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Perspective-Taking and Meaning-Making through Engagement with Cultural Narratives: Bringing History to Life in a Foreign Language Classroom

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The MLA Report (2007) accords considerable weight to the role of culture in a transformed approach to language education in the U.S. and outlines “one possible model” for developing transcultural understanding that involves the interpretation of the “cultural narratives” inherent in all forms of cultural representation (p. 238). How exactly students might be engaged in interpreting cultural narratives in the foreign language classroom, though, remains to be further specified, imagined, practiced, and studied. Moreover, expanding this model of culture-in-language education to include active production and negotiation of meaning around cultural narratives, in addition to interpretation of these, has important pedagogical and learning implications. This paper highlights how engagement with historical narratives is a natural site for the kinds of interpretive and meaning-making practices that foster the deep cultural learning discussed in the MLA’s report. Reporting data from an ethnographic, discourse-analytic study of a university-level French classroom, this paper illustrates that through the instructional environment created by the teacher and through the students’ engagement in class activities, many rich opportunities for perspective-taking from multiple points of view were made available to students, ultimately weaving a dense web of meanings around French experiences of World War II. Close analysis of excerpts from classroom interaction show how a constellation of instructional features and patterns of student engagement allowed the class to access the repertoire of more or less plausible storylines attached to this historical period and to practice with interpreting perspectives embedded in cultural texts. Interview data further highlight both the challenges and great potential of inviting multiple perspectives and voices into culture pedagogy in the foreign language classroom.

INTRODUCTION

A 2007 report issued by the Modern Language Association (MLA) accords considerable weight to the role of culture in a transformed approach to foreign language education (FLE) in the U.S. and outlines “one possible model” for developing transcultural understanding, which involves interpretation of the “cultural narratives” inherent in all forms of representation (p. 238). How exactly students might be engaged in interpreting cultural narratives in the foreign language (FL) classroom, though, remains to be further specified, imagined, practiced, and studied. Moreover, expanding this model of culture-in-language education to include active production and negotiation of meaning around cultural narratives, in addition to interpretation of these, has important pedagogical and learning implications. The research presented here offers insight into the possibilities for developing transcultural understanding through narrative practices in the language classroom, and in so doing, lends

credence to the MLA's proposed model while also providing evidence for the need to expand that model.

Of central concern are also the practical, pedagogical issues arising from such a shift toward engaging foreign language learners (FLLs) with cultural narratives, not least of which is the need to clarify what exactly constitutes a cultural narrative. Building on the MLA report's assertion that cultural narratives "appear in every kind of expressive form" (p. 238), spanning genres and ranging from the linguistic to the visual to any other semiotic mode, I take cultural narratives to be the multiple (sometimes competing), conventionalized storylines that cultural groups produce and use to make sense of and attribute meaning to their shared experiences. These stories employ linguistic and other symbols to signal perspectives and meanings, and whether or not individual members of cultural groups accept particular narratives as reasonable or "true" accounts, they are available to group members for purposes of meaning-making through the semiotic tools they share, especially language.

While traditionally in the field of FLE the word "narrative" has evoked images of students reading and discussing canonical literary texts, narrative is pervasive in the social world and is consequently apparent in a broader spectrum of textual forms. Mishler (1995) reviews the many functions of narrative, including the individual's narrativization of experience (a psychological function leading us to speak of our "life stories") and also the distillation of shared experience into cultural narratives such as myths, folktales, histories, and more mundane texts (a decidedly social function). These cultural narratives are "frames for interpreting collective experiences, clarifying and resolving conflicts, and affirming moral values" (Mishler, p. 110). Teachers, then, might consider expanding their notions of "narrative" to include this spectrum of the social functions of stories and integrating a broader range of texts into instruction.

Deciding on a set of cultural narratives to take up in a FL class, selecting texts that evoke them, and representing the breadth of perspectives that co-exist in any culture, even when a specific domain has been delimited as the focus of instruction, are heavy burdens. Teachers must ask themselves which stories, or more precisely, whose stories, should be included in their instruction, provoking questions having to do with representation, representativeness and point of view. Furthermore, the precise and complex ways that linguistic forms are connected to cultural meanings and the ways they are deployed in context to achieve particular purposes pose other formidable challenges for teachers.

Perhaps most importantly, teachers might wonder how to help students gain access to cultural narratives, their symbols and meanings, and how to truly engage them in interpretation and analysis of cultural narratives and the generation of meaning around these. Reading and discussing texts in class and treating cultural narratives as objects of discussion is likely insufficient to encourage deep exploration, understanding or appreciation of others' experience, especially when students are often so physically, temporally, linguistically and psychologically removed from the experiences in question. To begin bridging the gap between FLLs and the people, experiences, and cultures that are often distant from them, historical narrative is a particularly productive avenue to explore (Kearney, 2010).

HISTORY AND NARRATIVE: EXPANDING LEARNERS' MEANING-MAKING REPERTOIRES

For some time theorists have advanced models of the role of culture in FLE (although, as Byram and Feng [2004] note empirical studies are relatively scant), and to some degree this has included the consideration of history as part of culture-in-language-teaching. Byram (1997), for example, counts knowledge of one's own and an other's history among the components that factor into his model of intercultural competence. However, he cautions, "[K]nowledge of the history of another country is through the stories from the history of one's own nation-state, and is consequently a different interpretation to the story told within the foreign country" (Byram, p. 36). Byram and Kramersch (2008) add that because of this anchoring in our native worldviews, "different views on history are not only difficult to grasp but, for many, impossible to accept" (p. 21). However challenging it may be for language teachers and learners alike to see beyond their own familiar cultural frames, recognizing the narrative dimensions of historical knowing and the centrality of point of view in interpreting historical accounts seem essential first steps toward transcultural understanding. Precisely because historical narratives (which I take simply to be a specific type of cultural narrative) are multiple and divergent across and within cultural groups, bringing history into FLE constitutes a rich engagement with culture as a resource for meaning-making. This engagement creates opportunities for the development of interpretive abilities and the active generation of meanings, for the accumulation of new knowledge about events and circumstances alongside a denaturalizing of more familiar versions of these, and for the shaping of a broad multilingual and intercultural critical literacy.

I consider historical narratives as one of the many social, cultural and symbolic resources that students might engage with in FLE that can broaden their meaning-making repertoires as they encounter, appropriate, and adapt for their own purposes a range of semiotic and symbolic tools connected with a new language (see also Byram, 1997; Kramersch, 2006; Palpacuer-Lee, 2010). The current movement to refocus our attention as a field on *meaning* in FLE (Byrnes, 2012; MLA Ad Hoc Committee, 2007) depends on a view of language as not only (or not primarily) referential, instrumental, transactional and utilitarian but as constitutive, integrative, symbolic, and transformative. This shift promotes a much more deeply semiotic orientation and marks a significant re-thinking of what we do in FL classrooms. In this vein, Kramersch (2006) advocates a move away from a more static and transactional concept of communicative competence toward symbolic competence: "Today it is not sufficient for learners to know how to communicate meanings; they have to understand the practice of meaning-making itself...They need a much more sophisticated competence in the manipulation of symbolic systems" (p. 251). Alongside interpretation and production of language- and culture-specific meanings, cultivation of symbolic competence implies students' need for critical literacy as they engage with cultural texts, narratives, and meanings.

Indeed, the ability to interpret, analyze, and act on the meanings embedded in texts is at the heart of theories of critical literacy, which "views readers as active participants in the reading process and invites them to move beyond passively accepting the text's message to question, examine, or dispute the power relations that exist between readers and authors" (McLaughlin & DeVoogd, 2004, p. 14). Synthesizing definitions from scholarship on critical literacy, Lewison, Flint and Van Sluys (2002) identify four recurring characteristics underpinning its development: "(1) disrupting the commonplace, (2) interrogating multiple

viewpoints, (3) focusing on sociopolitical issues, and (4) taking action and promoting social justice” (p. 382). These concepts align well with recent calls for approaches to FLE that focus on meaning, work that promotes FLE as a site for practicing critical pedagogy and advancing social justice (e.g. Reagan & Osborn, 2002), and efforts to effect curricular change that seeks to develop multiple literacies through FLE (e.g. Swaffar and Arens, 2005). Advocating a critical approach to instruction in FL classrooms, Crawford and McLaren (2003) insist that teachers focus on multivoicedness: “[C]ulture does not consist simply of isolated, bounded, and cohesive meaning systems, but rather reflects and is constitutive of a multiplicity of voices reflecting a whole array of conflicting and competing discourses” (p. 131). With a similar concern for multivoicedness, I contend and seek to substantiate through the analysis presented below that the development of critical literacy is deeply enmeshed with the notion of perspective.

Gaining perspectives means that students need knowledge (of symbols, linguistic and other) and skills (of identification, interpretation, and analysis) that allow them to recognize and examine perspectives expressed in the L2. Then, crucially, they also need to have opportunities to inhabit and explore these perspectives. I use the term *perspective-taking* to refer to a shift of point of view at various levels of language and meaning, through which FLLs can gain awareness of the existence of different meaning-making resources and become more adept in interpretation of language-, culture-, and context-specific meanings. Through perspective-taking, though, they can also generate meanings while leveraging the resources of a new languaculture (Agar 1994) and also forging meanings between semiotic systems (intercultural meanings).

Byram (2011) similarly views perspective as integral to the development of both translanguaging and transcultural competences. She likewise recognizes the conceptual load “perspective” can carry, since it can be examined at the level of linguistic form (e.g. deixis; lexical, grammatical, or syntactic choices) and in broader functional, contextual, metapragmatic, and symbolic terms. If language educators furnish opportunities for analysis of perspectives and for perspective-taking to pursue the cultivation of symbolic competence and critical literacy in their classrooms, “language learners should slowly understand that communicative competence does not derive from information alone, but from the symbolic power that comes with the interpretation of signs and their multiple relations to other signs” (Kramersch, 2006, p. 252) *and* from the ability to make one’s own meanings. Although, as Byrnes (2012) has recently remarked, supporting FLLs in expanding their store of meaning-making resources is essential, it is equally crucial for teachers, researchers, theorists, and students to recognize and make salient the choice FLLs have in deploying those resources.

In an approach to FLE that seeks to foster symbolic competence and critical literacy and to help FLLs harness the meaning-making potential of the language they are studying, the role of historical narrative is significant. Integrating socio-cultural historical texts and contexts into the FL classroom opens the door to a continuum of meanings:

In order to understand others, we have to understand what they remember from the past, what they imagine and project onto the future, and how they position themselves in the present. And we have to understand the same things of ourselves. (Kramersch, 2006, p. 251)

Seen this way, cultural and historical narratives are not only a window but also a mirror that facilitate reflection as well as possible transformation.

Historical narratives distill events and lived experience and ascribe meanings to happenings, people, and whole eras to create particular perspectives:

[H]istory is not “about” the past as such, but rather about our ways of creating meanings from the scattered and profoundly *meaningless* debris we find around us...there is no story *there* to be gotten straight; any story must arise from the act of contemplation. (Kellner 1989, p. 10)

It is the selective act that is a first step in transforming events into “history.” Wertsch (2001) elaborates that while one affordance of historical narratives is that they allow for events to be brought into an order, making them more easily remembered, a constraint, is that “any act of emplotment inherently limits one’s perspective and results in neglecting information that is available and might be included in another narrative account” (p. 515). Including some events and details but not others is, then, a re-membering that necessarily delimits in service of a particular point of view.

Which events and meanings are highlighted in a historical narrative depends largely on who is telling it and for what purpose. Quite often, the political interests and ideological agendas of dominant social groups are served by historical accounts. Mishler (1995) calls these “master narratives” and explains:

Their unexamined taken-for-granted assumptions about how the world is and ought to be conceal patterns of domination and submission. Like all narratives, these are selective representations, excluding experiences and views of some sectors of society while including and privileging others. Their legitimating function may be resisted and subverted by counternarratives reflecting these excluded perspectives. (p. 114)

Historical narratives derive their symbolic and real-world power from their function as morality tales and their taken-for-granted status. This naturalization occurs through the regularizing of a stock of stories, with their attendant settings, plotlines, character types, and conventionalized language, to such an extent that we take them to be reflections of objective reality, which is precisely why the integration of history in FLE can be so powerful. Learners, in their encounter with new takes on what they took to be “real” and “true”, are prompted not only to potentially revise their understandings of past events and periods in history but also to discover the relativity of meaning.

In introducing historical narratives into the FL classroom, examining both master narratives and counter-narratives that oppose them is vital to representing the diversity of perspectives in all cultural groups and to illuminating the tensions surrounding competing accounts of the meaning of things. Becoming familiar with the range of more or less plausible interpretations of cultural narratives that circulate in given cultures at various points in time, and from what social positions particular interpretations might be made, are also sensible goals. Overall, a meta-awareness about the motivated, ideological nature of historical accounts produced by cultural groups and the ways in which linguistic and other symbolic choices focalize lived experience and imbue it with particular meanings are also key to developing critical literacy in the FL classroom.

DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS

The analysis presented below is drawn from a larger study in which ethnographic and discourse-analytic methods were employed to (1) access participants' conceptions of the cultural dimensions of their French class and to (2) locate, describe, and analyze the actual classroom practices through which cultural teaching and learning were carried out in this particular setting. Here, I focus on presenting the environment in which processes of cultural learning were embedded and the ways in which these processes were achieved interactionally in classroom discourse.

The classroom under study was a section of a fifth-semester (and therefore elective) course at a large university in the northeastern U.S. Although the course is simply titled "Advanced French", it is intended to serve as a bridge course, preparing students for the purely content-based courses (generally in French literature) that they will encounter in subsequent semesters. The course takes up two thematic units during the semester, the first of which centers on French experiences of World War II. This unit, or "dossier" as the teachers call it, spans the first half of the course and includes a range of activities. A global simulation project (see Péron 2010 for a detailed description) serves as an anchor for the unit, such that students are first involved in building up their knowledge of events, important historical figures, and prevailing standpoints at various moments of the war and then use this information as the basis for authoring the first-person fictional memoirs of a character they invent.

Fourteen students were enrolled in the class during the semester my study took place. As is often the case in FL classrooms, students in this course had widely ranging backgrounds and competencies with the language and cultures they were studying. Students (all referred to by pseudonym) were for the most part American-born and -raised; however, there was one international student from a former Soviet country and two others who reported having been raised bi-culturally, with one American parent and one parent from another country. The instructor, Emilie (a pseudonym), was born and raised in France but claims an intercultural identity, as she married an American and she has lived and taught in the U.S. for many years.

Emilie explained in one of my interviews with her that several years prior to the study she realized that students in her class were going through an intellectual exercise and not engaging in a "human activity". In an attempt to prompt students to more deeply examine how individuals may have reacted to the war and to encourage students to "project themselves" into history Emilie abandoned her lecture-style format and introduced the "Mémoires de Guerre" global simulation project into the curriculum. She has since witnessed a qualitatively different engagement among students.

In examining the class' activity, I had several data sources at my disposal: fieldnotes based on observations of classroom activity during 27 total visits to the class over the course of the semester, video logs and transcripts of video-recordings of classroom interaction filmed during those visits, a collection of student work (especially the memoirs students produced), and transcripts from interviews with 10 individual students and two interviews with Emilie. I approached analysis of the data by first reading and thematically coding all fieldnotes, video logs, and interview transcripts.

Upon reading the fieldnotes I composed from the very first day of observation, an important analytic focus that would resurface many times over in the rest of the data became apparent. I wrote:

Emilie really gives [students] several ways to relate to the ‘content’ – through discussion of readings, through her own personal stories, and with the film clip. (Fieldnotes, September 11)

As I continued sifting through data, it became clear that these multiple entry points into perspectives on French experiences of WWII, were most often in narrative form. Because the acts of telling, reading, interpreting and producing stories were so clearly central to the functioning of this classroom, I narrowed my focus in analyzing the data set and began to re-read notes and transcripts with an eye toward identifying narratives. I identified both individual and cultural stories, which were often intertwined with each other. But I quickly realized that I needed to search not only for stories but also for what the class was *doing* with narratives. This proved a more dynamic analytical focus, reflecting that the teacher and her students were engaged in complex meaning-making practices surrounding narratives. I began to conceive of these meaning-making activities as *narrative practices*¹, including all of the activities in which the class engaged as they encountered, interpreted and generated meaning around cultural narratives.

Narrative practices, once I became aware of them, seemed to permeate virtually all elements of classroom activities—the teacher’s spontaneous and planned presentations, classroom discussions and analysis activities, and the students’ Mémoires projects. Having identified many instances of narrative practice, I performed close analysis of the classroom discourse segments during which these episodes unfolded and of students’ writing. This article focuses primarily on the classroom data in order to show the range of interactional patterns that permitted students to understand linguistic and cultural resources available in the L2 meaning-making system, interpret cultural narratives (sometimes from a critical stance), and engage in perspective-taking (an activity that was then further developed through the extended writing project). I conclude by laying out some of the challenges this analysis of perspective-taking and speaking through many voices raises for practice and theory while still emphasizing the utility and potential that narrative practices have for a meaning-oriented approach to FLE.

ESTABLISHING AN ENVIRONMENT FOR NARRATIVE PRACTICES

In an interview Emilie characterizes her goals for the course, saying:

my objectives are...related to metacognition, to knowing who they are, to learn who they are through the learning of a foreign language, precisely through the encounter with a culture that is different...it’s more to let them decode a world that isn’t theirs, that seems completely strange to them, that seems bizarre to them...so familiarizing them with that

¹ I draw support for this analytical concept of narrative practices mainly from linguistic anthropology, a discipline in which storytelling practices are viewed as culturally-shaped and culture-shaping participation structures that privilege certain narrative content, who is seen as a legitimate teller and/or recipient of a story, and sequential or formal structures. All of these conventions tend to produce or favor certain social identities, socialization processes, and other social phenomena (e.g. Ochs & Taylor, 2009).

world. It's...giving them the tools to decode...tools that will serve them in other situations

This statement makes clear that Emilie's goals transcend the specific content of her course and even the study of French and that these goals range from the language- and culture-specific to the intercultural. She explains her desire for students to better know themselves through their encounter with difference and to develop broad analytical skills, which more specifically, she refers to as decoding a cultural and historical context. While in FLE "code" very often refers to language as a formal system, here the notion is extended to cultural learning, where "code" includes symbols and their meanings, not just words, but turns of phrase, conventionalized storylines, and a whole universe of non-linguistic symbols (images, objects, sounds, etc.). Emilie considered it her role "to furnish [students] with a whole reference network" and to then scaffold their use of that network in interpreting and analyzing cultural texts. This pedagogical enterprise is mediated by a multitude of voices emanating from the texts but also from Emilie and her students, rendering the engagement with cultural narratives extremely complex and multilayered. This is a point to which I return in more detail in the next section.

To illustrate the kind of reference points that Emilie furnishes her students, Figure 1 displays the individual and cultural narratives that are apparent from the first day of my observation. (See below).


<p>The French on bikes seeing the sea for the first time, a story associated with the socialist Front populaire government of Léon Blum and the summer of 1936, which takes on new meaning during the war period. (A photograph from this time, also shown here, was included at the top of the students' weekly schedule.)</p>	
<p>The drôle de guerre narrative explains how the French gave a name to this phase of the war, having heard “funny” when encountering English accounts of the war, which characterized it as a “phony” war. In telling this story, Emilie asks students to “Imaginez que vous avez une oreille française.”</p>	
<p>The guerre éclair (lightening war) narrative, emphasizing intimidation tactics used by the German forces. Emilie asks students to “Imaginez que vous êtes la population française.”</p>	
<p>Story about Emilie’s grandfather, who, at the start of the war, came out of a stupor after a German bombing of his military unit’s camp, only to realize that he and another soldier were the only survivors.</p>	
<p>Discussion of various stories the students read for homework from a collection of memoirs written by those who experienced the war in France as children, called <i>Paroles d’Etoiles</i>. These excerpts centered on the experience of the mass exodus from Paris when German troops advanced toward the city.</p>	
<p>Another narrative related to the mass exodus in which Emilie asks students to “Imaginez que vous êtes en juin 1940...vous participez à l’exode...qu’est-ce que vous faites?” This is a story co-constructed with students. Emilie guides their responses with her questions and leads them to focus on what modes of transportation they used and what they brought with them.</p>	
<p>Story about Emilie’s grandmother, who left behind her farm at the start of the war. A joke about leaving behind all her animals but not her mother-in-law brings some levity to the story. (Linked briefly to another narrative, that of Claudine in <i>Paroles d’Etoiles</i>).</p>	
<p>A visual narrative in the form of a clip from the film <i>Jeux Interdits</i>, which portrays the mass exodus from Paris. Before showing the clip, Emilie says “Absorbez les images pour créer vos personnages, vous plonger dans l’époque.”</p>	

Figure 1: Narratives from Day 1 of Observation

In the 50-minute period, eight narratives become prominent in classroom interaction, and all but the first ten minutes of class, during which the students work in pairs to recall and clarify information about a series of dates, events, and terms listed on the board, revolve around these narratives.

The first three narratives surface as the class discusses the initial “Identifications” activity that centers on the social and political climate in France before the war and at the start of the war, and how the population reacted to the German invasion. Beyond simply discussing the

who, what, when and where of history, these “facts” are supplemented with stories of the effects these conditions and events might have had on particular people. In examining these stories, a movement between individual and broader cultural narratives becomes apparent. Of note in these narratives is their broad range. Additionally, we see the breadth of perspectives (e.g. Pétainiste, socialist, Jewish, resistant) that are examined in relation to particular narratives and the tracing of the development of cultural narratives over time.

At times, Emilie recounts the stories of individuals, like her grandparents, that connect to larger cultural narratives but that have their own unique trajectories and defining characteristics. At other moments, she evokes images that have meanings for particular social and cultural groups, like the first narrative listed in Figure 1. Emilie tells students, “You should think of summer 1936. French people will know what you are talking about” and advises them to “think the French on bikes,” giving a name to this narrative. She then asks who led the government when it created a week of paid vacation that allowed many French people to travel to the sea for the first time and to enjoy such leisurely activities as a bike ride and she asks why this figure was important. Students quickly name Léon Blum and said that he was important “because he is Jewish”. Through this exchange, Emilie and her students piece together a socialist storyline including Blum’s Front Populaire government and explore multiple re-significations that occurred early in the war. The pre-war socialist narrative of the “French on bikes” took on new meaning through the nostalgia felt by some segments of the French population for what they saw as the peace and happiness of pre-war times; yet, Emilie also leads the class to consider another possible re-signification in asking why Blum is important. Days later Emilie’s class delves more deeply into this alternate re-signification by Pétain and his followers at the start of the war, who emphasized that Blum (a Jew) and his socialist government were responsible for France’s military defeat and general decline. The socialist narrative is then re-visited in subsequent classes as Emilie and her students continue to study the Occupation and the role of socialists in the resistance movement.

Towards the end of class just before watching a clip from the film *Jeux Interdits* Emilie tells the students to “absorb the images” in order to form ideas for the stories they will write in the Mémoires project. This is important since it underscores the connections that Emilie hopes they make across large (cultural) and small (individual) stories. Her approach strongly encourages intertextuality as the class goes about making sense of representations of history, and there is continual movement between the many texts that students encounter in class activities and those they are asked to create. This weaving of narratives is not confined to those in the past, those of the French, or even to those about this particular war. The class’s activities ultimately link narratives about French experiences of WWII with students’ more familiar renditions of this historical period, with other cultural narratives about war from their own culture, with the students’ personal lives, and with larger existential questions having to do with social inequality, gray areas of morality, and inaction and silence in the face of injustice and persecution.

INTERPRETING CULTURAL NARRATIVES

Within the narrative-rich environment of Emilie’s classroom, several interactional patterns are common when interpreting cultural narratives. Excerpts in this section come from an activity in which the class analyzes the poster “Le don à la patrie” (Figure 2).

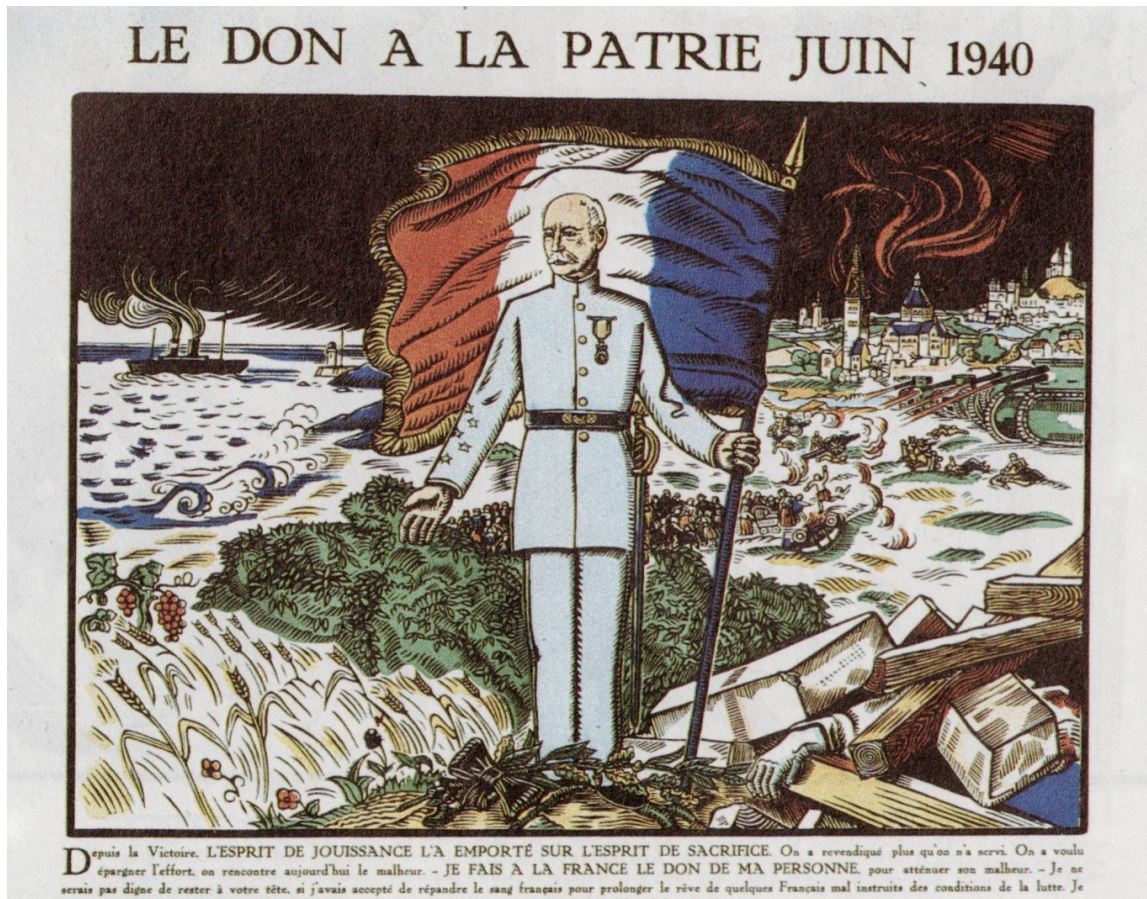


Figure 2: Poster entitled “Le don à la patrie” produced by the Vichy government in 1940

Prior to this activity the class had studied the establishment of the Vichy government and the major actors of this historical era, including political figures but also ordinary citizens of the French public. The day before Emilie played Charles de Gaulle’s speech made from London early in the war. The day of the poster analysis, the students first hear a speech given by Maréchal Philippe Pétain, in which he proclaims that he gives himself over to France (“Je fais à la France le don de ma personne”) to attenuate her suffering. Then they work in groups to compare Pétain and Charles de Gaulle, focusing on their physical and personality traits, as well as referencing speeches made by each man. Through these activities students have already begun to develop their knowledge of the context in which the poster was created and received, including many specific reference points and symbols, and they gain a preliminary understanding of Pétainiste and Gaulliste perspectives.

Highlighting Perspectives and a Critical Stance

While it is quite common for teachers to set the stage before beginning a new pedagogical activity, I argue that Emilie, especially at this early point in the semester, is also laying the groundwork for subsequent analyses of cultural representations, through her highlighting of perspectives and a critical stance. Analysis of the following segments of classroom talk show how Emilie’s modeling of perspective-taking and provision of

opportunities to interrogate the visual text function to support cultural learning and understanding, primarily by making students aware that representations make particular claims about the world. In my analysis I will demonstrate how Emilie highlights these perspectives and how students themselves then take up various perspectives.

Excerpt 1 reveals Emilie's moves to frame the class's analysis of the poster and of future texts. (Please see attached supplementary file to view a subtitled video clip of the interaction surrounding analysis of the poster).

Excerpt 1: Introducing the poster analysis activity.²

01 T: voilà alors maintenant ce que j'aimerais que vous fassiez c'est que nous
 02 analysions cet image-là parce que là ((pointing to screen)) on entre dans la
 03 propagande vichyste vous allez voir le maréchal Pétain à partir du moment
 04 où il devient le chef de l'Etat on ne parle plus de président on verra ça
 05 jeudi il va devenir le chef de l'Etat toute sa politique ((rolling motion with
 06 hands)) va être va être basée sur une propagande intense ((right forearm
 07 falls like an ax)) et ça ((gesturing toward the screen)) c'est un des premiers
 08 exemples de la propagande pétainiste ce que j'aimerais que vous fassiez
 09 c'est que vous identifiez les détails iconographiques ((tapping on board))
 10 et que vous les analysiez déjà donc au premier plan à l'arrière-plan à
 11 gauche à droite au centre ((gesturing to different parts of the image))
 12 d'accord? alors dites-moi on va déjà analyser l'arrière-plan qu'est-ce que
 13 ça représente l'arrière-plan? est-ce que vous voyez ça si je
 14 fais ça comme ça c'est bon oui peut-être mieux qu'est-ce
 15 qu'il y a à l'arrière-plan derrière le maréchal Pétain donc à droite
 16 ((sweeping hand across background of image))

Several observations may be drawn from this introduction. First, Emilie names the activity as analysis (lines 2) and gives explicit directions for how she would like the class to examine the poster (lines 8-15). However, she is also orienting students to what is involved more generally in the interpretation of any representation. Through repetition, voice quality, and gesture, Emilie highlights certain elements of the interpretive and analytic activity. Highlighting is defined by Goodwin (1994) as a practice “which makes specific phenomena in a complex perceptual field salient by marking them in some fashion” (p. 606). In lines 2-3, Emilie signals that the class will examine the ideological dimension of the representational practices of the Vichy government saying, “On entre dans la propagande vichyste.” With her subsequent repetitions of the word “propagande” and her verbal and gestural emphasis on certain words (like “toute sa politique” and “intense”), Emilie communicates that the representation that they will analyze makes its own claims concerning reality and that it is motivated by political goals. Emilie also implies that representations in general promote particular realities. However, Emilie appears not only to be speaking as a teacher instructing her students on how to approach analysis of an image; her choice to use and to highlight the word “propagande” and to refer to Pétain's government as a “régime” may reveal her own voice as a private person.

Emilie says in line 9 that she would like students to identify and analyze the iconographic details of the image. By calling the details “iconographic,” she suggests to the class that

² See Appendix A for a translation of all data excerpts and Appendix B for transcription conventions.

particular perspectives on reality are indexed through the choice of certain icons and symbols. Emilie's own choice of words to refer to Pétain's government and the texts it produced makes this clear; but, the class also engages in identifying the visual and linguistic resources that underpin the Pétainiste cultural narrative of the poster text. Emilie makes salient the need to identify perspectives in viewing images and will extensively model how students might engage in perspective-taking in the remainder of the interaction.

Emilie, in the first minutes of the activity, references a discourse of ideological meaning and orients students to this discourse, but she also explains how she expects students to carry out their own analysis of this particular image. After directing students to root their analysis in the identification of iconographic details, Emilie then asks them, in lines 12-16, to focus first on one area of the image - the background. This move signals to students that analyzing various areas of the image is also meaningful. Emilie further emphasizes the composition of the poster by providing the terms for referring to these areas of the image (lines 10-11) and by having written these spatially-orienting expressions on the blackboard before class began (Figure 3).

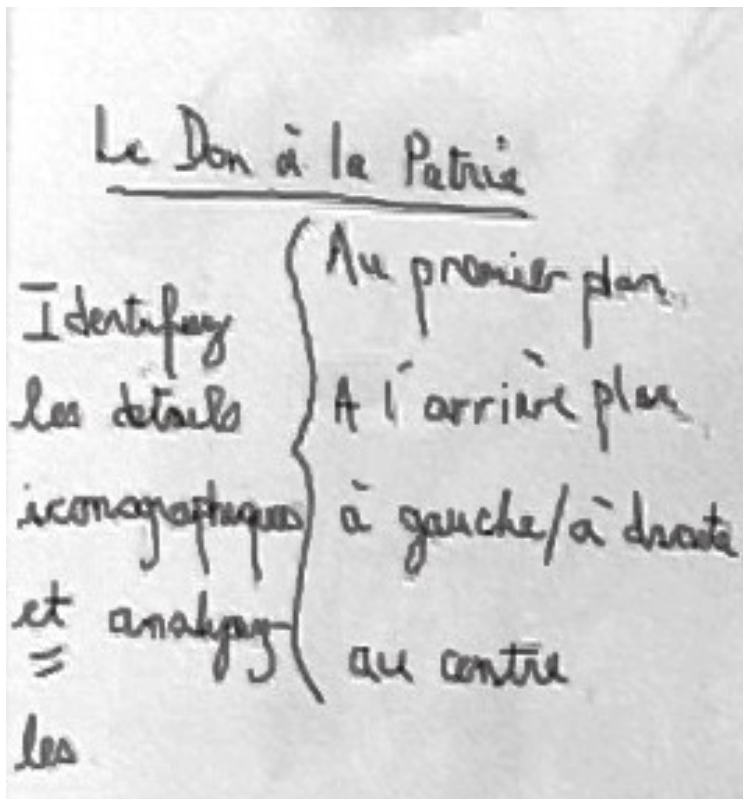


Figure 3: Writing on blackboard

It is notable that Emilie had also underlined “et” twice, as if to encourage students not to stop once symbols were identified but to continue interpreting these details.

Students' First Attempts at Analysis

Shortly after Emilie gives directions for the exercise, evidence emerges that students are in fact taking up the analytical and interpretive stance that Emilie has highlighted.

Furthermore, they begin to demonstrate awareness of the perspective implicit in the poster by formulating interpretations that pick up on its decidedly non-neutral messages.

When students begin analyzing the poster, their responses to Emilie's questions are quite minimal, consisting of just a few words describing what they see in the background portion of the image. After two students offer brief remarks about what they see, a third student offers a lengthier commentary (lines 20-24), providing some indication of the ways in which students are taking up the stance Emilie highlighted in her introduction to the activity. In Excerpt 2, S3 begins to construct an analysis, offering her interpretation of the use of color in the poster, that Emilie then completes.

Excerpt 2: Use of color in the poster.

- 20 S3 : la couleur de um le ciel derrière um Pétain c'est uh très noir et um
 21 maréchal Pétain c'est um très clair c'est blanche et um les couleurs de le
 22 um de le (2.2) de uh je ne sais pas le scène
 23 T : mm-hm
 24 S3 : avant uh Pétain c'est très clair
 25 T : ouais vous avez tout un un contraste clair obscur et ce qui est obscur est
 26 derrière (1.8) d'accord c'est (0.6) donc physiquement c'est derrière ça veut
 27 dire c'est derrière moi c'est de l'histoire (0.4) la ruine de la France c'est
 28 derrière moi moi je suis nous allons devant nous allons vers le futur donc

Beginning in line 20, S3 gives a more detailed description of the poster, commenting on the colors she sees and where they are concentrated in the image. Her remarks do not respond directly to Emilie's question (lines 12-13) concerning only the background of the image. Instead, S3 initiates a different analysis, taking up an analytical stance regarding the use of color and what claims about the war it might represent. In her analysis, S3 sets up a contrast between what is behind Pétain and what is in front of him but she never quite articulates what message the government as the producer of the representation might have intended through these choices. This is an indication that S3 is in fact attempting to interpret the intended meanings of this representation, even if she lacks the facility with French to do so precisely, completely, or independently. Emilie's recasting of S3's analysis in more fluent linguistic and analytical terms (lines 25-28), however, suggests that the beginnings of her analysis made sense to Emilie.³

Another student takes up an analytical stance toward the interpretation of the poster shortly after S3's remarks but goes a step further to adopt a critical stance. This display unfolds when S1 raises her hand to ask the first student-initiated question of the interaction.

Excerpt 3: Seeking information for analysis.

- 40 S1 : quand est-ce que cette portrait c'est est fait parce que c'est est-ce que ça
 41 est fait um depuis le um uh le (annonce) de de Gaulle
 42 T : oui en fait c'était fait juste après juste après son discours du 17 juin donc
 43 vers soit 17 18
 44 S1 : so ça peut être un un réaction contre de Gaulle ((pronounced strangely))
 45 peut-être

³ Of note in this segment are Emilie's supportive moves in responding to the student's analysis. Teachers can, and will likely need to, simultaneously scaffold their students' interpretations of cultural narratives in terms of form and meaning.

- 46 T : mm-hm ah oui là vraiment c'est un message direct (2.0) d'accord c'est
 47 bon ? maintenant devant au premier plan qu'est-ce qu'il y a

Up until line 40, only Emilie has asked questions. S1, however, initiates a digression from Emilie's questioning and modeling sequence (described in more detail below) in order to formulate her own analysis of the meaning of the representation. When Emilie provides the information in lines 42-43 that S1 has asked for, the student then suggests that the poster was potentially a reaction to de Gaulle's speech in June 1940, a text that the class had heard the day before. When De Gaulle is mentioned in line 38, as the class discusses the boat that is located in the upper left hand corner of the image, S1 is perhaps prompted to consider not only what the boat represented figuratively, but also the ideological message that was transmitted by including such a symbol.

In contrast to S3 in Excerpt 2, S1 considers not only the meaning of the representation to those who produced it, but also to those who might see it. Emilie emphatically confirms the student's analysis in line 46 and then continues guiding the discussion by bringing the students' attention to the foreground of the image. S1's contribution, however, serves to demonstrate that students took up the general interpretive and analytical stance that Emilie modeled in addition to the critical stance she highlighted in her introductory remarks. Specifically, S1 seeks information pertaining to the intent and the motivation behind the representation in order to examine the text from more than one point of view. So in addition to interpreting the poster as Pétain's offer of peace and re-found prosperity (as is apparent in Excerpt 2), S1 proposes that it may have been read by some as a shot at De Gaulle and his followers. In essence, S1 asks for information that will allow her to more fully interpret the image and to entertain alternative cultural narratives. In so doing, she demonstrates some degree of cultural literacy.

The examples presented above illustrate several aspects of the development of meta-awareness among students. First, in her introduction to the poster analysis activity Emilie highlighted a critical stance through her talk and gesture, ostensibly to orient students to the idea that all representations make particular claims about reality. Second, students show evidence of taking up interpretive and critical stances as they attempt to interpret the meanings behind the representation they encountered. At this early point in the semester, their interpretations are not linguistically well-formed in many cases, but students are clearly attempting to make sense of the representation and analyze it for its potential intended meanings from both productive and receptive standpoints. Finally, there is some concrete evidence during the poster analysis activity that students are beginning to see how cultural texts enter into dialogue and how their meanings resonate with each other.

Interpreting Levels of Meaning

The development of a critical stance laid the groundwork for the more complex delving into meanings that is also part of cultural learning for this class. One of the interactional characteristics of the class' analysis of the poster is a pattern of modeling that recurs for the entirety of the activity. Emilie guides the discussion and uses questions to encourage students to follow a particular procedure for interpreting the layers of meaning that constructed the stories behind the image. Excerpt 4 includes two examples of this modeling.

Excerpt 4: Literally, figuratively, and ideologically speaking.

- 28 T : moi moi je suis ((stepping forward)) nous allons devant ((gesturing with
 29 both arms forward and above her head)) nous allons vers le futur donc là à
 30 droite c'est la nuit ((pointing to the screen)) concrètement c'est quelle
 31 période de la guerre ça (0.8) avec les tanks (1.6) ((pointing to tanks))
 32 Ss : la guerre éclair
 33 T : là c'est la guerre éclair d'accord évocation vraiment très évidente de la
 34 guerre éclair ça ((pointing to screen)) c'est quoi ça représente quoi (1.6) le
 35 bateau pourquoi il y a un bateau (2.0) oui ((student's name))
 36 S4 : les officiers qui ont fui pour l'Angleterre Angleterre
 37 T : exactement (1.2) là ((pointing to boat)) ça c'est la débâcle militaire (1.0)
 38 les traîtres (1.2) qui ont pris le bateau qui ont traversé la Manche (depuis)
 39 là et qui sont partis ((gestures to the side with both hands)) en Angleterre
 40 comme le général de Gaulle (1.2) d'accord donc ça ((points behind body
 41 with thumbs over her shoulders)) ce qui est derrière c'est l'humiliation
 42 c'est la honte c'est la trahison oui

In Excerpt 4 Emilie enacts a modeling sequence that will then repeat over and over throughout the rest of the interaction and in other similar analysis activities. By asking what “night” being represented “concretely” might mean (line 30) and then asking why there is a “boat” in the image (lines 34-5), Emilie models a move from interpretation of literal to figurative meaning. Several students respond that night in the image represents the “lightening war” (line 32) during which the French army was rapidly and overwhelmingly defeated by advancing German forces and another that the boat symbolizes those French officers who fled to England (line 36). Emilie’s expansion of this student response (lines 37-41) begins to model a new dimension of analysis that highlights ideological meaning.

Re-Positioning and Accessing Ideological Meanings

Learning to interpret from different vantage points and accessing other perspectives is achieved in Emilie’s approach partially through immersion in various narratives, but as Excerpts 4-7 illustrate, making salient the wide range of positions that can be taken up in relation to events and experience is facilitated by Emilie making various interactional moves in order to re-position students, shift points of reference, and focus on ideological meanings.

In Excerpt 4, for example Emilie re-positions students as the French public (lines 36-39) in order to support understanding of ideological meaning. She achieves this through voicing, or the adoption of a new point of reference from which to speak, the inhabiting of “linguistically constructed personae” (Duranti, 1997, p. 75, interpreting Bakhtin, 1981). This technique is used to help students to gain access to the story the image might have conveyed in its original context of reception by creating a scenario in which they can imagine a new perspective. Shifts in voice, then, create particular figures or identities, in this case the imagined French public living during WWII and Maréchal Pétain. Whereas earlier portions of the class’s discussion (like lines 20-26, for example), contain pronoun use that establishes the speaking subjects’ voices as a teacher and students who are analyzing a poster (e.g. “the colors of um of the...the uh I don’t know the scene” and “yeah you have a a whole light-dark contrast”), shifts in voice are apparent in lines 28-29 (“me me I’m going forward we’re going toward the future”) and then again in lines 37-39 (“the traitors who took the

boat...who left to England”). Emilie uses “je” and “moi” in order to speak as Pétain (lines 28-29) and gestures with her arms and hands, waving in front of and behind herself, further embodying Pétain. In the same utterance, Emilie positions the students as members of the French public living during WWII by using the inclusive pronoun “nous”. In line 37, Emilie uses the word “traîtres” to refer to those who fled France after the military debacle. The connotation of the word “traitor”, along with the disapproving tone that Emilie adopts to pronounce it, reflect a decidedly Pétainiste position and serve to extend her adoption of Pétain’s voice. These linguistic and gestural moves, taken together, transport the analysis from an interpretation of literal and figurative meanings to more ideological meanings, and serve to animate a new voice in the discussion - that of Pétain - while simultaneously creating other imagined social positions (the French public at the time of the war) that his voice is addressing.

Moreover, the image, at this point in the activity, has served as the basis for an interaction in which the participants are no longer simply students and teacher analyzing a historical document; they are positioned as projected and imagined subjects. In encouraging students to shift their point of reference, by shifting her own, the ideological nature of the image has been more profoundly revealed, and its dynamic and interactional potential as a resource for meaning-making is harnessed.

After prompting students to identify what is represented in the background portions of the image, Emilie makes the summative remark, in lines 38-39, that what is featured literally and concretely behind the figure of Pétain symbolically represents “humiliation,” “shame” and “treason” from the point of view of the Vichy government. In this way she explicitly highlights the ideological meaning of the image and one of the main points of this cultural narrative, in case the message had not come through as a result of Emilie’s voicing and re-positioning moves.

A final excerpt from the class’s analysis of the poster illustrates another interactional move that facilitates a shift in voice and consequently in reference point.

Excerpt 5: Ventriloquation and an impassioned address.

- 85 T : quoi d’autre (3.0) à qui il vous fait penser (2.0) et souvenez-vous ça
 86 s’appelle le don à la patrie je fais à la France le don de ma personne pour
 87 atténuer son malheur ((mimicking Pétain’s monotone voice
 88 quality)) oui ((student’s name))
 89 S10 : je pense uh il a un image du Christ pour le sacrifice uh pour les gens
 90 français pour l’arrêt à la souffrir
 91 T : voilà et là on va arriver dans toute une rhétorique (0.8) la rhétorique ens-
 92 de du régime de Vichy où (0.8) finalement on va faire des allusions très
 93 uh fin des on on va faire des analogies chrétiennes comme ça le maréchal
 94 Pétain c’est une figure christique le maréchal Pétain comme Jésus Christ
 95 s’est sacrifié pour la population française c’est un père qui se sacrifie
 96 pour ses enfants il est là pour vous ne vous inquiétez pas il est votre
 97 sauveur il va sauver la France il va vous sauver (1.8) et regardez comme il
 98 est protecteur regardez ses bras regardez ses mains la main du père qui est
 99 là et il est fier donc vous Français n’avez pas peur ne soyez pas
 100 découragés soyez fiers d’être Français car nous avons un glorieux avenir
 101 devant nous comme le glorieux av- le glorieux passé que je vous ai donné
 102 (à l’ère de) la première guerre mondiale ne vous inquiétez pas je suis là

103 pour vous sauver et là vous allez avoir l'incursion de l'église catholique
 104 (1.0) qui va revenir sur le devant de la scène l'église catholique va être au
 105 centre de la politique de du maréchal Pétain qui va utiliser toutes les
 106 métaphores possibles et imaginables (1.2) d'accord ? c'est bon est-ce que
 107 ça va ? est-ce que c'est clair ? vous comprenez maintenant l'affiche ? ça
 108 va ? alors maintenant je vais vous demander attention les yeux j'allume
 109 on est en 1940

In line 85 Emilie asks whom the students think of when they view this image of Pétain. In lines 86-87, as she gives hints about the answer she expects, there is evidence of a true ventriloquation (Bakhtin, 1981) of Pétain's voice by the teacher. She recites a direct quote from a speech the class has previously heard and read. In taking on Pétain's voice, Emilie's tone is somewhat exaggerated, perhaps to stress Pétain's age and monotone voice. She also stresses the word "don," possibly to help students recall the speech they had previously heard and read, since it shares this term with the title of the poster. A student responds (lines 89-90) to Emilie's question (line 85) immediately, having easily recognized that Pétain's image in this poster mimics Christ's position on the cross. The class was already aware that the National Revolution that was undertaken by the Vichy government reserved a privileged position for the church, so here again, students draw on their previous study of the historical context and familiarity with other related texts in order to interpret details of a cultural narrative. While linguistically imperfect, the student's interpretation of the meaning of the representation (lines 89-90) is successful, even if arriving at this interpretation was perhaps obvious given Emilie's strong hints.

Emilie, in this last expansion of a student's analysis, performs the most elaborate shifts in point of reference of the whole interaction, continuing her animation of and commentary on a Pétainiste perspective. From lines 91-96, she speaks as a teacher guiding an analysis of the poster. She then rapidly alternates between a third-person description of the image that nonetheless positions students as the French public (e.g. "il est là pour vous," line 96) and a first-person use of Pétain's voice (e.g. "ne vous inquiétez pas je suis là pour vous sauver," lines 102-103), ultimately using direct address to speak to the class as if they were the French public ("vous Français n'ayez pas peur," line 99). In lines 99-103 Emilie adopts a particularly impassioned tone as she speaks in Pétain's voice to emphasize and communicate the ideological message embedded in the representation (namely that those listening should not be scared or discouraged, but rather proud to be French because a glorious future awaits, just like the glorious past that Pétain gave the nation as a military leader in the First World War). Emilie then returns to her teacher voice in line 103 in order to make a few more comments about the role of the Catholic church under the Vichy government and the ways that features of the Christian story figured prominently in the Vichy government's own narrative as a conclusion to the activity in lines 106-109. Throughout the second half of the interaction, there is more extended modeling of the move from interpretation of literal to figurative to ideological meaning, students make more elaborate contributions to the analysis, evidencing perhaps some uptake of the model Emilie is presenting for interpretive analysis, and there is more elaborate and more frequently alternating use of voicing as Emilie encourages students to view the representation through different eyes.

The several examples of shifting point of reference, as it is achieved through voicing, gesture, grammar, and positioning, presented above appear over and over again in classroom interactions. On nearly a daily basis, Emilie addresses her students as various segments of

the French population or as particular kinds of individuals living through the war and she effectively brings history to life in the classroom. These shifts in points of reference have several functions that are significant for culture learning. They provide access to unfamiliar perspectives and narratives. When Emilie spoke as Pétain, for example, students may have grasped more easily his position during the war as well as how he may have been interpreted by others. Similarly, Emilie's re-positioning of students as various social and historical actors during the analysis of historical representations provides direction to their interpretation of the cultural narratives underlying those texts. These interactions may have also opened spaces from which students could gain perspective on both their familiar frame of reference and on an unfamiliar one. While there is no direct evidence of this in the excerpts cited in this section, interviews and the students' writing for the global simulation project support this claim.

CHALLENGES OF PERSPECTIVE-TAKING AND COMPLEXITY IN MULTIVOICEDNESS

Emilie's class resounds with individual and cultural voices for the duration of their study of French experiences of WWII. Embracing and examining this complex polyphony seems central to fostering a deeper engagement with culture in FLE; however, with the introduction of many voices, there are likely to be challenges that arise for students and teachers.

Inviting exploration of voices and perspectives in the FL classroom places students in a potentially uncomfortable position. In this course content is particularly sensitive at times and certain perspectives are almost unbearable to face or discuss. It is possible, and in fact likely, in engaging the cultural narratives surrounding any historical era that some students will be reluctant to entertain some perspectives, and perhaps reticent to take on new voices in the way Emilie advocates in her class and requires through the *Mémoires* writing project. One student in Emilie's class told me in an interview that at the start of the writing project she harbored serious reservations about the activity, although ultimately she was able to appreciate the act of perspective-taking:

at least semi-realistically [you] could ask how you would have acted in the situation and might feel rather than just reading about the people who were affected and then saying 'oh my goodness they must have felt such and such a thing' you had to try as best you could to sort of stick yourself in that situation which was very hard to I mean I was worried that if somebody who actually went through this read this they would be like 'this is absurd' because like I have no idea (Interview, Brina)

Even in Brina's expressed concerns with the writing project there is no sign of disengagement; to the contrary, her worries arise out of fear that she won't do justice to the stories of those who lived in this era. Her own struggle seems to have ultimately placed her in exactly the right affective and experiential place to deeply engage with the perspective-taking process, but this may not occur for all students.

Beyond the uneasiness that may come with adopting another's voice, how one's own personal voice and perspectives figure in cultural learning is an equally complex issue for students and teachers alike. Students may feel that their voices as private citizens should not play a role in the FL classroom and they can perhaps avoid expressing their personal

perspectives. However, the teacher, especially if she is a native speaker of the language being learned, can become in the eyes of students an embodiment of *the* definitive perspective on the FL culture. Despite Emilie's attempts to avoid being seen as the authoritative voice on French culture and French perspectives on WWII and all of her work to populate the course with the voices of so many others, students on occasion would still mention to me that she was "so French" or that the views she expresses or animates in class are "French" ones.

One student, Susan, told me that Emilie's remarks during the poster analysis were clearly her own commentary and not something she had read in a book and simply passed along to her students, and that the guided poster analysis was emblematic of French thinking because for the French, "that's how you analyze things and that's how you extract meaning from them". Even in an activity in which Emilie is so clearly attempting to bring to life others' voices in certain cultural narratives, at least one student interprets it as representative of Emilie's own analytical views or as an example of "the French way" of analysis that Emilie is enacting because she is natively French. This example should serve to illustrate that sorting out which voices are individual and which voices are cultural, or which are those of the teacher-as-teacher, which are those of the teacher-as-private person (with all of the multiplicity that that suggests), and which are those of the teacher animating another's voice is not at all straightforward.

The reverse situation in which a FL teacher is not a native speaker may pose its own challenges in terms of how her voice is perceived by students. Students may view a non-native teacher as a decidedly non-authoritative cultural voice, and teachers themselves may doubt their ability to carry off one or multiple cultural voices in their teaching. Whether a teacher is native or non-native seems less the central issue when it comes to teaching culture than the ways in which students interpret the voice of the teacher as authoritative or not and how knowledgeable teachers really are about cultural narratives, native or not. All FL teachers should also be acquainted with the cultural narratives that circulate in the cultures of their students, which may also require some research and education. In the case of this class, Emilie is aware of prevailing storylines in American culture regarding WWII and regarding the French in WWII, and this supports her ability to work with her mostly American students.

Regardless of whether or not these cultural narratives figure prominently in a teacher's own enculturation or what she has to do to gain more knowledge about them, all teachers will face the challenge of convincingly animating the voices associated with these stories while balancing the historical with the students' and teacher's present context in a FL classroom in the U.S. because they all bring their own experiences, histories and perspectives to the enterprise. For all involved in the FL classroom, the intermingling of student and teacher voices with those of private persons, those who lived through the focal historical events (real and imagined, notable figures and ordinary citizens), and those of the typified voices in cultural narratives is deeply complex but also, as a result, a nexus with enormous potential.

The instructional environment Emilie creates reveals several interactional processes that allow the class to use a particular image and other kinds of texts bearing narratives as vehicles for perspective-taking, development of critical literacy, and ultimately cultural learning. As is the case in Emilie's pedagogical approach, selection and consistent introduction of compelling narrative texts spanning a wide spectrum of formats is essential to a productive engagement with interpretation of cultural narratives. While more fact-driven texts about history have a role to play in FLE, texts that are narrative in form or that are

analyzed with attention to the cultural narratives that underpin them seem to facilitate a deeper process of sense-making for students as they interact with them.

In future work, it will be essential for researchers to continue identifying the ways in which FL teachers can plan for the cultural dimensions of their practice and successfully shape classroom discourse and interaction so that students achieve deeper understandings of the meanings of cultural narratives and the multivoicedness of cultures. Researchers will also have to document the ways that students can begin to more fully inhabit other perspectives, to speak through unfamiliar voices, and to view the world through culturally different eyes. That is, the ways that learners engage in even more active production of meaning around cultural narratives is a next step in theory, research, and practice. An essential focus in this future work must be to demonstrate precisely how, as Kramsch (1995) claims, FLLs are not “deficient monoglossic enunciators” but rather “potentially heteroglossic narrators” (p. 90), in order to underscore the truly transformative potential of FLE and for developing cultural learning. Such analyses will complement and extend the meaning-making and perspective-taking practices that have been outlined in this article, and further develop the MLA’s model of learning through engagement with cultural narratives.

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APPENDIX A: TRANSLATION OF DATA EXCERPTS

Excerpt 1: Introducing the poster analysis activity

01 T: there so now what I would like you to do is that we
 02 analyze this image because here ((pointing to the screen)) we enter into
 03 Vichy propaganda you are going to see maréchal Pétain from the moment
 04 where he becomes the head of State we no longer speak of a president we
 05 will see that on Thursday he is going to become the head of State his
 06 whole politics ((rolling motion with hands)) are going to be are going to
 07 be based on an intense ((right arm falls like an ax)) propaganda and that
 08 ((gesturing toward the screen)) that is one of the first examples of Petaïnist
 09 propaganda what I would like you to do is that you identify the
 10 iconographic details (tapping on board) and that you analyze them so
 11 already in the foreground in the background to the left to the right at the
 12 center ((gesturing to different parts of the image)) ok? so tell me we are
 13 already going to analyze the background what does that represent the
 14 background? can you see it if I do that like that it's good yes maybe better
 15 what is there in the background behind maréchal Pétain then on the right
 16 ((sweeping hand across background of image))

Excerpt 2: Use of color in the poster

20 S3: the color of um the sky behind um Pétain it is uh very dark and um
 21 maréchal Pétain it is um very light it's white and um the colors of the um
 22 of the (2.2) of um I don't know the scene
 23 T: mm-hm
 24 S3: before uh Pétain it is very light
 25 T: yeah you have a a whole light-dark contrast and what is dark is
 26 behind (1.8) ok it is (0.6) so physically it is behind that means
 27 it is behind me it is history (0.4) the ruin of France is behind
 28 me me I am we are moving forward we are going toward the future so

Excerpt 3: Seeking information for analysis

40 S1: when was this portrait it is made because it is is that made um since the
 41 um uh the (announcement) of de Gaulle
 42 T: yes in fact it was made just after his speech of the 17th of June so around
 43 the 17th 18th
 44 S1: so it can be a a reaction against de Gaulle ((pronounced strangely))
 45 maybe
 46 T: mm-hm ah yes there really it was a direct message (2.0) ok is
 47 that good? now in front in the foreground what is there

Excerpt 4: Literally, figuratively, and ideologically speaking

28 T: me me I am (stepping forward) we are moving ahead ((gesturing with
 29 both arms forward and above her head)) we are going toward the future
 30 so there on the right it is night ((pointing to the screen)) concretely it is
 31 which period of the war that (0.8) with the tanks (1.6) ((pointing to tanks))
 32 Ss: the lightening war

33 T : there it's the lightening war ok a really obvious evocation of the
 34 lightening war that ((pointing to screen)) what is that that represents what
 35 (1.6) the boat why is there a boat (2.0) yes ((student's name))
 36 S4 : the officers who fled for England England
 37 T : exactly (1.2) there ((pointing to boat)) that it is the military debacle (1.0)
 38 the traitors (1.2) who took the boat who crossed the English channel (from)
 39 there and who left ((gestures to the side with both hands)) to England
 40 like General de Gaulle (1.2) ok so that ((points behind body
 41 with thumbs over her shoulders)) what is behind it is humiliation
 42 it is shame it is treason yes

Excerpt 5: Ventriloquation and an Impassioned Address

85 T : what else (3.0) who does he make you think of (2.0) and remember it's
 86 called the gift to the homeland I make to France the gift of my person in
 87 order to diminish her misfortune ((mimicking Pétain's monotone voice
 88 quality)) yes ((student's name))
 89 S10 : I think uh he has an image of Christ for the sacrifice uh for the French
 90 people for the stop to the suffer
 91 T : there it is and there we are going to arrive at a whole rhetoric (0.8) the
 92 rhetoric of of the Vichy regime where (0.8) finally we⁴ are going to make
 93 allusions very uh well we we are going to make Christian analogies like
 94 that maréchal Pétain is a Christ-like figure maréchal Pétain like Jesus
 95 Christ sacrificed himself for the French population he's a father who
 96 sacrifices for his children he is there for you don't worry he is your
 97 savior he is going to save France he is going to save you (1.8) and look at
 98 how much of a protector he is look at his arms look at his hands the hand
 99 of the father who is there and he is proud so you French people don't be
 100 scared don't be discouraged be proud to be French because we have a
 101 glorious future ahead of us like the glorious fu- the glorious past that I
 102 gave you (during the era of) the first world war don't worry I am there to
 103 save you and there you are going to have the incursion of the Catholic
 104 church (1.0) that is going to come back on the scene the Catholic church
 105 is going to be at the center of maréchal Pétain's politics who is going to
 106 use all possible and imaginable metaphors (1.2) ok? is that good is that
 107 ok? is it clear? do you understand the poster now? it's ok?
 108 so now I am going to ask you watch your eyes I'm turning on the light we
 109 are in 1940

⁴ The use of the pronoun "on" here is not easily translated. While it has been translated as "we," it is not functioning in the same kind of inclusive way as "on" is used, for example, in other excerpts where the teacher is clearly positioning students and herself as members of the French public. In line 92, "on" appears to refer more to members of the Vichy regime or could be translated more accurately as a passive construction in English as in "Allusions are going to be made" implying that the Vichy regime would make them.

APPENDIX B: TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS

Transcription conventions are adapted from Jeffersen (2004).

T=teacher

S=student

Ss = more than one student

(0.0) = pausing as measured in seconds

(unintelligible) = unintelligible or researcher doubt

((double parentheses)) = researcher's notes, usually on gesture or other paralinguistic features of interaction

? = rising intonation

underlining = speaker's stress

[bracket = overlapping speech