Navigating Native-Speaker Ideologies as FSL Teacher

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Abstract: Although a well-established domain of research in English language teaching, native-speaker ideologies have received little attention in French language education. This article reports on a study that examined the salience of "authentic French" in the identity construction of French as a second language (FSL) teachers in English-speaking Canada. Adopting a discursive-constructionist approach, the qualitative multiple case study analyzed FSL teachers' discursive representations of their experiences while on professional development in France. Findings point to FSL teachers' continuing orientation to a native-speaker ideal and its significant impact on their professional self-conceptions. The discussion focuses on how non-francophone teachers in particular negotiate a legitimate identity as FSL teachers through various discursive processes. Implications of the study foreground identity as a key factor in how teachers learn and practise their profession and remind us that non–native-speaker teachers must be given opportunities to develop alternative ideas about what it means to be a competent language teacher.

Keywords: authenticity, FSL teacher identity, non–native-speaker teachers, study abroad

Résumé : Bien que la recherche sur la problématique du locuteur natif soit abondante dans la didactique de l'anglais langue seconde, ce sujet a reçu à ce jour peu d'attention en français. La présente étude examine la notion de « français authentique » dans la construction identitaire des enseignants de français langue seconde (FLS) en contexte canadien anglophone. Cette étude de cas est située dans une perspective discursive constructionniste, afin d'analyser les représentations discursives fournies par des enseignants décrivant l'expérience qu'ils ont vécue lors d'un stage de formation en France. Les résultats montrent que les enseignants de FLS s'évaluent par rapport à la norme idéale du locuteur natif et que cette orientation détermine leur perception de soi sur le plan professionnel. La discussion se concentre sur les participants non francophones et leur façon de se construire une identité professionnelle légitime. Les observations mettent en lumière l'identité professionnelle en tant que composante essentielle de la formation des enseignants de langue seconde, tout en soulignant la nécessité d'une conception alternative de ce que signifie être enseignant de français au Canada

Mots clés : authenticité, enseignants de FLS : construction identitaire, locuteurs non natifs, formation à l'étranger

"The best way to learn French is to live it!" is a common refrain in French as a second language (FSL) education and is frequently heard not only among those learning the language but also from those teaching it. The notion of "natural" language acquisition (Krashen, 1982) has long been a focus of communicative language teaching, with its emphasis on offering learners "real-world" experiences through authentic language use in the second language (L2) classroom (van Lier, 1996; Widdowson, 1998). For teachers, authenticity in L2 teaching is typically understood with reference to a native-speaker (NS) norm (Train, 2000) and the need to demonstrate native-like fluency as the optimal model for students (Ricento, 2005). Most importantly, as will be argued here, the idea of "being real" in French speaks to the impact that the native-speaker standard continues to have on FSL teachers' professional identities, especially for so-called non–native-speaker (NNS)[1] teachers who are language learners themselves – an identity that can conflict with normative assumptions of language teachers.

The refrain cited above was offered, in this case, by a French language teacher from Western Canada who participated in a two-week professional-development sojourn to France with other FSL teachers. The cohort included over 80 francophone and non-francophone FSL teachers from British Columbia (BC), representing French immersion, core French, and intensive French programs at both the elementary and secondary levels. The sojourn, focused primarily on an introduction to the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR) (Wernicke & Bournot-Trites, 2011), was seen by many of these teachers as a unique and much-needed opportunity to experience French language and culture as they are "lived" in France. Although study abroad research comprises a broad range of inquiry into additional language learning (Freed, 1995; Kinginger, 2009), few studies have specifically addressed L2 teachers studying abroad for purposes of professional development. In light of this, the BC teachers' sojourn provided a valuable opportunity not only to contribute to study abroad research specific to teachers but also to focus in particular on the notion of authenticity associated with study abroad as reflected in FSL education – in this case, in terms of legitimate language use (Heller, 1996; Train, 2007) and as a decisive criterion of FSL teacher identity in English-speaking Canada.

The result was a qualitative multiple case study that investigated the discursive construction of FSL teacher identity grounded in their study abroad experiences. The study provided significant evidence that the NS standard – the assumption that only native speakers can be expert language teachers (Phillipson, 1992) – continues to shape FSL teachers' identity construction, not only in study abroad contexts

but also in their local professional contexts. Despite suggestions that "the NS has lost much of its aura" (Kramsch, 2012, p. 15), the teachers in this study consistently demonstrated orienting to an NS ideology with claims that the sojourn promoted greater confidence in French by providing access to what was repeatedly framed as "authentic" French language, culture, and speakers. It became apparent in analysis that claiming authenticity was central to participants' constructions of their identities as legitimate FSL teachers – the notion of authenticity referring here to a discursive process that sees individuals making claims to a "real" or "authorized" self as French speakers as they describe their experiences and their interactions with others and the world around them (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005). A crucial issue particularly for non-francophone FSL teachers is that identifying as both learners *and* teachers of French requires negotiating two potentially conflicting identities (Varghese, Morgan, Johnston, & Johnson, 2005) in their professional contexts. The central aim of this article is to demonstrate how the study's focal participants, in navigating NS assumptions, sought to resolve the tension that these dual identities generated by engaging in a process of authentication (Bucholtz & Hall, 2010; Coupland, 2010). This process involved drawing on authenticating resources – ideas, artefacts, images, and other identities commonly associated with the notion of "real" Frenchness – to legitimate a position as FSL teacher.

Consequently, the study did not constitute traditional study abroad research by evaluating linguistic development and specific learning outcomes, or by focusing on transformative experiences and the direct impact of the sojourn (DuFon & Churchill, 2006; Rees & Klapper, 2011). Instead, the BC teachers' sojourn was conceptualized as a "rich point" for inquiry (Agar, 1994; Hornberger, 2006), a phenomenon that sees prior and new knowledge, experiences, and practices intersect. This involved focusing on participants' portrayal of their experiences abroad and the impact of these on their construction of a professional identity. Important here was the way in which the sojourn brought to light teachers' understandings of what counts as authentic French and how this notion of authenticity was used in displaying an identity as a "real" FSL teacher. The study's research focus was therefore on understanding (a) how experiences and knowledge from abroad were represented by teacher-participants as authentic resources; (b) how participants used conceptions of authenticity to construct an identity as FSL teacher both abroad and in their local professional contexts; and (c) how authenticity in prevailing ideologies about French language learning and teaching can be connected to FSL teacher identity construction. Ultimately, the analysis brought into focus the constraining

effects that an NS ideology can have on FSL teachers' professional lives – whether on their teaching or on their continued professional development as both teachers and learners of French.

Situating the study: Non–native-speaker teachers and study abroad

Study abroad experiences have long been advocated as essential to L2 teacher education (Kalivoda, 1977; Phillips, 1991) and continue to be viewed as an effective means for language teachers "to refresh and perfect their language proficiency and to intensify and update their cultural knowledge" (Allen, 2010, p. 93). Teacher professional development abroad consistently emphasizes the benefits of authentic language settings in providing teachers with direct access to successful language learning and teaching experiences through NS interaction (Tedick, 2009). Expectations about the value of "real" cultural and linguistic encounters are also prevalent in the promotional literature of study abroad. For example, the French language institute in Vichy, France, attended by the BC teachers, boasts an "ideal [location] . . . for discovering the French way of life in an authentic picturesque region" (CAVILAM – Alliance Française, 2013, p. 12). The institute's teaching methodology and learning outcomes are geared to developing participants' fluency when interacting "avec un locuteur natif [with a native speaker]," in line with CEFR competency levels that incorporate an explicit NS standard (Leung, 2013). Not surprisingly, BC teachers' accounts of their participation in the sojourn prominently reproduced this orientation to authentic French and an NS standard, one that proved crucial in their production of an authentic – and thus legitimate – identity as FSL teacher. To fully capture the impact of an NS ideology as the starting point for participants' identity construction, this section provides an overview of studies examining specifically NNS teacher identity with a focus on self-perceived language competence, teacher confidence, and the notion of authenticity, and concludes with a look at L2 teachers on study abroad.

Native speakers and NNS teacher identity

The native speaker, despite being challenged for many decades in applied linguistics (Doerr, 2009; Phillipson, 1992; Rampton, 1990), remains a frequently cited standard of linguistic expertise for L2 teachers. In Canada, recommendations for supporting FSL teachers' competencies continue to emphasize developing "target language" proficiency in "authentic French-language milieus" (Salvatori & MacFarlane, 2009, p. 13). Moreover, a self-evaluation tool such as the CEFR-inspired *Portfolio canadien des langues pour enseignant(e)s* (Turnbull,

2011) considers the "locuteur natif [native speaker]" as the standard measure of language competence for FSL teachers.

Preoccupation with NS competence in L2 teacher education has given rise to a well-established area of research examining NNS teacher identity, primarily in English language teaching (Moussu & Llurda, 2008). This research has focused on the NS/NNS dichotomy (Árva & Medgyes, 2000), the valued qualities of NNS teachers (Tatar & Yildiz, 2010; see also Kubota, 2009), as well as efforts to move beyond the constraints of either label (Duff & Uchida, 1997; Faez, 2011; Pavlenko, 2003). L2 teachers' own language-learning experiences, for example, have been reported as integral to their teaching practices (Tang, 1997) as a way to increase their confidence by countering the perceived shortcomings of language expertise (Golombek & Jordan, 2005). Linguistic confidence, meanwhile, has typically been related to self-perceived proficiency in a second language (Dörnyei, 2002) and is commonly attributed to L2 learners' successful interactions with native speakers (Shrum & Glisan, 2009). Similarly, L2 teachers tend to perceive their confidence as directly linked to their language expertise, most often in terms of its proximity to an NS standard, and as extending to their competency as teachers (Clark & Paran, 2007; Widdowson, 1994).

To date, much of the critique challenging the NS concept has insisted on its socially constructed nature (Brutt-Griffler & Samimy, 2001) and implicit references to race and ethnicity (Pennycook, 1999), as well as its connotation of language ownership and belonging (Higgins, 2003; Kramsch, 1997). Language analysis and testing of immigrants, for example, continue to rely on "native speaker experts" to validate refugee claims (Eades, 2005; McNamara, 2005; Muni Toke, 2010). As to its normative effects in the L2 classroom, the construct imposes standardization by designating what counts as "ideal" (i.e., valued and desired) as well as "real" or "authentic" language, and thereby "profoundly shapes the discursive practices . . . of speakers in a given sociocultural context" (Train, 2007, p. 244). Ongoing critique of native speakerness may give the impression that "the native speaker is dead" (Paikeday, 1985), yet the contrary is clearly evident in the research literature.

Much of the critique directed at NS ideologies has been voiced in English language teaching as a result of the language's status as a lingua franca, with the construct as yet having received little critical consideration in French language education, or in other languages for that matter (Dervin & Badrinathan, 2015). A recent exception is Aslan (2015), who examines the influence of NS and NNS identities on French L2 teacher cognition. Although the author does not consider

the problematic interplay of these two identities in analysis, the study's findings do point to both linguistic identities as affecting the teacher's instructional practices. Taking a more critical stance, Muni Toke (2012) has questioned the NS ideology implicit in the theoretical categorization of French language learners in terms of foreign, second, and mother tongue language identities, calling such labelling an "eth-nodidactique," a pedagogy founded on linguistic and cultural identities. Roussi and Cherkaoui Messin (2015) have focused specifically on French L2 teachers in Greece and their negotiation of linguistic insecurities as a result of idealized native speaker competency, whereas in Canada the impact of the NS has been studied within the context of French immersion and in connection with the notion of "balanced bilingualism" (Roy, 2010; Roy & Galiev, 2011). In the French language context, NS ideologies tend to be implicit in an overarching preoccupation with authentic French language and culture (Renaud, 1998). Research conducted with FSL teachers in Canada demonstrates such an orientation in L2 teachers' claims of increased self-confidence through access to "authentic" target language use. In a study with generalist FSL teachers (who teach French in addition to other school subjects), those with very little oral French sought out songs and poetry as the "most authentic forms of language use" (Carr, 1999, p. 173) to negotiate increased confidence in their teaching of French. Another Canadian study reported that FSL teachers saw interactions "with native and expert speakers in authentic target language situations" as an important means of "instilling confidence" (Salvatori, 2007, pp. 170–71). While modest, this research shows that the "locuteur natif [native speaker]" raises concerns in French language education "similar to those of studies of non-native ESL teachers" (Bayliss & Vignola, 2007, p. 371). While the underlying ideological assumptions associated with the production of the NS construct may differ in English and French, the concept itself continues to be a relevant area of study for both language domains. In the present study, FSL teacher identity is critically analyzed in order to examine the ways in which reified notions of authentic French and the "francophone" ideal underpin normative beliefs about FSL learning and teaching and intersect with teachers' context-specific practices.

    With confidence directly linked to language expertise, teachers' proficiency in the language they teach constitutes a central concern in L2 teacher research (Murdoch, 1994), particularly in studies focused on the experiences of NNS teachers, for whom language development constitutes an essential component of L2 teacher training (Veilleux & Bournot-Trites, 2005). As mentioned earlier, an important yet often overlooked matter in these studies is that emphasis on continued

language development for L2 teachers raises the issue of potentially conflicting identities as both language learner *and* language teacher (Brogden & Page, 2008; Golombek & Jordan 2005; Reis, 2011). A crucial issue for NNS teachers is that they are language learners themselves, an identity that tends to conflict with normative assumptions about language teachers, specifically the idea that language teaching requires native-like mastery of the language. Studies investigating FSL teacher language proficiency in relation to self-perceived confidence have reported a tension in teachers' reports, yet without much consideration of how this tension was produced (Bayliss & Vignola, 2007; Roussi & Cherkaoui Messin, 2015). In the present study, a focus on participants' discursive strategies was therefore adopted in order to provide further insights into the conflicting dual identities of non-francophone FSL teachers.

As noted above, the preoccupation with language expertise in L2 teacher training and professional development stems in part from an emphasis on authentic language experiences in communicative language teaching, which requires that teachers be able to engage students in "realistic" interaction (Cullen, 2002). This underlying orientation to authentic language in the classroom intersects with a complex of ideologies that get articulated in prevailing discourses of standardization and make evident related ideological (NS) conceptions about language learning and use. Discourses of standardization specific to the FSL context commonly draw on ideologies of monoglossic bilingualism (García, 2009; Lippi-Green, 1997; Martin-Jones, 2007), the inauthentic classroom (van Lier, 1996), Euro-centrism (Train, 2000), historicity (Coupland, 2010), and linguistic purism (Heller, 1999). Within the context of the study, these discourses were taken into account as providing a useful resource that could be drawn on to authenticate, and thereby legitimate, particular FSL teacher identities. As a result, authenticity was analyzed in two ways. It was viewed as language ideology based on the idea that some identities are more "real" than others (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004), with "realness" determined by cultural and/or biological elements that are inherent to a particular social group (Bucholtz, 2003). At the same time, authenticity was analyzed as an agentive process of authentication "by which speakers make claims to realness" (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005, p. 601).

Study abroad

Study abroad research with L2 teachers has also provided evidence of a tension as teachers struggle with multiple identities as both ongoing language *learners* and *teachers*. Studies in North America have been

conducted with both pre-service teacher candidates (Bournot-Trites, 2008) and in-service teachers, the latter typically constituting program evaluations of professional sojourns with a focus on teachers' language development (Badía, 1994; Rissel, 1995; Thompson, 2002). Findings from these studies emphasize teachers' access to authentic language and culture and typically characterize participants' increased proficiency in terms of approximating native speakers. For the most part, these studies constitute "success stories" that involve unproblematically glossing improved language skills and directly linking native-like language expertise with enhanced teaching abilities, without taking into account the potential challenges of having to reconcile various kinds of *learning* from a position as *teaching* professional.

Exceptions are two studies conducted with in-service teachers that include explicit mention of a tension in reports about anticipated improved language proficiency. One study investigated the sojourn experiences of two Spanish-speaking English language teachers in Western Canada. According to the authors, participants' descriptions by the teacher-participants of the sojourn showed a "conspicuous" lack of attention to their own L2 language development (Plews, Breckenridge, & Cambre, 2010, p. 16). Similarly, Allen's examination of teacher-participants' linguistic and cultural learning abroad reported that "none of the teachers made direct references to increased proficiency" (2010, p. 99). Given the competitiveness of the application process for the teachers in Allen's study (e.g., having to demonstrate spoken and written L2 language use) and the considerable focus on L2 development during the sojourn (e.g., pledging to speak only French), one might expect language expertise to have been explicitly addressed in the data. Likewise, narratives of the two English teachers from the study by Plews et al. could well have provided comments about gains in language proficiency, considering the sojourn's inclusion of homestay experiences and extensive interaction with English-speaking educators and students. While both studies mention a tension between learning and teaching roles, the thematic/content analytic orientation adopted in these two studies appears to have precluded additional insights into why language development was seemingly downplayed by participants. In the present study, it was therefore important not only to analyze the content of teachers' accounts in association with their professional identity also but to consider how those accounts discursively occasioned a particular teacher identity within the context of study abroad.

The study

Background

As noted above, the impetus for the year-long multiple case study was a 2009 provincially organized study abroad initiative for 87 French as a second language teachers to address curricular changes at that time and a long-standing need for formal language development for FSL teachers in BC (Carr, 2007). The two-week professional development sessions at the Centre d'Approches Vivantes des Langues et des Médias (CAVILAM) in Vichy, France, included an introduction to the CEFR and certification as examiners for the DELF (Diplôme d'études en langue française). Optional teaching workshops, language classes, and a comprehensive cultural program were provided in addition to accommodation with host families (see Appendix A).

Methodology

Consistent with a discursive-constructionist perspective that views identity as taking shape and operating "in local discourse contexts of interaction" (Bucholtz & Hall, 2010, p. 18), teacher identity construction was examined from a discourse-analytic perspective. Based on a social-practice orientation (Talmy, 2010), the research process itself was theorized as a collaborative event, with participants and researcher considered as co-participants in the construction of data, and with meanings developing out of the research action itself (Holstein & Gubrium, 1995).

Participants and data generation

The study was conducted in two phases – in Vichy, France, and at various sites across British Columbia, Canada. For the first phase, participants were recruited after the cohorts' arrival in France to ensure that teachers' participation in the sojourn was not seen as contingent on their involvement in the research project. The majority of sojourn participants originated from the southwestern region of the province (64%), while the remainder represented coastal/island and interior regions (27%) and eastern and northern BC (9%). Over two thirds of participants (68%) had been teaching French for more than 10 years, while almost a quarter (23%) had more than 25 years of experience. Given the sojourn's focus on the DELF, teacher-participants were predominantly affiliated with "high-level" French programming: over half of participants taught in French immersion programs (40% at elementary, 15% at secondary levels) and a third in secondary core French – all of which are programs that require teachers with

intermediate to advanced levels of French (see Appendix B for an overview of cohort participants' backgrounds).

Data generation in Vichy included the entire BC teacher cohort and comprised questionnaires, travel journal submissions, audio/video recordings of classroom sessions and extracurricular activities, and extensive field notes. The second phase of the study involved a one-year follow-up inquiry with seven focal participants that generated data through multiple semi-structured interviews, email correspondence that focused on participants' comments on shared preliminary findings, and follow-up discussions on classroom observations. Selection of participants was based on variation sampling (Patton, 1990) to provide for information-rich cases from multiple sources. Although all focal participants were L2 users of French, they had diverse educational backgrounds and teaching careers (see Appendix C for an overview).

Analysis and findings

Findings from the study are based on two discourse analyses. The first analysis focused on data from the larger cohort of teachers; the second was conducted on the narratives and responses from focal participants. For the first analysis, open-ended responses produced from post-questionnaires were analyzed using membership categorization analysis (Sacks, 1992) to understand how authenticity was understood by participants, specifically with regard to their self-confidence as French language teachers. While a comprehensive discussion of this first analysis (see Wernicke-Heinrichs, 2013) lies outside the scope of the present article, it is important to mention one of its principal findings, since it formed the basis for the second analysis presented below. In accordance with the literature discussed above, the analysis of questionnaire responses provided clear evidence of a native speaker orientation in teachers' discussions about what it means to be a French language teacher. It became evident during analysis that for these teachers, native speakerness was taken to be an unspoken criterion of L2 teacher identity, based on the assumption that "if you can speak the language, you can teach it" (Johnson, 2009, p. 41). This was expressed in participants' overwhelming preoccupation with self-perceived competence in French. Francophone teachers explicitly identified as native speakers of French to explain that questions about language proficiency were not applicable to them. At the same time, they deemed the issue of continued French language development as highly important for their non-francophone colleagues. For these teachers, who teach their L2 and must acknowledge ongoing language

development to approximate native-like competence in French, the question of language expertise constituted a visible source of tension. Having to talk about increased language proficiency in association with the sojourn required overtly orienting to the fact that they had acquired French later in life, thereby foregrounding their status as non-native speakers. Doing so, however, directly conflicts with a French language teacher identity that is premised on "native speakerness" and thus ideologically precludes the need for additional language learning. The ensuing tension was thus specifically a result of these teachers' attempts to reconcile their ongoing language development with a position as a legitimate French language teacher.

As noted above, an orientation to native speakerness ties into discourses of standardization that articulate assumptions about authentic language by drawing on ideologies of balanced bilingualism, the inauthentic classroom, Euro-centrism, and so on. These discourses repeatedly manifested themselves in different, often interrelated ways in participants' responses and narrative accounts. Ideologies of Euro-centrism, for instance, were evident both in the classroom instruction at CAVILAM and in participants' reports about their interactions with other non-Canadian teachers at CAVILAM (Wernicke-Heinrichs, 2013). The notion of balanced bilingualism was commonly expressed in association with teachers' self-perceived bilingual competency. One focal participant, for example, acknowledged apprehension about not being as comfortable in French as in English, especially while still a novice teacher: "I did not feel that my language skills were adequately developed and I sensed that I needed to be very careful, vigilant in both my preparation and in my day to day interactions with my students, colleagues and parents in order to appear sufficiently bilingual for the job" (Karin, e-mail correspondence, November 2011). In other words, being legitimate as an FSL teacher was seen to hinge on this teacher's ability to demonstrate native language use in her teaching and use of French. For the focal participants in this study, this meant engaging in a process of authentication to legitimate an FSL teacher identity as non-francophone teachers of French in order to reconcile the conflicting dual identities of *teacher* and *learner* of French. The way in which some of the teachers accomplished this is presented in the next section.

Authenticating FSL teacher identity

As already mentioned, the analysis of data from focal participants builds on findings from the first analysis by focusing specifically on the tension evident in focal participants' identity displays. Data included focal participants' questionnaire responses, entries from travel

journals, one or multiple transcribed (e-mail, telephone, and face-to-face) interviews, informal debriefing conversations after classroom observations with four focal participants, and a series of e-mail accounts from most focal participants sent in response to the researchers' request for clarification or elaboration of an issue during the two years following the sojourn.

The analysis of teachers' narratives drew on positioning analysis (Bamberg, 1997) and centred on how each participant oriented to and used notions of authenticity to negotiate a legitimate professional identity. Positioning analysis reconceptualizes an earlier notion of positioning (Davies and Harré, 1990) by foregrounding the active construction of narrators' discursive resources as integral to the production of larger discourses (as opposed to available, ready-made discourses). This discourse-analytic approach thus offers an agentive understanding of "the subject as positioning itself" (Bamberg, 2004, pp. 223–24), which is seen to occur on three levels. The first type of positioning focuses on the content, that is, on participants' roles as characters in a story. The second considers the interactional setting by examining how participants position themselves vis-à-vis the audience (i.e., the researcher). The narrated identities are then considered in relation to prevailing language ideologies as either "complicit with and/or countering dominant discourses" (2004, p. 225). The analysis is situated within the discursive psychology (DP) tradition, which sees topics such as self-confidence treated as discourse practices (Edwards & Potter, 2005) and typically takes an emic perspective. That is to say, respondents' answers were approached from a participant-relevant perspective (Antaki & Widdicombe, 1998) as discursive phenomena that construct, rather than reflect, participants' beliefs, attitudes, and other mental states (Benwell & Stokoe, 2006). The benefit of taking a participant-based perspective is that the interpretative resources respondents use to make sense of the question are the same resources that the analyst then uses to interpret what actions and identities have been produced (Hester & Eglin, 1992).

Consistent with findings from the first analysis, French language expertise was also a significant preoccupation for focal participants and the tension equally apparent in participants' narratives, although both manifested themselves differently for each participant. The following discussion of findings concentrates on three main features of focal participants' identity displays: (a) circumnavigating an identity as FSL teacher, (b) drawing on authenticating resources, and (c) authenticating FSL teacher identity. The first and third features are exemplified with extracts from two focal participants, Tamara and Karin.

Circumnavigating "FSL teacher"

The first feature involves participants displaying hesitation in claiming an identity as FSL teacher by orienting away from this identity. Displays of avoiding or downplaying an identity as FSL teacher represent a significant finding in the study, as this was the identity category under which participants had been recruited to the study. An instance of this avoidance tactic occurred during the interview with Tamara, who taught both core French and music at her elementary school. Tamara was the least straightforward among the focal participants when it came to discussing her linguistic affiliation. It was seldom and only indirectly alluded to, and on the few occasions when it did become relevant, the issue was hedged, as shown in the extract in Figure 1. The extract followed from a discussion about her relationship with the other FSL teachers at her school (both of whom teach in the French immersion program), during which I raised the question of whether she is a francophone or L2 speaker of French (M = interviewer, T = interviewee):

```
 1   M: how would you characterize the relationship between francophone
 2      teachers and - I mean - and teachers who learn French as a second
 3      language or is that even an issue is it - I guess you - you would be
 4      f- what would you consider yourself to be - not francophone oh yes
 5      francophone
 6   T: well in Quebec we were called the Allophones right? heh heh
 7   M: heh heh that's right of course I guess that's the Ukrainian bit
 8      then that's right heh heh heh that's right yeah okay do you - is that -
 9      is that a label that you take on?
10      (1.0)
11   T: oh yes
12   M: yeah, do you prefer that to anglophone or francophone or do you -
13   T: well um that's just - that's just how I see myself
14   M: okay
15   T: and it's - it's how I see myself, though in many ways um - in the
16      school I mean, they have the primary teachers and the intermediate
17      teachers right and I'm sort of the everything teacher and you have
18      the French teachers and the English teachers and I'm - I'm the
19      everything teacher and, so at some point-
20   M: oh I see, it's - so that allophone is carried over to - to the way
21      you see yourself as a teacher now
22   T: yeah yeah I don't - I don't have to relate to one group - ...
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Figure 1. Extract: Tamara, interview/20:11–21:49

Of particular interest is the way in which Tamara resists committing to an official linguistic identity in this interaction, and by extension also to an identity as FSL teacher. Instead of directly stating whether she identifies as francophone or anglophone, Tamara offers up an alternative identity, allophone, but in the form of a tag question, which serves to downgrade this categorization. The utterance "well in Quebec we were called the allophones right?" (line 6) may be

interpreted as "a question to be answered rather than as an assertion to be agreed with" (Heritage & Raymond, 2005, p. 20), which shifts epistemic authority in this matter to the interviewer. Her answer merely suggests that this non-official linguistic designation was commonly used in Quebec and that she assumes that I, as the interviewer, have knowledge of this, without directly claiming the label for herself. This is substantiated in the next turn in which I express agreement with "that's right, of course" (line 7) and then ask Tamara directly as to whether she identifies with this label (lines 8–9). Although her answer is initially "oh yes" (line 11), the follow-up account "that's just how I see myself" (line 13) demonstrates a similar disaffiliation from this identity, suggesting that it is merely a label she has taken on – possibly as a way of avoiding having to directly affiliate with any of the sanctioned linguistic identities in Canada. Since she is unable to claim the most authenticating of these (francophone), fully committing to either of the other two would mean identifying as non-francophone. Most significant here is the way in which this ambivalence to an official linguistic categorization is extended to her professional identity in the latter half of the interaction. To account for her lack of affiliation with either one of Canada's official languages, Tamara shifts the discussion to her professional context, yet rather than identifying specifically as French or music teacher, she opts for an equally ambiguous identity as "the everything teacher" (lines 17–19). Ultimately for Tamara, avoiding having to identify as an NS of either French or English offered a strategic means of circumnavigating potentially conflicting identities as both L2 learner and teacher.

Authenticating "FSL teacher"

The second and third features characterizing teachers' identity displays became evident as participants engaged in processes of authenticating an identity as FSL teacher. One of these involved drawing on a wide range of what were seen to be authenticating resources in constructing an identity as "authentically French," summarized in Table 1.

These authenticating resources were made consistently relevant by participants across a range of research interactions, including interview, journal, e-mail, and questionnaire accounts as well as during classroom observations. The narrative features listed as examples in Table 1 functioned as "authenticity effects" (Bucholtz, 2003) within the context of participants' identity displays, not only referentially by way of content but also as "narratives-in-interaction" (Georgakopoulou, 2007). That is to say, the particular way of telling the story – perhaps in French, or as a recitation, or as a song – in itself served to authenticate a participant's identity as French teacher. The "authenticity effects" that

Table 1. Summary of references in participants' narratives that served as authenticating devices to construct a legitimate identity as French language teacher.

Authenticating resource	Examples
European culture and history	Stories about Chopin's compositions, descriptions of Romanesque medieval churches
European / hexagonal French	Explicit mention of the French spoken in France (lexical features, pronunciation, etc.) was contrasted with French varieties in Canada
standardized French	References to and demonstrated use of dictionaries, verb conjugation guides
French literary canon	Recitation of Victor Hugo's poetry, references to French literary anthologies, expressed interest in Albert Camus's novels
French cuisine	Reference to cheese and wine tastings, descriptions and repeated mention of lengthy dinners with host families, stories about restaurant visits
Iconic places in France	The quay along the Seine, la tour Eiffel, les Champs-Elysées as symbolizing or embodying authentic Frenchness or French stereotypes
Artifacts	Vichy recycling bags, French language books, music CDs, photos of France, restaurant menus, brochures, posters, etc.
French education	Reference to earning le Bac (French state secondary school diploma), studying in France
Interactions with (native) French speakers	Descriptions and retellings of host-family dinner conversations, tour-guide accounts, and encounters with locals in Vichy and other French teachers at CAVILAM

this tactic produced were seen to bestow on the teller the authority to act and speak as a legitimate teacher of French.

Another type of identity display involved calling on alternative or "portable" identities as part of a process of authentication by which participants made claims to a "real" self as FSL teacher – an "authenticated" and therefore legitimate FSL teacher identity. Portable identities are extra-situational identities that may be made relevant in an interaction but that figure only "loosely" and without deterministic connection to other identities (Georgakopoulou, 2007). One of the clearest examples of this was one focal participant's repeated orientation to a role as "mother," an identity implicit with assumptions about authentic language that draws on the "moral significance of the mother tongue" (Woolard & Schieffelin, 1994) and associated notions of "natural" language acquisition and monolingual purism. For Karin, a primary French immersion teacher, orienting to a mother-identity appeared to offer a means of framing her teaching as a form of language socialization akin to first language acquisition (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986), to create the kind of "native" language learning setting for her students that she was not able to provide as a non-francophone

teacher. As alluded to above, Karin was keenly aware of a tension in her professional life and of a constant need to negotiate the appearance of a bilingual identity. Although trilingual, she described herself as someone who "doesn't learn languages easily" (interview/49:38) and throughout the research process acknowledged trepidations about her expertise in French and her sense of "vulnerability" as a French immersion teacher.

Karin consistently oriented toward an identity as mother during the research process in various types of interaction. This identity was displayed in questionnaire and journal accounts, typically with references to "mes petits" (journal/final entry), "my little ones" (post-questionnaire/item #31), and "my little 7-year-olds" (post-questionnaire/item #48). It was explicitly called on with her observation "je suis leur presque-maman [I'm almost like their mother]" (interview/8:59), and again somewhat less overtly in her reflection on the advantages of French immersion "– que l'enfant peut apprendre la langue à la façon naturelle. . . [– that the child can learn the language naturally]," as in the following extract from her final journal entry (see Figure 2).

```
1    ...En revenant chez moi je vais prendre le temps - et je vais me
2    donner la permission de m'amuser et jouer en français avec mes
3    petits de 2e année! C'est comme ça qu'une maman enseigne la langue
4    maternelle à son enfant et - c'est comme ça (avec des modifications
5    puisque j'ai 24 enfants) que je dois planifier mes journées. Si on
6    s'amuse avec eux … ils seront plus motivés et inspirés pour
7    apprendre cette nouvelle langue - une expérience qui peut être très
8    stressante pour certains enfants!
```

Figure 2. Extract: Karin, Vichy journal/final entry

[. . . When I come home I will take the time – I will give myself permission to have fun and play with my little Grade 2s! That's how a mother teaches her native language to her child and – it's like that (with some modifications since I have 24 children) that I have to plan my days. When you have fun with them . . . they will be more motivated and inspired to learn this new language – an experience that can be very stressful for some children!]

Although an identity as teacher is presented overall, the account in Figure 2 foregrounds a parental role that allows Karin to "have fun" with her "little ones" and to "play" with them in French (lines 2–3). This disassociation from the seriousness of the L2 classroom is further accomplished with Karin's self-ascribed role as "maman [mother]" (line 3), as someone who is able to better motivate and inspire children through play. Associated with a mother-identity is the responsibility of passing on the (mother) language to one's children, a process that is much more effective when it happens naturally, that is, through

parenting. Engaging students in play during the course of a day creates an environment in which these children are not merely "learning" French but are also socialized into the language as part of a natural process. Parental responsibility is further conveyed here with Karin's acknowledgement of the stress typically associated with learning a new language (lines 7–8), demonstrating concern not only for her students' academic success but also for their general well-being, as a mother would. Moreover, this identity display as mother further aligned with Karin's efforts to physically create a naturalistic, monolingual space for the students within her classroom, the interior decor of which seemed purposefully designed to approximate an authentic French environment, with posters, signs, books, games, and even labelled storage cartons tucked into the farthest corners attesting to an insistence on a French-only setting.

In sum, focal participants' negotiation of authenticity involved both renegotiating an identity as FSL teacher and discursively constructing authenticating resources specifically designed either to legitimate a professional identity as French language teacher or to call upon alternative, portable identities as part of that authentication process. As noted in regard to findings from the study's first analysis, a move toward authentication results from the prevailing view that a teacher's professional legitimacy is dependent on NS language competence – a view that draws on other interrelated ideologies and gets articulated in discourses that ultimately shape teachers' conceptions of L2 learning as well as their teaching practices. For Karin, this was demonstrated in terms of having "to be very careful, vigilant in . . . day to day interactions with students, colleagues and parents in order to appear sufficiently bilingual for the job" (e-mail correspondence, November 2011), which in many respects contributed to the way in which she ultimately constructed both her classroom and her teaching by embracing a monoglossic conception of bilingualism (García, 2009), the idea that L2 learning is best restricted to a focus on only the target language instead of allowing for the multilingual reality that L2 learners experience in the FSL classroom. For Tamara, it involved an implicit uneasiness in negotiating an identity as simply teacher.

Implications and conclusion

Ultimately, the discursive manoeuvres evident in focal participants' narratives clearly point to the constraining effects that NS assumptions continue to have on FSL teachers' professional lives – whether on their teaching or on their ongoing professional development as both teachers and learners of French. The continuing salience of an NS standard in

FSL teachers' professional self-conceptions demonstrates that identity is crucial to how teachers learn and practise their profession. The study's insights into the tension created through conflicting dual identities as both *learner* and *teacher* of French are relevant to the current inquiry-based focus in L2 language teacher education with its emphasis "on awareness-raising, collaborative learning, reflection and learning from experience" (Wright, 2010, p. 267). At the same time, more research is necessary to examine how "teacher-learning" (Freeman & Johnson, 1998) can be productively incorporated into L2 teacher professional development and education programs, as well as the importance of L2 teacher identity construction as part of the "learning-as-teacher" process. Teachers' ongoing preoccupation with their expertise in French, often at the cost of pedagogical or methodological aspects of their teaching, also requires further consideration. While the issue of ensuring sufficient language expertise among FSL teachers and teacher candidates remains a valid concern, especially in Western Canada, ideological conceptions of what counts as authentic language or speakers continue to define the field of FSL education. Teachers require support for ongoing language development and learning, which one might argue pertains also to those who consider themselves to be so-called native speakers of French. Consequently, we need to be mindful not to conflate linguistic purity and naturalistic notions of language acquisition with notions of linguistic competence or what it means to be a legitimate user and teacher of French.

For those charged with educating prospective French teachers who are also L2 speakers of French, identity is especially important to understanding what makes both teacher candidates and practising teachers successful. Teachers have to be given opportunities to develop alternative ideas about what it means to be competent, and therefore legitimate, as language teachers. Johnson has argued that traditional theories of language dominating SLA and L2 teacher education have "failed to provide L2 teachers with a conceptualization of language that is amenable to L2 instruction" (2009, p. 4). As the present study shows, traditional conceptions of language and teaching remain firmly grounded in an NS ideology. In continuing to shape FSL teachers' identity formation, such an orientation constitutes a fundamental obstacle in creating a space in which alternative conceptions may be developed, conceptions that embrace a more productive understanding of language as social practice. According to Johnson, for L2 teaching to move beyond the NS construct entails "conceptualizing language use as accessing resources and making choices about how to be in the L2 world" (p. 4). This pertains not only to non-francophone teachers but also to FSL teachers in Canada who speak a variety of French that is refreshingly

distinct from and equally legitimate as the idealized NS Parisian standard. And while concerns for adequate L2 teacher proficiency in the classroom will remain, these can be addressed more effectively when taking into account the role that a teacher's professional identity plays in navigating both classroom dynamics and professional interactions and obligations.

As for study abroad research, the apparent scant number of inquiries to date conducted specifically with teachers may in part be a reflection of the tension around participants' identities as both teachers and learners while on study abroad. Much of the study abroad literature, particular in the form of program evaluations, does not take into account the potentially conflicting implications of asking assumed language experts to engage in language learning, thereby failing to acknowledge the crucial role that identity plays in these types of learning experiences, whether abroad or not. It is therefore paramount for study abroad researchers not only to make explicit the identities of study abroad participants (as teachers, students, adult learners, etc.) but also, more importantly, to consider these identities in analysis in terms of what gets said, and how. The identity of "teacher" is not merely a label that is readily interchangeable with another at a moment's notice – it is interactionally mediated, relational, and always contingent on the interpreted meanings of the social situation at hand.

The present study represents an ambitious endeavour in considering such a large cohort of teachers going abroad, especially given the multi-level programming at CAVILAM and the wide array of activities organized for the BC teachers. Inquiry into a sojourn of this scale should ideally involve on-site preparation before participants' arrival, full access to information about the research site and professional development activities, and organizers' support with regard to logistical issues involved in the research process. Finally, for the participants themselves it is important to have sufficiently detailed information about the objectives of the sojourn to ensure that they are adequately prepared for the experiences they hope or expect to encounter. These elements could have been improved upon in regard to both the sojourn and the study.

Weedon (2004) asks how we might begin to "dislodge" the long-established binaries within which identity becomes "fixed" by others. For FSL teachers, perhaps the answer lies in engaging more extensively with how their practices align or do not align with larger discourses in FSL education and articulated conceptions vis-à-vis "real" language – especially given that normalized assumptions about language learning and teaching are often seen to conflict with what happens in the classroom and the world around them. This would

necessarily require that teacher education programs and professional development initiatives attend both to ideology and identity as integral components of ongoing L2 teacher development. While there will likely always be a need for standardization in language education to ensure successful learning and rigorous accreditation, it is hoped that so-called non-native French in the FSL classroom might one day be considered just one of many repertoires, equally authentic and legitimate as the French one might encounter on a quay overlooking the Seine.

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Note

1 This reference to so-called non-native-speaker teachers acknowledges the socially constructed nature of the native speaker and related concepts (Holliday, 2006), without denying the material presence and impact of these constructs on FSL teachers and learners (Pennycook, 2015).

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Appendix A: Overview of CAVILAM professional development program

		Language program *(Perfectionnement linguistique)* 7 participants	Pedagogy & DELF *(Parcours thématiques)* 25 participants	DELF certification *(Formation DELF)* 55 participants
WEEK 1	Mornings	Language classes according to CEFR levels A2, B1, B2, C1	Pedagogy Workshop (choice of weekly theme)	DELF Training
	12:30	Lunch (held daily in the cafeteria at CAVILAM)		
	14:00 to 15:30	Conversation classes: CEFR levels A2, B1, B2, C1	Pedagogy Workshop (choice of weekly theme)	DELF Training
	16:00 to 17:30 — Tues/Thurs	DELF orientation	Séances 'Découverte': open lectures & workshops	
	16:00 to 17:30 — Wed	Book fair: weekly presentation of CEFR curricular materials for purchase		
	Evenings	Cultural Activities — guided tour of Vichy • outdoor theatre • tastings of local wines and pastry — excursion to village of Charroux • chateaux visits • cinema		
WEEKEND	Saturday	*Journée libre* (day off)		
	Sunday	Day trip through Auvergne region, including a visit to the basilica Notre-Dame d'Orcival, an excursion to the wine and cheese market in the town of Besse, and lunch at farmhouse in Saint Nectaire		
WEEK 2	Mornings	Language classes according to CEFR levels A2, B1, B2, C1	DELF training	DELF training
	12:30	Lunch (held daily in the cafeteria at CAVILAM)		
	14:00 to 15:30	Conversation classes: CEFR levels A2, B1, B2, C1	DELF training	DELF training
	16:00 to 17:30 — Tues/Thurs	DELF orientation	*Séances 'Découverte'*: open lectures & workshops	
	16:00 to 17:30 — Wed	Book fair: weekly presentation of CEFR curricular materials for purchase		
	Evenings	Cultural Activities — outdoor festival and theatre • tastings of local wines and pastry — excursion to the town of Riom cinema • volcano hike up the Puy de Dôme — mayoral reception at city hall		

Appendix B: Professional background of cohort participants

Type of program	/82	Years of teaching					
		under 1 year	1–3 years	3–5 years	5+ years	10+ years	25+ years
		2	3	10	11	37	19
CF elementary	6		1	1		3 (1)	1 (1)
CF secondary	25	2		1	3	10 (3)	9 (1)
Early FI (K–Grade 7)	28		1 (1)	6	4 (1)	13 (3)	4 (1)
FI Secondary (Grades 8–12)	12		1 (1)	1	3	3 (2)	4 (3)
Late FI (Grades 6–7)	5			1		4 (1)	
CF & FI secondary	1					1 (1)	
Intensive French	1					1	
District coordinator	4				1 (1)	2 (1)	1 (1)

Numbers in parentheses indicate the number of L1 speakers of French as indicated by the participants on the pre-questionnaire. CF = core French; FI = French immersion

Appendix C: Professional background and teaching context of focal participants

	Christa	Janet	Karin	Helen	Carolyn	Tamara	Sara
				Focal participants' educational and professional background			
French	L2	L2	L2	L2	L2	L2	L2
currently teaching	FI primary & intermediate	FI intermediate	FI primary	CF & FI secondary	CF secondary	CF intermediate	CF secondary
years of teaching	28 years	9 years	16 years	1 year	28 years	24 years	10 years
workload	full-time	full-time	full-time	full-time	full-time	full-time	full-time
education	• CF • BSc in Biology • Teacher Ed in FI	• FI • BA: Psych & French • Teacher Ed: FSL	• Basic French • BA: French • M.Mus. • Teacher Ed	• Basic French • BA: Theatre & French • Teacher Ed	• CF • B.Ed. • Teacher Ed	• French school • B.Mus. • Teacher Ed	• CF • BA (Hons) in French • MA in French Lit • Teacher Ed: L2
time in French-speaking region	• bi-yearly 2-wk visits to Quebec	• 3 weeks in Quebec • several visits to France & Quebec	• 3 sojourns between 1–6 weeks in length	• 1yr & 4wk study in France; • family vacations to France	• 3 months in Quebec • several SA trips w/ students to France	• 23 years in Quebec; • short Paris visit many years ago	• 2 weeks as chaperone to students in France
CAVILAM program	Parcours	Parcours	Parcours	Parcours	Parcours	DELF	DELF