example, where Pedro had written "I hope child labor dies some day," a grammatically correct and yet unusual conclusion for his paper, his partner suggested instead, "[b]y implementing the aforementioned solutions it is my hope that we will one day be able to eliminate the need for child labor." As Pedro stated, her feedback goes beyond grammar-based corrections, as it includes suggestions as to how to reformulate some of his statements in ways that would be more typical for this kind of essay written in Spanish.

As we have seen, a number of the students felt that the feedback they received from their exchange partners provided not only an additional point of view on what they had written, but also allowed them to revise their writing in ways that improved their essays, and perhaps even their writing abilities as a whole. Alex, a Canadian student, wrote in her final survey that it was helpful to get feedback from the partner group, especially regarding "formulating sentences in a manner that seemed natural" (end-of-semester survey, December 3, 2012). Amelia, in Chile, felt that the feedback she got from her Canadian partner helped her final essay sound much "más natural" in English, while still allowing her to maintain her own style (end-of-semester survey, December 28, 2012). Lamien, also in Chile, commented that her partner had helped her with cohesion, the use of connectors, and the elimination of unnecessary words. She felt that her final essay was much more fluent. Furthermore, she felt that the experience had helped her with her writing as a whole. She stated that the writing exchange was an "experiencia nutritiva" that

^{101 &}quot;more natural"

helped her improve her writing, because "al releer el documento te vas dando cuenta que puedes ir modificando ciertos estilos y ciertas formas de escribir" (interview, December 28, 2012). 102 Maggie also felt that the corrections she received from her Canadian partner not only helped make her essay stronger, but also gave her information that she could later use in her own self corrections of her writing. The students comments point towards the fact that their language interactions inspired them to draw on each others' words when improving their writing in the language of study, an intertextual phenomenon that I will explore further in sections 5.2.1 and 5.2.2 of this chapter.

5.1.1.3 Skype, email and Facebook contact with native speakers

One final component of the course that numerous students highlighted as positive, especially in the 2013 semester, was individual contact outside of the blog with members of the partner group. Some students reported being in touch with their partners by email, through the chat and video functions in Skype, and through Facebook. They felt that this deeper interaction was important in that: 1) it allowed them to communicate with a real speaker of the language, outside of their classroom peers, in the language of study; and 2) they formed connections that would continue even after the course ended.

In the first 2012 phase of the project, as I have explained, the possibility of contacting the partner group outside of the blog, via email and Skype, was present. However, it was not

¹⁰² "nutricious/enriching experience"; "as you re-read the document you realize that you can modify certain styles and certain ways of writing."

¹⁰³ The Facebook page I created in 2013 for the group was not heavily used. 27 students joined the page: 9 students from Canada and 18 from Chile. I initiated all but two of the posts, with information I shared about the exchange and about Chile and Canada. Several Chilean students, but no Canadian students, made comments or asked questions on the posts and some students from both Chile and Canada clicked the "like" button on some posts, suggesting that they did visit the page. However, it appears that the facebook contact the students referred to in their interviews was private activity between students that was not taking place on the group page.

strongly incorporated into the structure of the online exchange. As a researcher, I sent both the Chilean and Canadian students a list of names, emails, and Skype contact information of the partner group members and encouraged them to be in touch with one another. Later, halfway through the semester, I formed pairs of students who could work together on the writing exchange. I sent emails to these pairs informing them that they should exchange papers in Dropbox and then contact each other by email and Skype, as needed, to clarify the feedback they wished to give each other. In the surveys and interview comments I received from students at the end of the 2012 semester, I found that none of the students from either group claimed to have contacted each other by Skype. Only one Canadian student, Paulo, reported having further email contact, outside of what was required, with his Chilean partner, which he hoped to maintain once the course had been completed. One Chilean student, Pedro, reported that he had contacted several of the Canadian students via Facebook and hoped that they would respond to his friend requests, so that he could have further contact with them.

Despite the low level of contact beyond that which was required in the 2012 exchange, many of the students expressed a wish for further contact and felt that it would have been beneficial for them. For example, Anna, a Canadian student, explained in her end-of-semester survey that she had not contacted the Chilean students by Skype or email because there was "no time." However, she said that, "I wish I had spent more time connecting with my partner as it's a valuable experience." Amelia, Leimen, Carolina and Varinia, all Chilean students, expressed interest in having more direct contact with the Canadian students, as required or classroom-based activities, through Skype or another form of videoconferencing, and email. Without the more structured format, many of the students felt that they simply did not have the time to engage in further contact with their partner group.

In the 2013 exchange, more students reported having further contact with one or more members of the partner group that they rated as positive components of the online exchange. In fact, of the students who completed the final survey and interview, only one reported not having engaged in any further Skype or email contact with her partner. This higher incidence is likely due to the fact that I, as the researcher, spent time forming suggested partner groups for Skype and emailed the students about these groups much earlier in the semester. I also organized one in-class, group Skype session to allow the two groups to greet one another face-to-face online. Furthermore, the second group of Chilean students may have been more highly motivated to engage in Skype interactions with their partners, as they were enrolled in a course that focused more heavily on oral language ability, rather than writing skills. 104

All students who reported further communication with their peers felt that engaging in real, direct contact with speakers of the language was a positive component of the exchange. Brady, a Canadian student, explained that he had been in touch on Skype, by email and Facebook chat with two of the Chilean students. He reported in his interview: "Getting contact with native speakers is the best thing you can do; it makes it real, just learning Spanish from a book isn't the same. I think it's really cool to get to have that opportunity." He went on to explain that his experiences interacting with the students complemented the course, due to, "the real contact, as opposed to it just being something theoretical you are reading in a book, this is a person, someone's real life." Angelo, a Chilean student, expressed a similar sentiment, explaining that the chance to interact by Skype, email and Facebook with a Canadian student

¹⁰⁴ In fact, as we have seen, the Chilean students in 2013 did not send written work as part of the writing exchange, although the majority of them did still provide feedback to the Canadian students.

from his same major field was extremely positive. He observed, "it's one thing to learn the English we learn inside in the classroom, [an]other thing is to put into practice the language.... to talk to people with natural language. We got to taste the real English."

Jennifer and Luchi were two Canadian students who seemed to form especially close relationships with their Chilean partners via Skype and email. In her final interview, Jennifer stated that she had been able to engage in a high level of interaction with her Chilean partner, Cecilia. She explained that they emailed every 2 or 3 days and did video Skype on two occasions, for an hour each time. In fact, she was able to meet and say hello to Cecilia's parents in one of their Skype chats. About their use of language, she explained that generally Cecilia would write emails in English and she would write back in Spanish. They would not only respond to each other's ideas but would also go back through the messages and give each other feedback. Jennifer had never had her own Skype account before the exchange, but she planned to continue to use it to communicate with Cecilia in the future. She commented that the most positive aspect of the project for her were, "the connections that I've made, especially with [Cecilia] that will carry on after the course; her and I have a lot in common" (interview, December 11, 2013).

Luchi also reported that she and her partner, Pachi, had Skyped on at least 4 occasions and emailed even more frequently over the course of the semester. She explained that they generally spoke in Spanish during the exchanges, although "to practice her English, she'd speak to me in English and expect me to answer in Spanish and vice versa. We were both struggling here and there, looking for the words. When I revert to English, she tells me 'Spanish, Spanish'!" Luchi and Pachi exchanged pictures and emails as well as communicating orally by Skype. When we spoke in our interview, Luchi informed that she had sent a Christmas package

to her partner in Chile. She reported that she expected to stay in touch with Pachi even though the exchange itself, and her Spanish course, had drawn to a close. Luchi explained that her interactions with Pachi had been, "very positive because this aspect of the course is like beautiful icing on the cake, gravy on my mashed potatoes; this... added excitement and to good use, because I was able to have interactions with people from Latin America."

Both the Canadian and Chilean students, then, felt that reading the partner groups' blog introductions, using Dropbox to share a piece of writing and receive feedback, and engaging in further contact through Skype, email and Facebook, were beneficial components of their language coursework. These CMC experiences allowed them to: 1) read natural uses of language in social contexts in the blog and learn about and compare the lifestyles of the parter group with their own; 2) get specific and detailed writing feedback from a peer; and 3) engage in face-to-face and written interaction and form relationships that they hoped would continue even after the language course had been completed. The students' feedback, succinctly expressed in Luchi's description of the online exchange as the "beautiful icing on the cake" of her regular language coursework, provides support for the hypothesis that the use of CMC can be successfully integrated within otherwise traditional language classroom settings, to enhance language learning experiences by adding socially-based contact with the language, both oral and written.

¹⁰⁵ In her end-of-semester survey, Pachi, Luchi's partner in Chile, made the following comment about her interactions with Luchi: "Con mi compañera fue fácil interactuar en todo sentido, ella es una gran mujer con, muchos conocimientos. Todas las actividades fueron fáciles con ella." In English, this would translate to: "With my partner it was easy to interact in every sense, she is a great woman with so much knowledge. All of the activities were easy with her."

5.1.2 Research question 2: Reported challenges of incorporating the CMC intercultural exchange

The students from both countries who completed surveys and interviews each semester mentioned several critiques in addition to the positive aspects of the exchange. The major challenges or negative components of the intercultural exchange that they commented on included: 1) that the blog was not an ideal forum for extended interaction with the partner group; 2) that some of the feedback they received on their written work was minimal or not always well-explained; and 3) that the exchange was not well-integrated into the in-class portion of their language course.

5.1.2.1 <u>Difficulties in using the blog for communicative interaction</u>

Students in both countries seemed to enjoy the blog more as an initial way to read about the partner group, rather than as an ongoing form of communication. While 96% of the students surveyed reported enjoying reading the blog, only 65% of the students agreed that using it had allowed them to communicate with the partner group. Their feedback on surveys and in interviews showed that while they enjoyed reading the introductions of the partner group, they did not always feel motivated to continue visiting or posting in the blog after the beginning stages of the project. Furthermore, they did not feel that the ability to write comments on each others' posts inspired sustained interaction. This was true in both the 2012 and 2013 projects, but was especially the case in the Fall 2012 project, for the reasons I will outline below.

As I have explained previously, the first Fall 2012 exchange was affected by a strike that took place within the Universidad de Concepción and which lasted around 2 months. The instructor of the course in Chile could not require her students to complete any classwork during that period of time. Therefore, only 8 of the Chilean students posted their introductions in the

first month and a half of the exchange. The other 15 students who posted introductions did so after November 13th, once they had returned to classes after the strike. The first 8 Chilean students who posted in the blog, at approximately the same time as the Canadian students received an average of 4 comments each on their introductions. However, the majority of those who published in late November did not receive any comments from the Canadian students. ¹⁰⁶ This supports the notion that the blog was primarily only used by the students during the initial, introductory phase of the project, but not generally as a tool for continued interaction.

2012	Blog in English	Blog in Spanish	Combined
Original Posts	26 introductory	23 introductory posts	49 introductory posts
	posts	(8 in early October and	
		15 in mid-November)	
Total Number of Comments	22 comments	39 comments (average	61 comments
		of 4 comments on each	
		introduction posted in	
		October, while only 2 of	
		the 15 students who	
		posted in November	
		received a comment)	
Comments after October 20	9 (40.9% of toal	4 (9.8% of total	13 comments (21% of
	comments)	comments)	total comments)
Turn taking	Average of 1.5	Average of 1.9 turns	Average of 1.7 turns
	turns per	per interaction	per interaction
	interaction		
Comments with no reply (one	9 instances	9 instances	18 instances
turn)			
Comments with one reply (two	5	7	12 instances
turns)			
Comments with one reply and	1	4	5 instances
one counter-reply (three turns)			
Comments with 4 turns	0	1	1 instance
Comments with 5 turns	0	0	0 Instances

Table 7: 2012 Blog Averages

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¹⁰⁶ Note that the Chilean students posted a higher percentage of comments on the blog in English later in the semester than the Canadian students. This is mainly due to comments by a small number who joined the project later in the semester after the strike, visited the Canadian students' page, and posted comments.

On the whole, the blog was more successful during the 2013 exchange project, as both groups of students published their introductions and commented on each other's posts at the start of the semester. Of the 169 comments that appeared on the two blogs throughout the semester, a total of 66 comments were posted on the Canadian students' blog introduction site (primarily in English) and a total of 103 were posted on the Chilean students' introductions (primarily in Spanish). See table 2, on page 212, for a quantitative summary of the blog posts and comment frequency in the 2013 exchange.

My analyses suggest that the 2013 blog, as well, was primarily used at the start of the exchange rather than later in the semester. Out of the 169 comments posted, in both English and Spanish, during the Fall 2013 exchange, only 10 of those comments, or about 5.9%, were posted after October 20. Furthermore, the comment chains also showed little evidence of sustained interaction. In some cases, one comment would appear on a post as a reply to an introduction, but would not then receive a response from the original poster. As we can see in table 8, this happened on 10 occasions in the blog in English (with a Canadian student not replying to a comment from a Chilean student) and on 6 occasions in Spanish (with a Chilean student not replying to a comment from a Canadian student). In the majority of the comment chains there was evidence of 2 turns, as the students who received a comment on his or her post would reply, but would then receive no further response, or additional comment, from the original commenter. This occurred on 22 instances in the blog in English, and on 30 instances in the blog in Spanish.

Some differences can be observed between the two blogs regarding longer turn taking. In the blog in English, there were just 4 instances that involved one additional turn, in which a Chilean student commented on a post, the original Canadian student replied, and the Chilean student then wrote an additional comment, for a total of 3 turns. In the blog in Spanish, there

was evidence of somewhat longer turn taking. There were 4 instances in which 3 turns were taken (Canadian student comments, original Chilean poster responds, Canadian student writes a follow-up comment), 5 instances in which 4 turns were taken (Canadian student comments, original Chilean poster responds, Canadian student writes a follow-up comment, Chilean student writes a follow-up response). Finally, there was one instance in which 5 turns were taken. As a whole, though, there were few instances of extended turn taking across the blogs: on average the Canadian students' blog interactions included 1.8 turns and on the Chilean students' blog, there were an average of 2.2 turns per interaction in 2013.

2013	Blog in English	Blog in Spanish	Combined
Original Posts	30 introductory	19 introductory posts	49 introductory posts
	posts	(1 received no	
	(5 received no comments)	comment)	
Total Number of Comments	66 comments	103 comments	169 comments
Comments after October 20	3 comments (4.5% of total)	7 comments (6.8% of total)	10 comments (5.9% of total)
Turn taking	Average of 1.8 turns per comment chain	Average of 2.2 turns per comment chain	Average of 2 turns per comment chain
Comments with no reply (one turn)	10 instances	6 instances	16 instances
Comments with one reply (two turns)	22 instances	30 instances	52 instances
Comments with one reply and	4 instances	4 instances	8 instances
one counter reply (three turns)			
Comments with four turns	0 instances	5 instances	5 instances
Comments with 5 turns	0 instances	1 instance	1 instance

Table 8: 2013 Blog Averages

The feedback from students in both the 2012 and 2013 projects supports the idea that the blog, while serving as an initial, introductory tool, did not tend to inspire the students to engage in continued interaction. For example, Amelia was one of the Chilean students who did publish her introduction in the blog early in the semester during the 2012 strike. While she enjoyed

reading about the Canadian students and responded to one of the 3 comments she received in Spanish on her own publication, she did not write any comments in English on the Canadian students' blog. She reported feeling that the communication in the blog was "no tan seguida como se hubiese esperado". Varinia was another Chilean student who published her introduction during the strike and who received and responded to comments in the blog. In fact, she was one of the Chilean students who was most active in the blog in 2012, both posting and responding to comments. However, she also explained in her interview that she felt that the blog was a useful tool for initial contact but that further interactions were limited. She wished that there had been more back and forth, rather than simply one comment and one reply with a given student. The other Chilean students who were interviewed, all of whom introduced themselves after the completion of the strike, claimed to have read the blog with great interest, but had not posted or received any comments. Lamien claimed that the idea of posting comments in English made her nervous. Pedro explained that, while he enjoyed reading about the Canadian students, he was disappointed that the blog interaction did not extend beyond the initial introduction.

The Canadian students who were interviewed in 2012, like the Chilean students, also felt that the blog interaction was minimal. Paolo posted comments but did not receive any replies. On the other hand, Sean did exchange comments back and forth, in both English and Spanish, with one of the Chilean students, Norma. Nonetheless, for Sean the blog interactions were at the same time the most positive and the most frustrating aspect of the exchange. As he commented, the opportunity to write to someone in Spanish through the blog was very positive but, he wished there had been "more exchange."

^{107 &}quot;not as frequent as you might have hoped."

Many students interviewed in the 2013 exchange, such as Brady, Jennifer and Josh, also explained that the blog had been useful at the start of the semester, but that they had tended not to keep up with the posts and comments at later points in the semester. Isha, a Chilean student, explained the following about the blog in her end-of-semester survey: "el uso del blog era muy lento, podías comentarle a alguien pero no tenias idea de cuando ellos te escribían de vuelta, al ser tan largo toma mucho tiempo revisarlo seguido, así que opté por no hacerlo" (end-of-semester survey, December 7, 2013). 108

There are several potential explanations for the lack of sustained turn-taking interactions found within the blog. First, it is important to note that when I set up the research project, I did so with the expectation that the blog would serve as an initial written mode of communication in which the two groups of students would introduce themselves. Given that the online exchange as a whole was a supplementary activity that had been added to an already complete course syllabus, I did not want to place too many demands on the students. Thus, the only blog activity that I asked the Canadian instructor to include as a required component of the Spanish 405 coursework was the initial introduction (in English) and at least one comment on a Chilean students' blog (in Spanish). In Chile in 2012 the only component of the blog that was required by the instructor was the initial introduction and in 2013 the Chilean students' participation was entirely optional. Therefore, the lack of interaction observed in the blog may be, in large part, a result of the fact that the students were simply following instructions and posting the miminum number of posts and comments required. In this light, the fact that some students did respond to

¹⁰⁸ "The use of the blog was very slow, you could post a comment to someone but you had no idea when they were going to write you back, since it was so long it took a long time to check over it frequently, so I ended up not doing so."

the comments they received, engaging in longer turn-taking, would suggest that they were motivated to interact in the blog beyond what was strictly required.

On the other hand, the fact remains that many of the students expressed a desire for further interaction with the Chilean students, but did not act on this desire within the blog. I would argue that the lack of interaction may be due to the nature of the blog as a communication tool. In Isha's comment above, she suggested that commenting on the blog was an ineffective way to communicate, due to the temporal nature of the tool; she never knew how long she would have to wait for a response from the Canadian students. The asynchronous nature of blog communication, which may lead to less interaction, has been noted by other researchers as well. As boyd (2006) has explained:

In most chat-based mediums, all lurkers and speakers are visible to each other through a list of those present in the room. The structure of the space implies that all performers are equal, as their speech appears as another line in a running dialogue. For the most part, any participant has equal opportunity to speak... Yet, the structure of blog-based dialogue is fundamentally different. There is a distinction between the blogger(s) and the audience, whereby the blogger(s) can write new entries or comments but the audience may only respond in the comments or through other communicative means.

This points to what sociocultural theorists have called the affordances and constraints that tools impose on their users, due to their physical natures (Lamy & Hampel, 2007; Wertsch, 1997). The blog's affordance is that it stores messages permanently online, such that people in distant locations and in different time zones can use it to communicate. On the other hand, one of its constraints is that it does not provide a live chat function or a way of detecting if and when another person will connect to post a reply. Thus, the blog tends to apply certain constraints on communication that may not encourage a high level of communicative interaction and turn taking.

Furthermore, it appears that blogs are more effective for public, transmission type communications, or publications from a writer to an audience, rather than for equal interaction between diverse users. Although CALL researchers, such as Ducate and Lomicka (2008), have called for experimentation into the use of blogs for online exchanges between groups of language learners, other researchers have suggested that blog communication on the Web is typically not highly interactive. Initial blogging tools did not include a comment feature (boyd, 2006).

Furthermore, Geert Lovink (2008) has argued that of the great majority of blogs present on the Internet, few of them receive comments from readers. He has explained that "the essence of a blog is not the interactivity of the medium: it is the sharing of thoughts and opinions of the blogger" (p. 28). In her description of blogging, boyd (2006) has argued that blogs do not really represent a genre in and of themselves, nor are synonymous with the technology or software, but instead are *mediums* of communication that are socially defined. Typically, blogs have been socially characterized as transmission-type publication from one author to a wide audience.

Therefore, this socially-based knowledge of what blogs are and the kinds of communication they promote, or what Wertsch has described as "historical....trace[s]" that affect subsequent "mediated action," may have impacted on the ways in which the students conceived of and made use of the blogs in the online exchange (1997, p. 58). The physical constraints of the blog tool itself, coupled with socially-conceived norms of the blog medium as a transmission-style communication or publication, may be leading to the low levels of backand-forth interaction that the students have noted.

¹⁰⁹ As we saw in chapter 3, Thorne (2003) also referred to the historical traces of previous usage on present mediated action, calling them the "cultures of use" surrounding particular technologies (p. 40).

5.1.2.2 Difficulties giving and receiving writing feedback

Another difficulty reported by some students in both the 2012 and 2013 semesters was their feeling that the writing feedback they had received from their partners was at times problematic: some claimed the feedback was minimal or not well explained or felt that it was difficult to give or receive appropriate writing feedback. In the 2012 exchange, as I have explained previously, both the Chilean and Canadian students sent a piece of writing for feedback, as it was an obligatory part of the project for both groups. In the 2013 exchange, the Canadian students sent a piece of writing to the Chilean students for feedback, but none of the Chileans students reciprocated by sending writing of their own. This is likely due to the fact that the exchange was not mandatory for them, and that they were enrolled in an English course that emphasized oral language rather than writing development.¹¹⁰

After both the 2012 and 2013 projects, some students mentioned difficulties surrounding the writing exchange and intercultural peer review. ¹¹¹ In the first place, some students stated that they were dissatisfied with the feedback they had received. Jorge, a Canadian student, reported that his Chilean partner did not "actually change anything" in her feedback (end-of-semester suvey, December 3, 2012). Another Canadian student, Juana, also felt that the feedback from her partner was minimal and therefore "not helpful" (end-of-semester survey, December 3, 2012). It is interesting to note that these two students both spoke Spanish at home as a first language. In the case of Juana, her Chilean partner had indeed made minimal corrections and commented the following in his note to her: "solo edité algunas cosas que sonaban algo redundantes, cambié el

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¹¹⁰ Nonetheless, remember that the Chilean students were able to articulate the importance of writing development and of writing in English in their present and future studies and careers.

¹¹¹ Note, though, that only 3 of the 18 students who completed an end-of-semester survey on the writing exchange reported that it had not been helpful.

orden de algunas frases y hacían falta pequeñas correciones ortográficas, solo acentos" (email communication, November 12, 2012). 112

On the other hand, Jorge's partner had made some more substantial comments, including suggestions regarding word choice, the use of gender, verb conjugation and agreement and the use of connectors between sentences. It may be that Jorge's reaction to his partners' corrections reflects his personal feelings at having his work commented on by another Spanish speaker.

Jorge was the one Canadian student in the 2012 semester who was born in Canada to Spanish-speaking parents. Although in his blog introduction he explained that he did not consider himself to be completely fluent in Spanish, it is possible that the act of receiving what could have been perceived as criticism on his written work from a Chilean student felt threatening to Jorge.

In her research on the ideologies of heritage language learners, Agnes Weiyun He (2010) has argued that, "for HL learners, HL learning is... constitutive of identity, which is accomplished in... everyday social conversations" (p. 74). Furthermore, in interviews with heritage language learners of Spanish, Martin Guardado and Ava Becker (2013) shared instances in which the learners commented on the sensitivity they felt to critique or ridicule from people they considered to be more legitimate speakers of the language. Thus, for Jorge, the critical feedback he received from a Spanish-speaking peer may have threatened his conceptions of his own identity as a speaker of Spanish. While he incorporated his partner's suggestions into his final draft, he was not willing to admit in his end-of-semester survey that his partners' comments had been helpful.

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¹¹² "I only edited a few things that sounded redundant, changed the order of a few phrases and added a few spelling corrections, just accent marks."

Other students also showed evidence of emotional, and not purely logical, responses to their partners' responses in the writing exchange. In her critique of the exchange in 2013, Mary complained that she did not find the feedback she received from her Chilean partner to be helpful. In fact, Mary's partner did make some corrections to her essay and saved them in the corresponding Dropbox folder. However, Mary did not incorporate any of his suggested changes, many of which could have improved the quality of her essay, into the final draft she submitted. Her comment in her end-of-semester survey points at two reasons why this might have been the case. She complained:

My partner and I never got in contact, I never heard from him prior to doing the written activity. When I emailed him to prompt him to edit my work, I never even received a response...and he didn't provide me with any comments as to the justification of his changes to my paper. The email I sent him was really polite and nice so I don't know why he didn't say anything. (end-of-semester survey, December 14, 2013)

First, Mary has pointed to the fact that her partner did not provide a "justification" for the changes he made to her paper. In fact, he also failed to mark the changes he had made; he simply uploaded an alternate version of her paper, with changes already incorporated and not highlighted or physically marked. To make use of his changes, Mary would have had to compare his second copy with her original to find the modifications, yet without receiving any information regarding why his version was preferable. Second, Mary writes that her partner had not bothered to reply to her email, in which she had tried to be "really polite and nice." She seemed to feel offended by the fact that her partner did not respond, other than submitting the revised essay to Dropbox. The interaction between Mary and her Chilean partner was unsatisfactory for her, leading her to reject his writing feedback as unhelpful.

Another Canadian student, Annabelle, also seemed to feel offended by the tone of the feedback she had received. While she recognized that the feedback she received was helpful, she

complained that it was "too critical for a stranger; she gave me little to no positive comments... she just pointed out what was wrong and gave me no credit on things done well" (end-of-semester survey, December 3, 2012).

The students' comments regarding their sometimes negative emotional reactions to the interactions they had with their partners around the writing exchanges are reflective of what Page Ware (2003) has identified as "missed communication," or missed opportunities for developing intercultural competence in the online context" (p. 2). She has explained that factors such as differences in conversational tone, which may reflect different habits of Internet etiquette, might lead students to avoid, rather than seek out, further contact with exchange partners, despite their reported interest in interacting (2005). Alternatively, especially with the assistance of their instructors, the students may overcome their individual differences to "co-construct the kinds of interactions and meanings that potentially lead to deeper engagement" (Ware, 2003; p. 7).

In Mary's case cited above, she was so offended by the fact that her partner had not responded to her email directly that she rejected his feedback outright and reported having no further contact with him. This is an example of a missed opportunity for communication, which could be remedied by engaging with students in class to explore the deeper issues behind these kinds of mis-matches in communicative action. It is possible that Mary's partner in Chile had limited access to the Internet and email, something that many of the Chilean students commented on in their interviews and surveys. Furthermore, he may have been unfamiliar with the tools that would have allowed him to mark his suggestions more clearly on Mary's original essay. Finally, there may be different rhetorical norms surrounding the need for a direct response to an administrative email in the Canadian and Chilean contexts. Researchers have noted that different rhetorical expectations have an impact on the ways in which members of one culture perceive

and evaluate information presented to them by members of another culture (Kaplan, 2001; St. Amant, 2002). In fact, "humans appear to evaluate information based on the rhetorical expectations of their native culture, regardless of the language in which that information is presented" (Saint Amant, 2002, p. 291) As Ware (2005) and other researchers have suggested, the miscommunications that come about during online intercultural exchanges, if properly addressed, can be understood as opportunities for cultural learning experiences (Kramsch & Thorne, 2002; Thorne, 2008b; St. Amant, 2002). I will address these issues further in the following chapter, in which I discuss ways to improve the CMC exchange in future pedagogical and research projects.

5.1.2.3 <u>Lack of integration within the language course</u>

One final critique of the project that was offered by several students in their interviews was that the exchange could have been better incorporated into the language courses they were enrolled in. Several Canadian students felt that the project would have been more effective if they had been able to participate in the blog and writing activities in class, as well. For example, Brady suggested that it would be beneficial to take class time to visit the blog, write comments, and discuss the entries with classmates. Jennifer also reflected that the students might have been more active in the blog if they had been required to spend class time writing additional entries after the original introduction. Luchi also suggested that both blog and Skype contact with the partner group could be incorporated into future Spanish classes, to bring about discussion on course-related topics, such as within Latin American literature courses. Finally, Josh suggested that in the future the exchange could be "more involved" and could be worked into the course curriculum through "mini-assignments." Some of the Chilean students, especially Amelia and Leimen, remarked that they would have liked to organize more in-class contact with the partner

group, as it was difficult for them to fit the activities into their free time and/or have access to the Internet off campus.

The comments that the students have made regarding a wish for further integration of the CMC project within their language coursework are echoed in CALL research literature. In general, it is believed that, with the assistance of instructors in class, students can be guided to engage with and more critically analyze their intercultural CMC experiences (Müller-Hartmann, 2000; Saint Amant, 2002; Simpson, 2010; Vanwynsberghe & Verdegem, 2013). However, when setting up the present project, I deliberately scheduled the activities as out-of-class assignments. I attempted to make as few changes as possible to the Spanish 405 coursework and, in the 2013 phase of the project, the activities were entirely optional and were not directly related to the UdeC English Online classes that the Chilean students were enrolled in. As I have stated previously, by incorporating the CMC exchange as a supplementary activity, without making any major changes to the course curricula, I hoped to demonstrate that online intercultural exchanges could be carried out without taking time away from other, already existing course activities. The online exchange experience could surely be enriched in many ways by integrating it more fully as an in-class activity for both groups of students and, in fact, it seems that the students can imagine the benefits that would be derived if they were able to engage in, and discuss, the various components as in-class activities.

I would also like to comment on what I perceive as an overall difference in the evaluative tone of the comments that I received from the Chilean, as opposed to the Canadian, students. It is my impression that the Chilean students expressed more appreciation for the exchange as a whole and were less critical when commenting on its various components. For example, while several of the Canadian students in 2012 were either offended by or were

disappointed by the writing feedback they received from their Chilean partners, all of the Chilean students who were interviewed reported feeling that the feedback they had received was appreciated and helpful. While several Canadian students commented that they felt that the Chilean students had not posted enough comments or had not been quick enough to respond in their blog comments or emails, none of the Chilean students lodged a similar complaint. Yet, as we have seen, there was, in fact, more interaction and more turn taking on the blog of the Chilean students' in 2013 than on that of the Canadian students. Furthermore, more of the Chilean students, as opposed to the Canadian students, stated that the online intercultural exchange had provided them with a valued opportunity to interact with native speakers of the language, something that they generally did not encounter in their daily lives.

The difference in the evaluative tone of the feedback from the Chilean and the Canadian students may be reflective of their underlying language learning ideologies and specific sociocultural contexts. As we have seen, the English language is highly valued by the Chilean students and seen as important for their professional and academic development. On the other hand, there are few speakers of English present in Concepción. In Calgary, the students of Spanish are somewhat less convinced of the importance of Spanish, and especially literacy in Spanish, for their professional and academic futures. At the same time, Spanish is present within the city as an unofficial, minority language, spoken by a measurable percentage of the population. These ideologies and sociocultural circumstances may lead the Chilean, rather than the Canadian, students to be more appreciative, and less critical, of the CMC exchange and the opportunities it provided.

Furthermore, the Chilean students in both semesters were, in large part, participating voluntarily in the online exchange; in 2012, the students who participated in the first half of the

semester did so despite the fact that their academic activities were otherwise suspended due to the strike. In 2013, all of the activities in Chile were entirely voluntary. On the other hand, the Canadian students participated each semester as a required component of their coursework. It is feasible, then, that the Canadian students were less motivated than the Chilean students and, at the same time, more critical of the activities involved in the exchange, because they would tend to be more critically evaluative of a compulsory as opposed to a voluntary educational opportunity. Courtney (1992) claims that the role of an educational activity within a given society is important when looking at voluntary enrollment, as "reasons for learning might be sought in the 'function' played by education in giving or denying the individual access to social roles and rewards" (p. 99). This may be one explanation for the fact that the Chilean students were motivated to participate voluntarily, given their ideologies around the English language.

Another explanation for the subtle differences between the two groups might be related to the extent to which the members of the two groups held what has been called a sense of "entitlement" within the language classroom. Entitlement has been defined as "the phenomenon in which individuals consistently believe that they deserve preferential rewards and treatment, often with little consideration of actual qualities or performance levels" (Lyons et al., 2004, p. 2-3). It has been linked, especially within North America, to the tendency for students to express resistance or complain when asked to complete coursework and showing, in general, more interest in receiving a grade or certificate than in engaging with the course content (Knowlton, 2013, p. 21). Dave S. Knowlton has claimed that entitlement is a complex phenomenon within North America that is related to psychological factors such as the delicate emotional health of many students, which leads to the tendency for them to be "closed to others, to ideas and to the self" and the fact that many university students are unclear about why they are enrolled in

university courses, other than feeling that it is somehow required by society for future success. He has argued that students may be critical of learning tasks for this reason, as "much of what professors ask of them... seems like some kind of insult because they do not see the potential dividends of investing themselves. Students remedy their own myopia by approaching learning tasks in perfunctory ways and acting out in defense of their own sense of fundamentally being entitled to something more" (p. 21). In this way, students may react negatively towards classroom activities for complex emotional and psychological reasons, which are nonetheless embedded in specific societal contexts.

It may well be that the Canadian students were demonstrating conflicting attitudes around the tasks involved in the online exchange, related to a sense of entitlement in which they were to a certain extent closed or resistant towards the learning task, and to the learning of Spanish as a whole, and unsure as to how it would benefit them. On the other hand, the Chilean students, who demonstrated clear understanding regarding the personal importance of learning English, may not have suffered from the same psychological and academic uncertainty that could give rise to the kinds of negative attitudes described above. They were thus more open to the intercultural learning experience, and were therefore more positive in their end of semester comments and evaluations.

Over all, though, the students in both countries who completed surveys and interviews in both phases of the project have been quite articulate in reflecting on their experiences with the online CMC exchange. Their feedback provides evidence of the ideologies around languages and language learning that they hold: that is, they seem to believe that their classroom language learning experiences were enhanced by the oral and written intercultural contact with the partner group. The students felt that reading about the lives of their peers and writing comments in their

L2 in the blog, getting feedback on a piece of writing, and engaging in further oral and written contact through email, Skype and Facebook added something to their language learning experience. In fact, in their critiques of the project, they expressed a desire for more written interaction in the blogs and more Skype contact, lamented when they had not received enough writing feedback, and called for further integration of the exchange as an in-class activity. Furthermore, several of them contrasted the kind of exposure to language they often received in the classroom, on the one hand, with the practical and natural use of language they experienced in the online exchange, on the other. It appears, then, that the students believe that their L2 language learning and literacy were enhanced by socially-based interactions with speakers of the language, supporting the notion that classroom language learning does not have to be restricted to typical, form-based interactions with the "language itself" (Harpham, 2002).

5.2 Research area II: CMC for intercultural exchange and the socially-based writing classroom

The second research problem I would like to address in my analysis of the CMC exchange is the extent to which the project aided in bringing about more socially based uses of language and of writing, reflective of the theories of language I discussed in the first part of this dissertation. Specifically, I will explore instances of intertextuality within the students' own acts of communication. The Bakhtinian notion of intertextuality points to the fact that previous interactions with a variety of other texts, both oral and written, can have an influence on individual uses of language. Learning to use a language involves not only a cognitive interaction with a linguistic code. Additionally, and perhaps more importantly, the language learning

^{113 &}quot;reading from the textbook"... "learning from a book"... "the English we learn in the classroom"

[&]quot;Getting contact with native speakers is the best thing you can do, it makes it real"; "[an]other thing is to put into practice the language.... to talk with people with natural language. We got to taste the real English."

process involves gaining access to and becoming familiar with socially situated acts of speech within various speech genres through authentic acts of communication.

The question remains, though: when students of a language use CMC technologies to communicate with and exchange written texts with speakers of the language in distant locations, are they able to incorporate the linguistic input they receive to enrich their own written acts of communication? Furthermore, does the CMC exchange experience inspire them to situate and conceive of their writing as socially-based, communicative acts?

I will argue that there is evidence that the exchange led the students to engage in acts of writing that were intertextually richer, and more socially based, than what we might typically find within an L2 language classroom. This was especially the case for the students who were able to interact through comments in the blog and those who received, and thoughtfully incorporated, in-depth corrections from a partner on the rough draft of their written work. On the other hand, the project did not inspire all of the students to reflect consciously on their use of writing as a socially-based activity. As we will see, the act of preparing a rough draft of an essay that would be reviewed by a member of the partner group did not necessarily inspire a heightened sense of audience awareness in the students. Nonetheless, it appears that at least one student who chose to prepare an essay that would be considered for publication in the online magazine *Tribuno del Pueblo* was inspired to view her writing somewhat differently, considering factors that reflect socially-based understandings of writing.

5.2.1 Research question 3: Intertextuality and speech genres

There is evidence of intertextual relationships between the Chilean and Canadian students' written productions in both the blog posts and in the drafts produced in the online writing exchange. These relationships had a noticeable impact on the writing in Spanish of the

Canadian students.¹¹⁵ The students' interactions also lend support to the interrelated notion, expressed by Bakhtin, that our contact with speech genres, or previous utterances similar to our own, can enable communication. The students were able to draw on the language of their partners, taking advantage of their exposure to previous, concrete texts when composing their own blog comments. On the other hand, given the limited nature of the activities involved in the online exchange, the students did not interact with a wide variety of speech genres in the language of study; in future studies, it would be important to focus more closely on the incorporation of diverse speech genres within the intercultural exchange.

5.2.1.1 <u>Intertextuality in the blog posts and comments</u>

Elaine is one student whose writing in the blog interactions seemed to be impacted by the intertextual relationships she drew on. Elaine was able to dialogue with and incorporate her Chilean partners' language into her own blog comments, to engage in social, communicative exchange. In Figure 13, on page 231, we can see the blog introduction of Guillermo, a Chilean student, and the comments that Elaine and Guillermo later exchanged on his post. Specifically, we can see that in responding in Spanish to Guillermo's introduction, Elaine incorporated some of Guillermo's language into her own response. Echoing Guillermo, Elaine also referred to "Taylor Swift" and to "películas de ciencia ficción," 116 returning Guillermo's words to him as she wrote about her own taste in music and asked him to tell her about his favorite science fiction film.

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¹¹⁵ I have chosen only to focus on the writing produced in Spanish by the Canadian students in my examples, as my primary area of focus is the teaching of Spanish as a second language, although there were examples of intertextuality in the writing in English of the Chilean students as well.

Saludos de Guillermo (3 de octubre 2013)

Mi nombre es Guillermo, tengo 21 años, soy cristiano, estudio Pedagogía en Inglés y estoy cursando mi cuarto año de estudio universitario. Estudio en la Universidad de Concepción. Vivo en la ciudad de Concepción junto a mis padres y hermanas.

Me gusta lo que estudio y, en especial, me gusta el inglés pero debo decir que no estudio demasiado. Me gusta la música Pop, los 80's, Romántica y algunos temas suaves de Rock sobre todo las canciones en Inglés. Algunos de mis cantantes favoritos son Taylor Swift, Amy Macdonald y Avril Lavigne. Me gusta escuchar la música en buena calidad, de lo contrario, prefiero no escucharla.... Me gusta ir a la iglesia con mi familia y trato de estar siempre alegre a pesar de los problemas. Me gusta la tecnología pero a la vez me encanta estar al aire libre incluso bajo la lluvia y me gusta meditar sobre muchas cosas.

Una de las cosas que más me gusta es la ciencia ficción. De éste género las películas que más me gustan son las de Star Wars incluyendo las antiguas... Otro universo de ciencia ficción que disfruto es el de Starcraft. Me gusta la historia de este juego y el modo de juego que posee, aunque debo decir que aún no he tenido la oportunidad de jugar Starcraft 2.

Comentario de Elaine: (6 de octubre 2012)

Hola Guillermo,

Muchas gracias por su blog. Yo también me gusta música, y Taylor Swift por supuesto. Aquí en Calgary, tenemos un festival se llama "The Calgary Stampede." El festival es una celebración de la historia de Alberta. Toda la gente se viste en ropa de vaqueros y vaqueras y escucha y baile a la música country, incluso de Taylor Swift. Me gustaría escuchar a música más en español para practicar español. Yo, como tú, prefiero estar al aire libre y también meditar. ¿Qué típo de actividades te gusta hacer? Pienso que es buenísimo que tratas de estar siempre alegre. Yo también trato de estar siempre alegre, pero no soy una persona muy animada. Soy más tranquila, pero no obstante, feliz. Has visto muchas películas de ciencia ficción. ¿Cuál es su favorita? Ciao. Elaine

Figure 13: Blog Interactions Between Elaine and Guillermo

Futhermore, Elaine made use of an expression that was in Guillermo's original post and that is probably less common for an English-speaking student of the language to be familiar with or comfortable using, but which allowed her to express her ideas and, at the same time, suggest an affinity with her partner. In his original post, Guillermo explained about himself, "trato de estar siempre alegre." When posting a comment on his page, Elaine made use of the same wording, when she replied: "es buenísimo que *tratas de estar siempre alegre*." If translated

directly into English, the sentence Elaine wrote would be, "You try to *be always happy*," an unacceptable word order for the English language. The expected English word order would be: "You *always try to be* happy." Furthermore, it would be possible, and also correct, to write the sentence in the same way in Spanish: "*siempre tratas de* estar alegre." ¹¹⁷

It is also interesting to observe Elaine's use of the copulative verb "estar" rather than the copulative "ser." It has been noted that choosing when to use each of the two copulative verbs in Spanish is difficult for English speakers, as there is only one copulative verb in English. Furthermore, the use of "estar" with the adverb "siempre" has been identified as particularly difficult for many Spanish language learners, as it seems to violate common explanations of the verb "estar" as expressing temporary qualities, as opposed to the more permanent or inherent qualities often expressed by the verb "ser". Correct usage of "estar" with the adverb "siempre" is thought to suggest more advanced proficiency with the Spanish language (Lobillo Sabaté, 2013).

The fact that Elaine has not chosen to use a word order more reminiscent of English, and that she has correctly used the verb "estar" rather than "ser" in this particular instance, suggest that she engaged with Guillermo's words directly when writing her own commment.

Furthermore, she later made use of the same expression to describe herself when she stated that: "Yo también trato de *estar siempre alegre*, pero no soy una persona muy animada. Soy más tranquila, pero no obstante, feliz." ¹¹⁸ Elaine appears to have processed Guillermo's writing, and internalized its meaning and structure, and has then made use of some of his exact words to

¹¹⁷ Spanish syntax is, in many instances more flexible than English syntax. In this specific instance, the adverb "siempre" can be placed between the verb "estar" and its subject complement "alegre" because, "in Spanish, an adverb can intervene between a verb and its complement," whereas in English "this order is ungrammatical" (Zagona, 2002, p. 114).

^{118 &}quot;I also try to **be always happy**, but I'm not a very energetic person. I'm calmer, but still, happy."

express her own, unique meaning. We can see a similar use of Guillermo's words in Elaine's message when she talks about enjoying being outdoors, "al aire libre" and explains that she, too, likes to meditate, "meditar."

There are other examples of intertextual exchange between the Chilean and Canadian students, and subsequent integration of linguistic input, in the blog posts and comments. Some other instances in the blog in which vocabulary and expressions were passed back and forth between different students can be found in figures 2, 3 and 4. In examples A, B and D, on pages 233 and 234 and in example E, on page 237, we see cases similar to Elaine's above, in which the Canadian students have incorporated almost verbatim certain expressions found in the original Chilean texts to express their own thoughts or experiences. In the other extracts, we can observe some slightly more complex intertextual relationships between the students' writing that warrant specific comments.

A. Fernanda (Chilean student) and Morgan (Canadian student)

Fernanda: Que puedo decir de mí, me gusta jugar futbol, de hecho estoy en el equipo de mi carrera, no somos tan buenas, pero lo pasamos bien y eso es lo más importante...

Megan: Compartimos una similaridad... no somos buenas en el futbol pero nos gusta jugarlo

B. Fernanda (Chilean student) and Lisa (Canadian student

Fernanda: Espero nos conozcamos pronto, me gusta la idea de comunicarme con gente de otro país y conocer que tan diferente o similares resultamos ser.

Lisa: Hola Fernanda, me llamo Lisa. Me gusta comunicarme con gente de otro país también...

Figure 14: Blog Examples A and B

C. Ángelo (Chilean student) and Rita (Canadian student)

Ángelo: Me gusta escuchar música, particularmente el rock norteamericano, británico y algunas bandas alemanas. Por lo mismo me llama la atención tocar instrumentos musicales, entre ellos bajo y guitarra. También formo parte de una banda tributo...

Rita: Hola Angelo, Me llamo Rita y también me gusta escuchar música como el rock norteamericano o británico. ¡Qué casualidad! Yo también formo parte de una banda y toco la guitarra. Usted dijo que formes parte de una banda tributo por tanto qué tipo de música se juega su banda? Saludos desde Calgary!

Ángelo: Hola Rita, me alegro que te guste el rock también. La banda tributo de la cual formamos parte toca canciones de "Soda Stereo", una banda argentina de rock latino...

D. Felipe (Chilean student) and Rita (Canadian student)

Felipe: Me gusta leer, actualmente estoy leyendo Danza de Dragones, el V libro de la saga canción de hielo y fuego de George R.R. Martin

Rita: Me llamo Rita....También me gusta leer y he empezado a leer la saga canción de hielo y fuego de George R.R. Martin.

Figure 15: Blog Examples C and D

In example C, Rita incorporated some of Angelo's words into her own comments, writing, "me gusta escuchar música," specifically "rock norteamericano y británico." She also made use of his expression "formo parte de una banda" to explain the she, like Ángelo, also played in a band. The use of this expression is significant, as it is quite different from the way the same idea would be expressed in English. In truth, I believe that it would be difficult for an English speaker to arrive at the expression *formar parte de una banda* without specific contact with the expression through intertextual relationships. The English verb *to play* in relation to music appears in the dictionary as "tocar" ("Play," 2003, p. 1569). Furthermore, an online translation website such as Google Translate provides the following direct translation for *to play in a banda*: "tocar en una banda." Nevertheless, the expression *formar parte de una banda* is

actually more common in Spanish; a search in the Google Web browser for the expression returned 2,170,000 pages that included this expression, while only 728,000 pages included the expression *tocar en una banda*. While the English expression, *I play in a band* could be translated quite directly into Spanish as *Toco en una banda*, Rita has not expressed the idea in this way. Instead, Rita has chosen to echo Ángelo's words. Thus, Rita's blog interaction with Ángelo has introduced her to, and allowed her to use, an expression that is common in Spanish, yet not easily accessible without exposure to a contextualized use of the language.

Furthermore, the use of the expression *formo parte de una banda* as opposed to the typical English expression, *I play in a band* likely reflects not only linguistic, but also underlying ideological differences regarding beliefs about the self and others. While *I play in a band* emphasizes the role of the individual self, *formo parte de una banda* places the individual as just once piece of a collective entity. In their research into culturally-defined understandings of the self, psychologists Hazel R. Markus and Shinobu Kitayama have argued that "construals of the self, of others, and of the relationship between the self and others may be even more powerful than previously suggested and... their influence is clearly reflected in differences among cultures" (1991, p. 224). They also argued that Latin American cultures tended to hold more collectivistic, or interdependent, understandings of the self, while North American cultures tended towards more individualistic, or independent notions of self. In being exposed to and later putting into use an expression such as "formo parte de una banda," Rita may thus be learning not only new forms of language, but also alternative ways of conceptualizing the self and of describing one's actions in the world.

Another aspect of Rita and Ángelo's intertextual interactions that merits comment is her use of the expression "toco la guitarra," which mimics Ángelo's use of the verb *tocar* in his

initial statement. However, in her very next sentence, she asks him what kind of music his band plays by writing "¿qué tipo de música se juega su banda?" This is an incorrect use of the verb jugar. Spanish has two verbs that in English can be translated as to play: the verb jugar is used to talk about playing various kinds of games and sports, while the verb tocar can describe playing musical instruments. It is interesting to note, then, that Rita has likely not mastered the distinction between the Spanish verbs tocar and jugar. Thus, her use of the verb tocar in the first instance, to talk about playing the guitar, seems to reflect an intertextual dialogue in which she has returned Ángelo's words to him to express her own situation, even though she still had some confusion around the use of the verb, expressed in her subsequent incorrect use of jugar.

Finally, in Ángelo's reply to Rita, he did not correct her mistake. However, he once again made use of the expressions *formar parte de* and *tocar* when responding to her question about his band and the music they play. Although I have no direct measure as to whether this reinforcement of the linguistic input had a subsequent input on Rita, it seems likely that the repetition of the expressions would aid in drawing her attention to the verb *tocar*, as opposed to her use of *jugar*, to discuss playing musical instruments.

In example F, on page 237, in the conversation between María and Jennifer, we find more evidence of intextertextual dialogue between the two parties involved in the conversation. We can see that Jennifer took up and repeated María's use of the expression *el único hombre de la familia*, although she made it plural to explain that, in her case, it was her father and brother who were the only men in the family. Again, the passing back and forth of language in this instance reflects beliefs and ideologies about the self and the world, tied to the specific linguistic items. María's and Jennifer's use of this expression may reflect the transmission of long-held

understandings about paternity and the importance of men in the family, shared across the Latin American and North American cultural contexts.¹¹⁹

E. Pachi (Chilean student) and Jennifer (Canadian student)

Pachi: Soy de Santiago, la capital de Chile, a unas 6 hrs de Concepción, este es mi cuarto año lejos de casa, pero trato de viajar lo mas seguido posible a ver a mi familia.

Jennifer: Al igual de tú, vivo lejos de casa, pero trato de viajar lo mas seguido posible a ver a mi familia.

F. María (Chilean student) and Jennifer (Canadian student)

María: En la foto, de izquierda a derecha: Mi hermana menor, Carolina que tiene 17 años y va a salir este año del colegio. Luego, me encuentro yo (soy la que esta agachada). Mi hermana mayor, Dámaris de 28 años, que en ese momento usaba muletas... Mi mamá, Violeta. Mi otra hermana mayor, Norma de 25 años, que estudia Nutrición y Dietética. Y, finalmente, mi papá, David, que como pueden ver es el único hombre de la familia: D... Mis pasatiempos favoritos son leer, cocinar (me han dicho que lo hago bastante bien o que tengo mano de monja ...

Jennifer: Hola María, ¡Es un placer conocerte a ti y tu familia! Como tú, tengo muchas hermanas...mi pobre hermano y padre, los únicos hombres de la familia. También soy la hermana 'media'... Mis hermanas y yo somos todos tan diferentes! P.S. ¡La frase 'mano de monja' es interesante! Nunca he oído de eso.

María: Hola Jennifer! Gracias por leer mi post:) jajajajaja sí, es entretenido tener una familia tan numerosa, aunque a veces te sientes un poco ignorada, al ser la hermana del medio:/ Yo también creo que somos muy distintas con mis hermanas, pero como se dice en la variedad está el gusto;) jajajajaja decir mano de monja a alguien que cocina rico es muy común acá, yo creo que es un modismo chileno.

Figure 16: Blog Examples E and F

In the case of the expression *mano de monja*, the two girls had a conversation around the use of the expression, in which Jennifer commented that she had never heard it before and found

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¹¹⁹ For example, a group of public health researchers recently studied traditional images of masculinity and fatherhood appearing in the discourse of Brazilian speakers of Portuguese, such as "the model of father as head of the family" (Freitas, Cavalcante da Silva, Cardoso Coelho, Nunes Guedes, Tavares de Lucena & Teixeira Costa, 2009, p. 3)

it interesting. María then explained that it was a common way to describe a person who cooks well and that she believed it to be an idiomatic expression unique to Chile. 120

Finally, in an interesting intertextual move, Jennifer seems to have noted María's use of the expressions hermana menor and hermana mayor to express the ideas older sister and younger sister. In her own reply, she attempted the same structure to explain that she was the middle sister, writing that she was the hermana media, as she had both younger and older siblings. However, this is not an acceptable collocation in Spanish. 121 In her response to Jennifer, María provided the correct expression, but did so within a conversational reply to Jennifer's original comment, providing a recast of Jennifer's expression when she wrote, "sí, es entretenido tener una familia tan numerosa, aunque a veces te sientes un poco ignorada, al ser la hermana del medio". 122 I have no way to know if Jennifer noticed the recast and incorporated into her linguistic knowledge system, as she provided no further comment in which to desmonstrate uptake. Lysta and Ranter (1997) first utilized the term recast within L2 studies, defining it as the "reformulation of all or part of a student's utterance, minus the error" (p. 46). In the same essay, they defined uptake as "a student's utterance that immediately follows the teacher's feedback and that constitutes a reaction in some way to the teacher's intention to draw attention to some aspect of the student's initial utterance" (p. 49). Although Jennifer did not provide specific evidence of uptake in the form of a new utterance, it was clear in her previous interaction with María regarding the expression mano de mona that she was paying close

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¹²⁰ Felix Morales Pettorino includes "mano de monja" in his 2006 work *Nuevo diccionario ejemplificado de chilenismos y de otros usos diferenciales del español de Chile*, describing it as a uniquely Chilean expression.

¹²¹ *Mayor* and *menor* are superlative adjectives that can be placed directly after a noun; however *medio* (o *media*, as Jennifer has written) is not a superlative adjective. To express the idea of position that Jennifer seeks, it can be combined with the preposition *del*, converting *del medio* into a prepositional syntagm, or phrase, that acts as a nominal complement of *hermana*.

^{122 &}quot;Yes, it's fun to have such a big family, although sometimes you feel a bit ignored, being the middle sister."

attention to María's contextualized use of the language, and so may, indeed, have benefitted from the recast.

G. Isha (Chilean student) and Mary (Canadian student)

Isha: Me encantan los idiomas, sobre todo los asiáticos, sé un poco de japonés...

Mary: Hola Isha! Cómo estás? Me llamo Mary:) Que interesante que hables **un poco japonés!** Lo encontraste difícil aprender?

Isha: mucho gusto Mary!!! el japonés es dificil, hay muchas estructuras gramaticales que no exiten [sic] en español...

Mary: Me parece muy interesante el japonés! En mis cursos de linguistica, hemos aprendido mucho sobre diferentes estructuras gramaticales; a veces son muy complejos...

Figure 17: Blog Example G

In example G, in the comments posted between Isha and Mary, we can also see examples of direct intertextuality, although in one instance Mary's attempt to imitate her partner's words was not entirely successful. Mary made use of Isha's words when she explained that she had learned about "estructuras gramaticales" in her language courses, echoing Isha's words for her own communicative purpose. In another instance, however, Mary stated that it was interesting that her partner had learned "un poco japonés." While Isha had originally written that she knew "un poco *de* japonés," Mary omitted the preposition *de* in repeating Isha's words back to her. While the phrase is still comprehensible, it would not be considered grammatically correct in Spanish. In this case, Mary's partner did not provide a recast in her reply, responding instead to her meaning and without drawing attention to her misuse of any particular expression.

and may directly precede the noun it modifies.

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¹²³ José Moreno de Alba (1993) explains that confusion surrounding the use of the word *poco* is common, even for native speakers of Spanish. When used as a noun, it is always singular and masculine and generally followed by the preposition *de*. However, when used as an adjective it can take singular and plural, masculine and feminine forms

Although Mary has not been completely successful, then, at reproducing the exact form of Isha's words, she has still used them to express her intended meaning. Thus, there is a complex intertextual relationship between her own words and those of Isha, which came before and after her own comment.

5.2.1.2 Intertextuality in the online writing exchange

The final essays that the Canadian students submitted to the instructor of their Spanish course also provide evidence of intertextuality, or the influence of their partners' voices on their writing. For example, the Canadian student Elaine submitted a rough draft of her final essay for the course through Dropbox to the same partner she had conversed with in the blog, Guillermo. She also received his feedback in Dropbox, although rather than using a digital editing program such as the Microsoft Word editor, her partner preferred to write changes by hand and then scan the entire document.

Elaine's rough draft is presented in Appendix N. In Appendix O we can see the suggestions that Guillermo made on her essay. In her assignment, Elaine had prepared a composition in which she attempted to persuade potential visitors to Canada to choose Vancouver as a tourist destination. Guillermo wrote in numerous comments for Elaine, including suggestions regarding syntax, vocabulary, verb conjugation and the use of connectors. He did not always explain the reasons why he had suggested a specific modification, other than writing that his suggestions would "sound better." Nonetheless, despite the partial lack of explanation provided, we can see in the final draft that Elaine submitted to her instructor, presented in Appendix P, that she took the time to process and incorporate many of his suggestions. First, it is important to note that the document Elaine received in Dropbox from Guillermo was a *ipeg* image of her original document, with her partner's corrections written by

hand. Therefore, Elaine had to detect and then type the changes herself, as they were not physically present in the original Word document.

Although Elaine's use of descriptive vocabulary was already rich in the rough draft of her document, we can see that with Guillermo's help she was able to incorporate even more varied and precise descriptions into her final draft. She incorporated rich new vocabulary words, such as *espectaculares* and *maravillosos* and common descriptive expressions such as, *entre los árboles*, *no tiene límite* and *en especial*, all of which had been suggested by her partner. Futhermore, Guillermo aided her by suggesting some precise verbs that better expressed her communicative purpose, such as *realizar* instead of *hacer* and the addition of the verb *producir* to describe the berry-producing trees as "árboles... que producen bayas," rather than the less specific "árboles con bayas." 124

Although the influence of Guillermo's corrections, or his words, on Elaine's final draft is evident, one can also sense that Elaine made conscious decisions of her own when revising her work. She did not blindly accept all of Guillermo's corrections and also made some revisions of her own to the text that were not suggested by her partner. For example, she modified the following sentence from her original draft: "Cada provincia es muy diferente y única – de la costa oeste al norte frio y nevoso, a las marítimas al este y a las praderas medio de ellas, hay tantas actividades y experiencias para hacer." Rather than incorporating all of the suggestions her partner had made, she chose to shorten the sentence to the following: "Cada provincia es muy diferente y única y tiene muchas actividades para realizar y experiencias para vivir." 126

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[&]quot;trees that produce berries" as opposed to "trees with berries."

¹²⁵ "Each province is so different and unique, from the west coast to the cold and snowy north, to the maritimes in the east and the prairies between them, there are so many activities and experiences to do."

¹²⁶ "Each province is so different and unique and has many activities to do and experiences to live."

Another change suggested by her partner that Elaine chose not to incorporate was part of the following sentence: "Es preferibe [sic] que viaje durante el verano para evitar la lluvia." Her partner suggested that she add *verano nuestro*, perhaps to suggest that she understood that the northern and southern hemisphere would not share the same summer. Elaine opted not to incorporate this suggestion into her final draft.

Again, the intertextual interplay between Elaine and Guillermo's use of the terms "verano" and "verano nuestro" reflects the ways in which ideologies are inherent within and underlie our uses of language. Bakhtin has described this link between language and ideology, explaining that in his theories he was "taking language not as a system of abstract grammatical categories, but rather language conceived as ideologically saturated, language as a world view" (1981b, p. 271). Although Elaine and Guillermo could each use the same term, "verano," their differing underlying worldviews or ideologies might lead to quite different understandings of meaning. Guillermo attempted to highlight this difference, but Elaine chose not to accept his modification.

Finally, Elaine successfully revised her own work, above and beyond the suggestions she received from her partner. For example, she inserted the indirect object *le* in the third paragraph in several places in which it was, indeed, appropriate. She also made appropriate changes in punctuation and spelling, correcting errors that had not been detected by her partner, such as adding the letter "1" to the word *preferible*, a correction from her original draft.

Nora is another Canadian student whose final essay showed the benefit of intertextuality with her partner's words. In her assignment, Nora had prepared an essay in which she responded

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¹²⁷ It's preferabe [sic] to come in the summer to avoid the rain."

^{128 &}quot;Le recomiendo que, Le sugiero que, etc."

to the writing prompt suggested by the bilingual journal, *Tribuno del Pueblo*.¹²⁹ Later, she both emailed the essay to her Chilean partner, Rodrigo, and also placed her essay in Dropbox. The rough draft of her essay can be found in Appendix Q. Her partner gave her especially detailed feedback on the rough draft of her essay, which he also saved to Dropbox. Unlike Guillermo, Rodrigo, typed his comments and suggestions directly into her Word document, using a color coding system that he explained at the start of her revised draft. He explained that: 1) text marked in red were phrases or words that should be changed; 2) text marked in blue were possible corrections she could choose to make; 3) text marked in green showed words that were missing from her original essay that she should add; and 4) text marked in orange were suggestions regarding the composition or possible rewording. The document with Rodrigo's suggestions can be seen in Appendix R.

We can see from examining Nora's rough draft, shown in Appendix Q and her final draft, in Appendix S that there are major qualitative differences between the two drafts. She has made changes to the structure and form of her essay as well as to the content, many in response to her partner's comments. Rodrigo was able to aid Nora in repairing problems of adjective or verb agreement, modifying or inserting necessary prepositions, in selecting more appropriate verbs, and in adding new expressions to enrich her essay.

While Nora incorporated many of Rodrigo's suggestions into her essay, she also made changes of her own and did not uniformly incorporate all of his suggestions. For example, in the

¹²⁹ In fact, Nora's essay was later published in the journal.

¹³⁰ Such as suggesting correcting *las niveles* to *los niveles* and *perdì* to *perdió*.

¹³¹ Such as the addition of *por* that it would read "lo siento *por* mis hijos" and the change from "Desafortunadamente *por* los jóvenes" to "Desafortunadamente *para* los jóvenes."

¹³² Such as changing "ojalá que *hagan* diferentes opciones" to "ojalá *se creen* opciones."

¹³³ Such as the expression *hacer sufrir*, suggested by Rodrigo, that Nora has added to her final,lool draft in paragraph 3, line 5.

second paragraph of her final essay, she eliminated some details found in her rough draft that she must have decided were not crucial to the development of her argument, ¹³⁴ although Rodrigo had not suggested eliminating them. Another example can be found in paragraph 1, line 3 of her final essay, in which she changed the expression "los habitantes no pueden respirar el aire tóxico" that appeared in her original essay to "los habitantes respiran el aire tóxico." This change was not suggested by her partner; however, it is, indeed, a more precise description of the problem of air pollution to which she is referring. Thus, Nora was able to read through her partner's suggestions and make decisions about the best way to revise her essay, including additional revisons of her own. While she has incorporated his words into her composition, she has not allowed his words, or his voice, to completely overshadow her own.

Finally, there is some evidence that the intertextual interactions between the two groups of students had not only immediate, but also long-lasting effects on the linguistic knowledge of the Canadian students. Several students were able to recall, during their in-depth interviews, specific points that the Chilean students had corrected in their essays, even though they did not have their essays in front of them at the moment of speaking. For example, Paulo noted that in the first draft of his essay he had used the word "improbar" to attempt to express the English notion of "improve." His Chilean partner had suggested that he instead use the term "mejorar." Another student, Sean, commented in an interview that in his essay he had originally written that the island, Isla de Pascua, "es de 3.500 kilómetros" from the coast of Chile. His partner had explained that to talk about a distance, he should instead use the verb *estar* and the preposition *a*, to say "La Isla de Pascua *está a* 3.500 kilómetros." A third student, Luchi, recalled that her

¹³⁴ She has deleted the references to water pollution in Alberta, for example.

Chilean partner had suggested she use the term "llamativo y bello," rather than "pintoresco" to describe a landscape, as the term "pintoresco" can have a negative connotation.¹³⁵ The fact that the students were able to articulate these corrections and the changes they had made in their essays in end-of-semester interviews points towards a long-term recall of the feedback they had received, which could influence future writing.

The examples described above are representative of the kinds of intertextual interactions that many, though certainly not all, of the students involved in the exchange were able to engage in. The various examples of student writing, in both the blog and the peer review exchange, show evidence of the impact of intertextual relationships that resulted from the peer contact between the Canadian and the Chilean students. In the examples cited, the Canadian students have incorporated their partners' words, or voices, into their own writing. However, they have not simply engaged in rote imitation of these words, nor in blind acceptance of the feedback received. In the blog comments, the Canadian students have made use of their partners' words to express their personal thoughts, expressing their unique experiences and points of view. In their final essays for their language course, Elaine and Nora engaged with and made use of Guillermo and Rodrigo's feedback to strengthen their essays, but only to the extent that they understood or felt comfortable with those suggestions. Furthermore, they made further revisions of their own. This provides evidence to support the idea that close, intercultural written contact with a speaker of the language, through the use of a blog and an online writing exchange, can indeed lead students to incorporate the linguistic input they encounter into their own written productions of language. They are capable of observing typical uses of the language in specific generic settings

¹³⁵ In one online dictionary the third accepted meaning of the term is the following, "estrafalario, chocante," or "extravagant, shocking" ("Pintoresco", n.d.).

and can then draw on these intertextual relationships when putting the language into use in their own acts of writing.

5.2.1.3 Speech genres

The students' interactions also lend support to Bakhin's notion that our contact with speech genres, or previous utterances similar to our own, can enable communication. On one hand, the students drew on the language of their partners in composing their blog comments, thus taking advantage of their exposure to previous texts when composing their own. On the other hand, given the limited nature of the activities involved in the online exchange, the students did not interact with a wide variety of speech genres in the language of study. They were able to read their partners groups' introductory posts in the language of study, yet these primarily represent one speech genre or style of writing: that of the personal blog. To further explore the ways in which our exposure to and knowledge of speech genres in our first and second languages can enable, and constrain, our acts of written communication, a wider variety of genres would need to be incorporated into the online exchange. In my conclusions I will further explore this issue and offer suggestions for future similar projects.

5.2.2 Research question 3: A socially-based writing process

The project did not inspire all of the students to reflect consciously on their use of writing as a socially-based activity. I had hoped that by assigning a writing task in which the Canadian students were asked to try persuade their Chilean partners to come to Canada, and in asking the

¹³⁶ Defining the blog as genre is not a simple task. Carolyn R. Miller and Dawn Shepherd have called blog writing "a new rhetorical opportunity" and have stated that "blogs can be both public and intensely personal in possibly contradictory ways. They are addressed to everyone and at the same time to no one" (2004). On the other hand, in this instance they were certainly influenced by the educational task surrounding the blog publications, leading to somewhat more formal language than what might be expected in a personal blog setting.

students to prepare a rough draft of a piece of writing that they knew a peer would be reading, I would inspire them to consider their audience when preparing their writing. However, few of the students interviewed felt that the experience of writing the final essay was substantially different from that of writing the other in-class essays they had prepared earlier in the semester. In fact, they reported that they had also prepared drafts of their other in-class essays and then memorized what they had written to later reproduce in class, as the instructor gave them the topics ahead of time. It appears, then, that even when the draft process is not included as an inclass activity, the students find ways to incorporate it into their experiences with writing. This is reflective of the notion that writing is generally conceived of not as a spontaneous process, but rather as a "composed utterance," in which those who produce it like to take time and effort to reflect on and revise their work (Prior, 2009).

Furthermore, the Canadian students did not generally report that the fact of preparing an essay for their exchange partner to revise had inspired them to consciously take their audience into account when writing. For example, in his 2012 interview, Sean explained that he "was just thinking of the topic," but did not consciously reflect on the Chilean students as his audience or the need to modify what he wrote based on their possible reactions or responses.

Some exceptions were Brady, in 2013, who explained that he had thought of the entire group of Chilean students as his audience and had reflected on what he knew of them from their blog publications when preparing his essay. Furthermore, Josh reported in his interview that he had written his persuasive essay with his partner, Eduardo, in mind. As he explained, "we spent time developing a relationship and getting to know each other so I felt, why not aim it towards him? It made sense" (interview, December 16, 2013). He therefore felt disappointed when his partner only wrote feedback on the formal aspects of his essay, but did not respond in any way to

his content. He stated, "Some of the corrections he made were just silly mistakes on my part...he didn't write any notes... which is too bad, because it was directed very much towards him and his life, talking about his medical studies and how coming here would benefit him with his English." Although Josh did take his partner and his potential responses into account when preparing his final essay, he was disappointed not to receive the expected level of responsivity from his partner.

Another instance in which the students seemed to have taken into account factors that reflect socially-based understandings of writing was when reflecting on publishing their work. It appears that some students who chose to prepare an essay that would be considered for publication in the online magazine *Tribuno del Pueblo* were inspired to view their writing somewhat differently. As I have explained previously, in the 2013 exchange, both groups of students were invited to respond to a question on their hopes and aspirations for "young people today," and were informed that their essays would, if they wished, be considered for publication in an online, bilingual journal. A total of 4 Canadian students and one Chilean student submitted essays that were later published in the journal, in both English and Spanish. One of those students, Jennifer, participated in an end-of-semester interview. In her interview, she explained that the peer review process itself had not necessarily inspired her to think differently about the piece of writing, but that the idea that it might be published in an online journal certainly had. As she explained:

Writing it in class all I was thinking about was, what will... [my professor] think...I was a lot more focused on grammar, I was still trying to get ideas in but it was such a short little space and there was a time limit so there was that pressure, too. Whereas, this second

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¹³⁷ Note that the Chilean student did not submit her essay for peer review. She prepared her essay in Spanish and later asked me for assistance preparing an English version of it, after the close of the semester.

one [for publication] I started with my general idea and what am I trying to say and even writing it I remember my very first draft... it was really just a mesh of ideas, I didn't focus on grammar or vocab, either...The biggest thing that changed the experience of writing this one, in class, versus that one was...when I began writing immediately I had the thought of who is going to be reading this article, and how are they going to perceive it, and will they be agreeing with it, disagreeing with it, judging it, relating to it...because of the possibility of it being published.

Jennifer's words reflect Bakhtin's theories regarding the addressivity of every utterance. Bakhtin has explained, "the utterance is related not only to preceding, but also to subsequent links in the chain of speech communion" (Bakhtin, 1986, p. 94). As he has stated, "from the very beginning, the utterance is constructed while taking into account possible responsive reactions, for whose sake, in essence, it is actually created. As we know, the role of the others for whom the utterance is constructed is extremely great" (p. 94). While the experience of exchanging a draft of an essay for peer review did not tend to inspire increased awareness of addressivity, the possibility of later publishing the same work did bring about the consciousness of audience and response that Bakhtin has highlighted in his descriptions of language.

The results that I have discussed in this chapter are preliminary, and are limited by the fact that the exchange was, for the most part, carried outside the classrooms, with little integration into the students' language courses. In the following chapter, I will address the ways in which the CMC online exchange project could be altered or improved, so as to inspire more sustained interaction between the two groups of students, and to allow the students to critically examine their written communicative encounters within the classroom.

Despite these limitations, I would argue that the links between the CMC exchanges I have described and socially-based notions of language and of writing, especially those of Bakthin, are evident. By using a blog to communicate with peers who were speakers of the language of study, the students were able to engage with the language of the others, even

incorporating the expressions encountered into their comments and replies. In sending a piece of writing for feedback and then preparing a final draft to submit, and, in some cases, to publish in an online journal, the students created intertextually rich texts that resulted from the dialogue between their partners' comments and thoughts and their own. Finally, many students engaged in more interactions than what was required, contacting their partners outside the classroom through email, Facebook and Skype and even stating that they planned to continue to interact with their partners after the close of the semester. All of these findings provide qualitative support for the notion that carefully-designed CMC projects for online intercultural exchange can indeed support students in their L2 writing development. Furthermore, it can motivate them to continue to use the language outside the classroom for authentic communicative purposes, both oral and written, thus aiding them in developing into autonomous and sociopragmatically competent users of the language.

Conclusion: Implications and future steps

In this dissertation, I have examined the socially grounded understandings of language present within early Soviet Russia. These scholars posited that human social interaction and shared intertextuality, both oral and written, were the basis for language use and development; they rejected more traditional tendencies within linguistics to focus primarily on abstract language codes and processes that occur within the minds of individuals. I have argued that these understandings of language, which later appeared in European and North American disciplines of pragmatics and sociolinguistics, can provide unique perspectives for the teaching of language within foreign language classrooms.

Through my research, I have described and dialogued with the voices of scholars who have begun to draw on socially-based theories of language in their attempts to redefine or alter classroom practices surrounding language learning. For example, Dubreil (2009), a professor of French as a foreign language, has drawn on Bakhtin's theories in positing that "understanding does not come from the individual's own observation and knowledge construction but through human interactions..." and that "meaning is not within the individual itself, but rather in the interplay between the self and the other" (p. 36). He has called for the incorporation of online exchanges for sociocultural development into French university classrooms. The first language composition scholar Bazerman, when discussing writing development in light of the theories of Bakhtin and Volosinov, has claimed that "enhanced agency as writers grows with our ability to place our utterances in relation to other texts, draw on their resources, represent those texts from our perspective, and assemble new social dramas of textual utterances within which we act

¹³⁸ I have referred to the theories of Bakhtin, Volosinov, the Bakhtin circle and the Russian sociological linguists.

through our words" (2004, p. 60). This has inspired him to reconsider the ways in which composition is taught within university classrooms. Finally the SLA researcher Thorne, drawing on Vygotskyan theory, has argued that SLA researchers and instructors must "extend beyond the confines of individual brains" in defining and describing language learning, taking into account the fact that language learning involves "joint activity, within communities of practice, and mediation, through artifacts such as internet communication tools" (1999, pp. 36-37). These theories have inspired him to view technology-embedded language learning as involving socially and historically situated practices, thus turning away from traditional, cognitive understandings of language learning technology.

When we use socially-based theories to define language and writing, I have argued, the appeal of incorporating CMC technologies within foreign language coursework for online intercultural exchange becomes evident. By interacting with speakers of the language of study, through carefully-designed, intercultural activities online, students can begin to use the language actively for socially contextualized purposes. Furthermore, if these online exchanges involve reading and writing, then through their interactions students can come into contact with specific texts in the language of study prepared especially for them, which they can then draw on and incorporate into their writing.

In chapters 4 and 5 of this dissertation, I described one potential use of CMC technologies for online intercultural exchange, as a support for writing development within university-level language classrooms. Building on my own understandings of socially-based theories of language and writing, especially the theories of Bakhtin, I was inspired to use CMC tools in specific ways: 1) to allow students of Spanish at a Canadian university to communicate with university students of English in Chile, through a bilingual blog, and 2) to aid the same

students in engaging in a writing exchange, involving peer editing of their course compositions, using Dropbox.

In these concluding remarks, I will further examine the project results in light of Bakhtin's socially-based theories and I will also explore some further implications of these results. I will begin by offering suggestions regarding ways in which the CMC project itself could be modified and improved in future implementations within language classrooms. I will continue by drawing further connections between the student language use I have observed, which I described in chapter 5, and specific Bakhtinian notions of language. These include the concepts of *ideological becoming*, *internally persuasive discourse* and *authoritative discourse* and the proposition that the use of language often involves struggle or conflict. Finally, I will discuss related lines of research that could be productive in continuing to explore the ways in which Bakhtinian-inspired L2 writing classrooms can play out.

Suggested modifications to the CMC intercultural exchange

The present CMC exchange was in many respects a successful language learning activity. However, there are ways in which it could be improved. When implementing similar pedagogical projects in the future, I would recommend: 1) further integration of the CMC activities within the language courses involved; 2) the incorporation of a wider selection of speech genres and language diversity; 3) further assignments over the course of the semester with the blog to increase student interaction; and 4) more structure and explicit instruction in the peer review activity. With these modifications, the project could bring about deeper interactions between the students and more critical engagement with the sociocultural and linguistic material encountered.

Integration of the CMC exchange into the language classroom

As I have stated in my methodology and results section, in setting up this preliminary online exchange, I conceived of it as a supplementary activity. My hope was that by adding the CMC exchange to traditional language courses, I could inspire more socially-based uses of writing within the classroom. At the same time, I hoped to show that this could be achieved even without completely modifying the course curriculum. Thus, in the case of Canadian students their participation in the exchange was obligatory, but primarily took place outside of the classroom. In the case of the Chilean students, especially in the 2013 semester, it was largely, if not entirely, an optional activity that was not incorporated directly into their language coursework.

I have argued that the present CMC exchange, as it was organized, did have a noticeable impact on the students and their use of language. As we have seen, one student referred to the exchange as the "beautiful icing on the cake" of her Spanish 405 language course. ¹³⁹ That is not to say, however, that the CMC exchange would not benefit from further integration within classroom activities. Andreas Müller-Hartmann (2000) has suggested that online exchange experiences should be treated as integral components of language courses, so that students can process their experiences with the assistance of their instructors, in order to achieve deeper understandings of what they have encountered. Kirk Saint Amant (2002) has also argued that students of all kinds, in different kinds of disciplines, can benefit from "guided activities that help them develop and practice international online communication skills" with the assistance of their instructors (p. 289). In this way, they can reflect on and better understand rhetorical

¹³⁹ See page 201 of this dissertation.

differences, rather than understanding all communication from within their own cultural and linguistic norms. It is generally believed that with the assistance of their instructors in class, students can be guided to engage with and analyze more critically their intercultural CMC experiences (Simpson, 2010; Vanwynsberghe & Verdegem, 2013)

In the future, the CMC exchange activities could be incorporated into the respective language classrooms in a variety of ways. First, the instructors, or teacher assistants, could monitor the interaction between the different groups of students closely by reading through the blogs over the course of the semester, and browsing the student work in the various Dropbox folders. They could also attempt to be proactive about issues of "missed communication" by asking the participating students to submit a periodic update, in which they would discuss their reactions to contact with the partner group and make a note of any positive or negative experiences (Ware, 2005). For example, if Mary had submitted a weekly update to her instructor in which she had mentioned feeling offended that her partner had not responded to her email about the writing exchange, the instructor could have intervened in some way. The instructor may have been able to address in class the differences in Internet access and connectivity, or potential differences surrounding norms of responding to emails, across the Canadian and Chilean settings.

Furthermore, by reading through the blogs and revisions to compositions during the semester, instructors would be able to draw on these materials for various classroom activities. This would allow them to aid their students in engaging deeply with the material on both a sociocultural and linguistic level. For example, in their blog conversations, a number of the students in both Chile and Canada were curious about the differences they observed in the university educational systems. In their posts, they asked questions such as the following:

"Nunca he oído de un título que dura 6 años...¿es una maestría?"; "Dijo que tu programa de ingeniería es seis años. En Canadá el programa es solamente cuatro años. ¿Qué haces durante el quinto y el sexto año de estudios?"; "Me ha llamado mucho la atención que la mayoría de las personas que participan en el intercambio (si no es que todas) están estudiando una Ingeniería. ¿Es esta una casualidad o la Universidad está especializada en este tipo de carreras?" About studies in Canada, the Chilean students commented: "¿Tengo una duda, qué es una estudiante de "estudios abiertos?" and "I would like that the universities here have open studies."

Building on this natural curiosity on the part of the participants, the instructors could bring these blog posts into the classroom, to ensure that all students saw the comments and replies, using them as a springboard for more in-depth discussions regarding the educational contexts in the two countries. Other sociocultural issues that the students commented on in the blogs were holidays, typical foods, the geographies, climates and landscapes of the countries and subsequent free-time activities, as well as stereotypes and other issues the students were interested in exploring. For example, one Canadian student wanted to know if it was true that there were tensions between Chileans and Argentineans; similarly, some of the Chilean students commented that they found it interesting that there were many heritage language learners of Spanish, and other non-native speakers of English, in the Canadian class. By bringing these discussions into the classroom, instructors could ensure that all students benefitted by exploring the new sociocultural knowledge and reflections that had appeared in the blog.

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¹⁴⁰ "I've never heard of a degree that lasts 6 years... is it a master's?"; "You said that your engineering program lasts 6 years. In Canada it's only a 4 year program. What do you do during the fifth and sixth year of study?"; "I've noticed that most of the people who are doing the exchange (if not all of you) are studying Engineering. Is that a coincidence or does your university specialize in that type of major?"; "I have a question, what is an 'open studies' student?"

Regarding linguistic, or language-based engagement, the blog is a potentially semipermanent object that is continuously accessible by Internet (within specified privacy
limitations). As such, it is available to instructors as a linguistic resource to draw on when
discussing language-related issues within the classroom. By reading through the blog entries of
the students, especially the original posts by native or advanced-level speakers, the instructors
could find numerous examples of contextualized use of vocabulary, grammatical and syntactical
items. For example, in a class in which the instructor wished to focus on the specific uses of the
subjunctive mood, he or she could draw on numerous examples of the subjunctive in the Chilean
students' posts for an in-class activity.

In the winter 2014 semester, after completing the present CMC exchange, I taught a textual analysis and composition course in Spanish at the University of Calgary. In a unit in which we were focusing on descriptive writing, I drew on the Chilean students' 2013 blog posts to provide my students with authentic texts in the language of study. I compiled in one document various excerpts from the blogs in which the Chilean studentshad described their families, their cities and the geographical features of different regions of Chile. In our class discussion, we examined the students' use of *ser* and *estar*, as well as numerous other verbs they employed for descriptive purposes, such as *contar con*, *es conocido por*, and *se ubica en*, as well as their use of specificative and explicative adjectives. In an assignment following this activity in which they were asked to prepare a description of their own cities and regions, many of the students made use of the expressions that they had encountered in the Chilean students' texts.

¹⁴¹ I changed the Chilean students' names and did not include any personal photos, so as to protect their privacy, as they were no longer participating in the exchange.

Exploration of a variety of genres and further language diversity

Another way in which the project as a whole could be strengthened, especially in relation to Bakhtinian theory, is through the incorporation of a variety of different genres of texts. In chapter 2, I examined the notion of speech genres, present in the work of both Bakhtin and Volosinov and commonly explored in first language composition studies. I also described the descriptions of heteroglossia, or language diversity, present within the work of many of the Russian scholars, and emphasized by Bakhtin. However, within the present online exchange the students did not, in truth, interact with a variety of speech genres and they were primarily only exposed to a somewhat formal register of language found within the partner groups' blog introductions.

To enrich the project, then, instructors could make efforts to bring a wider variety of texts, from different relevant genres, into the online exchange, as well as more heteroglossic language diversity. For example, students could be asked on a voluntary basis to share compositions they had prepared for other courses, in their native language of study, within a Dropbox folder. These could be present as a resource for both groups of students, or could be incorporated into in-class activities, similar to the ones I described that I carried out in a Spanish composition course. The instructor could also guide the students in comparing any generic differences between the styles of writing they observed in the blog introductions, and in the different papers shared that had been prepared for university courses.

In her discussion of the first-language composition classroom, Theresa Lillis drew on Bakhtin's theories in arguing for the introduction of a wider variety of genres. As she explained:

Whilst there are some indications of a wider number of genres being used in higher education (see e.g. Ganobcsik-Williams, 2001), student academic writing overwhelmingly involves essay writing. And this essay writing is of a very particular kind, with an emphasis on logical

argument with a rigid notion of textual and semantic unity...If we take into account the student-writers' desires for meaning making, we would be advised to reconsider the kind of unity that is privileged in academia. The student-writers who took part in the research project expressed the desire to make meaning through logic and emotion, argument and poetry, impersonal and personal constructions of text. (2003, p. 205)

To incorporate a wider variety of genres, blog assignments beyond that of the original introduction could be incorporated so as to encourage the students to engage in different kinds of writing. They could be asked, for example, to prepare short texts, such as a book report or a film review, and then to share these on the blog so that they could be read and commented on by their classmates, both at home and in the partner country. They could also experiment with more creative genres, such as poetry or short stories.

Regarding the incorporation of heteroglossic, as opposed to monoglossic, examples of the Spanish language, I would argue that it is difficult to truly bring the diversity of voices, registers, and styles that Bakhtin has described into a university-level academic setting. The university as an institution tends to bring about, within both teachers and students, the idea that only certain uses of language, especially more formal, logical and academic language, merit study and are appropriate within the classroom. While the students in the present exchange were exposed to and noticed certain typical expressions within the blog introductions of the partner groups, the language present within the blog was, on the whole, not heteroglossic in the Bakhtinian sense of the term. To bring about a wider diversity of voices, registers and styles the students could again be asked to share different kinds of writing in the blog that might encourage different stylistic uses of the language, such as poetry and satire. Furthermore, online exchanges could be set up with partner groups from a variety of home countries. If the Canadian students interacted

¹⁴² Such as "mano de monja" discussed on pages 228 and 229 of this dissertation.

online not only with Chilean students, but also with students from other Spanish-speaking countries, they would be exposed to somewhat more diverse uses of language.

The incorporation of a wider variety of genres and more different kinds of writing activities into the course curriculum could also aid in avoiding a tendency within writing classrooms that has been highlighted by Kimberly Lenters. That is, an unfortunate tendency within some classrooms to shift from process oriented approaches, which focus on the writing process itself, towards product-oriented approaches, in which the writing activity emphasizes the creation of a specific final product by a certain deadline, for evaluation. She has argued that, "by shifting the emphasis [within writing classrooms] to the final literacy objects of writer's workshop the potential for students to hone their writing through the practices of drafting and receiving regular feedback from peers and teachers... [can be] displaced" (2012, p. 149). By adding a wider variety of writing activities into the exchange, with more opportunities for peer review but less attention on the final evaluation and mark for the course, the CMC intercultural project could thus encourage a shift way from a product-oriented approach in the language courses involved, placing more emphasis on the process itself and the kinds of language encountered in the exchange.

Further interactivity within the blog

The suggestion to incorporate further blog assignments points towards another issue that could be improved in the CMC exchange: the level of blog interactivity. As I explained in my results in chapter 5, the blog primarily served as a tool for preliminary introductions and allowed for a limited amount of comment turn taking. After the initial months of the project, though, the interactivity lessened. It may be true that the blog as a medium or genre of communication tends to inspire more transmission-style publications, rather than true reciprocal dialogue (boyd, 2006).

However, it still seems desirable to attempt to bring about further interactivity through modifications in the CMC project, given that the blog did allow for intertextual language exchange, despite its less frequent usage after the initial stages of the project.

First, the requirements could be changed such that students would be required to post and comment throughout the semester. After the initial introduction, they could be asked to post and comment on a variety of topics, in both languages. For example, they could post questions on the partner groups' blog that they are interested in exploring with their partners. The student who was curious as to whether there were tensions between Chileans and Argentineans could post this question in a new publication in the blog in Spanish, and the Chilean students could reply to her question by placing comments on her original post.

Another way to increase blog interactivity, and to aid the students in engaging more critically with the knowledge gained from the blogging experience, would be to bring the blog posts into the language classroom. Instructors could incorporate hands-on assignments through which the students would engage with the blog material. For example, after the preliminary introductory posts, and some further email and Skype contact, the students could give in-class presentations in which they "introduced" one member of the partner group to the class; sharing information about that person's life and incorporating specific information requested by the instructor. The information from the blog could also serve as a springboard for in-class discussion on a variety of sociocultural and language-related topics relevant to the students' coursework.

More structure and guidelines for the online peer review

One additional way in which the CMC exchange could be modified in further projects is regarding the amount of structure in the online peer review process. Dropbox does seem to be an

effective tool for online file sharing, providing a space in which the various drafts of the students' compositions can be stored and easily accessed online. However, not all students from both countries were consistent regarding the kinds of feedback they gave their partners. As we saw in the examples in chapter 5, some of the Chilean students marked their corrections very explicitly, with detailed explanations as to why they were suggesting changes, while others simply re-wrote their partners' essays without highlighting their changes or offering justifications. Furthermore, it seems that the Canadian students were more or less likely to accept the changes from their partners, depending on the way these changes were physically presented or explained.

To avoid this variety in kinds of peer feedback, instructors could provide their students with in-class training and with evaluation schemes they could use when correcting their partners' work. They could also spend more time in class showing their students how to use peer-editing programs, such as Microsoft Word track changes. Instructors, or other writing assistants on campus, could meet with students to go over the feedback they had received, thus helping to clarify any doubts. Guardado and Shi (2007) have found that "training students how to provide feedback" and the intervention of instructors to guide participants in understanding the peer revisions received are both key components of successful online peer review projects (p. 458). By further incorporating the online exchange into the language courses, instructors could thus aid their students in benefitting more fully from the peer review process.

Finally, it would be important for instructors to further encourage their students to use other means of communication in addition to Dropbox, such as Skype, during the peer review process. By contacting each other through Skype, students could ask for further clarification about their partner's suggested changes. Some students in the 2013 phase of the exchange

reported that they had done this, and that it was helpful. However, other partners were never in touch outside of the blog and Dropbox. It appears that when Skype contact is optional few students follow through on contacting one another, even when they report being highly motivated to do so. If possible, the instructor could schedule class sessions in which the two groups of students would contact one another by Skype during class time, or schedule office hours in a computer lab in which students could receive assistance in contacting their exchange partners.

Further exploration of results: Struggle and ideological becoming in L2 writing classrooms

I argued in chapter 5 of this dissertation that Baktin's notion of intertextuality was useful in understanding the students' interactions in the present CMC exchange. When analyzing the written work shared between students of Spanish at the University of Calgary and their exchange partners at the Universidad de Concepción, I identified what I have called intertextual relationships between the texts of the two groups of students. I found evidence that on repeated occasions they tended to draw on their partners' texts, making use of specific aspects of their partners' language, when composing their blog comments and in revising their compositions in the language of study.

Drawing on Bakhtin's descriptions of speech genres and the dialogic nature of even individual utterances, I have argued that through both the blog exchange and the online peer feedback, some of the students were able to engage critically with the language of their partners. I offered examples of blog postings in which the Canadian students incorporated language borrowed from the Chilean students' introductions and posts into their own comments in Spanish. I also examined the final compositions of students who had drawn on feedback from their peers in the intercultural exchange to create intertextually rich final compositions.

What I would like to explore further is Bakhtin's notion that this dialogic exchange, and the position of one's own stylized writing and language use in relation to the words of others, is not a conflict-free enterprise. As I have claimed in previous chapters, Bakhtin has argued that when individuals use language, they do not interact freely with abstract or neutral linguistic items, but instead struggle to make use of utterances they have already come across in previous situations, spoken by other language users, for their own particular purposes. Bakhtin related this notion of struggle with the words of others to our development and growth as human beings when he discussed the notion of "ideological becoming" as "the process of selectively assimilating the words of others," (1981a, p. 341). He argued that our interactions with the words of others, and our conscious and unconscious decisions to adopt or incorporate these words as our own, provided the "very bases of our ideological interrelations with the world" (p. 342). It is in our language interactions with others, and in our attempts to adapt language to our own purposes, that we give shape to, modify, and play with our own and others' voices and beliefs.

Bakhtin also described different kinds of discourse that we might engage with more or less consciously or deliberately in the process of ideological becoming, as either authoritative or internally persuasive discourse. Discourse that is internally persuasive has been actively engaged with, and not incorporated into one's own utterances without question, while authoritative discourse, associated with unquestionable figures of authority, "cannot be represented... only transmitted" (p. 344). Bakhtin argued that the active engagement, or struggle, with language and ideas associated with internally persuasive discourse and its subsequent assimilation to one's own responsive utterances, is crucial. He explained:

Understanding comes to fruition only in the response. Understanding and response are dialectically merged and totally condition each other; one is impossible without the other... Thus an active understanding, one that assimilates the word under consideration into a new conceptual system, that of the one striving to understand, establishes a series of complex interrelationships, consonances and dissonances with the word and enriches it with new elements. (p. 282)

Thus, the use of language involves processes of struggle. Bakhtin argues that we struggle to engage with utterances we have encountered in the mouths or texts of other speakers, and then to respond by assimilating their words into our own responsive communication.¹⁴³

Was this process of struggle and active response present in the interactions between the two groups of students? I would argue that it was, but that modifications could be made to the CMC exchange in the future so that the students could engage with the language and beliefs of the other more fully.

First, I believe that in the blog comments, as we have seen, a number of the students showed evidence of having actively engaged, or struggled, with their partners' use of language when preparing their own comments. We have seen specific examples of students in Canada who, rather than using new words or phrases translated directly from English to respond to their partners' posts, instead carefully incorporated some of their partners' original words and phrasings. For example, in figure 15, on page 234, when Rita used Ángelo's expression "formo parte de una banda" in her own text to explain that she also played in a band, she engaged with his original words in preparing her response. In this instance there is no direct evidence of the sense of struggle that Rita might have felt when first encountering and then assimilating

¹⁴³ Recall that I have argued that Bakhtin likely drew on the work of the Russian sociological linguists, especially Iakubinskii, when exploring this notion of conscious and struggle-laden engagement with language. For example, Iakubinskii described the language experiences of city-dwelling peasans in Russia, arguing that they were linguistically self-conscious, as they felt the need to choose between their local dialects and the new, urban, national language.

Ángelo's words. However, her subsequent correct use of the verb *tocar*, followed by her misuse of the verb *jugar* does point to the difficulties she might have been experiencing. While she made an effort to incorporate Ángelo's words into her response, the process was not effortless for her. She seems to have struggled as she incorporated these new words, and their usage and meaning, into her own "conceptual system" (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 282).

In Jennifer's interactions with María, in figure 16, on page 237, struggles with her partner's language were again evident. As I explained in chapter 5, in her comments, Jennifer incorporated some of her partner's expressions quite directly, such as the expression, "único hombre de la familia," although she did modify it, making it plural, to fit the context of her own message. Her assimilation of María's language was thus active, as she was able to modify her partner's language to express her own personal meaning. Furthermore, in commenting on one of her partner's expressions, "mano de monja," and the fact that it was a new and interesting expression for her, Jennifer demonstrated that she was consciously aware of her partner's language use.

Finally, the notion of language assimilation as an active struggle was present as well in Jennifer's attempt to coin a new expression, *hermana media*, based on her observation of María's original post. This collocation is not normative in the Spanish language, unlike the similar expressions used by María, *hermana menor* and *hermana mayor*. Jennifer, in attempting to use these words to express her own role in her family as the middle sister, demonstrated active engagement with María's original text. Furthermore, her efforts suggest that the active assimilation of the others' words, especially in a foreign language context, was not an effortless, or struggle-free, enterprise. The students' uses of the foreign language in the CMC exchange have provided evidence to support Bakhtin's notion that our interactions with language in

specific settings are generally not, in fact, direct and logical interactions with abstract linguistic codes. Rather, they involve exposure to the contextualized words of others, followed by active struggles to respond and often conscious decision making as to whether or not to incorporate these words, and ideas, into one's own linguistic and ideological systems.

Within the present online intercultural peer review process, I have also presented examples in which Canadian students actively engaged with the feedback they had received from their Chilean partners to enrich their own writing during the peer review process. In previous online exchanges researchers have at times found that in their interactions, students do not tend to correct their partners' language use, or to engage with or process the corrections they receive (Tolosa, East & Villers, 2013; Ware & O'Dowd, 2008). Unlike the projects described by the previous researchers, though, the present CMC exchange did not only involve communication and comments on personal messages. Additionally, the students exchanged rough drafts of course compositions and one component of their course mark, at least in the case of the Canadian students, was based on the improvements and changes they made to their compositions by taking their partners' feedback into account. The two students whose final drafts were examined in chapter 5 incorporated many, but not all aspects, of their partners' suggestions into their final drafts and also added further modifications of their own. Once again, they seem to have gone through a conscious decision-making process regarding what aspects of their partners' feedback they wished to incorporate; they participated in active struggles surrounding their own and their partners' language use.

On the other hand, we have also seen the example of one student, Mary, who chose not to incorporate any of her exchange partners' suggestions into the final draft of her composition. In fact, it would have been quite easy for Mary to accept all of her partner's suggestions without

question, and without engaging with his words. That is because Mary's partner actually rewrote her essay, including his suggestions directly on her original text and without highlighting them in any way, and saving this new version in the revisions folder in Dropbox. However, Mary explained in her end of semester survey that she had been offended by her interactions with her partner; she felt hurt that he had not replied to her original email and resented the fact that he had made changes to her essay without offering any justifications for his suggestions.

I have argued that Mary's exchanges with her partner, and her decision not to incorporate his feedback into the final draft of her essay, are examples of what Ware (2003) has called "missed communication," or missed opportunities for developing intercultural competence in the online context" (p. 2). However, I would also argue that it gives us an example of the kinds of struggle, or conflict, that Bakhtin has highlighted as inherent within language use. Mary seems to have equated her feelings about her partner, which came about as a result of her interactions with him in the exchange, with her evaluation of his language use as well. As Bakhtin has stated "images of language are inseparable from images of various world views and from the living beings who are their agents—people who think, talk and act in a setting that is social and historically concrete" (1981b, p. 49). As the relationship between Mary and her partner was, for her at least, conflictual, she made the conscious decision not to engage with or assimilate his words into her own discourse. Mary's partner's words were thus not internally persuasive for her, and could not aid her in her path towards ideological becoming in the Spanish language.

The Bakhtin scholar Anthony Wall (1990) has linked Bakhtin's theories to the concept of memory. He has argued that memory, like language and ideas, exists dialogically "between various voices inside and outside of the remembering subject" (p. 56). Memories are created as different people, and their voices, come together through the exchange of words. Echoing

Bakhtin's notions of struggle, Wall has argued that "words are in no way innocent gifts" in that they "come to exemplify or to recall certain pleasant or unpleasant experiences in our lives according to the circumstances under which we learned those same words" (p. 54). Again, the notion of struggle as a component of language use arises. Our use of words are linked to our concrete experiences with others and their voices; these words, linked to memory, can be rife with struggle.

Future lines of research

The present CMC exchange has served not only as a pedagogical activity but also as an exploration into the ways in which Bakhtinian and other related theories of language might be brought into, and impact on, university language classrooms. After observing the implementation and results of the project, I have suggested some modifications that might increase the impact on students in future exchanges. With these modifications in place, further research could be done to continue to explore the possibilities that CMC intercultural exchanges, when designed with socially-based theories of language and writing as the point of inspiration, can offer within the classroom. Two future lines of research that I would like to explore include:

1) Bakhtin's concept of struggle within language use and 2) the impact of socially-based theories within teacher training and professional development programs.

Researching language as struggle

First, I believe that the Bakhtinian notion of the use of language as involving conflict and struggle is a fruitful area to explore in future similar projects. The concepts of the speech genre, or the intertextual relationships we draw on when using language, and the consequent struggle to assimilate and make language our own, are related. In the present project I have observed intertextual relationships across the writing of the exchange partners, and have also examined the

ways in which the students seem to be struggling, more or less successfully, to draw on the language of the other. In future projects the exchange would ideally involve more contact and more critical, in-class engagement with the linguistic and sociocultural materials present in the blog and in the peer review. Within these projects, I believe that this notion of struggle could be more closely researched.

In one of his works, Bakhtin made the following statement, which one sociolinguist (Bell, 2007) has called fascinating: "in the everyday speech of any person living in society, no less than half (on the average) of all the words uttered by him will be someone else's words (consciously someone else's)" (1981a, p. 339). Bakhtin has also argued that, "these words of others carry with them their own expression, their own evaluative tone, which we assimilate, rework, and reaccentuate" (1986, p. 89). Both of these statements of Bakhtin can continue to be researched in the language classroom, through close observations of the kinds of language borrowing, and the efforts to engage with and then assimilate the words of the other, that take place within CMC exchanges. Questions could be addressed such as: 1) What kind of language is most often passed and forth between the exchange partners?; 2) Are students more likely to assimilate and engage with the language of peers with whom they form positive relationships?; 3) Is there any measurable language transfer from the language found in the blog to other class writing assignments?; 4) What are the students' thoughts and beliefs regarding the language they have learned through the exchange?; and 5) Is their use of their partners' language generally a conscious or unconscious process?

I am also interested in tracing the sociocultural history and positioning, or intertextuality, of Bakhtin's notion and understanding of struggle. Bakhtin's ever-present references to struggle and conflict within language suggest a relationship to Marxist thought, in which class struggle is

seen as underpinning the historical development of modern human society (Chambre, 2014). Much debate has taken place regarding the extent to which Bakhtin can be seen to be a Marxist scholar, especially with regards to his potential authorship or co-authorship of Volosinov's texts (Coates, 1998; Pollard, 2003; Poole, 2001). Bakhtin's notion of the struggles that individuals face when making use of language is certainly quite distinct from the Marxist notion of class struggle. However, it may well enrich our understanding of his theories to undertake a close study of his notion of struggle and the ways in which it may relate to understandings of struggle and conflict by various Marxist scholars, both past and present.

Researching teacher training with socially-based theories and CMC technology

Within the present dissertation, I have presented one exploration of socially-based understandings of language and writing. My understandings of the theories of language of the Russian sociological linguists, Baktin, Volosinov, the Bakhtin circle and Vygotsky have inspired me to make use of CMC technologies in certain ways. Through my uses of CMC technology for online intercultural exchange, I have attempted to bring a variety of voices and genres into the classroom, and to open the classroom up to the world. I aimed to provide the students with opportunities to use, and understand, language and writing as socially-grounded, contextualized, genre-specific and active processes.

I am interested in further exploring the ways in which various language instructors can draw on socially-based theories when defining language and reflecting on the ways in which they would like to present the language of study within the classroom. Furthermore, I believe that exposure to these theories might inspire more language instructors to see the value of incorporating new communication technologies within their classrooms, in settings in which they might previously have been reluctant to do so. Although instructors are often encouraged to

bring new technologies into their classrooms, research has shown that mere access to technology is not sufficient to bring about any real change in classroom teaching practices (Friesen & Jacobsen, 2011; Lam, 2000; Murgatroyd & Couture, 2010). In interviews with elementary school teachers in the Midwestern U.S., it was found that that the educators were reluctant to incorporate new technologies into their teaching practices for a variety of reasons, including lack of familiarity with the technology, inadequate training and technical support, a lack of support from administration and confusion over how to incorporate the technology into the established curriculum (Keengwe and Onchwari, 2009). A recent historical review of the use of technology within Alberta school systems demonstrated similar results, showing that only between 40 and 50% of Alberta teachers felt comfortable integrating technology within their curriculum and teaching. They cited barriers such as lack of access to professional development and little encouragement to be innovative with their teaching practices. Furthermore, the report stated that most uses of technology within Alberta involved implementation within existing policy and curriculum, often through top-down policy decisions rather than through any real support or recognition for innovation at the local level (Murgatroyd & Couture, 2010). This echoes a conclusion that Sharon Friesen and Michele Jacobson (2011) came to after visiting high schools in 23 jurisdictions within Alberta. They stated that in most classrooms, they found "little evidence of students completing authentic tasks or of rigorous and complex work being designed for and required of high school students." Instead, the primary use of technology they observed, involved students, "watching or listening to the teacher present material to the entire class."

One compelling line of research in future studies could involve a wider exploration of the impact of exposure to socially-based theories of language on language instructors as a whole, especially with regards to their use of technology in the classroom. What I envision is designing

professional development programs that would incorporate both an introduction to new technologies and a focus on socially-based theories of language, so as to inspire teachers to see a need for innovation in their classroom practice. The program could guide them in exploring, as well, pragmatic and sociolinguistic theories and research findings. If they were inspired by these socially based theories to incorporate a diversity of voices, speech genres, and new contexts for language use into their classroom, they might begin to understand how CMC technologies could aid them in achieving their new, socially contextualized language teaching goals.

Thus, lines of research to explore in future projects would involve leading professional development programs in which language instructors would be introduced to the socially-based theories of language I have explored in this dissertation. At the same time, they would explore the various free CMC technologies available for use in language classrooms. After their participation in the training, they could be asked to reflect on the kinds of changes, if any, that their exposure to Bakhtinian and other socially-based theories would inspire them to make in their classrooms, and how they might use various CMC technologies to bring about these changes. These kinds of activities could also be incorporated into teacher training and education programs, such as programs within the Faculty of Education at the University of Calgary, in which students prepare to be language teachers within the Alberta educational system.

In this way, I could further test hypotheses regarding the inspirational power of Bakhtinian thought, and other related socially-based understandings of language and writing, for L2 writing classrooms. It is my belief that language instructors, once introduced to these new understandings of language and writing, would begin to see that the kinds of intercultural social interaction made possible through CMC, both written and oral, are not merely the "icing on the

cake" of a language classroom, but rather are the fundaments of language learning and L2 writing development.

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APPENDIX A: DROPBOX INSTRUCTIONS IN 2012 AND 2013

- 1. Cuando edites el trabajo del estudiante chileno/canadiense, sugiero que uses los "TRACK CHANGES" de Microsoft Word. Puedes corregir los errores gramaticales. También puedes hacer sugerencias en cuanto al vocabulario, la puntuación, el formato del ensayo o el uso de expresiones idiomáticas, etc. Si crees que una frase es muy larga, puedes dividirla en dos. También, puedes agregar comentarios para explicar un cambio o hacer una pregunta, etc. http://www.shaunakelly.com/word/sharing/howtrackchangesworks.html http://www.utexas.edu/research/ctr/research/pubs/FAQtc.pdf
- 2. Si no quieres usar la función de "Track Changes" tienes otras opciones también. Puedes imprimir el trabajo, escribir tus comentarios a mano y luego escanearlos, etc. Si tienes problemas con "Dropbox," puedes estar en contacto conmigo por correo y te puedo enviar el documento o ayudarte a recibir el documento corregido, etc.

English translation:

- 1. When you edit the work of the Chilean/Canadian student, I suggest that you use the Microsoft Word "Track Changes." You can correct grammatical errors. You can also make suggestions regarding vocabulary, punctuation, the essay format and the use of idiomatic expressions, etc. If you think that a sentence is too long, you can divide it in two. You can also add comments to explain a change or ask a question, etc.
- 2. If you don't want to use the "Track Changes" function, you have other options, as well. You can print the essay, write your comments by hand and scan it, etc. If you have problems with Dropbox, you can be in touch with my by email and I can send you the document or help you to receive the revised document, etc.

APPENDIX B: 2012 WRITING PROMPT FOR SPANISH 405

Espanol 405: Tema para el último trabajo escrito

Como hemos visto en el blog de los estudiantes chilenos, ninguno de ellos ha estado en Canadá. La mayoría de ellos ha viajado al Reino Unido para mejorar su inglés, o piensan viajar después a los Estados Unidos o a Australia. Entonces, vas a escribir un ensayo de persuasión, para convencer a los estudiantes chilenos que deberían venir a Canadá (por ejemplo a Calgary u otra ciudad) para mejorar su inglés (o para turismo). Usa la información que sabes de ellos del blog para convencerles que deberían elegir a Canadá como destino.

Pueden elegir UNO de los dos temas que siguen:

1) Prepara un trabajo de al menos 150 palabras, explicando las razones por las cuales los estudiantes chilenos deberían elegir a Canadá para venir a mejorar su inglés. Usa el subjuntivo (sugiero que, etc.), el subjuntivo con expresiones impersonales (es importante que, etc.) y los complementos directos/indirectos, para evitar repeticiones.

o

2) Prepara un trabajo de al menos 150 palabras, explicando las razones por las cuales los estudiantes chilenos deberían elegir a Canadá para turismo. Usa el subjuntivo (sugiero que, etc.), el subjuntivo con expresiones impersonales (es importante que, etc.) y los complementos directos/indirectos, para evitar repeticiones.

APPENDIX C: 2013 WRITING PROMPT FOR SPANISH 405

Trabajo escrito final: Span 405

Tienen 2 opciones para el tema de su trabajo escrito final.

I. Opción 1: La revista bilingüe Tribuno del pueblo quiere publicar algunos de sus ensayos en enero/febrero 2014. Si les gustaría estar incluidos en la revista, deben seleccionar esta opción y escribir aproximadamente 350 palabras en su artículo. http://www.tribunodelpueblo.org/.

En un máximo de 350 palabras (y un mínimo de 150), respondan la siguiente pregunta: ¿Desde tu perspectiva como persona joven (o no tan joven), cuáles son las esperanzas y aspiraciones que tienes para la humanidad? ¿Cuáles son las barreras para la gente joven y cómo se pueden vencer? Usa el subjuntivo (sugiero que, etc.), el subjuntivo con expresiones impersonales (es importante que, etc.) y los complementos directos/indirectos, para evitar repeticiones.

II. Opción 2:

Como hemos visto en el blog de los estudiantes chilenos, ninguno de ellos ha estado en Canadá. Entonces, vas a escribir un ensayo de persuasión, para convencer a los estudiantes chilenos que deberían venir a Canadá (por ejemplo a Calgary u otra ciudad) para mejorar su inglés (o para turismo). Usa la información que sabes de ellos del blog y de sus conversaciones en skype para convencerles que deberían elegir a Canadá como destino.

Prepara un trabajo de al menos 150 palabras, explicando las razones por las cuales los estudiantes chilenos deberían elegir a Canadá para venir a mejorar su inglés o para turismo. Usa el subjuntivo (sugiero que, etc.), el subjuntivo con expresiones impersonales (es importante que, etc.) y los complementos directos/indirectos, para evitar repeticiones.

APPENDIX D: 2012 END-OF-SEMESTER SURVEY IN SPANISH

Nombre Pseudónimo preferi	rido:			
1) Indique su edad, género, y año de estudios.				
a) edad \square 15-19 \square 20-24 \square 25-29 \square 30-34 \square	35-39	□ 40-44	□ 45-49	□ Otra
b) su género □ masculino □ femenino				
c) año de estudios \Box 1ro \Box 2do \Box 3ro \Box 4to \Box 5to \Box	Otro			
2) Por favor anote la(s) lengua(s) que habla en casa:				
3)¿ De qué maneras había interactuado con la lengua inglesa	antes de	inscribirs	e en este	curso?
(Ex: Otros cursos de inglés, viajes, amigos que hablan ing	glés, pelíc	ulas, mús	ica, la lite	eratura)
El Blog				
Antes de tomar este curso, había usted escrito un blog?	Sí 🗌	No		
Si su respuesta es sí, cual programa o sitio web había usado?				
Creo que fue fácil usar el programa del blog para hacer come	entarios. [Sí	☐ No	
Me gustó poder leer los blogs en inglés de los canadienses.	☐ Sí	☐ No		
El uso del blog me permitió comunicarme con los canadiense	es. Sí	í 🗌 No)	
Comentarios. Utilice el espacio abajo para comentar acerca o	de sus ex	periencias	s con los l	olog. Si
no está de acuerdo con algunas de las declaraciones anteriore	es, por fav	vor expliq	ue por qu	é:

La Corrección Escrita/ Evaluación de sus pares
Me sentí cómodo en compartir mi trabajo escrito con los canadienses. 🔲 Sí [□] No
Creo que la corrección/evaluación que recibí de los canadienses fue útil. 🔲 Sí 💮 No
Me sentí cómodo en editar el trabajo escrito de los canadienses 🔲 Sí 🔲 No
Fue fácil editar y dar comentarios en el trabajo escrito de los canadienses. Sí No
Me gustaría compartir mis textos escritos con hablantes nativos de inglés y recibir sus
comentarios en mis futuras clases de inglés. Sí No
Comentario. Utilice el espacio abajo para comentar acerca de sus experiencias con la corrección
escrita/evaluación de sus pares. Si no está de acuerdo con algunas de las declaraciones
anteriores, por favor explique por qué:
Otra comunicación con los estudiantes canadienses
Otra comunicación con los estudiantes canadienses ¿Te comunicaste con los estudiantes canadienses durante el semestre afuera del blog? Sí
¿Te comunicaste con los estudiantes canadienses durante el semestre afuera del blog? Sí
¿Te comunicaste con los estudiantes canadienses durante el semestre afuera del blog? Sí \square
¿Te comunicaste con los estudiantes canadienses durante el semestre afuera del blog? Sí \(\sumset \) No \(\sumset \) Si la respuesta es sí, ¿Cómo se comunicaron (ejemplo: skype, por email,etc.)
¿Te comunicaste con los estudiantes canadienses durante el semestre afuera del blog? Sí \(\sum_{No} \sum_{Si} \) la respuesta es sí, ¿Cómo se comunicaron (ejemplo: skype, por email,etc.)
¿Te comunicaste con los estudiantes canadienses durante el semestre afuera del blog? Sí \(\sum_{No} \sum_{Si} \) la respuesta es sí, ¿Cómo se comunicaron (ejemplo: skype, por email,etc.)
¿Te comunicaste con los estudiantes canadienses durante el semestre afuera del blog? Sí \(\sigma_{No} \square \) Si la respuesta es sí, ¿Cómo se comunicaron (ejemplo: skype, por email,etc.) ¿Cuántas veces o con qué frecuencia se contactaron? Si la respuesta es no, por qué no?

¿Usaste voz/audio?	Sí 🗌	No		
¿Usaste video/cámara?	Sí 🗌	No 🗌		
Disfruté el uso de skype/email para con	tactarme con un c	canadiense.	Sí 🗌	No 🗌
Fue útil usar skype/email para recibir cl	arificación de mi	compañero	acerca de s	us comentarios
en mi trabajo escrito. Sí	No 🗌			
Comentario. Utilice el espacio abajo pa	ra comentar acer	ca de sus exp	periencias c	con skype/email.
Si no está de acuerdo con algunas de las	declaraciones ar	nteriores, por	favor expl	ique por qué :

APPENDIX E: 2012 END-OF-SEMESTER SURVEY IN ENGLISH

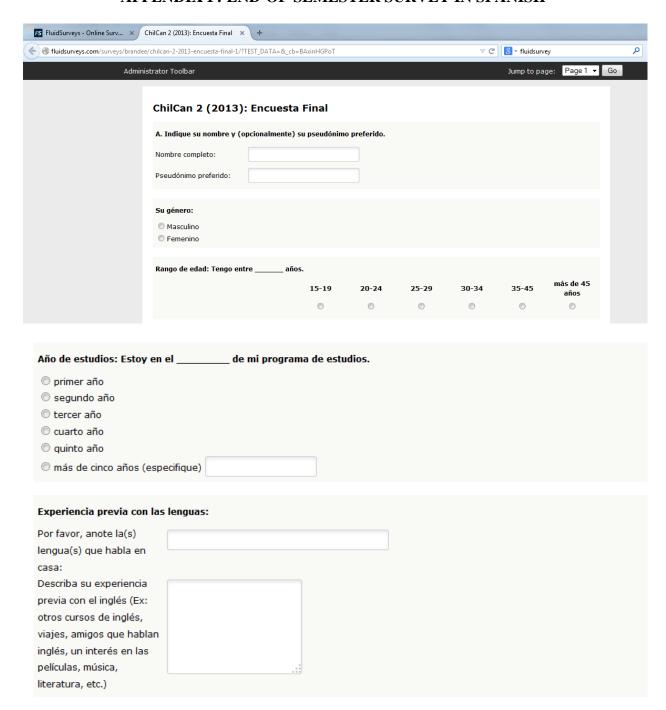
Name Preferred pseudonym:
1) Indicate your age, gender, and year of studies.
a) age \Box 15-19 \Box 20-24 \Box 25-29 \Box 30-34 \Box 35-45 \Box 45-55 \Box 55-65 \Box 65-75
b) gender \Box male \Box female
c) year of studies \square 1st year \square 2 nd year \square 3rd year \square 4th year \square 5th year \square other
2) Please specify the language(s) you speak at home:
2) What previous exposure to the Spanish language and cultures had you had before taking this
class? (Ex: Spanish courses, travel, friends who speak Spanish, movies, music, interest in the
literature, etc.)
The Blog
Had you ever kept a personal blog before taking this course? Yes No
If so, what blogging software had you used?
I enjoyed creating a blog as a component of this course. Agree Disagree
I thought the blogging program was easy to use. Agree Disagree
I received enough training and support on how to use the blog. Agree Disagree
I enjoyed reading the blog entries of the Chilean students in Spanish. Agree Disagree
The use of the blog allowed me to communicate with the Chilean students. Agree
Disagree

Comments. Use the space below to make comments on your experiences with the blog. If you
disagreed with any statements listed above, use this space to explain
why:
Dropbox
Had you ever used dropbox before taking this course? yes no
If you had used a program or tool similar to dropbox, list the name of the tool here:
I thought that dropbox was easy to use. Agree Disagree
I was able to share files easily with the Chilean students in dropbox. Agree Disagree
I felt that I received enough training and support in the use of dropbox. Agree Disagree
I would use dropbox in the future to share files. Agree Disagree
Comments. Use the space below to make comments on your experiences with dropbox. If you
disagreed with any statements listed above, use this space to explain
why:
Writing Feedback/ Peer Review
I felt comfortable sharing my written work with my Chilean partner. Agree Disagree
I thought the writing feedback I received from my Chilean partner was helpful. Agree \Box
Disagree
I felt comfortable editing my Chilean partner's work in English. Agree Disagree

It was easy to give my Chilean partner feedback on his/her writing in English. Agree
Disagree
I would like to exchange texts with native speakers and get writing feedback on my written work
in future Spanish courses. Agree Disagree
Comments. Use the space below to make comments on your experiences with the writing
exchange. If you disagreed with any statements listed above, use this space to explain
why:
Skype/Email Contact
Did you contact any Chilean students outside of the blog during the semester? If yes, how did
you contact them? (Ex: skype, email, etc.) How many times/How often
were you in touch?
If no, why not?
(Ex: no time, problems coordinating with my Chilean partner, etc.)
If you used skype:
Did you use the skype text/chat function? ☐ yes ☐ no
Did you use the skype audio function?
Did you use the video/camera function? \square yes \square no
I enjoyed contacting my Chilean partner via skype/email. Agree Disagree
N.A. [
Using skype/email was a helpful way to get additional writing feedback from my Chilean
partner. Agree Disagree N.A.

Comments. Use the space below to make comments on your experiences with skype or email.	If
you disagreed with any statements listed above, use this space to explain	
why:	

APPENDIX F: END-OF-SEMESTER SURVEY IN SPANISH



○ Yes ○ No					
Anote si está de acuerdo o no con los sigu	uientes enunciad	os:			
	Totalmente en desacuerdo	En desacuerdo	Ni de acuerdo ni en desacuerdo	De acuerdo	Totalmente de acuerdo
Creo que fue fácil usar el blog.	0	0	0	0	0
Fueron adecuados el apoyo y la capacitación que recibí respecto al uso del blog.	•	•	©	•	©
Me gustó poder publicar en el blog como componente del intercambio.	©	0	•	0	0
Me gustó poder leer las publicaciones en inglés de los canadienses.	0	•	•	•	0
Mediante el uso del blog pude comunicarme con un estudiante canadiense.	•	•	•	•	©
Pienso seguir usando el blog para comunicarme con los estudiantes canadienses aun cuando se acabe el proyecto.	•	•	•	•	•
Utilice este espacio para comentar acerca algunas de las declaraciones anteriores, p			dar su retroaliment	ación. Si no está	á de acuerdo con
C. Dropbox - Antes de participar en este p	proyecto, ¿había	usado usted Dropl	oox?		
© No					

Anote si está de acuerdo o no con los siguientes enunciados:								
	Totalmente en desacuerdo	En desacuerdo	Ni de acuerdo ni en desacuerdo	De acuerdo	Totalmente de acuerdo			
Creo que fue fácil usar Dropbox.	0	0	0	0	0			
Fueron adecuados el apoyo y la capacitación que recibí respecto al uso de Dropbox.	•	0	•	0	©			
Pude compartir archivos con los estudiantes canadienses usando Dropbox.	©	0	©	0	0			
Pienso seguir usando Dropbox en el futuro.	©	0	0	0	0			
Utilice este espacio para comentar acerc con algunas de las declaraciones anterio	•	•	cy dar su retroalim	entación. Si no	está de acuerdo			

D. La Corrección Escrita/ Evaluación de sus pares - Anote si está de acuerdo o no con los siguientes enunciados:								
	Totalmente en descuerdo	En desacuerdo	Ni de acuerdo ni en desacuerdo	De acuerdo	Totalmente de acuerdo			
Me sentí cómodo al editar el trabajo escrito de los canadienses.	0	0	0	0	0			
Fue fácil editar y dar comentarios en el trabajo escrito de los canadienses.	0	0	•	0	0			
Me gustaría compartir mis textos escritos con hablantes nativos de inglés y recibir sus comentarios en mis futuras clases de inglés.	•	•	•	•	•			
Utilice este espacio para comentar acerc retroalimentación. Si no está de acuerdo					res y dar su			
E. Otra comunicación con los estudiantes semestre fuera del blog?	s canadienses - ¿E	Estuvo en contact	o usted con los esti	udiantes canadi	enses durante el			
○ Yes ○ No								
Si "no": ¿Por qué no? (ex: No hubo tiem	po, problemas de	coordinación con	el compañero, etc.)				
			, , ,					

Si respondió que sí ("yes")					
¿Cómo se comunicaron?					
(por ejemplo: por skype,					
email, facebook o una					
combinación de medios)					
,					
¿Cuántas veces o con qué					
frecuencia se contactaron?					
¿Usaron la función de					
texto/chat de skype?					
(Escriba "sí" or "no").	.::				
¿Usaron la función de					
audio de skype? (Escriba					
"sí" or "no").					
¿Usaron la función de					
cámara/video de skype? ?					
(Escriba "sí" or "no").	.::				
Anote si está de acuerdo o no con los sigu	Strongly disagree	os: Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
Me gustó usar skype/email/facebook para comunicarme con los estudiantes canadienses.	0	0	©	0	©
Fue útil usar skype/email/facebook para explicar en más detalle las revisiones que habia hecho a los trabajos escritos de los estudiantes canadienses.	0	•	©	©	0
Pienso seguir en contacto con los					
estudiantes canadienses por skype, email or facebook en el futuro.	0	0	0	0	©
				<i>(</i>	
Utilice este espacio para comentar acere retroalimentación. Si no está de acuerdo					y uar su
.:					

APPENDIX G: 2013 END-OF-SEMESTER SURVEY IN ENGLISH

FS FluidSurveys - Online Surv × S	panish 405 Final Survey (Proye × +						
fluidsurveys.com/surveys/brandee	spanish-405-final-survey/?TEST_DATA=&_cb=	=Wm2ysG9rsA			∀ C'	8 - fluidsurvey	
Adminis	trator Toolbar					Jump to page:	Page 1 ▼
	Spanish 405 Final Surv	ey (Proyecto C	hilCan)				
	A. Please type your name and prefe	erred pseudonym.					
	Full Name:						
	Preferred Pseudonym (if						
	any):						
	Gender:						
	◎ Male						
	© Female						
	Age Group: I am years old	l.					
		15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-45	Over 45
		0	©	©	©	©	©
Year of studies: I am in n	ny of my progran	n.					
first year							
second year							
third year							
o fourth year							
fifth year							
Other, please specify							
Previous experience with	languages:						
Please specify the							
language(s) you speak at							
home.							
List your previous							
exposure to Spanish (Ex:							
Spanish courses, travel,							
friends who speak							
Spanish, interest in							
movies, music, literature,							
etc.)							
R. The Riog - Had you over	posted in a blog before takin	na this course?					
_	posted in a blog before takin	ig and course:					
○ Yes ○ No							
0.110							

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
I thought the blog was easy to use.	0	©	©	0	0
I received enough training and support on how to use the blog.	•	0	0	©	0
I enjoyed posting in a blog as a component of this course.	•	0	0	0	0
I enjoyed reading the blog entries of the Chilean students in Spanish.	•	0	0	0	0
The use of the blog allowed me to communicate with the Chilean students	•	•	•	•	•
I plan to continue using the blog to communicate with the Chilean students once the Spanish 405 course is over.	•	•	•	•	•
C. Dropbox - Had you ever used Dropbox I	before taking thi	is course?			
C. Dropbox - Had you ever used Dropbox I Yes No	before taking thi	is course?			
© Yes					
○ Yes○ No	th the following: Strongly		Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
○ Yes○ No	th the following:		Neutral ⊚	Agree	Strongly Agree
○ Yes○ NoChoose whether you disagree or agree with	th the following: Strongly disagree	: Disagree		_	
 Yes No Choose whether you disagree or agree with thought Dropbox was easy to use. I received enough training and 	th the following: Strongly disagree	: Disagree ©	•	•	©

Use the space below to com statements listed above, use			th Dropbox and to	give feedback. I	f you disagree	d with any
D. Writing Feedback/Peer R	S	hether you (trongly isagree	disagree or agree Disagree	with the following	g: Agree	Strongly Agree
I felt comfortable sharing n work with my Chilean partr	ny written	0	0	0	0	•
I thought the writing feedboreceived from my Chilean phelpful.		•	•	•	•	•
I would like to exchange te native speakers and get wr feedback on my work in fut Spanish courses.	riting	•	•	0	0	0
Use the space below to com disagreed with any statemen				ange/peer reviev	v and to give fe	eedback. If you
E. Skype/Email/Facebook C Yes No	ontact: Did you co	ntact any Cl	nilean students ou	tside of the blog o	luring the sem	ester?
If you answered "no": Why	not? (ex: No time,	problems c	oordinating with n	ny partner, etc.		

	.::				
	.::				
e or agree wit	th the following				
	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
ilean cebook.	0	•	•	0	0
ok was a al writing oartner.	•	•	•	0	0
my Chilean facebook se is over.	•	•	•	•	©
				facebook and o	give feedback. If
	ilean cebook. ok was a al writing bartner. my Chilean facebook se is over.	Strongly disagree ilean cebook. Ok was a sol writing operation. my Chilean facebook se is over.	disagree ilean cebook. ok was a al writing overtner. my Chilean facebook se is over.	Strongly disagree Neutral disagree Neutr	Strongly disagree Neutral Agree ilean cebook. Ok was a play writing orthogonartner. my Chilean facebook or se is over. Disagree Neutral Agree Neutral Agree or selow to make comments on your experiences with skype, email or facebook and selow to make comments on your experiences with skype, email or facebook and selow to make comments on your experiences with skype, email or facebook and selow to make comments on your experiences with skype, email or facebook and selow to make comments on your experiences with skype, email or facebook and selow to make comments on your experiences with skype, email or facebook and selow to make comments on your experiences with skype, email or facebook and selow to make comments on your experiences with skype, email or facebook and selow to make comments on your experiences with skype, email or facebook and selow to make comments on your experiences with skype, email or facebook and selow to make comments on your experiences with skype, email or facebook and selow to make comments on your experiences with skype, email or facebook and selow to make comments on your experiences with skype, email or facebook and selow to make comments on your experiences with skype, email or facebook and selow to make comments on your experiences with skype, email or facebook and selow to make comments on your experiences with skype, email or facebook and selow to make comments on your experiences with skype, email or facebook and selow to make comments on your experiences with skype, email or facebook and selow to make comments on your experiences with skype, email or facebook and selow to make comments on your experiences with skype, email or facebook and selow to make comments or your experiences with skype, email or facebook and selow to make comments or your experiences with skype, email or facebook and selow to make comments or your experiences with skype, email or facebook and selow to make comments or your experiences with skype, and your experiences with the comments of the comments of

APPENDIX H: START-UP/WRITING SURVEY IN SPANISH

fluidsurveys.com/surveys/brandee	e/chilcan2-2013-primera-encuesta/	/?TEST_DATA=&_cb	= elWcIsQTJO			△ G	8 - how to	know if you want child
Tablero	o del Administrador					9	Saltar a la pág	jina: Página 1 ▼
	Chilcan2 (2013)	- Primera E	ncuesta					0%
	Indique su nombre y (op	cionalmente) su	pseudónimo p	referido.				
	Nombre completo:							
	Pseudónimo preferido:							
	Su género:							
	o femenino							
	Rango de edad: Tengo en	ntre año	05.					
			15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-45	más de 45 años
			0	0	0	0	0	0
Año de estudios: Estoy	en el de m	ni programa d	le estudios.					
primer año								
segundo año								
tercer año								
cuarto año								
quinto año								
Otro, por favor, esp	ecifique							
,								
Experiencia previa con	ı las lenguas:							
Por favor, anote la(s)								
lengua(s) que habla en								
casa:								
Describa su experiencia								
previa con el inglés (Ex	:							
otros cursos de inglés,								
viajes, amigos que hab								
inglés, un interés en las	S							
películas, música,		.::						
literatura, etc.)								

	Totalmente en desacuerdo	En desacuerdo	Ni de acuerdo ni en desacuerdo	De acuerdo	Totalmente acuerdo
engo oportunidades de hablar inglés uera del aula de clases.	0	0	•	•	•
engo oportunidades de escribir en glés fuera del aula de clases.	0	0	•	•	0
e siento cómodo cuando escribo en glés.	©	0	©	0	©
eo que es difícil escribir en inglés.	©	0	0	0	0
tes de escribir, trato de leer lo que n escrito otras personas acerca del na.	•	0	•	0	0
enso en mi audiencia cuando cribo.	0	0	0	0	0
viso y corrijo mi trabajo cuando cribo en inglés.	©	0	0	0	0
eo que voy a seguir escribiendo en lés en el futuro, fuera del aula de ses.	©	0	•	0	©
Los problemas de vocabularioNo corrijo mi trabajo.Otro, por favor, especifique					
Por favor, piense en y luego resp	oonda las siguier	ites 3 preguntas.			

Cuando corrijo mi trabajo	en inglés, trato de corregir s	sobre todo:	
O Los errores mecánicos	y de gramática		
C Los problemas de organ	nización		
Cos problemas de vocal	bulario		
No corrijo mi trabajo.			
Otro, por favor, especifi	que		
Por favor, piense en y lue	go responda las siguientes 3	preguntas.	
¿Qué espera lograr con			
este curso y en general a			
través de todos sus cursos universitarios de			
inglés?			
ingree.			
i Oué tipos de escritura			
¿Qué tipos de escritura piensa que hará en inglés			
en el futuro, fuera del aula			
de clases?			
	.:		
En general, ¿de qué			
manera cree que va a usar			
inglés en el futuro, fuera			
del aula de clases?			

APPENDIX I: START-UP/WRITING SURVEY IN ENGLISH

rator Toolbar Spanish 405 Star	rt-up Surv	ev				Jump to pa	ge: Page1 ▼ G
	rt-up Surv	ev					
Dioaco typo your namo a		-,					
Full Name: Preferred Pseudonym (if any):	nd preferred ps	eudonym.					
Gender: © Male © Female							
Age Group: I am	years old.						
		15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-45	Over 45
		0		0	0	0	0
	f my progran	n.					
vith languages:							
ex:							
	any): Gender: Male Female Age Group: I am in my with languages: at Ex:	any): Gender: Male Female Age Group: I am years old. in my of my program ify with languages: at Ex:	any): Gender: Male Female Age Group: I am years old. 15-19 in my of my program. with languages: a at Ex: I,	Gender: Male Female Age Group: I am years old. 15-19	any): Gender: Male Female Age Group: I am years old. 15-19	any): Gender: Male Female Age Group: I am years old. 15-19	Gender:

Circle whether you disagree or agree with the following:						
	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree	
I have opportunities to speak Spanish outside the classroom.	0	0	0	©	0	
I have opportunities to write Spanish outside the classroom.	©	0	0	©	•	
I feel comfortable writing in Spanish.	0	0	0	©	©	
I think it is difficult to write in Spanish.	©	0	0	©	0	
Before I write, I try to read what other people have written on the topic.	©	©	0	0	0	
I think about who my audience is when I write.	©	•	0	©	•	
I proofread my writing in Spanish.	0	0	0	©	0	
I think that I will write in Spanish in the future, outside the classroom.	0	0	0	•	•	
grammatical and mechanical errors organizational issues vocabulary/word choice I don't proofread my work. Other, please specify						
Please reflect on and write a response to	the following 3	questions.				
What do you hope to gain from this course and from your Spanish courses in general at the university?						

What kinds of writing in Spanish do you think you will do in the future, outside the classroom?	
Overall, how do you think you will use Spanish in the future, outside the classroom?	

APPENDIX J: END-OF-SEMESTER INTERVIEW IN SPANISH

- 1) Cuéntame acerca de cómo sueles usar las herramientas de comunicación de Internet (como skype). (¿Te gusta usar el Internet para propósitos de comunicación? ¿Antes de participar en este proyecto, habías usado las herramientas de comunicación de Internet para la comunicación en inglés?)
- 2) ¿Puedes describir tus experiencias con el blog en este intercambio? (¿Fue la primera vez que habías participado en un blog?¿Qué te pareció la experiencia de leer los blogs de los estudiantes canadienses? ¿Hiciste comentarios en inglés en sus blogs? ¿Sientes que pudiste entablar una comunicación con los estudiantes canadienses mediante el blog y los comentarios en él?)
- 3) Cuéntame acerca de tus experiencias interactuando con los hablantes nativos de inglés. ¿Te gustó? (¿Cómo te comunicaste con los estudiantes canadienses? ¿Te comunicaste con ellos también a través del uso de skype o correo? ¿Por qué sí o no? ¿Cuántas veces?)
- 4) ¿Puedes describir tus experiencias con el intercambio del trabajo escrito para dar y recibir retroalimentación de los estudiantes canadienses? (¿Qué tipo de comentarios recibiste del estudiante canadiense en tu trabajo escrito? ¿Crees que sus comentarios fueron útiles cuando estuviste preparando la versión final de tu trabajo? ¿Corregiste un trabajo en español de un estudiante canadiense? Cuéntame acerca de la experiencia de editar y hacer comentarios en su trabajo escrito... ¿Te sentías cómodo al hacerlo?)
- 5) En general, cómo te sientes cuando escribes en inglés? (¿Te sientes cómodo cuando escribes en inglés? ¿Escribes en inglés afuera del aula? ¿Crees que vas a seguir escribiendo inglés en el futuro? ¿Cuál fue la experiencia de escribir tu redacción sabiendo que la ibas a mostrar a los estudiantes canadienses? ¿Fue diferencia la experiencia de escribir con retro-alimentación comparado con las otras actividades de escritura que hiciste para el curso?)
- 6) ¿Cuál fue la parte más valiosa, interesante o beneficioso del intercambio?
- 7) ¿Cuál fue la parte mas difícil o frustrante del intercambio?
- 8) Trata de imaginar este curso si el intercambio virtual, con los blogs y la corrección del trabajo escrito, no había sido parte de él. ¿Crees que la experiencia de usar el blog para comunicarte con los estudiantes canadienses agregó algo al curso? ¿Y el intercambio de la redacción con los estudiantes canadienses?
- 9) ¿Hay algo que te gustaría cambiar sobre el intercambio en el futuro? ¿Crees que el uso de los blogs fue una buena herramienta para conocer mejor a los estudiantes canadienses? ¿Te gustaría hacer más de este tipo de corrección de trabajos escritos en pares en el futuro?

APPENDIX K: END-OF-SEMESTER INTERVIEW IN ENGLISH

- 1) Tell me about how you generally use communication tools online (like skype, etc.). (Do you like to use the Internet for communication? Before taking this course, had you used Internet tools to communicate in Spanish?)
- 2) Can you describe your experience with the blog in this course? (Was this the first time you had kept a blog? Did you find it easy or difficult to create the blog and to use it to describe yourself to the Chilean students? What did you think about reading the Chilean students' blogs? Did you make comments in Spanish on their blogs? Do you feel like you were able to establish communication with the Chilean students through the blogs and comments?)
- 3) Tell me about your experience interacting with native speakers. Did you enjoy it and why or why not? (In what ways did you communicate with your partner? Did you contact him or her using skype or email as well? Why or why not? How many times?)
- 4) Can you describe your experience using dropbox to share papers and give and get writing feedback from the Chilean students? (Had you used dropbox before? Did you find it easy to use? What kind of feedback did you get from the Chilean student on your paper? Do you feel that his or her comments were helpful for you when preparing your final draft? Did you receive a paper in English from a Chilean student? Tell me about what it was like to edit and comment on his or her paper... Did you feel comfortable doing so? What did you think of his or her writing in English?)
- 5) In general, how do you feel about writing in Spanish? (Do you feel comfortable with your writing ability? Do you ever write in Spanish outside the classroom? Do you think that you will do any writing in Spanish in the future? How did it feel to write your last paper knowing that you would be showing it to one of the Chilean students? Did the writing activity with peer feedback feel different from the other writing activities in this course?)
- 6) What do you think was the most valuable, interesting, or beneficial part of the exchange for you?
- 7) What was the most difficult or frustrating part of the exchange for you?
- 8) Try to imagine your language course if the online exchange, with the blogs and written editing, had not been part of it. Do you think that the experience of using the blog to communicate with the Chilean students added something to the course? How about exchanging papers and getting writing feedback from a Chilean student?
- 9) Is there anything you would change about the language exchange in the future? Do you think that the use of the blogs was a good way to get to know the Chilean students? Would you like to do more peer editing of writing of this kind in the future?

APPENDIX L: ELAINE'S ROUGH DRAFT

La Joya de Turismo en Canadá: La Isla de Vancouver

¡Canadá es un país extraordinario para el turismo! Lo tiene infinitas cosas para ofrecer. Cada provincia es muy diferente y única—de la costa oeste al norte frío y nevoso, a las marítimas al este y a las praderas medio de ellas, hay tantas actividades y experiencias para hacer. Aunque, de todos los lugares espectáculos para visitar, sugiero que visite la isla de Vancouver.

La isla de Vancouver es un lugar muy precioso que ofrece una gran variedad de actividades para hacer. La tierra se caracteriza por las montañas magníficas, los bosques mágicos, y está lleno de abundante vida Silvestre. Además, toda la isla está rodeada del Océano Pacifico. La cultura es muy distinta y se caracteriza por la fuerte influencia de las Primeras Naciones. Además, se distingue por la creatividad y la imaginación de los muchos artistas que viven allí. La mentalidad es muy diferente en toda la isla en comparación a los ciudades en Canadá. Se caracteriza por la actitud despreocupada y relajada de su gente. ¡Toda la gente son muy amables y usted se sentirá usted como en casa!

Tengo algunos recomendaciones específicos para usted si decide venir a Canadá, y en específico, a la isla de Vancouver, para su próximo viaje. Primero, es preferibe que viaje durante el verano para evitar la lluvía. Segundo, recomiendo que visite las playas. Si las visita usted, puede surfear (pero, ¡es necesario que lleves un traje de neopreno!), descansar, caminar, o, durante la noche, mirar las estrellas. Tercero, sugiero que camine usted por los bosques prístinos. Ellos son muy especiales allí. Por ejemplo, hay algunos con arboles de miles de años y otros con bayas ricas que puede comer. Cuando camine por ellos, puede conectarse con la naturaleza en una manera orgánica y pura. Cuarto, le aconsejo que pesque o vaya a una excursión para ver las ballenas o osos. El paisaje y la vida marina son extraordinarios. Además, si le gusta pescar, la pesca de salmon es fantástica. Finalmente, le recomiendo que vaya de compras en las tiendas locales. Hay muchísimos artistas locales que crean cosas magníficas y muy únicas. La creatividad de la gente que vive en la isla es inmensa.

En fin, a pesar de todos los lugares interesantes que puede visitar en Canadá, ojalá que viaje usted a la isla de Vancouver,

APPENDIX M: ELAINE'S ESSAY WITH GUILLERMO'S REVISIONS

La Joya de Turismo en Canadá: La Isla de Vancouver ¡Canadá es un país extraordinario para el turismo! Lo tiene infinitas cosas para ofrecer. Cada provincia es muy diferente y única—de la costa oeste al norte odd in frío y nevoso, a las marítimas al este y a las praderas medio de ellas hay tantas actividades y experiencias para hacer. Aunque de todos los lugares espectáculos para visitar, sugiero que visite la isla de Vancouver. La isla de Vancouver es un lugar muy precioso que ofrece una gran variedad de "Tuolism" Sur actividades para hacer. La tierra se caracteriza por las montañas magnificas Tos bosques mágicos, y está lleno de abundante vida Silvestre. Además, toda la isla está rodeada del Océano Pacifico. La cultura es muy distinta y se caracteriza por la fuerte influencia de las Primeras Naciones. Además, se distingue por la creatividad y la imaginación de los muchos artistas que viven allí. La mentalidad es muy diferente en toda la isla en comparación a los indedes sus sindedes es muy diferente en toda la isla en comparación a los ilas ciudades es muy diferente en toda la isla en comparación a los ilas ciudades es muy diferente en toda la isla en comparación a los ilas ciudades es muy diferente en toda la isla en comparación a los ilas ciudades es muy diferente en toda la isla en comparación a los ilas ciudades es muy diferente en toda la isla en comparación a los ilas ciudades es muy diferente en toda la isla en comparación a los ilas ciudades es muy diferente en toda la isla en comparación a los ilas ciudades es muy diferente en toda la isla en comparación a los ilas ciudades es muy diferente en toda la isla en comparación a los ilas ciudades es muy diferente en toda la isla en comparación a los ilas ciudades es muy diferente en toda la isla en comparación a los ilas ciudades es muy diferente en toda la isla en comparación a los ilas ciudades es muy diferente en toda la isla en comparación a los ilas ciudades es muy diferente en toda la isla en comparación a los ilas ciudades en comparación de comparación d o cotros ciudades en Canadá. Se caracteriza por la actitud despreocupada y relajada de su gente. ¡Toda la gente son muy amable; y usted se sentirá usted como en

casa!

Tengo algunos recomendaciones específicos para usted si decide venir a Canadá, y en específico, a la isla de Vancouver, para su próximo viaje. Primero, es preferibe que viaje durante el verano para evitar la lluvía. Segundo, recomiendo que visite las playas. Si las visita usted, puede surfear (pero, jes necesario que lleves un traje de neopreno!), descansar, caminary o durante la noche mirar las estrellas. Tercero, sugiero que camine usted por los bosques prístinos. Ellos son muy especiales, allíx Por ejemplo, hay algunos con arboles de miles de años y otros con bayas ricas que puede comer. Cuando camine por ellos, puede conectarse con la naturaleza en una manera orgánica y "entre los orlober" pura. Cuarto, le aconsejo que pesque o vaya a una excursión para ver las ballenas osos. El paisaje y la vida marina son extraordinarios. Además, si le 👡 🛚 gusta pescar, la pesca de salmon es fantástica. Finalmente, le recomiendo que vaya de compras en las tiendas locales. Hay muchisimos artistas locales que crean cosas magnificas y muy únicas. La creatividad de la gente que vive en la BETTER USE > "maravillosas isla es inmensa.

En fin, a pesar de todos los lugares interesantes que puede visitar en Canadá,

ojalá que viaje usted a la isla de Vancouver,

IT SOUNDS BETTER: "espero que no re obvide de..."

APPENDIX N: ELAINE'S FINAL REVISED ESSAY

La Joya de Turismo en Canadá: La Isla de Vancouver

~Elaine~

¡Canadá es un país extraordinario para el turismo! Tiene infinitas cosas para ofrecer. Cada provincia es muy diferente y única y tiene muchos actividades para realizar y experiencias para vivir. Aunque de todos los lugares espectáculares para visitar, sugiero que visite la isla de Vancouver.

La isla de Vancouver es un precioso lugar que ofrece una gran variedad de actividades para realizar. Su tierra se caracteriza por sus montañas magníficas y sus bosques mágicos que están llenos de abundante vida silvestre. Además, toda la isla está rodeada por el Océano Pacifico. La cultura es muy distinta y se caracteriza por la fuerte influencia de las Primeras Naciones. También, se distingue por la creatividad y la imaginación de los muchos artistas que viven allí. La mentalidad de la gente es muy diferente en toda la isla en comparación a la de otros ciudades en Canadá. Se caracteriza por la actitud despreocupada y relajada de sus habitantes. ¡Toda la gente es muy amable y se sentirá usted como en casa!

Tengo algunas recomendaciones específicas para usted si decide venir a Canadá, y en especial, a la isla de Vancouver, para su próximo viaje. Primero, es preferible que viaje durante el verano para evitar la lluvía. Segundo, le recomiendo que visite las playas. Si usted las visita, puede surfear (pero, ¡es necesario que lleve un traje de neopreno!), descansar, caminar, y mirar las estrellas durante la noche. Tercero, le sugiero que camine usted por los bosques prístinos. Hay algunos con árboles que tienen miles de años y otros que producen ricas bayas que puede comer. Cuando camine entre los árboles, puede conectarse con la naturaleza en una manera libre y pura. Cuarto, le aconsejo que vaya de pesca o vaya a una excursión para observar las ballenas y osos. El paisaje y la vida marina son extraordinarios. Además, si decide pescar, la pesca de salmón es fantástica. Finalmente, le recomiendo que vaya de compras a las tiendas locales. Hay muchos artistas locales que crean cosas maravillosos y muy únicas. La creatividad de la gente que vive en la isla no tiene límite.

En fin, a pesar de todos los lugares interesantes que puede visitar en Canadá, espero que no se olvide de la isla de Vancouver.

APPENDIX O: NORA'S ROUGH DRAFT

Nora	
Profesora	
Español 405	
El 1 de noviembre, 20	13

Mis aspiraciones para los jóvenes

El hielo en los polos ha empezado a derretirse rápidamente y las niveles de los océanos están creciendo. En algunos lugares, el smog cubre las ciudades como una alfombra, y los habitantes no pueden respirar el aire toxico. Lo siento mis hijos y nietos, pero esto es el mundo que mi generación y lo que de mis padres está dejándoles. Hemos puesto el dinero, la conveniencia, y nuestros deseos sobre todo. Por el beneficio de humanidad, ojala que hagan opciones diferentes. Espero que cuiden el medio ambiente, cuiden el uno al otro, y aprenden de los errores del pasado mientras abrirse paso.

Con un foco global en la economía, hemos destruido el medio ambiente. La búsqueda de recursos naturales como petróleo y minerales ha contaminado el abastecimiento del agua. Por ejemplo, el Rio Athabasca, en Alberta, ahora tiene peces con deformidades a causa de químicos tóxicos en las arenas de petróleo. En Brasil, durante los años 2000-2006, la selva lluviosa perdí más de 93.206 millas cuadrados de la deforestación. Esta deforestación es por consecuencia de desmontar la tierra para las cosechas. Con la destrucción de hábitat, sigue el perdido de los animales. Según de WWF, hay más de 5.000 animales que son considerados especies en peligro de extinción. Sin embargo, todo no es perdido. Los jóvenes, ustedes tienen el poder de hacer cambios. Es importante que consideren los impactos de sus compras y hagan decisiones mejores. Los cambios pequeños pueden hacer una diferencia. Les sugiero que reduzcan los gastos, reutilizan donde puedan, y reciclen en vez de triar las cosas. En una manera más fuerte, insisto en que utilicen su poder y voten en las elecciones. Tienen que exigir los cambios en las policías del gobierno. Es solamente con los cambios pequeños y grandes que salvaran el medio ambiente y sus vidas en el proceso.

La segunda esperanza es que cuidar uno a otro. Con los cambios en la tecnología, comunicación es muy accesible y rápida. Con solamente un clic del botón, puede mandar un mensaje. Desafortunadamente, por los jóvenes, este acceso a tecnología ha creado un aumento de **ciber bullying**. Yo les aconsejo que piensen en los sentimientos de sus compañeros de clases. En vez de ser la persona que les duele a los otros, le ruego que ayude las personas en aprietos. Alrededor de las personas en la escuela, les propongo que involucren en la comunidad, y muestren empatía a las personas que no tengan mucho. En el mundo, como un ciudadano en América del norte, recuerda que no es su derecho divino para tomar cualquiera cosa lo que quiere al gasto de los ciudadanos en los países desarrollando.

Finalmente, y más importante, aprendan de los errores del pasado. Sé que los mayores han cometido muchas equivocaciones pero tenemos la sabiduría de experiencia. Les recomiendo que escuchen a nuestros consejos. Lean la historia. Dos veces millones y millones de jóvenes mandaron a sus muertos en las guerras mundiales y los muertos continúan con las guerras civiles. Les suplico busquen paz pero defiendan contra la injusticia y las atrocidades en el mundo. Nunca deberían ignorar el odio. En las palabras de Martin Luther King, donde hay injusticia hay una amenaza contra justicia en cualquier lugar. Estos son mis deseos y mis aspiraciones para ellos, mis hijos y nietos. Hagan mejor como nuestra generación.

APPENDIX P: NORA'S ESSAY WITH PARTNERS' REVISIONS

Letra marcada con rojo: Frases o palabras que deberías cambiar

Letra marcada con azul: Posible corrección que podrías hacer

Letra marcada con verde: Palabras que olvidaste poner entre oraciones y que deberías poner para que la oración esté correcta gramaticalmente.

Letra Anaranjada: Consejos en cuanto a la redacción.

Nora Profesora Español 405 El 1 de noviembre, 2013

Mis aspiraciones para los jóvenes

El hielo en los polos ha empezado a derretirse rápidamente y las niveles (Lo correcto es decir los niveles, puesto que "niveles" es una palabra plural de género masculino) de los océanos están creciendo. En algunos lugares, el smog cubre las ciudades como una alfombra, y los habitantes no pueden respirar el aire toxico. Lo siento por mis hijos y por mis nietos, pero esto (este) es el mundo que mi generación y lo que de mis padres está dejándoles. (la de mis padres les está dejando, también podría ser que pusieras esto: Lo siento por mis hijos y por mis nietos, pero este es el mundo que nuestra generación les está dejando.). Hemos puesto el dinero, la conveniencia, y nuestros deseos por sobre todo. Por el beneficio de humanidad, ojalá (su significado es oj: quiera, alá: dios; dios quiera) que hagan opciones diferentes (¿Para qué?). (Está bien pero suena como si se estuviese hablando acerca de un grupo en específico y de manera un poco informal, según lo que estás escribiendo debe sonar de forma más incierta donde también te involucre, ya que también formas parte de la generación actual y tu también podría generar un nuevo cambio para revertir lo que está ocurriendo, quizás sería mejor escribir algo así como: Por

el beneficio de la humanidad, ojalá se creen opciones diferentes para cambiar lo que está ocurriendo.) Espero que cuiden el medio ambiente, cuiden el uno al otro, (¿Quién o qué debe cuidar el uno del otro?) y aprenden de los errores del pasado mientras abrirse paso. (¿A qué? A

oraciones se encuentran estrechamente relacionadas, por lo tanto sería mejor unirlas por una coma, además de corregir para quién va dirigida, por lo tanto debería ser: Es importante que la gente considere la consecuencia de sus compras y tomen mejores decisiones de ellas, pues pequeños cambios pueden hacer una gran diferencia.) Les sugiero que reduzcan los gastos, reutilizan donde puedan (¿qué debe reutilizarse?), y reciclen en vez de triar las cosas. En una manera más fuerte (¿enfática?), insisto en que utilicen su poder (¿Quién?) y voten en las elecciones. Tienen que exigir los cambios en las policías (¿políticas de gobierno?) del gobierno. Es solamente con los cambios pequeños y grandes que salvaran el medio ambiente y sus vidas (tu vida también está involucrada) en el proceso. (Hay errores gramaticales, ya que las oraciones pueden ser unidas porque tienen mucha cohesión entre sí, en mi opinión debería ser: Sugiero que se reduzcan los gastos y que se recicle. De manera más fuerte, insisto que los jóvenes tienen que utilizar su poder y votar en las elecciones, pues de esta forma pueden exigir cambios en las políticas de gobierno. Solamente con pequeños y grandes cambios se podrá salvar el medio ambiente y así nuestras vidas.)

Con un foco global en la economía, hemos destruido el medio ambiente. La búsqueda de recursos naturales como petróleo y minerales ha contaminado el abastecimiento del agua. Por ejemplo, el Rio Athabasca, en Alberta, ahora tiene peces (...abastecimiento del agua_por ejemplo, el Rio Athabasca en Alberta ahora tiene peces...) con deformidades a causa de químicos tóxicos que se encuentran en las arenas de petróleo. En Brasil, durante los años 2000-2006, la selva lluviosa perdí (perdió, ya que ella perdió no tu) más de 93.206 millas cuadradas a causa de la deforestación. Esta deforestación es por consecuencia de desmontar la tierra para las cosechas. (Desmontar arboles [causa]→ deforestación [consecuencia]; ocurrió en el pasado por lo tanto debería ser: Esta deforestación fue la consecuencia del desmonte de tierras para las cosechas) Con la destrucción de hábitat, sigue el perdido de los animales. (Con la destrucción del hábitat sigue la perdida de los animales.) Según de (la) WWF, hay más de 5.000 animales que son considerados (consideradas) especies en peligro de extinción. Sin embargo, todo no es perdido.Los jóvenes, ustedes tienen el poder de (para) hacer cambios (¿cambios acerca de qué?). (...en peligro de extinción, sin embargo, todo no está perdido, ya que los jóvenes tienen el poder para hacer cambios al respecto...). (Punto aparte porque es otra idea) Es importante que consideren los impactos de sus compras (¿Quién debe considerar los impactos de las compras?) y hagan decisiones mejores. (¿Quién debe mejorar sus decisiones? Los cambios pequeños pueden hacer una diferencia. (Ambas

La segunda esperanza es que cuidar uno a otro.(La segunda esperanza es cuidar el uno del otro) Con los cambios en la tecnología, la comunicación es muy accesible y rápida. Con solamente un clic del botón, puede mandar un mensaje (¿a quién?)(...rápida, pues con solamente un clic del botón se puede mandar un mensaje a otra persona). Desafortunadamente, por (Desafortunadamente para) los jóvenes, este acceso a la tecnología ha creado un aumento del ciber bullying. Yo les aconsejo (Aconsejo) que piensen en los sentimientos de sus compañeros de clases. En vez de ser la persona que les duele a los otros (¿A qué te refieres? ¿A la persona que hace sufrir a los otros?), le ruego que ayude las personas en aprietos. Alrededor de las personas en la escuela, les propongo que involucren en la comunidad, y muestren empatía a las personas que no tengan mucho. (Existe correlación entre una oración y otra, por lo tanto debieras unir estas oraciones mediante conectores y comas, en mi opinión este párrafo debería quedar así: Aconsejo que piensen en los sentimientos de sus compañeros de clases, y en vez de ser la persona que hace sufrir a los demás, ser aquel que ayude a quien esté en aprietos. La siguiente frase no tiene relación con lo enunciado anteriormente, por lo que sería recomendable reformularla para desarrollar mejor la idea y conectarla con lo anterior o bien eliminarla ya que no afecta en el texto) En el mundo, como un ciudadano en América del norte, recuerda que no es su derecho divino para tomar cualquiera cosa lo que quiere al gasto de los ciudadanos en los países desarrollando.

Finalmente, y más importante, aprendan (¿quién debe aprender? ¿Los jóvenes?) de los errores del pasado. Sé que los mayores han (hemos) cometido muchas equivocaciones pero tenemos la sabiduría de la experiencia. Les recomiendo que escuchen a nuestros consejos. (Esta frase está rara, ya que los consejos no vienen de mucha gente si no que solo de ti, por lo tanto revísala) Lean la historia. Dos veces millones y millones de jóvenes mandaron a sus muertos (No se mandaron muertos, si no que se mandaron personas que fallecieron en la guerra) en las guerras mundiales y los muertos continúan (continuaron) con las guerras civiles. Les suplico busquen paz pero (no son ideas que se oponen, si no que se complementan por los tanto debes usar un conector que ayude a la idea anterior) defiendan contra la injusticia y las atrocidades en el mundo. Nunca deberían ignorar el odio (¿Qué quieres decir con esto, por qué no hay que ignorar el odio?). En las palabras de Martin Luther King, donde hay injusticia hay una amenaza contra justicia en cualquier lugar. Estos son mis deseos y mis aspiraciones para ellos (¿quiénes

ellos?), mis hijos y nietos. (¿Solo para tus hijos y nietos?) Hagan mejor como nuestra generación. (Lean la historia, dos veces millones y millones de personas fueron enviadas a las guerras de las cuales hubo muchos muertos. Suplico que se busque paz y se luche contra la injusticia y las atrocidades del mundo. En las palabras de Martin Luther King, donde hay injusticia hay una amenaza contra justicia en cualquier lugar. Estos son mis deseos y mis aspiraciones para nuestros hijos y nietos. Sean mejores que nuestra generación.

APPENDIX Q: NORA'S FINAL REVISED ESSAY

Nora	
Profesora	
Español 405	
4 de diciembre del 2	013

Mis aspiraciones para los jóvenes

El hielo en los polos ha empezado a derretirse rápidamente y los niveles de los océanos están creciendo. En algunos lugares, el smog cubre las ciudades como una alfombra, y los habitantes respiran el aire tóxico. Lo siento por mis hijos y por mis nietos, porque este es el mundo que nuestra generación les está dejando. Hemos puesto el dinero, la conveniencia, y nuestros deseos por sobre todo. Por el beneficio de la humanidad, ojala se creen opciones para cambiar lo que está ocurriendo. Espero que la próxima generación se cuide el medio ambiente, que se cuide de los unos a los otros, y que aprenda de los errores del pasado.

Con un foco global en la economía, hemos destruido el medio ambiente. En Brasil, durante los años 2000-2006, la selva lluviosa perdió más de 93.206 millas cuadradas a causa de la deforestación. Esta deforestación fue la consecuencia del desmonte de tierras para las cosechas. Con la destrucción del hábitat, sigue la perdida de los animales; según la WWF, hay más de 5.000 animales que son considerados especies en peligro de extinción. Sin embargo, todo no está perdido, ya que los jóvenes tienen el poder para hacer cambios al respecto del medio ambiente. Es importante que la próxima generación considere el impacto de sus compras y tome decisiones mejores pues pequeños cambios pueden hacer una gran diferencia. Les sugiero a los jóvenes que reduzcan los gastos y que reciclen. De manera más fuerte, insisto que los jóvenes tienen que utilizar su poder y votar en las elecciones, pues de esta forma pueden exigir cambios en las políticas de gobierno. Solamente con pequeños y grandes cambios podrá salvar el medio ambiente y así nuestras vidas.

La segunda esperanza es de cuidarse los unos a los otros. Con los cambios en la tecnología, la comunicación es muy accesible y rápida. Con solamente un clic del botón, puede mandar un mensaje a alguien. Desafortunadamente para los jóvenes, este acceso a la tecnología ha creado un aumento del ciber bullying en las escuelas. Les aconsejo a los perpetradores que piensen en los sentimientos de sus compañeros de clases; en vez de ser la persona que hace sufrir a los demás, ser aquel que ayude a quien esté en aprietos. Además de la escuela, les propongo que los adolescentes se involucren en la comunidad, y muestren empatía a las personas que no tengan mucho.

Finalmente, y más importante, los jóvenes necesitan aprender de los errores del pasado. Sé que los mayores hemos cometido muchas equivocaciones pero tenemos la sabiduría de la experiencia. Les recomiendo que escuchen nuestros consejos. Lean la historia. Dos veces millones y millones de personas fueron enviadas a las guerras mundiales de las cuales hubo muchos muertos. Suplico que la próxima generación busque paz y luche contra la injusticia y las atrocidades del mundo. En las palabras de Martin Luther King, donde hay injusticia hay una amenaza contra la justicia en cualquier lugar. Estos son mis deseos y mis aspiraciones para nuestros hijos y nietos. Sean mejores que nuestra generación.