Towards Creating and Interpreting
"Spaces of Self-enunciation" for Learners in
Languages and Intercultural Communication

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A thesis submitted in accordance with the requirements of the
University of Surrey for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

February 2001
(final version: April 2001)
Abstract

This research project is an attempt to approach the notion of cultural identity from a qualitative and interpretive perspective. To this end, the project initially offers working definitions of key concepts and discusses the extent to which the themes of language, culture and identity are variably deployed and developed in different types of academic discourse. The project then proceeds to analyse the recurrent social themes of mobility, difference and otherness, simulation, and language, knowledge and social power in an effort to build a socio-theoretical foundation for the discussion of cultural identity and empowerment in the context of second language (L2) learning and the emerging field of Languages and Intercultural Communication (LAIC).

Following the proposal of a model of identity enunciation and empowerment, the theoretical discussion attempts to appropriate the metaphor of the "third space of enunciation" (Bhabha, 1995) frequently employed in LAIC circles for a qualitative approach to cultural identity in language and intercultural learning. To this end, the project turns to Holstein & Gubrium’s (2000) postmodern notion of narrative identity and proposes to adopt their qualitative analytic framework of interpretive practice to investigate possible spaces of self-enunciation in the context of L2 learning and LAIC.

The discussion then proceeds to outline the working design of a cultural identity research project including the scope and boundaries of study subjects, data gathering and transcription procedures, and approaches to data analysis. Finally, the project offers a critical analysis of the study’s implementation and findings, on the basis of which potentials for further research on narratives of cultural selves in language and intercultural learning are discussed.
Acknowledgements

I am greatly indebted to my supervisor, Dr. Margaret Rogers, for her unwavering support, guidance and enthusiasm during this project and to the University of Surrey, Guildford, for funding my research activities with a generous postgraduate research scholarship, April 1st, 1998-March 31st, 2001. I also wish to thank the organisers and participants of the annual cross-cultural capability (CCC) conferences in Leeds, the Department of Linguistic & International Studies at the University of Surrey for partly funding my first visit to Leeds in December, 1998, and my colleagues in the field of Languages and Intercultural Communication (LAIC) for their constructive input and words of advice.

A special word of thanks goes to all the participants in the Cultural Identity Research Project (CIRP 2000) and, above all, to the faculty and staff at the Institute for Translation and Interpreting of Heidelberg University, Germany. The present study would not have been possible without their help in providing suitable study subjects for CIRP 2000. I am particularly indebted to John Webster, Manfred Müller-Richter, Manfred Knobloch and Andrew Jenkins for their steadfast support and advice for my research efforts. Finally, my heartfelt thanks go to my family, friends and colleagues for their moral support and encouragement.
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1. Introduction

Language studies have undergone fundamental changes in recent years. Increasingly, language scholars have moved beyond traditional linguistic perspectives of Second Language Acquisition (SLA) in an effort to account for cultural and social dimensions of second language (L2) learning (e.g., Norton Peirce, 1995; Byram, 1997). This shift of emphasis within language studies has far-reaching implications for both L2 learning theory and practice, since a sociocultural extension of language studies beyond its traditional linguistic orientation goes hand in hand with possible shifts in theoretical and methodological approaches towards language research (cf., Guba & Lincoln, 1989).

The task of this thesis is to offer a tentative account of these new theoretical and methodological openings for studies of language and intercultural learning. In this wider context, I am particularly interested in how such research may intersect with cultural studies and identity theory to account for possible associations between second language (L2) learning, cross-cultural capability (CCC) and changes in learner identity. To this end, I will set out in chapter two to explain key concepts underlying my analysis and offer working definitions in preparation for the theoretical discussion to follow. In the same chapter, I will also analyse the close relationship between language, culture and identity across disciplinary boundaries to explicate the different ways in which they interrelate and are mutually constitutive of one another. Here my discussion will focus in particular on their various “sites of displacement” in philosophy/social theory, language studies, as well as ethnography/anthropology and feminism/gender studies.

Upon completion of this introductory discussion, it will be the task of chapter three to identify and elaborate on key themes that are recurrent in different types of academic discourse, including the notions of mobility, difference and otherness, simulation/representation and the relationship between language, knowledge and social power. The analysis will focus here on contemporary social theory, L2 learning theory, ethnography/anthropology and cross-cultural capability (CCC) studies in an effort to create a theoretical framework for the discussion of key concepts that are relevant to language and intercultural learning and the new field of Languages and Intercultural Communication (LAIC). These concepts include the notions of identity enunciation and empowerment, as well as representations of Self and Other.

1 The qualitative notion of displacement is used here in a figurative rather than geographical sense to designate the ways in which themes are variably deployed and developed in discourse and writing associated with each of the mentioned academic disciplines.
Following my proposal of a model of pragmatic individualism, identity enunciation and empowerment, which emerges from this discussion, I will attempt in chapter four to outline how the notion of narrative identity may be analytically embraced by drawing on the metaphorical LAIC concept of the “third space of enunciation” (Bhabha, 1995; Tomic & Lengel, 1999). To this end, the notions of self and identity will be approached from a qualitative and interpretive perspective by using the analytic framework of “interpretive practice” proposed by Holstein & Gubrium (2000). In this wider context, the subsequent discussion in chapter five will focus on how the proposed notion of a self grounded in discourse and narrative may be analytically and methodologically appropriated for a “sociocultural” account of language and intercultural learning in LAIC as an emerging discipline.

Chapter six then proceeds to describe a qualitative and interpretive approach to cultural identity in LAIC by proposing the use of a cultural identity research project (CIRP 2000). To this end, the selection criteria for study subjects are introduced, data gathering and transcription procedures are outlined, and approaches to data analysis in the proposed study are discussed.

Chapter seven then offers a critical discussion of CIRP 2000 in which the study’s implementation and findings are presented, analysed and evaluated. On the basis of the latter, chapter eight serves the final task of offering initial recommendations for contemporary language pedagogy and suggestions for further studies following a largely qualitative approach. By doing so, I hope to pave the way for an interdisciplinary and postdisciplinary discussion of narrative identity and self-enunciation in language and intercultural learning.
2. Second Language (L2) learning, cross-cultural capability (CCC) and self-enunciation

As an attempt to consolidate and clarify potential alternative approaches to linguistic SLA theory and methodology, the following theoretical discussion is inherently faced with a dilemma of internal contradictions, i.e., that of presenting arguments for a qualitative, interpretivist paradigm to an SLA audience with a primarily quantitative and experimental background. I intend to resolve this dilemma by arguing on a variety of levels, from simple to more complex perspectives of the potential links between the themes of language, culture and identity. I cannot, however, present “hard facts” and an account of “cause-and-effect” relations between discrete “variables” involved in SLA, as some quantitatively oriented researchers may envision. The following discussion will, however, attempt to offer a lucid account of possible associations between language learning, cross-cultural skills and learner identity, and their displacement across various sites of disciplinary discourse, i.e., how these themes are deployed, developed and weighed in contrasting ways across disciplinary boundaries.

2.1. Key concepts and definitions

The following discussion is primarily concerned with the themes that are of central interest to the current project, namely language, culture and identity. In this context, the main focus will be on language learning and use, intercultural communication and cultural identity. We will also look at how developments in each of these areas may coincide, influence or complement each other. In order to pave the way for a more detailed discussion of such associations, it is imperative, however, to clearly define what is meant here by each of these concepts within the wider context of a qualitative and interpretivist approach.

2.1.1. Second Language Acquisition (SLA)

Even though SLA has become a prominent area of research in Applied Linguistics in recent decades, researchers frequently employ the term SLA within rather contrasting conceptual frameworks. In particular, the relationship between Second Language Acquisition (SLA) and Foreign Language Learning (FLL) may be conceptualised differently by some language scholars. As discussed below and indicated in the vast literature on the complex relationship between SLA and FLL (e.g., VanPatten & Lee, 1990; Lightbown & Spada, 1993), SLA usually refers to naturalistic language acquisition in native environments, whereas FLL tends
to be associated with formal L2 learning in non-native classrooms (VanPatten & Lee, 1990:17). SLA, however, is also often used as a superordinate concept to account for any form of L2 learning thus encompassing both naturalistic SLA and formal FLL. In addition, it was mentioned previously that SLA studies have traditionally followed a primarily linguistic research paradigm and have only more recently opened towards more interdisciplinary approaches involving cultural studies, ethnography, anthropology and sociology in order to take into account social and cultural aspects of L2 learning.

The use of the term SLA in this thesis reflects an emphasis on naturalistic language learning without necessarily disclaiming its potential relevance for formal L2 learning scenarios. In addition, it is not limited to second language acquisition alone, but may cover any form of non-native language learning including a learner’s third or fourth language. Finally, the present use of SLA with respect to research reflects an understanding of SLA beyond its traditional linguistic paradigm and thus includes more recent social and cultural openings within the context of language studies. Let us first, however, consider in more detail how the distinction between SLA and FLL is traditionally conceived in SLA-related literature.

2.1.1.1. The traditional distinction between SLA and Foreign Language Learning (FLL)

SLA and FLL have traditionally been differentiated according to criteria of ± L2 environment (location: where) and ± tuition (manner: how), i.e., SLA referring to naturalistic language acquisition in native-speaking environments and FLL to formal L2 learning in non-native classrooms (VanPatten & Lee, 1990:17), as illustrated below in Figure 2.1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>± tuition</th>
<th>± L2 environment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>FLL</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SLA</td>
<td>-</td>
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</table>

Figure 2.1: The traditional distinction between SLA and FLL

In this context, it has been remarked that SLA studies tend to focus primarily on non-classroom language acquisition, bilingualism and English as a second language (ESL), whereas FLL research is mainly concerned with classroom methodology and FL education (VanPatten & Lee, 1990:14). On a critical note, VanPatten & Lee (1990) have observed a propensity in SLA research to focus too much on English as a foreign/second language (EFL/ESL) while undermining possible contributions from related research in other
languages, e.g., Spanish as a foreign/second language (SFL/SSL). FL education, on the other hand, has in the past appeared to be overly concerned with teaching methodologies at the expense of exploring more theoretical perspectives on FL learning, as argued by VanPatten (1990:18).

For that reason it must also be taken into account that between the “ideal types” of SLA and FLL as outlined in Figure 2.1, the field of what VanPatten & Lee describe as second language learning (SLL) accounts for formal L2 instruction inside L2 environments, such as English as a foreign/second language (EFL/ESL) taught to foreign learners in anglophone countries. Including the second language learning (SLL) classroom would result in a first differentiation of the “absolute” SLA/FLL dichotomy, as shown below in Figure 2.2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>± tuition</th>
<th>± L2 environment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>FLL classroom</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SLL classroom (e.g. ESL/EFL)</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SLA</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 2.2: The distinction between SLA, SLL and FLL

Due to these significant contrasts in SLA/SLL and FLL foci, several researchers have called for a more comprehensive theory of non-L1 acquisition, a language concept that is integral rather than divisive (VanPatten, 1990:25) and socially oriented rather than just linguistic (Kramsch, 1990:32). The majority of SLA/FLL research, however, has shown a continuation of the distinctions outlined above without any indication that the present dichotomy may need to be reconsidered (for a more detailed account of the present situation in SLA/FLL research, please see VanPatten, 1990:17 ff.).

There have been a few exceptions, however, of researchers who have started to question such an absolute distinction between SLA and FLL. Berns (1990:3ff.), for instance, compares the role of English in Japan, Germany and India. While English in Japan is taught and learnt primarily in a FLL context, the situation in India is almost the opposite, i.e., English is widely used in schools, textbooks, science and literature and thus indicates a more distinct SLA learning context (Berns, 1990:3ff.). Between the two extremes the study of English in Germany is characterised by a hybrid situation of both FLL and SLA learning contexts. Here
English may frequently be found in scientific texts and popular culture, but has not yet permeated the more traditional socio-cultural and linguistic strongholds of primary and secondary education and literature. Berns (1990:3ff.) therefore concludes that the SLA/FLL distinction tends to be rather artificial and should be understood as continuous rather than dichotomous, for which she evokes the commonly used sociolinguistic notion of cline.

It can therefore be concluded that the traditional distinction between SLA and FLL may not be as absolute as frequently suggested, particularly if we focus on how the criteria of location and manner have changed in recent years. Where and how languages are learnt today tends to be radically different from only a few years ago.

2.1.1.2. SLA and FLL reconsidered

The following section will take a closer look at how changes in the geopolitical landscape and advances in information technology have affected characteristics traditionally associated with the dichotomy between SLA and FLL (cf., Figure 2.1). In this context it will be argued that the changes in conditions discussed here will help us move away from an absolute distinction between SLA and FLL towards a more hybrid perspective on second language (L2) learning and teaching.

Example A) *Life in the European Union: on the free flow of goods, capital, services and people*

The 1957 Treaties of Rome and the 1991 Maastricht Treaty on European Union have paved the way for the free flow of goods, capital, services and people as one of the key elements of European integration (cf., Art 3. EC Treaty). The launch of the European Union has resulted in millions of Europeans settling and residing in other EU member states, gaining better access to print and audio-visual media from other European nations and interacting more efficiently with their neighbours in other EU countries through less restricted travel, and an increase in exchange programmes and city twinnings. These developments have consequently had a considerable impact on personal mobility affecting Europeans in all EU member states, including tourists, visitors and foreign residents. The notion of personal mobility also plays a key role in theoretical approaches to studies on language and intercultural learning as illustrated by Byram’s (1997:1) concept of sojourning and Phipps’ (1999) metaphors of provisional homes and dwelling-in-travel. In addition, mobility constitutes a powerful theme
in both contemporary social theory and anthropology and will thus be taken up again in
greater detail in chapter 3.1.1.

For the present discussion of SLA and FLL, it may be argued that the higher degree of
integration in Europe has already influenced the variables of where and how in language
acquisition, a trend likely to continue in the near future. From EU product labels with
ingredients and nutritional contents printed in a host of languages, to the abolition of customs
controls between the EU signatories to the Schengen agreement and the harmonisation of key
policies and laws between EU member states, Western Europe can certainly be regarded as a
multi-cultural melting pot in the making.

Such developments are therefore rather likely to redefine where and how languages are learnt.
For instance, the increased mobility of EU citizens could lead to greater naturalistic SLA in
non-native environments possibly even involving a third language. For example, as a direct
result of greater integration between EU member states, anecdotal evidence suggests that it is
possible nowadays for Germans to learn Spanish through interaction with native speakers in
London or for French individuals to learn English in Amsterdam. These examples also serve
to illustrate the type of learner who seems most likely to defy the traditional SLA/FLL
dichotomy and to develop greater cross-cultural skills, i.e., it is the individual learner
committed to what Phipps (1999) refers to as “creative ways and provisional spaces, for
travelling and dwelling” (cf., Ingold, 1996; Clifford, 1997) or what I will refer to for my
purposes as the multi identified individual. It is my contention that such learners are at the
core of redefining SLA and FLL as the development of cross-cultural capability (CCC).
Figure 2.3 below illustrates this new “hybrid” category of language learning as outlined
above.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>± tuition</th>
<th>± L2, 3 environment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dwelling-in-travel</td>
<td>±</td>
<td>±</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FLL classroom</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SLL classroom (e.g. ESL/EFL)</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SLA</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 2.3: Dwelling-in-travel situation of multi identified individuals
as opposed to traditional SLA/SLL and FLL
Example B) Technological progress and the self: redefining the real

The advent of the modern computer age and advances in information technology have revolutionised over a period of only a few years people's perceptions of what they think is real. In fact, it has often become rather difficult to distinguish between the real and the virtual, as advances in technology have blurred the boundaries between the physical and the virtual world. The latter may be regarded as a quintessentially postmodern issue and will thus be raised again in more detail in chapter 3.1.3 during our discussion of simulation and representation as recurrent themes of the contemporary social landscape.

In the context of SLA/FLL, LeLoup & Ponterio (1995), for instance, mention numerous internet-based applications that can be harnessed by teachers and students to create "authentic language learning experiences". Such applications include the use of e-mail for keypal projects and distance learning, access to listservs, and electronic journals, use of 'streaming' audio and video technologies and access to the World Wide Web (WWW). LeLoup & Ponterio (1995) also mention that Internet-based applications allow remote access to libraries and databases, file transfers and use of chat programmes such as IRC (Internet Relay Chat) and audio and video communication programmes. Such current and emerging technologies can therefore be utilised by individuals for what the authors refer to as "authentic experiences".

From a semantic and philosophical point of view, however, the question may arise whether these experiences are truly or only virtually authentic (cf., Baudrillard, 1999) and what differences if any can be found between "authentic experiences" as part of formal FLL and the notion of "naturalistic learning" underlying SLA. It may be argued here, for instance, that there are significant semantic overlaps between SLA and FLL, as a particular communication situation may be interpreted as either a case of SLA or FLL depending on the negotiated roles of the interlocutors (cf., Norton Peirce, 1995; Scolon & Scolon, 1997) and the designated role of computer and satellite technology as a facilitator of communication (cf., LeLoup & Ponterio, 1995).

2 The postmodern notions of simulation and representation are both used in contrast to what may count as "reality". Whereas an act of simulation aims to pass for "the real thing"; however, a representation intends to offer a partial and perspectival view of the outside world. By way of example, a child may simulate being ill by faking stomach cramps in order to stay home from school, while news coverage on CNN is a representation of world events by way of images and sound (in this case from a very American perspective). The notions of simulation and representation may thus be seen as related in orientation but are by no means synonymous.
If a language learner, for example, regularly chooses e-mail to communicate with a native-speaker friend, such use of technology can be construed as a case of "virtually" naturalistic SLA. If that native-speaker friend, however, is also a language professional and offers corrections to the language learner during their correspondence (change in the negotiated role of the interlocutors) or if the language learner maintains such contacts as a voluntary or required part of his language studies (change in ± tuition), then said use of technology could be seen as a case of FLL.

Such differences in perspective may therefore ultimately be determined by parameters such as social roles in communication, which in turn are closely related to studies on the role of self in interactions (Scolon & Scolon, 1997). In this context, Scolon & Scolon (1997:36) argue that

"...the idea of 'self' which underlies western studies of communication is highly individualistic, self-motivated, and open to ongoing negotiation."

In addition, they relate the concept of self to the notion of face (cf., Goffman, 1959) which they regard as paradoxical arguing that

"...[the] two sides of face, involvement and independence, produce an inherently paradoxical situation in all communications, in that both aspects of face must be projected simultaneously in any communication" (Scolon & Scolon, 1997:36, emphasis in original).

Whereas the complexities of the sociolinguistic notion of face are not a concern in the present work, its two complimentary aspects as identified by Scolon & Scolon (1997), i.e., involvement and independence, show considerable parallels to the dialectics between social and individual selfhood in identity studies (cf., Jenkins, 1996). This initial observation on the possible relevance of self in communication may be regarded as a preliminary statement to be borne in mind as we consider the complex relationship between SLA and FLL in the present section. A full-blown theoretical discussion of selfhood and identity in communication based on Holstein & Gubrium (2000) will then follow later in chapter four.

Definition problems such as the ones outlined above therefore serve to illustrate how the use of new technologies and a renewed interest in sociocultural aspects of L2 learning and teaching have helped to blur the boundaries between SLA and FLL and between the physical and virtual world as summarised by Figure 2.4 below.
With respect to the role of emerging technologies as facilitators of learning and teaching, however, internet-based applications are not the only new technologies available to students and teachers. Earp (1997), for instance, lists numerous software programmes and authoring tools that can be used to create modules and exercises for both teachers and learners. In addition, language laboratory systems have become so highly advanced to allow for multimedia networks that combine the use of satellite, video and CD audio technologies. Earp (1997) also mentions new schemes of distance learning via satellite supported by e-mail and World Wide Web applications.

In addition individual learners may make use of modern satellite technology in order to create optimum conditions for language learning by receiving numerous television and radio stations in their languages of choice, a trend likely to become even more prominent with the advent of digital satellite broadcasting (cf., Astra digital programming campaign, fall 1998). Such "virtual" learning contexts may not directly encourage target language (TL) production by learners, but it offers them plenty of TL input, which if comprehensible is said to play a pivotal role in successful language acquisition according to some SLA researchers (e.g., Krashen, 1985). These emerging technologies can therefore be harnessed by individuals wishing to recreate at least some virtually naturalistic learning conditions in non-native language learning environments, even though it must be noted that such technologies may to date only be available to a privileged minority. For that reason, it can be argued that the blurred boundaries between the physical and the virtual world ultimately also affect the where and how of language learning, i.e., the notions of location and manner that are at the core of the distinction between SLA and FLL, thus contributing to the argument that the traditional SLA/FLL dichotomy can no longer be easily maintained or justified.
2.1.2. Self-enunciation

The notion of *self-enunciation* is employed in the present work to refer to the ways in which individuals may articulate a sense of self in communication. It is therefore concerned with both the resources and the processes of such articulation. To this end, the notion of self-enunciation is partly inspired by Bhabha’s (1995) concept of the *Third Space of enunciation* and Holstein & Gubrium’s (2000) proposal of a self grounded in discourse, as will be explained in further detail in the present work (cf., chapter four). I have opted for the notion of *self-enunciation* and against what Holstein & Gubrium refer to as *self-construction* to avoid possible constructivist associations and to build a conscious conceptual bridge between Bhabha’s (1995) *Third Space* and Holstein & Gubrium’s analytical model of *Interpretive Practice* to be proposed in chapter four.

2.1.3. ‘Cross-cultural Capability’ (CCC) and the study of ‘Languages and Intercultural Communication’ (LAIC)

The notion of cross-cultural capability (CCC), which involves cultural mediation skills based on empathy and the critical faculties of students, has become the most prominent theme underlying the recent CCC conference series held at Leeds Metropolitan University (LMU) since 1996. Despite a particular interest in language learning and teaching, the Leeds conference series may be seen as following a genuinely interdisciplinary approach by uniting scholars with research backgrounds as varied as anthropology (Phipps, 1999), intercultural education (Tomic & Lengel, 1999), psychoanalysis (Cormeraie, 1999) and business management (Jack, 1999). Rather than a mere exchange of ideas, however, the Leeds conference series aims to pave the way for the study of language and intercultural learning as an emerging discipline, a complex and at times contradictory undertaking in the light of the project’s interdisciplinary origins. In this context, a vast variety of metaphors have been evoked to account for this new cross-cultural paradigm. Tomic & Lengel (1999:149), for instance, have used Bhabha’s (1995) notion of the *third space of enunciation* as a metaphor and have drawn on the writings of critical educationalists such as Freire (1998) and Giroux (1992) in their proposal of a theory of *transformation*. Phipps (1999:26), on the other hand, has been inspired among others by the writings of Clifford (1997), Ingold (1996) and Williams (1977) in her metaphors of *dwelling-in-travel* and *creative ways and provisional spaces*. The use of such varied metaphors reflects the project’s struggle to develop its own
discursive practices for its discipline-in-the-making. In fact, at the 1999 CCC conference it was unanimously decided to launch an association entitled “International Association for Languages and Intercultural Communication” (IALIC). This move suggests a shift away from “Cross-Cultural Capability” (CCC) towards “Languages and Intercultural Communication” (LAIC) as both the conference’s institutional identity and its emerging field of study.

How does the Leeds conference series conceptualise the original notion of CCC? For further insight it is necessary to take a closer look at the Higher Education for Capability (HEC) movement, which was instrumental in launching the CCC conferences and where capability is defined as “fitness for and of purpose” (Stephenson, 1998). This definition thus implies the integration of knowledge, skills and personal understanding used effectively in response to new and changing circumstances. The notion of CCC therefore transcends traditional understandings of language learning as the acquisition of purely linguistic and verbal skills and sees it as part of a larger-scale project of learning and using cross-cultural communication skills. For that reason, the notion of CCC is also of special interest to researchers in intercultural education (Tomic & Lengel, 1999) and language scholars interested in sociocultural aspects of L2 learning (Byram, 1997).

2.1.3.1. LAIC as an emerging discipline: key intellectual currents and influences

As the new field of LAIC includes a wide pool of scholars from various disciplinary traditions and little has been published outside the Leeds conference proceedings on LAIC as such, a brief look at some of the key intellectual currents in LAIC will help to ground the emerging discipline in key texts associated with each of its research traditions. This may in turn provide the basis for a developing coherence through the exposure of commonalities, complementarities and productive contrasts. I would like to limit the following overview, however, to research traditions within LAIC that have had a considerable impact on the present study. The following researchers and their respective disciplinary traditions are therefore not to be seen as exhaustive.

To begin, LAIC has been influenced significantly by the Higher Education for Capability (HEC) movement mentioned earlier (cf., Stephenson, 1998). In this context, the role of literary studies in LAIC for Higher Education (HE) has been of key interest, for instance, to Parry (1998, in press). In her work she draws among others on the writings of Henry James, E.M. Forster and French writers such as Makine and Vincenot to outline ways in which literature may impact on students’ identities and broaden their horizons. From an
anthropological perspective, Phipps (1999, in press) grounds her critical study of LAIC in the seminal writings of Geertz (1973) on interpretive anthropology, as well as the critical perspectives adopted by Williams (1977), one of the seminal writers in English on the relationship between culture and society. Phipps is also influenced in her work by the writings of Barnett (1997, 2000) on critical studies and the anthropological works of Clifford (1988, 1997) and Ingold (1993, 1996). The critical study of LAIC is also of interest to Jack (1999, in press), who draws on the writings of Silverman (1993) on qualitative research and Said (1995) on Orientalism among others to inform his critical, qualitative approach to LAIC within business studies.

From an Intercultural Communication perspective, it has been mentioned in the previous section with respect to metaphors in LAIC how Tomic & Lengel (1999) develop their ideas of a Theory of Transformation by drawing on writings in the critical pedagogical tradition, such as Giroux (1988, 1992) and Freire (1998). A critical, psychoanalytical view of LAIC is offered by Cormeraie (1999), who is inspired in her work among others by the writings of Freud (1922) and Kristeva (1999). Finally, scholars interested in ethnographic approaches to language and intercultural learning include Roberts, Byram, Barro, Jordan and Street, whose recent book Language Learners as Ethnographers (2001) builds on Byram’s (1997) model of Intercultural Communicative Competence and key insights from contemporary anthropology (e.g., Clifford, 1988, 1996).

This overview shows several overlapping areas of interest to LAIC scholars, such as the notions of language, culture and identity, the negotiation of meaning, the dialectics of Self and Other in cross-cultural encounters and the role of consciousness in intercultural communication (cf., 2000 CCC conference announcement, Appendix III). In addition, the scholars associated with each of the disciplines in LAIC show significant interest in several different yet complementary themes and motifs. Whereas scholars in literary and cultural studies, for instance, tend to focus on individuals’ imagination and self-expression through the use of written language, researchers in anthropology and ethnography attempt to appreciate variations in individuals’ cultural make-up through participant observation and ethnographic fieldwork. In this context, it is interesting to observe that early anthropologists also tended to be early linguists (e.g., Malinowski, 1967). Language scholars in LAIC are therefore particularly interested in ethnographic studies and acknowledge the role of experiential learning and identity in language and intercultural learning (e.g., Roberts et al., 2001), whereas previously the emphasis in SLA research had been variously on language system and then language use. LAIC researchers with psychoanalytical backgrounds (e.g., Cormeraie, 1999) are concerned with the introspective study of self and the mental life of
individuals with the therapeutic effect of reaching greater awareness of previously suppressed and subconscious behavioural patterns. Finally, business management specialists in LAIC tend to show a particular interest in smoothing the path of the linguistic and cultural interloper to improve commercial prospects and international trade relations as part of what Jack (1999, in press) critically refers to as the “cross-cultural training industry”. It may therefore be concluded that researchers in LAIC are linked by a common interest in language and intercultural learning. Their particular perspectives and foci, however, are informed by their individual disciplinary backgrounds and their respective research traditions, which accounts for the current diversity as a potential source of productive tensions. In terms of disciplinary formation, the emerging field of LAIC may therefore be regarded as passing through what Bourdieu (1988:40 ff.) identifies as the phases of detachment and integration on its way towards becoming a proper disciplinary power in its own right.

As Byram’s (1997) writings have been highly influential in the context of CCC/LAIC, I would also like to briefly comment on the ways in which his model of ICC may relate to the understanding of CCC and LAIC underlying the present study.

2.1.3.2. CCC/LAIC and Intercultural Communicative Competence (ICC)

As one of the first concrete attempts to embrace the cross-cultural paradigm in FL pedagogy, Byram’s (1997) highly publicised model of Intercultural Communicative Competence (ICC) has become influential in redefining second language learning as the development of intercultural skills and has thus been of particular interest for language scholars at the Leeds conferences. His model breaks with traditional SLA theory and Interlanguage studies by moving away from the traditional ideal of the native speaker and by advocating instead the intercultural speaker (1997:32) as the model to be emulated by language learners (for a critique of the native speaker ideal in SLA/FLL, see Kramsch (1993). Byram (1997:73) distinguishes between linguistic, sociolinguistic, discourse and intercultural competence and for the latter proposes five separate yet interrelated components, i.e., attitudes (savoir être), knowledge (savoirs), skills of interpreting and relating (savoir comprendre), skills of discovery and interaction (savoir apprendre) and critical cultural awareness (savoir s’engager).

The understanding of the term CCC in the following discussion reflects both Byram’s view of language learning as the development of ICC and the definition provided by the Leeds conference series. Both sources, however, limit the scope of CCC/ICC to the context of educational institutions, whereas the intention of this thesis is to extend the discussion to
naturalistic environments. As such, the notion of CCC may frequently be interchangeable with the broader concepts of intercultural communication and cross-cultural skills, the close relationship of which will be clarified and illustrated by the present work. For that reason, I may also be seen to endorse the use of “Languages and Intercultural Communication” (LAIC) as the preferred term for this emerging interdisciplinary field of inquiry. At the CCC conference in Leeds in December 1999, the terminological debate seemed to centre on the concepts of CCC and LAIC, with the former more commonly associated with scholars leaning towards more structuralist and quantitative approaches to research and the latter being used primarily by advocates of more qualitative and hermeneutic studies.

With respect to these contrasting research traditions, it must be added that the present thesis aims at exploring qualitatively how the process of language learning may intersect with the development of cross-cultural skills and shifts in cultural identity. This approach marks a departure from how CCC and intercultural communication have so far been conceptualised in Byram’s model or among the CCC advocates at the Leeds conference series. Byram (1997), for instance, seems to imply in his model that ICC can be developed by monocultural learners without any significant impact on their sense of self. In this context, for instance, he often makes use of terms that imply a marked “we-they” contrast, such as “host”, “visitor”, “outsider” and “foreigner” as illustrated by the following passage:

"...The intercultural speaker notes and adopts the behaviours [...] appropriate for an outsider; the intercultural speaker takes into consideration the expectations the others may have about appropriate behaviour from foreigners." (Byram, 1997:58)

Byram’s model does not explicitly discredit possible shifts in learner identity towards multiculturalism in the process of developing cross-cultural skills. As an educational researcher, however, Byram is far less concerned with learners’ affective shifts in cultural identity than with how ICC may be conceptualised theoretically and represented as discrete categories to be developed and evaluated in formal teaching environments. The latter may be seen as a questionable undertaking from a qualitative and interpretivist perspective, since the representation of ICC as discrete, measurable categories seems to suggest a uniform, linear development of cross-cultural skills. Qualitative researchers may argue that such factual representation may not be able to sufficiently account for the diversity and richness of subjective individual feelings and experiences of Self and Other that could be unravelled by alternative interpretivist approaches. On this subject, for instance, Barnett (1997:174) critically observes:
"Wanting to keep values and emotions out of things, the academic world concentrates its firepower on cognition, on propositions and on techniques."

In contrast to Byram's model, the understanding of CCC and intercultural communication underlying the present thesis implies a high degree of affective involvement on the part of learners. This emotional "investment" (Norton Peirce, 1995; Norton, 2000) may thus also account for significant changes in their sense of self and their understanding of Self and Other in cross-cultural encounters. It is my contention that such subjective shifts in cultural identity and the way in which they relate to the process of language learning and the development of CCC/ICC may best be unravelled and explored by turning to a qualitative and interpretivist research paradigm. It will be the aim of chapter five to discuss these analytic options in further detail.

2.1.4. The notion of culture

As the present work is concerned with the cultural identities of language learners, it is also important to point out how the notion of culture is approached and understood in this context. "Culture" constitutes a notoriously slippery concept and thus requires concrete positioning in the present work.

As illustrated in the theoretical analysis in chapters two to five, my understanding is of "culture as a process" and draws primarily on the positions taken by anthropologically and ethnographically oriented scholars in LAIC (e.g., Phipps, 1999; Roberts et al., 2001). The latter in turn have been informed by critical anthropological works (e.g., Clifford, 1988), in which essentialist notions of culture are circumspectly questioned and relativised. Whereas the present work is not the place to join this debate in greater detail, suffice it to say at this point that I conceive of culture as something that individuals or groups do rather than have. For that reason, I also disagree with essentialist conceptions of "one culture, one nation, one language" that seem to persist in many areas of Higher Education and Intercultural Studies, as critically observed by Clifford (1988) and Jack (1999). Instead, I understand the notion of culture in language learning as something that is actively negotiated by individuals on a daily basis and thus also subject to relations of power (cf., Norton, 2000; Foucault, 1999). By way of comparison, Giroux (1992) conceives of "culture" in similar ways in the context of critical pedagogy by defining culture as "[...] a contested terrain, a site of struggle and transformation [...]" (1992:165). This conception of culture as an active process will be both further illustrated and deepened in the present work.
2.1.5. Cultural identity and the Self

The study of identity constitutes a rather complex and multi-faceted research area that transcends disciplinary boundaries and tends to open a Pandora's box of theoretical approaches. For that reason, it is of vital importance to clarify how I intend to use the notion of cultural identity in the following discussion of language, culture and identity. To begin, I would like to distance myself from largely quantitative and experimental approaches associated with ethnolinguistic identity studies. Gudykunst (1989), for instance, employs a four-way multivariate analysis of variance to investigate the interdependence of cultural variability and ethnolinguistic identity based on Hofstede’s (1984) averages for dimensions of cultural variability. Gudykunst’s is an attempt to objectify the notion of identity and to subject it to scientific measurement, a controversial and at best idealistic undertaking from a qualitative, interpretivist standpoint, since for the latter, cultural identity and difference and their underlying individual experiential moorings cannot be reduced to statistical figures and numbers. In addition, Hofstede’s dimensions of cultural variability have come under increasing criticism from business management studies (Jack, 1999) and Pragmatics (Clyne, 1994).

A different approach to identity studies can be found in Louw & Potgieter (1988) and McNamara (1988). In their research on social and ethnic identity, Louw & Potgieter refer to identity development as “a multidimensional, dynamic process” (1988:106) while McNamara acknowledges the “dynamic, interactive and context-dependent” nature of social identity. Their views thus coincide much more with the theoretical positions of early American pragmatists such as James, Cooley and Mead, their symbolic interactionist followers and how identity is conceptualised in the present discussion (see the theoretical outline of self based on Holstein & Gubrium, 2000, in chapter 4.2).

The conceptualisation of identity used here draws on various sources from sociology, social anthropology and philosophy, including Jenkins’ (1996) important work Social Identity. In his theorising of social identity, Jenkins (1996:21) sees the “internal and external dialectic of identification” as the benchmark of individual identity. In this context, Jenkins acknowledges the social nature of identity and the limiting effect of social power on personal freedom, but also elaborates a model of what he terms pragmatic individualism, which may empower individuals to resist societal pressures and to assert themselves. Jenkins’ model therefore shows significant parallels to my own hypotheses that language learners may resort to
strategies of identity assertion in an effort to resist assimilationist pressures by mono-norm majorities and to assert their hybrid cultural identities (Grosse, 1999).

The notion of identity is closely related to the concept of self, which has a long tradition in western philosophy and social theory. Holstein & Gubrium (2000), for instance, offer a lucid account of the development of Self from the transcendental self of the Enlightenment to the experiential and social self of American pragmatism and its demise in theories of radical or what Holstein & Gubrium (2000:56) refer to as "sceptical" postmodernism. As a more hopeful end to the story of the Self, Holstein & Gubrium offer a qualitative and interpretive account of the postmodern Self as realised through the everyday discursive practices of what they refer to as narrative self-construction (2000:84). This interpretivist approach will be presented in further detail in chapter four as a point of departure for an analytic model to shed light on the conceptual interplay of the themes of language, culture and identity.

The question may arise, however, to what extent the notions of Self and identity are in fact synonymous. Holstein & Gubrium’s account suggests that the two concepts are closely related if not interchangeable in most contexts. In their writing, the authors often alternate between the notions of “self”, “personal identity” (2000:8) and “individual identity” (2000:10). Even the title of their seminal book, *The Self we live by. Narrative Identity in a Postmodern World*, points towards a close, quasi-synonymous relationship between the two notions. For that reason, I will also use the concepts of self and identity as interchangeable terms in the present thesis. The notions of individual and subject, by contrast, are not used in the present work in connection with identity. While the term “individual” is understood here with reference to persons in a social setting, the notion of subject is not used in any context other than those related to study subjects in our discussion of the study design and implementation in chapters six and seven.

The conception of self and identity underlying the present work draws heavily on Holstein & Gubrium’s model of a sense of identity grounded in discourse and narrative. Refusing to give up on the promising modernist notion of an experiential and social self in the tradition of American pragmatists and symbolic interactionists, Holstein & Gubrium (2000) proclaim that the postmodern self is not dead as suggested by some advocates of radical postmodernism, such as Baudrillard (1983). Instead, they argue, selves in postmodernity are constituted more

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3“Story” is used here in a specialised sense to indicate how conceptualisations of self-hood are embedded in the discourse of social theory and philosophy. The use of “story” therefore serves to highlight our analytic interest in the role of narrative and discourse in negotiating meaning and difference - as practised both in academic circles and the mundane sphere of everyday life.
diversely than ever through localised discursive practices and what they refer to as subjective narratives of self-construction (2000:81ff.).

Holstein & Gubrium are primarily interested in the *hows* and *whats* of self-enunciation and tend to focus on various institutional and organisational settings in which individuals may articulate their identities in discourse or "narratively inscribe their subjectivities", e.g., hospitals, prisons and retirement homes. In the present thesis, by contrast, I would like to limit the discussion to language learners' sense of *cultural* identity and how shifts in their subjectivities may be associated with developments in their L2 and intercultural communication skills.

Analytically, however, I would like to fully draw on Holstein & Gubrium's (2000:94) approach of *interpretive practice* and appropriate their model of narrative identity for a qualitative study on possible associations between language learning, cross-cultural skills and cultural identity. Their view of the self in postmodernity as a "practical discursive accomplishment" (2000:70) is based on what they refer to as *interpretive practice* (2000:94ff.), which consists of a constant interplay of the *hows* and *whats* of self-enunciation, i.e., the processes of *discursive practice* associated with ethnomethodology and conversation analysis (CA) and *discourse-in-practice* typical of Foucauldian analysis. These key elements of *interpretive practice* will be outlined in greater depth in chapter four in an effort to build a bridge between Holstein & Gubrium's qualitative, interpretivist design and the study of students' subjective shifts in cultural identity associated with their language and intercultural learning.

2.1.6. Cross-, inter-, trans- or multicultural?

Within the emerging field of LAIC, scholars have been debating terminological issues as one of the key steps in forming the discursive landscape for this new discipline. As mentioned earlier (cf. 2.1.3.), at the 1999 Leeds conference, the debate centered around the notions of Cross-cultural Capability (CCC) and Languages and Intercultural Communication (LAIC) respectively. In this context, however, there has also been a discussion of the adjectives *cross-cultural, intercultural, transcultural* and *multicultural*. While *cross-cultural* may seem to imply a greater emphasis on the notions of *crossing cultures* and *standing above cultures* similar to an understanding of such skills among some educational researchers in LAIC (e.g., Byram, 1997), the concept of *intercultural* may seem to stress the role of the *interhuman* (cf., Buber, 1954) commented on by other LAIC scholars (e.g., Phipps, 1999, in press). *Transcultural*, by contrast, has recently become the preferred term in anthropological writings.
(e.g., Ingold, 1996) and been used by several other researchers in LAIC (e.g., Thurlow, in press).

While a more detailed discussion of these terms may dissolve into subjectivity, I would like to position myself with respect to particular collocations in which I feel these terms may be used. While I see the notion of multicultural primarily as an attribute for persons, e.g., "multicultural individuals", for which I have also used the notion of "multi identified individuals" elsewhere (cf., chapter 2.1.1.2.; Grosse, 1999), I will primarily refer to cross-cultural skills or, more generally, to intercultural communication in this thesis. For the process of learning, the present work mostly uses the rather inclusive and general notion of language and intercultural learning. Following a Wittgensteinian approach to this contentious issue, the debate should ultimately, in my view, thus centre on such collocational questions.

2.2. Language, culture and identity across disciplinary boundaries

Within the wider context of the possible associations between L2 learning, CCC and cultural identity, I would initially like to take a closer look at how the broader notions of language, culture and identity overlap, intersect and reflexively mediate each other in different types of academic discourse. A critical account of such associations would serve the dual purpose of explicating the intimate and complex relationship of language, culture and identity across disciplinary boundaries while setting the stage for the interdisciplinary study of learner identity within the context of L2 learning and the emerging field of Languages and Intercultural Communication (LAIC).

2.2.1. Language studies and SLA theory

Most language scholars would agree that language and culture are closely related and that learning a second language also implies becoming acquainted with cultural elements associated with the language under study. It may seem surprising then to observe that traditional FL education tends to separate rather than integrate the teaching of language and culture, as critically commented on by Byram (1991) and confirmed by Buttjes:

"(...) later stages of formal language education tend to dissociate rather than mediate language and culture" (Buttjes, 1991:4)
Byram’s (1991:21ff.) attempt, in fact, is one of the first to integrate the teaching of language and culture in formal FL pedagogy. In this context, he proposes a circle of techniques and experience that consists of four components, i.e., Language Learning, Language Awareness, Cultural Awareness and Cultural Experience. He claims, however, that three of these components are already accounted for by existing pedagogical practices, i.e., Language Learning by actual FL instruction, metalinguistic Language Awareness by introductory linguistics courses and Cultural Experience by exchange programmes and year-abroad schemes. Cultural Awareness, by contrast, is not as readily covered by existing teaching practice, even though it shows the most parallels to what Byram (1997) later elaborates into his model of Intercultural Communicative Competence (ICC). It may also seem questionable from a qualitative, interpretivist perspective to divide existing pedagogical practice into four discrete components as Byram’s (1991) model suggests.

Traditionally, research in language learning and teaching has followed a more linguistic orientation than Byram’s model may seem to indicate. This is why some SLA scholars have critically observed that sociolinguistics has become a strong area of research within SLA, while the sociocultural dimension of language learning remains underdeveloped, as commented on by Stern (1983:246):

“As a generalisation, one can say that language teaching theory is fast acquiring a sociolinguistic component but still lacks a well-defined socio-cultural emphasis.”

Hymes’ (1971) notion of ‘communicative competence’ explicitly stressed contextualised language use rather than idealised linguistic knowledge and thus helped to inform numerous sociolinguistic and pragmatic studies, as evidenced by Schumann’s (1978) Acculturation Theory and Blum-Kulka, House & Kasper’s (1989) research on speech acts (cf., Austin, 1975; Searle, 1986) and their potential realisations in different languages. Sociocultural studies on L2 learning, by contrast, remained rather scarce, possibly because it may seem challenging to approach social, cultural and affective dimensions of language learning within traditional experimental approaches. Drawing on Hymes (1971), Saville-Troike’s (1989, first published in 1978) influential work on the Ethnography of Communication may be regarded as a pioneer project to further develop sociocultural research within L2 learning research. It largely failed, however, to inspire other researchers to further explore the complex interface between language and culture within a qualitative, interpretivist paradigm as envisioned here.

In terms of academic discourse, of course, the themes of language, culture and identity are taken up and elaborated in myriad ways in contemporary research on language learning. It
would go beyond the scope of our present discussion to comprehensively cover their mutual narrative overlaps and their respective significance for L2 learning theory. In what follows, however, I would like to focus on two recent examples of language research where the themes of language, culture and identity are featured prominently together, albeit within different conceptual frameworks. They are Byram’s (1997) model of Intercultural Communicative Competence (ICC) and Norton Peirce’s (1995) model of Social Identity.

2.2.1. Byram’s model of Intercultural Communicative Competence (ICC)

Byram’s (1997) model of ICC explicitly links the themes of language and culture and regards both as integral parts of L2 learning. It is possible to find evidence for this connection in his proposed ideal of the intercultural speaker (1997:32; cf., chapter 2.1.2) to be emulated by language learners and his suggested elements of ICC, i.e., attitudes, knowledge, skills of interpreting and relating, skills of discovery and interaction as well as critical cultural awareness (1997:50-55).

The notion of identity, by contrast, seems more difficult to approach within the discourse of his model of ICC. In a section entitled Communication and Interaction, Byram (1997:17-22) seems to strike a rather critical and interpretivist tone atypical of the predominantly structuralist FLL discourse that characterises most of his writing. In this section, Byram (1997:19) evokes the works of symbolic interactionists and acknowledges that social identity is not objective and fixed but “changing and negotiated over time”. His views on identity are thus largely in tune with the experiential, social self of American pragmatists and seem to correspond to how the notion of social identity is conceptualised here in the present discussion. In the same section, Byram (1997:18) rejects Geertz’s (1973) definition of culture as a “historically transmitted pattern of meanings” as overly static and as mainly representative of powerful majority groups. In this context, Byram (1997:19) observes:

"It has been the tradition of FLT [Foreign Language Teaching] to analyse in terms of national divisions and national identity, tacitly accepting the fact that this is also above all the analysis of the culture of a dominant elite. Is this tradition justified?"

My answer to Byram's question is an unequivocal no. If social identity is changing and negotiated over time, so is the notion of learners’ sense of cultural identity, rendering the concept of an objectively fixed national majority culture largely inadequate. A closer analysis of learner identity may therefore call for a new understanding of the subjective identity shifts
and cultural affiliations experienced by learners as they become increasingly competent in their L2 and their intercultural communication skills.

2.2.1.2. Norton Peirce's model of Social Identity

In her influential paper 'Social Identity, Investment and Language Learning', Norton Peirce (1995) also explicitly links the themes of language, culture and identity. In her view, traditional SLA theory has created an artificial division between language learners and their social world, which is why social aspects of SLA are accounted for and weighed in contrasting terms in different SLA models (1995:11). The latter means that social factors are defined and taken into account in varied ways by different language scholars depending on their individual research interests and perspectives. In addition, Norton Peirce (1995) rejects traditional SLA notions of a centred, unified learner identity as illustrated by essentialist categories such as introversion and extroversion, field dependence and independence typical of theories of social psychology (e.g., Gardner & Lambert, 1972). Alternatively, she elaborates her post-structuralist view of social identity as multiple and variably constructed thus decentred and consisting of many, at times contradictory selves. Her conceptualisation of identity is primarily informed by constructivist and anti-essentialist identity theories typical of contemporary gender studies and feminism, as will be discussed in greater detail in section 2.2.4 in connection with Butler's (1990) classic work on gender identity and subversion.

In her article on language, culture and identity, Norton Peirce (1995) particularly focuses on the role of power in interaction and how native speakers may exert considerable influence on language learners and their sense of identity in communication. For that reason, she argues that "communicative competence" in the tradition of Hymes (1971) should also include *claiming the right to speak* as a communication strategy, which would enable language learners to subvert power and to assert their hybrid identities. Norton Peirce's (1995) views therefore show significant parallels to how identity and power are conceptualised by Jenkins (1996) and in the present discussion within the context of language learning and intercultural communication.

In her book *Identity and Language Learning*, Norton (2000; formerly Norton-Peirce) builds on her 1995 paper and offers a detailed presentation of her longitudinal research on adult immigrant language learners involving the experiences and personal accounts of five immigrant women in Canada. She starts out with a critical analysis of existing SLA research involving social aspects of L2 learning, such as Krashen's (1985) *Monitor Model*, Gardner &
Lambert’s (1972) studies on *Motivation* and Schumann’s (1978) *Acculturation Model*. She repeats her argument from her 1995 paper that different SLA models tend to approach the relationship between individuals and their social worlds in contrasting terms resulting in opposing views on the role of the social world in L2 learning. In this context, Norton (2000:4) cautions:

"Such disagreements in the SLA literature should not be dismissed [...]. This debate arises, I suggest, because artificial distinctions are drawn between the individual and the social, which lead to arbitrary mapping of particular factors on either the individual or the social, with little rigorous justification"

In addition, Norton (2000:7 ff.) stresses again the role of inequitable relations of power on communication and the negotiation of learner identities. She elaborates on her proposed concept of *investment* and defines the latter as "the socially and historically constructed relationship of learners to the target language, and their often ambivalent desire to learn and practice it" (2000:10 ff.). In her discussion of power relations in social interaction, Norton (2000:131) draws on the writings of Bourdieu (1988) by arguing that

"[...] the most radical, surest, and best hidden censorships are those which exclude certain individuals from communication."

She subsequently applies this observation to situations of social interaction involving the immigrant women in her study during their day-to-day work and private experiences of overt or covert instances of discrimination by the target language majority. In the wider context of Norton’s theoretical framework, it may also be pointed out that the works of Bourdieu have similarly helped to inform Holstein & Gubrium’s (2000) sociological studies, to be appropriated in the present work for the cultural identity research project (CIRP 2000) proposed later in chapter six.

In contrast to Byram (1997), Norton’s work therefore places more emphasis on inequitable relations of power, learners’ individual trajectories and their respective *investment* in learning another language. By extension, Norton thus also attributes greater analytic importance to the roles of discourse, narrative and individual experience than Byram’s model of ICC. For that reason, it may be concluded that Norton Peirce’s (1995) and Norton’s (2000) discourse on *language, culture and identity* offers significant conceptual overlaps with the ways in which these notions are theoretically embraced in the present discussion on learner identity in LAIC.
2.2.2. Philosophy and Social Theory

The complex interplay between the general themes of language, culture and identity may also be observed in contemporary social theory and philosophy. Compared to SLA studies, the focus here may be less on language and more on social and cultural aspects of contemporary living, but social scholars nonetheless offer many varied ways of linking the themes of culture, identity and the role of language in their discourse. In this context, their enunciation may not be as specifically concerned with L2 learning, CCC and learner identity as envisioned here. A closer look at their discourse, however, may still serve the analytic purpose of highlighting the myriad overlaps between the themes of language, culture and identity as part of their theoretical arguments.

Foucault (1999, first published in 1975), for instance, shows great interest in the role of power in communication, particularly how institutional power and its discourse "makes individuals", i.e., shapes their sense of collective, institutional identity. In this respect, Foucault especially focuses on the *whats* of available disciplinary discourse and how discourse is historically constituted and may change over time in what he refers to as the "history of the present" or genealogical analysis (cf., Holstein & Gubrium, 2000:76). Foucault (1980) describes, for instance, how the meaning of what we understand as "family" has undergone significant changes over time. Holstein & Gubrium see the latter as a vivid example of a Foucauldian interpretation of *discourse*, in which

"[...] A discourse, [...] is a kind of constructive history of the present; in practice, its vocabulary, real objects of reference, and system of representation work to constitute their own subjectivities, along with the latter's respective pasts, presents, and futures." (Holstein & Gubrium, 2000:79)

This Foucauldian understanding of discourse is therefore also adopted in the present thesis and forms the theoretical grounding tropes of what Holstein & Gubrium refer to as *Discourse-in-practice* (cf., chapter 4.3.1). The use of *discourse* in the present work hence attributes a key role to *power* and *knowledge* and recognises that entire systems of meaning can be created on the basis of predominant discursive practices, as Foucault's example of *family* cited above may help to illustrate. For that reason, it must be pointed out that the present work intends to use the notion of discourse primarily in this Foucauldian sense and not in accordance with other possible definitions, e.g., from Linguistics, Communication Theory or Discourse Analysis.
Foucault's notion of power discourse which is characteristic of disciplines and institutions shows significant parallels to the concept of language games, which Lyotard (1999, first published 1979) proposes by drawing on Wittgenstein's (1959) well-known original notion.

In “The Postmodern Condition” (1979), Lyotard argues that fragmentation and the proliferation of information technology in postmodernity have led to a significant break-up of language into various forms of locally-constituted disciplinary and institutional discourses. In Lyotard's view, there is thus no longer an all-encompassing “metallanguage” capable of appropriating and accommodating individual, disciplinary and institutional diversity. His frequently cited quote: “The grand narrative has lost its credibility” (1999:320), may be interpreted in this larger context. It expresses Lyotard's scepticism towards what he calls “metanarratives” typically associated with modernity and paves the way towards locally constituted, subjective disciplinary discourse, language games, typical of our contemporary postmodern world, such as technical jargon and languages for special purposes (LSPs).

A leading figure in postmodern philosophy, Lyotard (1979) therefore sees diverse discursive space for the enunciation of postmodern selves within these subjective language games. Lyotard's position thus stands in sharp contrast to radical postmodernists like Baudrillard (1999, first published 1983). The latter claims that “reality” as such no longer exists due to the pervasive presence of simulation in contemporary social life. Baudrillard's philosophical arguments on what he terms “hyperreality” therefore erode the foundations of the metaphysics of presence by questioning the reality principle per se. By extension, Baudrillard would thus also doubt the existence of an experiential, social self.

This has only been a brief and at best precursory attempt to adumbrate some ways in which the themes of language, culture and identity are taken up and developed in social theory and philosophy. I have limited my arguments to the theoretical positions of Foucault (1984) and Lyotard (1979), as they provide the basis for a discursively-grounded and narratively-inscribed sense of self as conceptualised by Holstein & Gubrium (2000), which is elaborated further below in chapter four within the wider context of L2 learning and intercultural communication.

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4 In the present discussion, the qualitative notion of a “narratively-inscribed” sense of self refers to the role of discourse in articulating and asserting individual identities in communication. It thus implies that individuals “inscribe”, i.e., leave a written or oral verbal imprint of their sense of self in on-going interaction. The notion of “inscription” is also frequently evoked in anthropological circles. In this context, for instance, Geertz observes that “the ethnographer ‘inscribes’ social discourse; he writes it down.” (1973:19, emphases in original)
2.2.3. Ethnography and Anthropology

"The fashioned, fictional self is always located with reference to its culture and coded modes of expression, its language" (Clifford, 1988:94)

As this quote by Clifford from his seminal work The Predicament of Culture aptly illustrates, ethnography and anthropology may also provide a vast variety of rich accounts of how language, culture and identity may interrelate and reflexively mediate each other. In the light of Holstein & Gubrium’s (2000) aforementioned qualitative, interpretivist approach of interpretive practice to unravel how subjectivities may be articulated in narrative, I would like to rephrase Clifford’s quote and interpret it as follows: “Narratives of cultural selves arise within the discourse-in-practice provided by their respective culture and language”.

In this wider context, it may be observed that anthropologists such as Clifford (1988), tend to embrace the themes of language, culture and identity in several contrasting ways, e.g., from an experiential, empirically-based perspective and from a critical, methodological standpoint. As for the former, the interplay between language, culture and identity becomes particularly evident in Clifford’s (1988:92) opening paragraph on what he refers to as Ethnographic Self-fashioning. This is where he opens the debate on cultural identity within anthropology with the bold statement “one self, one culture, one language”, which he henceforth circumspectly questions and relativises.

He subsequently traces the development of early pioneers of multicultural displacement, such as Conrad (1898) in Heart of Darkness and Malinowski (1967, published posthumously) in A Diary in the Strict Sense of the Term. In Clifford’s view, theirs was an identity crisis caused by the “unstable confusion of other voices and worlds” (1988:103), whereby they struggled with “complex, contradictory subjective situations articulated at the levels of language, desire and cultural affiliations” (1988:102). These observations could thus be said to highlight the complex interplay of language, culture and identity from an experiential perspective. As a tentative solution to what I may refer to as a sense of “cosmo-confusion” underlying Conrad and Malinowski’s identity crises, Clifford (1988:103) mentions the therapeutic effects of anthropological work routines. The latter may include writing diaries and ethnographies as a way to “make sense” of the world and to coherently represent fieldwork conducted. Of course it must be acknowledged in this context that anthropologists do not normally treat literary sources as “data”. At the same time, however, Clifford’s writing in particular illustrates how recent changes in the perceived role and perspective of ethnographic authority have paved the
way for the inclusion of personal narrative and autobiographies in anthropological writing and ethnographic fieldwork.

This last observation leads directly to the second perspective on language, culture and identity in ethnography and anthropology. From a critical, methodological standpoint, anthropologists also tend to embrace the general themes of language, culture and identity within the wider context of how ethnographies are written and how representative they are of the cultural realities that they are purported to describe. Due to far-reaching geo-political and technological changes world-wide, Clifford (1986) in *Writing Culture* argues that ethnographic writing is ultimately perspectival and thus indicative of the researchers' ethnographic subjectivity. In this context, he remarks that:

“We ground things, now, on a moving earth. There is no longer any place of overview (mountaintop) from which to map human ways of life, no Archimedian point from which to represent the world.” (Clifford, 1986:22)

As for the role of language in the representation of culture and the articulation of identity, Clifford observes that “fieldwork is significantly composed of language events” (1988:41). This statement shows important parallels to Foucauldian *power discourse* and the notion of *language games* that Lyotard (1999) borrows from Wittgenstein (1959), as outlined earlier (cf., chapter 2.2.2). By resorting to themes and resources available within the scope of anthropological authority, ethnographic accounts may thus be said to serve the dual purpose of representing the cultural ‘reality’ of subjects under study and of diversely articulating the researchers’ ethnographic subjectivities in narrative terms.

The critical, methodological analysis of the interplay between language, culture and identity in ethnographic accounts may also be observed in other anthropologically-oriented writings. Marcus (1992), for instance, provides a rich analysis of ethnographic writings and their requirements for late modernity and states such requirements in terms of “remaking the observed” and “remaking the observer”. The former, in Marcus' (1992:309 ff.) view, implies breaking with the traditional tropes of community, history and structure by shifting the emphasis to a new spatial and temporal paradigm and a new perspective. The latter, i.e., “remaking the observer”, implies the use of “dialogue” and explicit “bifocality” (1992:321) in ethnographic writing highlighting the “critical juxtaposition of alternative possibilities” and the role of ethnography as a form of “cultural critique” (1992:323). Marcus' arguments therefore also help to illustrate some ways in which culture, subjectivity and the role of
language may intersect, mutually constitute each other and thus form important common themes in contemporary anthropological writing.

2.2.4. Feminism and Gender Studies

"Language is not an exterior medium or instrument into which I pour a self and from which I glean a reflection of that self" (Butler, 1990:143-144, emphasis in original)

As this quote from Judith Butler's (1990) classic work *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* helps to illustrate, the themes of language, culture and identity are also recurrent in feminism and gender studies, even though here their deployment may focus primarily on the notion of gender identities and their enunciation in a cultural climate of "phallogocentrism and compulsory heterosexuality" (1990:ix). Albeit of somewhat limited relevance for the subjects of L2 learning, CCC and shifts in cultural identity, Butler's post-structuralist account of how gender identity is constituted by discourse and social power offers significant parallels to the concept of an empirical, social self based on discursive practice and communicational interaction. In addition, Butler's work may suggest possible parallels between gendered power relations and cultural power relations involving L2 learners and native speakers. It may not come as a surprise then that Butler's theories have significantly helped to inform the arguments of language scholars interested in social aspects of L2 learning, such as Norton Peirce's (1995) model of social identity.

In her arguments, Butler (1990:142) objects to what she refers to as the existing foundationalist reasoning of identity politics and presents her own constructivist account of gender identity. In the former, the subject has a "stable" existence and her identity as a woman needs to be in place for political interests to be enunciated. As a consequence, culture and discourse only mire the subject, but do not constitute it. The result of such reasoning, Butler (1990:143) continues, would be the exclusion and marginalisation of individuals that may not conform to such an essentialist identity. According to her post-structuralist account, by contrast, there is no need for a "doer behind the deed", as the doer is "variably constructed in and through the deed" (1990:142). The "doer behind the deed" mentioned by Butler thus refers to the traditional notion of essentialist identity, whereas her poststructuralist proposal of "constructing the doer in and through the deed" may pave the way for the inclusion of alternatively enunciated identities. Constructing womanhood in and through discourse, for instance, may thus allow the inclusion and, by extension, the representation of eunuchs and the transgender community that would otherwise be marginalised and excluded.
In her account, Butler draws on Saussurian principles and argues that identity is asserted through the process of signification and is thus already signified. For that reason, the question of agency may not be answered through recourse to an “I” that preexists signification. In her own words:

“The shift from an epistemological account of identity to one which locates the problematic within practices of signification permits an analysis that takes the epistemological mode itself as one possible and contingent signifying practice” (1990:144, emphases in original).

The implications of Butler’s poststructuralist account of identity for the enunciation and assertion of cultural identities in intercultural communication are manifold. The outlined tradition of separating language and culture in FL textbooks while presenting target cultures (TCs) as a set of factual entities (Byram, 1991), for instance, attests to a general tendency in SLA/FLL circles to essentialise culture and to treat it as a discrete artefact. Butler’s (1990) account, by contrast, would approach the notion of culture from an interactionist and constructivist perspective and would thus transcend the notion of predetermined national cultures while offering students myriad openings for conveying their subjectivities and for enunciating their hybrid cultural identities.

Butler’s poststructuralist and constructivist account of gender identity, however, does not limit the discussion to how sexual identities are reflexively constituted by discourse and power. Her discussion also offers various openings for individual self-assertion and thus frequently takes on rather activist tones. In this context, her arguments may be of importance to theoretical considerations of how language learners may develop and assert their multifaceted selves in intercultural communication. Butler (1990:145) argues here that the process of signification that underlies identity formation operates through a form of repetition in what she calls repetitive signifying. For that reason, Butler (1990:145) continues, individuals may successfully assert themselves by attempting to find variations to the said process of repetition. In other words, subversion of majority identities may only be achieved by what Butler (1990:145) terms reconfiguration and redeployment within these practices of repetitive signifying.

Butler’s arguments therefore suggest that it may be possible for individuals to convey, enunciate and assert alternative subjectivities by interfering with the signifying processes that determine such identities, i.e., by reconfiguring and redirecting conceptualisations of identity within existing communicational interaction. For that reason, Butler’s (1990) work may serve
the dual purpose of informing a theoretical account of the themes and resources underlying
the process of self-enunciation in interaction while at the same time providing the grounding
tropes for personal empowerment and agency within a possible model of self-enunciation in
LAIC as an emerging discipline.

2.3. Conclusion

This chapter has served the dual purpose of providing working definitions of key terms and
concepts while at the same time explicating the intimate relationship between language, culture and identity across disciplinary boundaries. On the basis of the given definitions of SLA, CCC and cultural identity and their mutual thematic overlaps, it now becomes possible to initially widen our theoretical perspective to provide a theoretical framework of identity enunciation and empowerment in language and intercultural learning by taking a closer look at contemporary social theory. This initial widening of our analytic perspective will then be followed by a concrete narrowing of our theoretical focus through the development of the analytical model of interpretive practice (after Holstein & Gubrium, 2000) and our concept of a cultural self based on discourse and the narrative practices of self-enunciation.
3. Theoretical considerations of Self and Other in Languages and Intercultural Communication (LAIC)

Despite advances in theory-building in the emerging field of LAIC, such as Byram's (1997) model of *Intercultural Communicative Competence (ICC)* in FL pedagogy, current research in L2 learning is still lacking a comprehensive model to account for the complex relationship between language learners and their social world. As indicated in our earlier analysis, Norton Peirce's (1995) model of *social identity, investment and language learning* ranks among the few attempts to embrace the issues of identity, social power and representations of Self and Other in this context. In her study, Norton Peirce signals her debt to post-structuralism and feminism in her conception of social identity, but provides few details regarding the theoretical background framing her work. In similar terms, Norton Peirce's notion of classroom-based social research with language learners as ethnographers (1995:26) seems to merit further elaboration. As we will see in our later discussion of Norton Peirce (1995) and Norton (2000), even in her later work the discussion of her model's possible implications for classroom practice may seem a bit unsatisfactory and only occupies a few paragraphs in her book.

For that reason, it is the aim of the following chapter to build on her tentative account of a theory of language learning and social identity. My own background in L2 learning theory, translation and interpreting studies, CCC and social studies may serve as my main point of reference for the development of these theoretical ideas. My aim is to take a critical look at contemporary social theory in an effort to create a socio-theoretical framework for a discussion of identity enunciation, empowerment, and representations of Self and Other within the context of language and intercultural learning. I have argued elsewhere (Grosse, 1999), for instance, that L2 learning may be understood as the development of CCC and social identity and that learners may resort to assertion strategies in cases of repression in assimilationist environments.

In view of my previous claims and assumptions on the relationship between CCC, cultural identity and L2 learning, the time has now come to further explicate the theoretical foundations framing my approach. By doing so, I hope to further contribute to a better understanding of the complexities involved in identity enunciation, empowerment and discussions of Self and Other within the wider context of L2 learning and intercultural communication.
3.1. A postmodern world or modernity in crisis?

Most social theorists tend to disagree on the exact nature of changes affecting the social realm and find it challenging to determine precisely how such changes may impact on the relationship between individuals and society. There is even greater disagreement among scholars on how to name this emerging world, whether ours is a late modern world struggling with ideals or whether we have reached what has been termed a postmodern condition (Lyotard, 1999:315, first published 1979). Whatever we wish to call our contemporary landscape may thus be ultimately a question of our perspective, i.e., how we view and interpret current conditions that are constitutive of social life.

Virtually all scholars seem to agree, however, that the social landscape is undergoing far-reaching change at an unprecedented pace. Examples include recent advances in information technology, among them e-mail and the World Wide Web (WWW), the concomitant occurrence of both globalisation and localisation phenomena along with significant changes in the geo-political landscape, such as the aforementioned process of economic, monetary and political unification in the European Union (EU). Such global changes are therefore also likely to impact the notion of cultural identity and L2 learning. Individuals no longer live their entire lives where they were born and grew up. For that reason, they may also become increasingly confronted with the issue of otherness than only a few decades ago. As Clifford (1988:14) observes:

"Difference is encountered in the adjoining neighborhood, the familiar turns up at the ends of the earth."

As indicated in chapter 2.2.3, Clifford (1988:95) illustrates the potential challenges of these global changes by exploring the “identity crises” of two early pioneers of cosmopolitanism and “new spatial practices” (1988:13), i.e., Conrad in Heart of Darkness (1899) and Malinowski in A Diary in the Strict Sense of the Term (1967, published posthumously). For Clifford (1988:98), both portray the crisis of an identity due to too many choices involving "career, language and cultural attachment".

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5 Did Clifford back in 1988 already anticipate the emergence of cyberspace when he made reference to new spatial practices?
In his view, Conrad and Malinowski

"[...] were enmeshed in complex, contradictory subjective situations articulated at the levels of language, desire, and cultural affiliation." (Clifford, 1988:102)

Conrad’s dilemma appears to have been one of “being pulled too many ways” (1988:103), a feeling that many of us may relate to from our own experiences. Hoffman (1989), for instance, expresses similar sentiments in her account of life as a Polish immigrant in Canada by asking:

"[...] how do I choose from identity options available all around me? I feel, once again, as I did when facing those ten brands of toothpaste – faint from excess, paralyzed by choice.” (1989:160)

On the same subject, she also observes that:

“Under the constant assaults of plenitude, it is difficult to agree to being just one person, and in order to achieve that simple identity, one may be driven to extreme paths.” (1989:139)

In the light of current technological and geopolitical changes, it may seem overwhelming to imagine what Conrad, for instance, would do nowadays in our emerging information society. Would he be on-line to surf the Internet, use the chat channels and exchange views by e-mail? Would he accumulate frequent flyer miles by jetting non-stop from London to Buenos Aires? Would he tune his satellite dish to the new Astra digital transponders to enjoy over 200 TV stations? Speculating about Conrad’s choices today may allow us to fathom the new openings available to individuals for conveying their sense of self unimaginable in Conrad’s days.

To take the postmodern analogy one step further, I would like to illustrate the challenges and opportunities of our new social era by evoking the image of the World Carnival Buffet at the Rio Hotel and Casino in what is probably the most postmodern of all cities, Las Vegas, Nevada. The choices of high-quality sushi, pasta and burritos are so overwhelming that it seems challenging to concoct a coherent meal and avoid stomach aches and indigestion. The only way to avoid such predicaments is by being selective and sticking to only one line of food. In what follows, I would similarly like to pick and choose several complementary and recurrent themes from the “postmodern buffet” and analyse them in greater detail with respect to the notions of self-enunciation, assertion and language learning. These themes are mobility, difference and otherness, simulation and the relationship between language, knowledge and power.
3.1.1. The vital role of mobility

"Believe that what is productive is not sedentary but nomadic."
(Foucault, 1984:xiii)

In anthropological and sociological circles many researchers agree that the world has seen an unprecedented increase in mobility in recent years (e.g., Clifford, 1988:13). This new sense of personal mobility does not merely imply that people enjoy more vacation time abroad or visit relatives more frequently. It also redefines what we understand by dwelling or residing somewhere, as individuals become increasingly uprooted and tend to move more often and stay less time in any place of residence.

This shift in perspective, however, also tends to affect other spheres of human life, including the notion of cultural identity and our view of time and space. The latter has been a key area of interest for postmodern theorists, as they see changes in our perception of time and space as a product of our ever-changing post-industrial society. Jameson (1999:338), for instance, argues that culture has become “dominated by space and spatial logic”, which causes individuals to lose their capacity to “organize [...] past and future into coherent experience”. They may thus become “schizophrenic”, not in the clinical or diagnostic sense, but in terms of experiencing nothing but “a series of pure and unrelated presents in time” (1999:339). Hoffman (1989: 274) offers a similar account of time and space in her book *Lost in Translation* when she observes:

"The weight of the world used to be vertical: it used to come from the past, or from the hierarchy of heaven and earth and hell; now it’s horizontal, made up of the endless multiplicity of events going on at once and pressing at each moment on our minds and our living rooms. Dislocation is the norm rather than the aberration in our time [...]."

Hoffman (1989) equally touches on the potential dangers of what Jameson (1999:339) terms postmodern “schizophrenia” by outlining the challenges that dislocation and spatial upheaval may pose to traditionally more “centred”, “modernist” selves:

"Now, time has no dimension, no extension backward or forward. I arrest the past, and I hold myself stiffly against the future; I want to stop the flow. As a punishment, I exist in the stasis of a perpetual present, that other side of “living in the present”, which is not eternity but a prison. I can’t throw a bridge between the present and the past, and therefore I can’t make time move.” (Hoffman, 1989:117)
At the same, however, she also acknowledges that

"Even the design and thrust of our passions is in large part written by where and when we happen to live [...]" (1989:158)

It may therefore be speculated that this "breakdown" in temporal continuity and the increase in what Clifford (1988:13) refers to as "new spatial practices", i.e., greater mobility, may lead to significant changes in how we perceive ourselves and, by extension, the relationship between Self and Other. These changes, in turn, may be viewed by individuals as a threat to their traditional conception of a uniform, centred self or as a unique opening for the development of alternative hybrid postmodern selves.

In the wider context of language and intercultural learning, I have argued elsewhere (Grosse, 1999) that an individual’s cultural identity, bilingualism and Language of Habitual Use (LHU) may also be defined in terms of function, competence and identification rather than in terms of origin alone (cf., Skutnabb-Kangas, 1991a). This shift in perspective may be attributed in part to the increasing importance of spatial practices and displacement today as acknowledged by social theorists (Jameson, 1999:338) and anthropologists (Clifford, 1988:13) alike.

The notion of personal mobility has also been a recurrent theme in the emerging field of LAIC. In this context, we may recall that Byram (1997:1) employs the metaphor of sojourn, while Phips (1999:25-26) draws on Williams (1977), Clifford (1997) and Said (1999) in her notions of provisional homes and creative practices, and dwelling-in-travel. In the latter, Phips in fact seems to echo Clifford’s (1988:9) view of modern ethnography as

"[…] perpetually displaced, both regionally focused and broadly comparative, a form both of dwelling and of travel in a world where the two experiences are less and less distinct."

Other scholars have turned to postcolonial studies for further insight. Tomic and Lengel’s (1999:146) transformation theory (cf., Freire, 1998; Giroux, 1988), for instance, evokes Bhabha’s (1995) notion of the third space of enunciation understood as “the site of another discourse, a reinscription and relocation” of cultural identities (1999:147), which may also be interpreted as alluding to new spatial practices.
So what implications does this new paradigm then have for language learners and their identities? Despite the potential threats of confusion and "schizophrenia" outlined earlier, it could be argued that individuals may harness such new spatial practices to advance their language and intercultural skills and to diversely enunciate their cultural identities. Possible strategies with respect to mobility will be discussed in greater detail below in chapter 3.3.1 in the proposed model of identity enunciation and empowerment.

3.1.2. A focus on difference and otherness

"[...] it is difference that connects, whereas similarity divides" (Ingold, 1996:6)

It seems challenging to trace the origins of the current interest in otherness in both social theory and postmodernism. Many attribute this trend to the psychoanalytical writings of Lacan (1999:61ff., first published 1966) and his view of what he terms the mirror stage of child development, a process of self-identification that for Lacan is ultimately one of alienation, since the imago of the mirror portrays a sense of autonomy and unity and thus belies the child's dependence on its environment. Drawing on Freud (1922) and building on seminal ideas from the early days of psychology as a discipline, Lacan believes that these processes of primary narcissism and alienation then become constitutive of selfhood in adults. Lacan's mirror stage is thus seen by many theorists as a primary example of how a sense of otherness can be discerned even at the heart of the self (cf., Elliott, 1999:6).

In postmodern circles, the present concern with otherness may be seen as the expression of opposition to theories of universal appeal, i.e., meta-narratives, typically associated with modernism in what Harvey (1999:310) calls "the most liberative and therefore most appealing aspect of postmodern thought". In this context, he stresses the opening in postmodernism to understanding difference and otherness and its attention to "other worlds" and "other voices" including feminism and postcolonial studies. These "other voices" can now be heard in opposition to theories of modernism that lay claim to universal validity. As indicated in the last chapter, Lyotard (1999:320) expresses similar sentiments in his rejection of "metalanguages" and his postmodern quote "The grand narrative has lost its credibility".

Difference, otherness and the representation of Self and Other have always been natural concerns of CCC studies and intercultural communication. The theme of otherness has been taken up by language and CCC scholars in myriad ways, e.g., by analysing the presentation of target cultures in foreign language (FL) textbooks (Byram, 1991) or by trying to teach
students skills of cultural awareness (Byram, 1991, 1997) as part of a broader FL teaching agenda. The issue of alterity also ranks prominently for scholars interested in psychoanalytical approaches to CCC. Cormeraie’s (1999) work, for instance, brings to mind Lacan’s (1999) notion of the mirror stage, as she encourages us to explore our unconscious in an attempt to better understand the Other within ourselves:

“This stranger, the ‘subject’ of our ethnographic studies, object of our fears, hidden face of individual identity, lives within us.” (Cormeraie, 1999:199)

In similar terms, the recent interest in difference and otherness has had a significant impact on the procedures and objectives of ethnographic authority in anthropology. As Clifford (1988:113) remarks:

“In recent years new forms of ethnographic realism have emerged, more dialogical and open-ended in narrative style. Self and other, culture and its interpreters, appear less confident entities.”

In this context, Clifford (1988:273) also calls for cultures to be reconsidered as “negotiated, present processes” rather than “organically unified or traditionally continuous” (1988:273). Clifford’s comment thus points towards a more interactional understanding of alterity likely to affect discourse beyond ethnography and anthropology by redefining how we think about ourselves and others, i.e., the notion of cultural identity, which lies at the heart of our present concern in language studies and the emerging field of LAIC.

3.1.3. The pervasive presence of simulation

Postmodern theorists have shown a significant interest in the development of information technology and mass media, and their contribution to the relationship between reality and representation. By way of comparison, we may cite the roles of major news networks like CNN in media spectacles such as the O.J. Simpson car chase on Los Angeles’ freeways or the Monica Lewinsky scandal. Many postmodernists may acknowledge in this regard that representation has become a common occurrence in contemporary western societies, but they may not go as far as to say that reality as such is in serious jeopardy. Jameson (1999:345), for instance, makes mention of the “transformation of the ‘real’ into so many pseudoevents”, but never truly questions reality per se. He in fact does quite the opposite by calling for efforts to find the “moment of truth” of postmodernism and to explore its “peculiar forms of new realism” (1999:346-348).
In contrast to such “affirmative” (Holstein & Gubrium, 2000:56) thinkers, “skeptical” or what Elliott (1999:24) refers to as “radical” postmodernists take the notion of representation yet one step further by claiming that reality no longer exists owing to the pervasiveness of simulation. Baudrillard (1999:327, first published 1983) in particular seems obsessed with what he calls “hyperreality” and claims that simulation actually precedes the real and thus subverts the ‘reality principle’ in the postmodernist sense. By way of example he cites theme parks such as Disneyland and political scandals such as Watergate as instances of what he terms “third-order simulation” (1999:329).

The dangers associated with such theories of “skeptical” (radical) postmodernism have been outlined before in chapter 3.1 in conjunction with the “postmodern buffet” and the experiences of Conrad and Malinowski (Clifford, 1988:95), i.e., they seem to engender an atmosphere of confusion and nihilism, a feeling of mental “constipation” due to a sense of over-saturation. The following quotes from Hoffman (1989), for instance, may serve to illustrate the potential dangers of such interpretations of the current social climate for an individual’s identity and wellbeing, particularly if they tend to assume a traditional, “centred” sense of Self, as in Hoffman’s case:

“In a splintered society, what does one assimilate to? Perhaps the very splintering itself.” (1989:197)

“The only self that matters, I decide, is a sort of universal, pure, quintessential self that can hover above all the actual, daily events like a bird suspended in midair. I hover very successfully; the only thing is that I begin to suffer from a kind of high-altitude sickness, and the intensity of my self-suppression transforms itself into a spaced-out, unreal exaltation. […]” (1989:138)

More moderate postmodernists referred to by Elliott (1999) as “pragmatic”, by contrast, seem more apt to harmonise and channel the plethora of new sensations and social changes into possible lines of action on a social or individual level.

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6 In this context, it could be critically remarked that the outlined differences between skeptical and pragmatic postmodernists in the present work tend to binarise postmodernist thought even though one critical argument of this thesis is against the practice of “boxing”. While I acknowledge the overall thrust of this argument, it is my contention that we can often only properly theorise by dividing up the world into parcels or “boxes” of knowledge.
In this context, Harvey (1999:313), for instance, asserts that:

“[…] since coherent representation and action are either repressive or illusionary […], we should not even try to engage in some global project. Pragmatism (of the Dewey sort) then becomes the only philosophy of action.”

So what may this new social trend mean for the narrative inscription of identity within the context of L2 learning and intercultural communication? If we choose to adhere to a pragmatic line of argument as outlined above, it could be claimed that a greater focus on the perspectival and relative nature of individual ‘realities’ may allow learners to harness this trend to diversely articulate and assert their cultural selves in everyday interactions. In the context of language and intercultural learning, the discussion surrounding the notions of reality and representation may also point towards a new understanding of the potential role of fiction and literary studies in students’ interpretation of their social worlds, as the following quote may help to illustrate:

“I want reality to imitate books – and books to capture the essence of reality. I love words insofar as they correspond to the world, in so far as they give it to me in a heightened form. (Hoffman, 1989:29)

It may therefore be concluded that a changing social climate that challenges traditional conceptions of what we may regard as reality may hold new openings for individuals’ self-understanding, their narrative identities and by extension the relationship between Self and Other. The potential strategies with respect to what has been termed in postmodernist circles as “representation realism” (Kellner, 1992:145) will be outlined below in chapter 3.3.2 as part of the proposed model of identity enunciation.

3.1.4. The interdependence of language, knowledge and social power

In social theory and identity studies, a closer look at the dialectics of Self and Other also implies an analysis of the relationship between individuals and society and between individual and collective identity. Any discussion of the social sphere and the role of individuals may ultimately have to touch on issues such as power relations and how power is established and exerted in society. The notion of power has long been a prominent theme for social theorists and postmodernists and is of central importance to the works of Foucault. As mentioned in chapter two, Foucault (1999:97, first published 1975) sees power, domination, suppression and subversion in almost every aspect of social life, particularly in institutional
settings such as schools, hospitals and prisons. He does concede, however, that individuals may find ways to resist domination. In fact, it is Foucault’s belief that the practices of subversion and suppression go hand in hand. It may thus be argued that the relationship between individuals and society may be reflexively characterised by constraints imposed by social order and the resources of individuals to resist domination.

These power plays between Self and Other may also be seen as constitutive of identity enunciation, L2 learning and intercultural communication. Even CCC and language scholars increasingly acknowledge the vital role of power relations in language learning and intercultural communication. Byram (1999:17), for instance, observes here that “within a society, power is differentially held by different social groups”. In similar terms, Norton Peirce’s (1995) model of social identity, which is then taken up again and explicated in greater detail in Norton (2000), offers a lucid account of how “relations of power affect interaction between language learners and target language speakers” (1995:9). In this context, her work is clearly indicative of the high degree to which learners of foreign or second languages are vulnerable to exclusion by the target language majority. On this subject, she remarks:

“It is through language that a person negotiates a sense of self within and across different sites at different point in time, and it is through language that a person gains access to – or is denied access to – powerful social networks that give learners the opportunity to speak.” (1995:13)

In sociological studies, Jenkins’ (1996:171) conception of social identity is characterised by what he terms an ‘internal-external dialectic of identification’ and suggests that it is possible for individuals to find “[...] room for some manoeuvre, space for some self-determination” (1996:174). In Jenkins’ (1996:175) view:

“[...] something that can be called self-assertion – or ‘human spirit' is at the core of resistance to domination. [...] The internal and the external dance together in the unfolding of individual and collective identities. And although those identities are imagined, they are not imaginary.”

There is no better way to describe the basic ideas underlying the model of identity enunciation and assertion proposed below. Building on social theory, Norton Peirce’s (1995) and Norton’s (2000) model of social identity in SLA and Jenkins’ (1996) sociological ideas, it is my contention that the relationship between language learners and their social world is likewise characterised by significant power differentials. For that reason, the next step in our
theoretical analysis will include a closer look at the notions of identity and power as relevant factors in L2 learning theory and in LAIC as an emerging discipline.

3.2. Identity and power in language and intercultural learning

The following section may be seen as an attempt to provide a brief review of more recent models of language learning that have helped to broaden general understandings of what may be involved in learning a second or foreign language, including ethnographic, sociological and other non-linguistic orientations. In this wider context, it is also the particular aim of the following arguments to discuss how such models may account for the notions of identity and power and their role in the context of language and intercultural learning.

3.2.1. Identity and power in Byram’s model of “ICC”

It has already been outlined briefly in the previous chapter how Byram’s (1997) model of Intercultural Communicative Competence (ICC) has become influential in redefining L2 learning as the development of intercultural skills. To recap briefly, we may remember that his model (1997:73) distinguishes between linguistic, sociolinguistic, discourse and intercultural competence. We can recall that the latter, in turn, includes five separate yet interrelated components, i.e., attitudes (savoir être), knowledge (savoirs), skills of interpreting and relating (savoir comprendre), skills of discovery and interaction (savoir apprendre) and critical cultural awareness (savoir s’engager). In particular, Byram’s model breaks with traditional SLA/FLL theory and Interlanguage studies by moving away from the native speaker as the proposed role model for language learners and by advocating the intercultural speaker (1997:32) as the new ideal to be emulated by learners.

By trying to present such distinct components of ICC and how they might be measured and evaluated in formal FLL contexts, Byram’s (1997) approach is primarily couched in the discourse of structural functionalism. As mentioned before, however, a second look at Byram’s model reveals numerous instances of a more interpretivist approach, particularly in his discussion surrounding the issues of identity and power that may affect the different components proposed in his model (1997:17-22). In this wider context, Byram (1997:21) touches on the themes of language, knowledge and social power in communication and acknowledges power differentials between language learners and target culture (TC) interlocutors. On the latter he observes:
"The native speaker, especially if they are a member of the dominant group in a society, has the possibility of exercising power over the foreign speaker. The native speaker is ‘always right’ [...] ."

Unfortunately, Byram fails to elaborate to what extent language learners may be able to subvert such power relations. As outlined in the present chapter, however, there is a tradition in social theory and postmodern thought of discussing potential instances of subversion (Foucault, 1999), small-scale acts of dissent (Lyotard, 1979) or the possibility of “self-assertion” (Jenkins, 1996). These may be conceived of as a series of liberating counter-reactions to a hostile climate of oppression and domination. By extension, such reactions may thus be seen as conducive to successful language and intercultural learning, as learners become increasingly skilled in locating and reconstituting their sense of self and, in turn, their relationship to the cultural and linguistic Other. It is precisely this potential for “pragmatic individualism” (Jenkins, 1996) and “ethnographic self-fashioning” (Clifford, 1988:92) that may be seen as the grounding tropes of the model of identity enunciation and empowerment presented below in chapter 3.3.

3.2.2. Essentialist and post-structuralist conceptions of identity and power in LAIC

Since the study of CCC and LAIC may be regarded as interdisciplinary by nature, the scope of contributions to the aforementioned Leeds conferences tends to be so broad that it may seem challenging to reach agreement on basic philosophical assumptions underlying this research including questions of ontological, epistemological and methodological origin. This breadth may also serve as a partial explanation to account for the current terminological debate surrounding the concepts of cross-cultural capability (CCC) and Languages and Intercultural Communication (LAIC) respectively.

As part of the wider theoretical discussion surrounding CCC and LAIC, some researchers would like to develop a scientific model of “CCC” by following a traditional functionalist or structuralist paradigm (e.g., Walravens, 1999). Other scholars, by contrast, tend to favour a more qualitative and interpretive approach (e.g., Jack, 1999; Phipps, 1999) to what they prefer to call “Languages and Intercultural Communication” (LAIC). At the heart of these different approaches to CCC/LAIC lie contrasting conceptions of cultural identity, otherness and the role of social power. These different conceptions are explicated below.

The tradition in most of the humanities has been to see individuals’ identity and personality traits as discrete artefacts, i.e., as a given set of attributes to describe cultural identity and
character types. Learner identity in many SLA models, for instance, is often subsumed under the superordinate concept of personal orientation (cf., Larsen-Freeman & Long, 1991:172) and is usually expressed in essentialist categories such as extroversion and introversion, field dependence and field independence. The use of essentialist categories also has a long tradition in business management studies, especially in the work of Hofstede (1984), who approaches notions of cultural difference in pairs of binary opposition such as masculinity and femininity or individualism and collectivism. In addition, Hofstede uses the notion of national culture as his point of reference, a trend which, we may recall (cf., chapter 2.1.3), has come under criticism from researchers in both business management studies (Jack, 1999:107) and pragmatics (Clyne, 1994:31).

In CCC circles, the representation of Self and Other has likewise been approached in many cases by essentialising culture and identity as a given artefact. Following Hofstede’s approach, many contributions to the CCC conferences in Leeds, for instance, tend to be characterised by essentialist and positivist discourse. This holds particularly true if they emanate from what has been referred to by Jack (1999) as the cross-cultural training industry. A quick glance at the 1998 CCC conference reveals a host of such presentations. Tomalin & Howard, for instance, suggest the use of what they term “The Cultural Continuum” to train business professionals, basing their approach on twelve parameters from the works of Hofstede. The following is an excerpt from their 1998 conference handout:

We work with the continuum in 5 stages:
1. Explanation of parameters
2. Plot “mother country” points along continuum
3. Plot “target country” points along continuum
4. Overlay target and mother country graphs
5. Make comparisons and draw conclusion

If approaching these issues from a qualitative perspective, a likely conclusion to be drawn from Tomalin & Howard’s presentation is that their essentialising discourse tends to solidify and perpetuate stereotypes rather than contributing to genuine cross-cultural awareness. By contrast, Norton Peirce’s (1995) and Norton’s (2000) studies on immigrant women in Canada are largely informed by poststructuralism and anti-essentialism and regard an individual’s social identity as “multiple, a site of struggle, and changing over time” (1995:14) and thus as subject to relations of social power (1995:15). Such anti-essentialist views on social identity have an even longer tradition in ethnography and anthropology. Clifford (1988:275), for instance, calls for a change in perspective in the analysis of cultural identity by asking, “what processes rather than essences are involved in present experiences of cultural identity?” He goes on to remark that:
"Cultural' difference is no longer a stable, exotic otherness; self-other relations are matters of power and rhetoric rather than of essence." (1988:14)

In this context, Clifford (1988:9) illustrates what he proposes as a process of ethnographic self-fashioning by describing the experiences of Conrad (1899) and Malinowski (1967). As we have seen earlier, their respective experiences of “being in culture while looking at culture” (1988:9) provide powerful accounts of how individuals may convey their sense of self and choose their cultural affiliations on the level of language, displacement and social interaction. For that reason, Conrad and Malinowski may also be seen as pioneers of what I have referred to as identity assertion. Today, by contrast, individuals may have access to myriad new and ever-changing strategies both language-related and otherwise to diversely articulate their subjectivities.

3.2.3. Identity assertion and L2 learning: the use of assertion strategies

At the 1998 CCC conference in Leeds I suggested that what I referred to as “multi identified individuals” may resort to strategies of identity assertion in order to resist pressures to assimilate and to assert their identities in assimilationist environments (Grosse, 1999:137). Building on Norton Peirce’s (1995) model of social identity, Skutnabb-Kangas’ (1991a, 1991b) studies on Linguistic Human Rights (LHR) and Faerch & Kasper’s (1983:36) notion of communication strategies, I proposed a series of strategies that language learners may resort to in their quest for self-assertion. Such strategies include identificational rechristening, i.e., the choice of a target culture (TC) name for identificational reasons, such as Juan rather than John. Choosing a multiple endo-ethnonym involves the voluntary use of a double identification label towards others in order to express affinity with more than one cultural group, e.g., German-American or French-Romanian. The strategy claiming the right to speak (cf. Norton Peirce, 1995:18) describes an individual’s ability to actively oppose by verbal means marginalisation attempts by a mono-norm majority, such as speaking up if somebody tries to jump the line at the grocery check-out. Finally, choosing a language of habitual use (LHU) and claiming the right to be bilingual both refer to individuals’ voluntary decisions to claim one or more languages as their first languages once they have achieved a certain level

7 The notion of “being in culture while looking at culture” (Clifford, 1988:9) shows significant parallels to the proposal of ethnography projects for language learners in HE, such as the Ealing Ethnography Project (Roberts et al., 2001:101 ff.). The focus there, however, is on using Ethnography as an instrumental tool for cross-cultural awareness raising within HE rather than on forms of displacement chosen freely by individuals such as Conrad or Malinowski in what Clifford (1988) discusses as “ethnographic self-fashioning".
of function, competence and identification yet to be specified, rather than just claiming one mother tongue by origin (cf. Skutnabb-Kangas, 1991a:9).

In a CCC pilot study launched in early 1999, an investigation was carried out to establish to what extent individuals might actually resort to such strategies in communication. To that end, an ethnographically-oriented qualitative research design was used in the form of a semi-structured interview and submitted to a total of ten study subjects. The respondents were selected according to the criteria of mobility, socio-economic status, relative freedom of choice, age, language proficiency and education. The interviews were subsequently transcribed and analysed with respect to the potential links between L2 learning, CCC and shifts in identity and the respondents' use of assertion strategies. The preliminary interview schedule used in the CCC pilot study is featured in Figure 3.1 below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Today's date:</th>
<th>location:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Biographical Details:</td>
<td>Before the interview please take a few moments to provide us with your details:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name:</td>
<td>Gender (M/F): Nationality:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date of Birth:</td>
<td>Age: Profession:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of Birth:</td>
<td>Current Address/Phone Number:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Languages spoken fluently:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Please take a few moments to answer the questions below:

1. a. What name were you given at birth?
   b. Do others call you by that name? If not, what do they call you?
   c. What are the reasons behind your name as you and others use it?

2. a. Did you grow up where you were born?
   b. Where have you lived since and why did you move there?
   c. If somebody asked you "Where are you from?", what would you say?

3. a. What language did you speak growing up?
   b. Which languages do you use on a daily basis?
   c. Do you often switch between languages? When does that happen?
   d. Would you consider yourself monolingual/bilingual/multilingual?

4a. Do you believe that your cultural identity was given to you by origin or has it been created over time and through experience?

b. Do you believe that you can only belong to one culture or do you think it is possible to be multi-cultural?

c. How would you evaluate your own sense of cultural identity? How has it changed or remained the same over time?

d. Does it seem harder or easier for you to live out your cultural identity in your current place of residence than where you lived before? How do you cope?

5. a. How long have you been involved in your present line of work?
   b. Could you give us some details on your educational background?
   c. What do you see as the pros and the cons of your current life?
   d. When do you expect to end your current position and what are your plans for the future?

Thank you very much for your time!

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8 In the CCC Pilot Project the same general transcription rules were employed as in the Cultural Identity Research Project (CIRP 2000) outlined and discussed in chapters six and seven. For a detailed account of transcription guidelines, please see chapter 6.3.3.
The findings showed that cases of *identificational rechristening* tend to occur, even though their frequency may be lower than initially hypothesised. The interview format did not offer enough evidence to support the assertion strategies *choosing a multiple endo-ethnonym* and *claiming the right to speak*, but offered clear support for the strategies of *choosing an LHU* and *claiming the right to be bilingual*. Almost all respondents indicated the use of an LHU different from their native tongue and claimed bilingualism by function, competence and identification, while only two subjects were bilingual by origin. The CCC pilot study therefore supported the potential use of assertion strategies by learners when negotiating their identities in intercultural communication. The use of such strategies may thus be interpreted as *small-scale acts of dissent* (Lyotard, 1979) in that individuals may resort to them to implement changes in their own lives without being able to change overall power relations. In this context, one of the CCC pilot study subjects observed:

"I don't think that [what you do] will affect society or whatever. It will just affect your own living or your own house and your apartment and not really much else. I mean you can't really change people's thinking in another country [...] you can tell them, inform them, but you can never force them."

The outlined strategies proposed at the 1998 Leeds conference (Grosse, 1999:137) may all be regarded as "language-related" in that their execution is contingent upon individual linguistic practices such as the use of ethnonyms, names and the choice of LHUs and bilingualism. A closer look at the current social landscape, however, reveals that individuals may also resort to a plethora of modern or postmodern assertion strategies that may not be language-bound. These strategies may instead touch upon aspects of social life that may indicate a change of perspective in existing social practice, such as the notions of *mobility* and *representation* discussed in chapters 3.1.1 and 3.1.3 respectively. The following model of identity enunciation and empowerment aims at integrating the existing language-related strategies into a broader model of individual pragmatism and self-enunciation.
3.3. Towards a model of pragmatic individualism, identity enunciation and empowerment

The following arguments on social life, identity enunciation and assertion may be seen as an invitation to a process rather than a finished theoretical product. The model proposed below is founded on the conviction that despite the potential threats of nihilism, confusion and "schizophrenia" posed by our postmodern era, individuals may harness the emerging social climate to advance their mission of self-assertion and empowerment within the wider context of L2 learning and intercultural communication.

3.3.1. Mobility and identity assertion: I am where I choose to be

The implications of mobility for identity formation may seem obvious and may not merit lengthy discussion. Most social theorists would agree here that individuals are significantly influenced by their chosen environment and by their social interactions. What may merit further elaboration, however, is the effect that personal mobility may have on language use and communication. In this context, we tend to ignore how closely related mobility is to an individual’s language of habitual use (LHU). We may recall that almost all respondents in the 1999 CCC pilot study claimed an LHU different from their native tongue and claimed bilingualism in terms of function, competence or identification, whereas only two subjects were bilingual by origin (cf., Skutnabb-Kangas, 1991a). This predominant sense of bilingualism among the respondents may be attributed in many instances to their history of personal mobility and frequent transcultural moves, one of the key boundary-marking criteria in the CCC study. It therefore seems plausible to suggest that personal mobility has a direct effect on an individual’s language use, as any transcultural move may mediate what language will be actively used by individuals on a daily basis.

The experiences of Conrad (1899) and Malinowski (1967) may serve to illustrate this interdependence and its importance for the enunciation of selfhood. In this respect, Clifford (1988:102) postulates:

"We can suggest a tentative structure for the three active languages of Conrad’s and Malinowski’s exotic experiences. Between Polish, the mother tongue, and English, the language of future career and marriage, a third intervenes, associated with eroticism and violence."
An individual’s voluntary or forced presence in any given location may therefore influence in varying degrees which of the potentially active languages becomes predominant and which identity features may become accentuated.

The notion of personal mobility as an assertion strategy, however, raises several fundamental questions. To what extent do learners enjoy freedom of choice to determine where they would like to live? Is the concept of personal mobility only an ideal that builds on the world angst and dreams of the rich middle classes? Are mobility and intercultural communication exclusive privileges of an affluent minority? Several scholars in LAIC and translation studies have raised similar concerns. In this context, for instance, Phipps (1999:25) asks fellow conference participants:

"Some of the discourse - even of travel - is rooted in problems of representation, myth and malpractice, embedded in the context of capitalist practices – is this what we want to create – do we just have a vision of highly skilled intercultural speakers who will talk their way into the well paid jobs of the western world or do we have a different vision?"

In a changing social climate of technological innovation and globalisation, the proliferation of cyberspace and computer-mediated communication (CMC) is often mentioned in intercultural circles as another potential strategy for learners to explore the “Third Space” (Bhabha, 1995) and to practise personal mobility (Tomic & Lengel, 1999:156). We may recall here our discussion of information technology and its role in redefining the relationship between SLA and FLL in chapter two. The same socio-economic question, however, may be raised in connection with CMC, as illustrated by Snell-Hornby’s (1999) critical remark:

"In a world of supposedly equal rights, high-tech creates its own insiders, its own elite and its own power-groups, and communication in the global village is de facto the privilege of those with technological tools, marginalizing millions in lesser developed countries as well as the have-nots in the richer countries."

Socio-economic concerns notwithstanding, the experiences of pioneers such as Conrad and Malinowski and the outlined instances of personal mobility from the CCC pilot study tend to suggest that actual or virtual mobility may be harnessed by individuals to reconstitute their cultural identities in terms of function, competence and identification and to actively decide on their desired languages of habitual use (LHUs).
3.3.2. Representational realism and identity assertion: *I am what I represent*

A dialectical view of the current social climate reveals that what has been termed as either late modernity or postmodernity (cf., Kellner, 1992:174) offers both challenges and opportunities for individuals in their quest for identity assertion in the context of L2 learning and intercultural communication. As for the opportunities, some social theorists see the ‘aesthetics of representational realism’ (Kellner, 1992:145) in postmodern culture as an opening for individuals to enunciate their subjectivities, to emulate myriad social role models provided by popular image culture and thus to freely fabricate and modify their identities and lives.

In what he refers to as a “model of a ‘political hermeneutic’”, Kellner (1992:147) draws on postmodernism and critical theory and argues that unlike postmodern claims to the contrary, contemporary mass media culture such as television has a vital socialising and enculturating effect on viewers. By way of example, Kellner (1992:148) presents a critical analysis of cigarette advertisements and the television series *Miami Vice* and concludes that both provide ample evidence of ideologies and values while offering lucid accounts of the problematics of identity formation in postmodern society. *Miami Vice* in particular exemplifies for Kellner some of the major differences between modern and postmodern selves. In this context, he observes:

> “The rapid shifts of identity in *Miami Vice* [...] suggest that the postmodern self accepts and affirms multiple and shifting identities. Identity today thus becomes a freely chosen game, a theatrical presentation of the self, in which one is able to present oneself in a variety of roles, images, and activities, relatively unconcerned about shifts, transformations, and dramatic changes [...], which was a problem for the modern self; producing anxiety and identity crisis.” (Kellner, 1992:158)

From this new perspective, it may therefore be argued that despite potential threats of confusion, instability and a pending sense of postmodern “schizophrenia” (cf., Jameson, 1999), individuals are in a position today to freely define and redefine their identities and thus to continuously reshape their relationship to the Other. In addition, contemporary mass media culture may serve to expose individuals to easily comprehensible and interesting representations of “real life” relationships, communication situations and interactions, which may contribute to their successful language and intercultural learning. In this context, for
instance, Norton (2000:97) remarks on the impact of soap operas on her study subject's language and intercultural skills:

"These soap operas, Martina said, helped her to make sense of the experiences she had had in Canada. In addition, they gave her much exposure to spoken English and were relatively easy to understand."

We may therefore conclude that postmodern image culture may have a key role to play in our understanding of Self and Other and in language and intercultural learning. In addition, the preceding observations suggest that what Clifford (1988:94) referred to as "ethnographic self-fashioning" (Clifford, 1988:94) may now be practised by individuals in new and ever-changing postmodern forms, e.g., the use of homepages on the Internet as a form of representation, unavailable to pioneers such as Conrad and Malinowski.

3.3.3. The use of 'cognitive mapping': I am my own world map

In contrast to the sense of gloom surrounding radical postmodernists such as Baudrillard (1983), other theorists tend to seek more constructive answers to the current social landscape and aim to "preserve some of the utopian hopes and ambitions of modernity" (Elliott, 1999:26). Jameson (1999:33), for instance, suggests the concept of cognitive mapping here as a potential strategy for the empowering of individuals, a metaphor that also lends itself to the notions of identity enunciation and assertion in the context of L2 learning and intercultural communication.

In this context, Jameson (1999:343) invites us to juxtapose the benefits and drawbacks of contemporary social life and to make use of collage and montage strategies in an effort to reach a new total view (1999:343). As a tentative example of Derrida's concept of Deconstruction, this process may be illustrated by three-dimensional Magic Eye images, which at first glance seem to consist of nothing but a "goulash" of colours and forms. Only after considerable focusing and concentration does the underlying three-dimensional image become amenable to the eye. Jameson (1999:347) compares the strategy of cognitive mapping to the process of "disalienation" in urban development circles, whereby individuals may experience a "reconquest of a sense of place" (1999:347) as a result of innovative city planning. Jameson (1999:347) argues that it is through what he terms cognitive mapping that this new spatial paradigm may be applied to both the physical and social world in an effort to
"enable a situational representation on the part of the individual subject to that vaster and properly unrepresentable totality which is the ensemble of society's structures as a whole" (1999:348)

In other words, Jameson invites us to locate and position ourselves on the global social map and to oppose our "existential experience" to the totality of abstract knowledge (1999:349). This form of positioning therefore implies adding an existential and experienced dimension to knowledge that would otherwise remain purely theoretical and devoid of real-life manifestations. It is through this process of cognitive mapping that for Jameson we may make some sense of the postmodern condition. I would argue that the same strategy may be harnessed by individuals in their quest for empowerment and self-assertion. Positioning ourselves and our "point of view on the world" (Jameson, 1999:349) on the global map, developing our own "symbolic universe" as "the sources of collective and individual consistency and continuity" (Jenkins, 1996:130) may allow us to practise our own form of cognitive mapping. In the process, this strategy may help us to find our own culture and discursive practices, and thus to take the first steps towards "ethnographic self-fashioning".

The notion of cognitive mapping shows significant parallels to spatial metaphors evoked in the context of LAIC. In fact, Jameson's (1999) proposed strategy could be interpreted by many scholars as the initial requirement for individuals to gain higher language and cross-cultural skills. The notion of marking boundaries before crossing borders seems to be a common thread reaffirmed by most CCC/LAIC theorists, albeit in contrasting conceptual frames. As we have seen earlier (cf., chapter 2.1.3.), Tomie & Lengel (1999) draw on the critical pedagogical writings of Giroux (1992) and Freire (1998) in their proposal of a theory of transformation. In the latter, they equally acknowledge a human sense of confusion and uncertainty "as we try to place ourselves on the map" (1999:148). They see a potential remedy in the writing of what they term "cultural identity essays" as a pedagogical tool to help students "to embark upon the much more sophisticated task of mapping out their identities through the writing process" (1999:153). In this context we may remember that Clifford (1988) likewise makes mention of the writing process as a potential strategy of what I may refer to now as "cognitive mapping" in connection with Conrad and Malinowski. In this context, Clifford (1988:104) writes:

"One of the ways Malinowski pulled himself together was by writing ethnography. Here the fashioned wholes of a self and of a culture seem to be mutually reinforcing allegories of identity."
The necessity of marking boundaries before crossing them is equally acknowledged by Parry (1998) as she develops her idea of “self, or personal, development by reference to other cultures” from a literary perspective. In this context, she insightfully remarks that:

“[…] For such a process [of self-development] to take place, clearly a certain degree of self-knowledge, or awareness of one’s own cultural make-up, is necessary.”

It may therefore be concluded that the process of cognitive mapping, of which the writing process constitutes but one possible manifestation, can be regarded as a key strategy that may be harnessed by individuals for greater “ethnographic self-fashioning” (Clifford, 1988:94), i.e., for identity enunciation, assertion and personal empowerment.

3.3.4. Cathexis and ‘radical imagination’: I am my envisioned self

In CCC/LAIC circles, some researchers seem to assume that CCC may be regarded as an overall cultural translation skill that enables individuals to mediate between any culture. Byram (1997) and Meyer (1991), for instance, seem to believe that students with high levels of what they term intercultural communicative competence may experience a leap in insight (Byram, 1997:105) that allows them to stand above their own and other cultures (Meyer, 1991:141). Even though Byram’s model of ICC acknowledges the role of attitudes (savoir être) as one of five dimensions of ICC, the affective realm is approached primarily as a skill of “relativising self” and “valuing other”, i.e., as the ability to “decentre” (1997:34). The question arises whether such a generic, all-encompassing affect actually constitutes a realistic or attainable goal in intercultural communication. I have argued elsewhere (Grosse, 1999) that Byram’s ideal of the intercultural speaker may be extended or modified to account for multi identified individuals and their affective involvement and identification with particular languages and cultures. In what follows, I would like to elaborate on that proposition.

In contemporary social theory, some critical voices have remarked that structuralist and post-structuralist conceptions of the individual and society may not attribute enough importance to the possible role of desire and imagination in social life and human subjectivity. From a psychoanalytical perspective, Castoriadis (1999:85, first published 1987) argues in this context that:

“The point of connection between the self and the other, is the body, that ‘material’ structure heavy with virtual meaning. The body, which is not alienation - this would be meaningless -
but participation in the world and in sense, *attachment and mobility*, preconstitution of a universe of significations before any reflexive thought.” (emphases added)

*Attachment and mobility* as the link between Self and Other – in this regard Castoriadis’ comment may provide important lessons for the emerging field of LAIC. The notion of *mobility* has been covered extensively in chapters 3.1.1 and 3.3.1, but the role of *attachment*, i.e., the emotive realm of desire and cathexis, may merit further elaboration. In this context, Castoriadis (1999:91) asks:

“How can an object be desirable if it has not been invested (cathected), and how can it be invested if it has never been ‘present’ in any way?”

The answer lies for Castoriadis (1999:89) in the role of creativity and what he terms *radical imagination* as the source of representation and thus as a major prerequisite in the development of *autonomous selfhood* (1999:84):

“[...] it is the radical imagination that makes a ‘first’ representation arise out of a nothingness of representation, that is to say, *out of nothing.*” (emphasis in original)

For that reason, *imagination, creativity and autonomy* may in Castoriadis’ view be regarded as mutually interdependent (cf., Elliott, 1999:7).

In the context of L2 learning, intercultural communication and identity enunciation it may be concluded from these arguments that the affective and emotive realm always involves *cathexis*, i.e., is directed towards particular languages and cultures and thus entails *identification*. For that reason, no-one can ever truly *stand above* any culture, but every individual is subject to a never-ending process of cathexis and decathexis, identification and *investment* (Norton Peirce, 1995). Our cross-cultural skills are therefore in constant motion and always culture and language-specific.

This realisation seems in tune with Clifford’s (1988) analysis of the experiences of Conrad (1899) and Malinowski (1967) as “the pull of different *desires* and languages” (1988:107) and as “complex, contradictory subjective situations articulated at the levels of language, *desire*, and cultural affiliation” (1988:102, emphases added).

The role of imagination, desire and creativity also seems to be affirmed by many scholars interested in CCC and LAIC. In this context, for instance, Parry (1998) observes:
"For it is clear that, in order to engage with another culture to the point where our perceptions and understanding are enlarged, a deeper level of our make-up than the cognitive has to be brought into play. This we may refer to as the affective domain, involving intuition, imagination, sympathetic insight, the capacity to unlock feelings in us which are not habitual."

The vital role of imagination is also alluded to by Tomic and Lengel (1999:146) in their view of students adding to their interactions “something of their own making”. Their perspective is informed primarily by theories of critical pedagogy, which seem to echo their position on the role of self-investment and imagination in language and intercultural learning. In this context, Barnett (1997), for instance, writes:

“[...] being critical – whether in thought, self-reflection or action – requires that the student invest something of herself” (1997:172)

Barnett (1997) then aptly illustrates the implications of such critical engagement for individuals’ sense of self and equilibrium in a postmodern world of fragmentation and change. On the latter, he argues:

“Critical being is in the world even if it is not of the world. [...] having some sense of self amidst a fragmented and contested social and personal identity; and being able to leap the ontological gap that appears to divide action from understanding.” (1997:177)

From this perspective, human creativity, desire, attachment and imagination may therefore be seen as one of the grounding tropes of “ethnographic self-fashioning” (Clifford, 1988:92), as they empower individuals in their quest for autonomy to envision, enunciate and assert their selves and thus to reconstitute their relationship to the Other.

3.4. Conclusion

The model of identity enunciation and empowerment proposed in this chapter may be seen as an attempt to approach the complex relationship between language learners and the social world in these “postmodern” times of global technological and geo-political change. It is based on a philosophy of what has been termed “pragmatic individualism” (Jenkins, 1996) and “ethnographic self-fashioning” (Clifford, 1988:94). It therefore implies that it is possible for individuals to find their own voice of self-assertion, to turn the “discourse of the other” into “the discourse of the self” on their way towards greater autonomy (Castoriadis, 1999:83).
To this end, individuals may harness the opportunities provided by the current social landscape to articulate and assert their identities in what has been proposed as four spheres of action, i.e., mobility, representational realism, cognitive mapping and radical imagination.

Rather than clear-cut "strategies" to be learnt and applied by individuals within the context of L2 learning and intercultural communication, the proposed model may be seen as an invitation to action within a conceptual framework that places active resolve over passivity and empowerment over suppression. In this light, the four proposed spheres may be categorised as spatial, ontological, conceptual and affective practices, i.e., mobility, representational realism, cognitive mapping and radical imagination respectively. The language-oriented strategies of identificational rechristening, choosing a multiple endo-ethnonym, claiming the right to speak and choosing an LHU and bilingualism could be interpreted to fall within the scope of these designated practices. Due to significant conceptual overlaps it is impossible to relate any of these language-oriented strategies to only one particular part of the proposed framework. Each of these strategies may instead, however, be conceived of as a concrete linguistic instance of identity enunciation and assertion carried out within the realm of these four superordinate categories.

The aim of the proposed model may therefore be summarised as follows: to avoid the condition of "unstable confusion of other voices and worlds" (Clifford, 1988:103), to ward off burn-out and resignation in a 'postmodern' world of discontinuity and ephemerality and thus to prevent a similar fate as that experienced by Segalen's young confidant in René Leys (Clifford, 1988:159), where his death

"[...] signifies, among other things, the end of that part of his being that could 'pass' within an exotic Forbidden City, that could believe in the possibility of sharing other lives, of erotically possessing the other, of shedding a given identity."

Following this initial widening of our perspective, it is the aim of the next chapter to narrow our theoretical focus again by appropriating the metaphor of the "third space of enunciation" frequently evoked in intercultural contexts (Bhabha, 1995; Tomic & Lengel, 1999) for our present discussion of identity enunciation and empowerment in L2 learning and intercultural communication.
4. Demarcating “space” for self-enunciation in language and intercultural learning

“[...] by creating a ‘Third Space’ for our students to negotiate meaning with themselves, with each other and with us as their teachers, we are encouraging a ‘transformational’ learning experience [...]” (Tomic & Lengel, 1999:7)

“A space for narrating the self [...] must be established in the give-and-take of social interaction.” (Holstein & Gubrium, 2000:127)

Even though the statements quoted above are taken from works of different disciplinary orientations, i.e., intercultural education (Tomic & Lengel, 1999) and sociology (Holstein & Gubrium, 2000) respectively, they nonetheless share a common concern with the localised and experiential nature of individual identity, the role of social interaction in this regard and the figurative use of “space” in which such interaction is purported to unfold. For that reason, it is the aim of this chapter to create the interdisciplinary foundations of the cultural identity research project (CIRP 2000) presented and discussed in chapters six and seven by attempting to build a theoretical bridge between the emerging academic field of LAIC and Holstein & Gubrium’s (2000) qualitative sociology.

4.1. The “third space of enunciation”: The wheres, whats and hows

A common metaphor evoked in CCC/LAIC circles has been Homi Bhabha’s (1995) notion of the “third space of enunciation” (e.g., Tomic & Lengel, 1999). The “third space” constitutes a concrete attempt to transcend traditional “we-they” binary oppositions and ranks among many metaphors employed by intercultural scholars. The “third space” concept is surrounded by considerable controversy, however, as it raises many fundamental questions of a philosophical and conceptual nature. What are the constitutive features of this new spatial paradigm? Where can it be located? And what exactly may be enunciated in the “third space”? Several LAIC scholars have critically commented that the “third space” may be too unidimensional a metaphor, as it may suggest but one set space as an alternative sphere of enunciation rather than pointing towards a potential plethora of alternative spaces for individuals to turn to for self-expression (e.g., Phipps, 1999). In addition, it has been pointed out that the “third space” may seem rather amorphous and needs to be applied to concrete contexts, e.g., the use of specific pedagogies and classroom practices in intercultural education, in order to become a viable metaphor for language and intercultural learning (e.g., Tomic & Lengel, 1999:149).
For that reason, it is the dual task of the present chapter to move away from the notion of one set “third space” and to fill Bhabha’s metaphor with concrete meaning. To this end, I would like to propose a shift in perspective by positing multiple “spaces of self-enunciation” in the emerging study of languages and intercultural communication (LAIC). It is my contention that Bhabha’s metaphor may be appropriated for qualitative research on identity enunciation with a particular focus on how L2 learners may diversely articulate and assert their cultural subjectivities in a variety of cross-cultural settings.

As indicated earlier, my view of the social nature of learner identity is primarily informed by Holstein & Gubrium’s (2000) notion of a discursively-grounded and narratively-inscribed self. For that reason, I will initially review Holstein & Gubrium’s (2000) “story” of the self from the Enlightenment to Postmodernity and will outline their proposed analytical framework of “interpretive practice” as a possible methodological tool for approaching the notion of cultural identity within a qualitative paradigm in language and intercultural learning. By doing so, I hope to adumbrate ways in which a theoretical bridge may be built between Holstein & Gubrium’s (2000) qualitative, interpretive sociology and the emerging analytical interest in learner identity in the new field of LAIC.

4.2. From the Enlightenment to Postmodernity: the story of self across time

In their recent work *The self we live by: narrative identity in a postmodern world*, Holstein & Gubrium (2000) offer a lucid account of how the story of the self has evolved over time across various sites of philosophical discourse and how the complex notion of identity may be approached from a qualitative, interpretive perspective in these late modern or “postmodern” times. The following sections may be seen as an attempt to briefly review the history of the self as presented by Holstein & Gubrium and to outline various options of how cultural identity may be conceptualised and analytically embraced in the context of Languages and Intercultural Communication.

4.2.1. From a transcendental to a social self

According to Holstein & Gubrium (2000:18), the story of the self may be traced back to the Enlightenment with Descartes’ “I think, therefore I am” as the underlying philosophy of the transcendental self envisioned by its thinkers. They argue that the self of the Enlightenment may be conceived of primarily as a cognitive entity with claims to universal validity, i.e., the
Enlightenment regards "the self" in the singular as an idealised, abstract position and thus as a constitutive feature of human nature. The transcendental self of the Enlightenment became the predominant mode of thinking about personal identity after the 18th century. According to Holstein & Gubrium, it was not until the late 19th century that a change in perspective came about with the ascent of Pragmatism, particularly in the writings of James, Cooley and Mead.

Holstein & Gubrium argue that the works of early American pragmatists see the birth of the social self, a view of identity as plural "selves" created in interaction with others. In particular, James's notion of an "empirical self" (1892) is said to set the stage for an understanding of the self as "identities in practice" highlighting the experiential and interactional nature of personal identity as envisioned by pragmatists. Holstein & Gubrium (2000:17) point out in this context that “empirical” is understood by pragmatists as “grounded in experience” and is not associated with psychometric, quantitative measurement as it is in scientific, experimental circles today. In similar terms, Cooley’s (1902) notion of the “looking glass self” is said to denote an empirical, social self, but one that is rooted in self-feeling in response to real and imagined social others. Whereas Cooley’s self may seem more inner-oriented than James’s “empirical self”, Holstein & Gubrium believe that it is nonetheless social in nature, tied to communication with others and defined by individual experience. They point out that in Mead’s (1934) view, however, the selves envisioned by James and Cooley are nonetheless too focused on self-feeling and give insufficient attention to social interaction. Mead’s “interacting self”, by contrast, finally sees the development of a fully-fledged social self and exemplifies for Holstein & Gubrium the notion of manifold “selves” in the plural. Mead (1934) conceives of the self as highly dynamic, changing and interactive, as he regards it as negotiated and recreated by on-going social interaction.

While early American pragmatists may be said to have heralded the idea of a social self, Holstein & Gubrium (2000:32) contend that it is the work of symbolic interactionists that has first tried to document the social self in “empirical” ways as the word is understood today. The term “symbolic interactionism” was created by Chicago-based sociologist Blumer in 1969 and achieved a distinct disciplinary identity within sociology. Symbolic interactionism purports to document how individuals may respond to meaning constructed in interaction. Holstein & Gubrium (2000:32 ff.) describe, however, how the movement soon split into two separate schools of thought with the Chicago School under Blumer (1969) following a more qualitative, interpretive approach with a focus on “naturalistic inquiry”, interpretation of meaning and communication processes. The Iowa School under Kuhn, by contrast, opted for a more structured, quantitative approach by attempting to devise psychometric methods to investigate the self in experimental terms, which according to Holstein & Gubrium paved the
way for the scientific measurement of self-attitudes in social psychology, such as the Twenty Statements Test (TST).

The notion of a social self is also adopted by Goffman, particularly in his seminal work *The presentation of Self in everyday life* (1959). Holstein & Gubrium explain that Goffman draws heavily on the social self of James, Cooley and Mead and builds on the theoretical foundations of symbolic interactionists like Blumer, but that he refuses to be associated with a particular movement or with “isms” of any sort. In fact, Goffman (1959) envisions a self that is socially enacted and dramaturgically staged, thus accentuating what Holstein & Gubrium (2000:35) believe is his own “storyline” for the self. His work highlights situational contingencies, social interaction and improvisation, and his style is marked by theatrical language such as “scenes”, “scripts” and “front or back-stage performances”. According to Holstein & Gubrium (2000:36), however, Goffman is convinced that we do not merely put on a dramaturgic act for others while preserving different “inner selves”. On the contrary, in Goffman’s view the only true self is the dramaturgically staged and circumstantially realised social self of everyday interaction.

4.2.2. The self in postmodernity

With the advent of postmodernism, the philosophical landscape has been subject to fundamental change and witnessed a radical rethinking of the social order as traditionally understood with the notion of a social, experiential self seriously challenged and questioned altogether. In this context, it is possible to distinguish between what Elliott (1999:24) calls “pragmatic” and “radical” postmodernists, or, as referred to by Holstein & Gubrium (2000:56 ff.), between “affirmative” and “skeptical” postmodernism.

As we have seen earlier (cf., chapter 3.1.3), radical postmodernists, particularly Baudrillard (1983), argue that a significant increase in simulation has made it impossible for us to tell reality from representation. We may recall here that for Baudrillard (1999:329) examples in this context include American-style amusement parks such as Disneyland and political scandals like Watergate. It therefore becomes impossible in his view to establish any objective ‘truth’, as anything becomes “true” in relative terms in accordance to its respective source of representation. As a result, Holstein & Gubrium (2000:63) argue, radical postmodernists may be said to erode the foundations underlying the metaphysics of presence and, by extension, the social self. The self in what Baudrillard (1983) refers to as “hyperreality” has become a simulated image of itself without substance, boundaries and
objectives. It has been reduced to a plethora of self-referential images floating randomly across a mass-media landscape thus thwarting any attempt to analytically apprehend and describe it. As indicated in the previous chapter, the problems associated with such forms of "radical" or "skeptical" Postmodernism may be seen in a pending sense of nihilism and confusion. By extension, such an “anything-goes” mentality tends to vitiate any attempt to give concrete meaning to who and what we are in relations to others, i.e., the notions of identity and difference that are at the core of our current interest in L2 learning and intercultural communication. On the latter, Holstein & Gubrium (2000:68) conclude:

“[…] the skeptical reaction chronicles the demise of a self that can no longer stand as a grounded source or object of experience”

“Pragmatic” or “affirmative” postmodernists, by contrast, seem more inclined to keep modernist hopes alive by reacting to what Holstein & Gubrium (2000:57) refer to as “the crisis of confidence” in more pro-active and constructive ways. Here we may recall, for instance, how in The Postmodern Condition Lyotard (1979) sees postmodernity as the state of “breaking up” universal knowledge, or “metanarratives”, into a plethora of locally-constituted and fragmented “language games”. This process of fragmentation thus also affects in Lyotard’s view the grand narrative of self-constancy. Rather than giving up on the notion of a social self altogether, however, these locally-constituted “language games” suggest to Holstein & Gubrium (2000:69) a self grounded in concrete discursive locations of self-enunciation, i.e., in the numerous sites of everyday life where individuals communicate their subjectivities. Such practice tends to occur at what Lyotard (1979) refers to as institutional “nodal points” of communicative practice, where “language games” intersect and enable individuals to communicate self-hood locally and contingently. Drawing on Wittgenstein’s (1959) well-known philosophical work on language and echoing some of the basic premises of the “social self” of early American pragmatists, Lyotard’s account sets the stage for a “pragmatics of knowledge”, i.e., the self as a discursive accomplishment and the practical project of everyday life.

From this new perspective, philosophical notions such as “modern”, “postmodern”, “affirmative” or “radical” become but “interpretive resources” and “working frameworks” (Holstein & Gubrium, 2000:71) for formulating ways of thinking about and interpreting Self and Other in contemporary social life. Holstein & Gubrium (2000:69) argue that Lyotard’s notion of the “pragmatics of knowledge” may therefore be used as the theoretical grounding tropes of a postmodern self that is grounded in the discursive practices of individuals in everyday communication. It is my contention that the notion of such a locally-constituted
narrative self may also be appropriated for the discussion of cultural identity enunciation in language and intercultural learning and in LAIC as an emerging discipline.

4.3. The analytics of “interpretive practice”

“Conceptualizing a method is, first and foremost, a matter of formulating a way of thinking about a phenomenon” (Holstein & Gubrium, 2000:81)

In order to point the way towards a theoretical bridge from qualitative sociology to language and cultural studies, I would initially like to give a brief review of Holstein & Gubrium’s methodological approach to identity studies. In this context, their statement quoted above serves to highlight the intimate and complex relationship between theory and method in research, i.e., how methodological concerns are first and foremost contingent upon how we conceive of the phenomena under study in theoretical terms. Sharrock & Anderson (1986:17) express similar sentiments when they argue that:

“Methods of research are not neutral between theories, for a theory, since it has ideas about how the world is, must also have ideas about what it will take to establish facts about it”.

The same complex interplay of theory and practice may also be said to hold true for Holstein & Gubrium’s proposed “analytics of interpretive practice”.

As for the object of study, i.e., the concept of self or personal identity, Holstein & Gubrium (2000:68) purport to transform rather than to react to what they call “the crisis of confidence” caused by radical postmodernists. Drawing on Lyotard’s (1979) appropriated notion of “language games” (cf., Wittgenstein, 1959) and an analysis involving what Foucault (1977) refers to as the “history of the present” or “genealogy”, Holstein & Gubrium (2000:79) believe that the self has not been obliterated by postmodern “hyperreality”. Instead, they develop the idea of a social self that is grounded in narrative practice and restoried across various sites of institutional and organisational discourse. In this context they distinguish between the hows and the whats of self-enunciation, i.e., what they refer to as “discourse-in-practice” and “discursive practice” respectively. The operating space of self-enunciation is where these two mutually constitutive concerns overlap. In what follows, I would like to take a closer look at both the hows and what in order to illustrate their respective role in creating what I would refer to as “spaces of self-enunciation” for language learners to turn to for self-expression.
4.3.1. Discourse-in-practice

Holstein & Gubrium’s notion of “discourse-in-practice” is based on Foucault’s (1980) social theories of institutional power and discourse and designates the historical and cultural whatss of narrative self-inscription. It therefore pays less attention to actual conversation, real-time interaction and on-going communication processes and instead tends to focus on historical register and the structural aspects of discourse. We may recall in this context our discussion of Foucault and his understanding of discourse, which stresses the role of predominant discursive practices in creating “systems of representation” with their own subjectivities (cf., chapter 2.2.2). An analytic focus on the whatss of self-enunciation as envisioned by Holstein & Gubrium therefore implies a static view of narrative identity by highlighting its constitutive elements including various sites, institutional or otherwise, for storying experience, narrative resources available in such settings and by focusing on the actual “articulated selves”.

In Holstein & Gubrium’s view (2000:161) sources for self-enunciation include local culture, organisational and institutional frameworks, biographical details and what they refer to as “material” and “textual” mediations (2000:187), i.e., the use of particular objects and textual materials in the storying of self-hood. Most of their examples are taken from empirical work involving patients in recovery groups, mental health facilities, prisons, hospitals and nursery homes (cf., Freud, 1922, on the therapeutic functions of narrative in psychoanalysis). Alcoholics Anonymous (AA), for instance, offers a concrete institutional framework for members to story their selves. In this particular case, the self communicated to others is ultimately bound to be “alcoholic” in nature. The storying of such alcoholic selves may draw on particular biographical details involving alcohol abuse and recovery, material mediations such as Vodka bottles that epitomise addiction and teddy bears to show individuals’ emotional need for affection, and textual mediations such as criminal records involving drunken driving offences.

In their discussion of material mediations, however, Holstein & Gubrium fail to distinguish between the metaphorical use of what they term “materials-in-use”, including images such as “the clock of time” (2000:188) and becoming a “vegetable” (2000:202), as opposed to the use of actual objects in communication and how they tend to mediate the communication of self-hood, e.g., the use of teddy bears and mirrors in a therapy group to treat emotional co-dependency (2000:191). In actuality, the differences in use between metaphors and real objects may be one of degree rather than clear-cut. In their theoretical outline of “discourse-in-practice”, however, a distinction between the metaphorical and actual use of objects may
serve to illustrate the variegated ways in which “material mediations” may be employed by individuals to articulate their subjectivities. By way of comparison, “material mediations” are also a prominent feature in Jack & Phipps’ (cf., Phipps, in press) proposal of an ethnography of “encounter, engagement and exchange,” where:

“Material objects, confined spaces, the plethora of signs of culture and of potential interculture were foci for engagement, for the roots of narrative.”

In their related ethnographic research project “Over the Sea to Skye”, they thus also attach great significance to material objects such as stoves, preparation tables and food items, as “these are important materials for humans which also help frame the discursive landscape [...]” (Phipps, in press)

As for the related notion of “textual mediations”, Holstein & Gubrium (2000:204) fail to make any clear distinction here between the performative force of textual materials produced by individuals, among them journals or poetry, and texts written about them by others. The latter may include what the authors refer to as “selves on file” (2000:206) such as evaluation letters, bills and school progress reports. In this context, the following passage seems particularly telling:

“Whether texts of identity are personal documents like diaries or personnel files, written tomes such as Alcoholic Anonymous’ ‘Big Book’, or take the form of advice pamphlets [...], they shape identity above and beyond the pure give-and-take of talk and interaction” (Holstein & Gubrium, 2000:205)

While the potential impact of textual mediations on the discursive inscription of self-hood may seem undisputed, the role of authorship may be of significant importance in discussing power differentials and the relationship between individuals and society, i.e., to what extent individuals may be empowered to communicate their subjectivities in written form or to what extent society “makes individuals” (Foucault, 1984) in written materials. While the discussion of overall power relations in society is beyond the scope of the present thesis, it nonetheless appears critical to distinguish between textual materials by and about individuals, as they indicate opposing roles for the individual as either the object or agent of textual mediations.

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9 The concept of “engagement” is used in the present context to designate an individual’s personal involvement, or what is referred to as investment by Norton Peirce (1995) and Norton (2000), during instances of on-going conversation. It therefore constitutes another case of terminologisation whereby general language terms are used in a specialised sense in qualitative academic discourse.
4.3.2. Discursive practice

Holstein & Gubrium's (2000:89) concept of discursive practice, by contrast, designates the hows, i.e., the processes and procedures underlying identity enunciation. Here the enunciation of identity itself is highlighted by focusing on "just how" the self is articulated, conducted, managed and sustained in actual conversation and on-going interaction. The emphasis therefore shifts from the whats, whys and the "enunciated self" as a product to the hows of the actual process of self-enunciation.

In theoretical terms, Holstein & Gubrium’s (2000:91) account of discursive practice is primarily informed by ethnomethodology (e.g., Garfinkel, 1967) and conversation analysis (‘CA’, Sacks, 1974). Despite some differences in outlook both share in Holstein & Gubrium’s (2000:89) view an interest in the "local production of social forms", since both are based on Husserl’s principles of phenomenology involving among others "the unprejudiced examination of the world as it is found in our ordinary experience" (Sharrock & Anderson, 1986). CA’s use of what it refers to as “member categorization devices” (MCDs), for instance, attests to CA’s focus on on-going conversation, interaction and culture-in-use. Holstein & Gubrium (2000:90) point out, however, that ethnomethodology and CA may only be seen as possible analytic methods and not as theories of discursive practice. This particular perspective underlying CA and ethnomethodological analysis may also be seen as indebted to their mutual phenomenological origins. On the latter’s research agenda, Sharrock & Anderson (1986:50) observe:

"The interest of phenomenology is in description, rather than explanation, and ethnomethodology pursues descriptive, rather than explanatory aims."

For that reason, an analytic perspective inspired by conversation analysis and ethnomethodology may stress the role of description as a tool to shed light on the actual unfolding of narrative and to explicate the actual storying of the self, primary concerns of discursive practice. Such a perspective thus tends to focus on issues such as narrative play, which designates instances of variation and continuing adaptation in narrative self-expression (the hows) as opposed to formulaic patterns and narrative frameworks (the whats) provided by the setting or material and textual mediations. Examples of each, for instance, may include the narrative template (the whats) of Alcoholics Anonymous’ (AA) “Twelve Steps” emanating from their “Big Book”, while each AA case study provides variegated instances of how AA’s narrative template of alcohol abuse, “hitting bottom” and subsequent recovery is turned into
"discursive practice" by individuals in the narrative inscription of their subjectivities (Holstein & Gubrium, 2000:177).

The notion of description as an analytic goal as postulated by Sharrock & Anderson (1986) shows significant parallels to the concept of thick description (Geertz, 1973) in anthropology, which involves a thorough interpretive task in ethnographic fieldwork with the aim of gaining a better understanding of individuals’ socio-cultural environments. Thick description, for instance, may involve a detailed account of contextual aspects surrounding crying, i.e., whether individuals are in fact shedding tears of joy, sorrow, pain, anguish or embarrassment. We shall return to the notion of “thick description” again in further detail in the next chapter (cf., chapter 5.5.1).

4.3.3. Interpretive practice and analytic bracketing

The analytics of interpretive practice (Holstein & Gubrium, 2000:96) describes the interplay, not the synthesis, of discourse-in-practice and discursive practice. As an analytical tool it therefore purports to shed light on the overall nature of narrative identity and on the reflexive relationship between how and what concerns, e.g., between lived realities and constitutive activities, between artfulness and substantial resources and between the self-enunciation process and the actual “enunciated selves”. The main arguments of Holstein & Gubrium’s theory are summarised below in Figure 4.1:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theoretical framework of identity enunciation:</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Based on Holstein &amp; Gubrium (2000)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Social and experiential self in the tradition of early American Pragmatists (James, Cooley and Mead), language games (Lyotard, 1979 drawing on Wittgenstein, 1959), power discourse (Foucault, 1983) – paving the way for a narratively-inscribed and discursively-grounded postmodern self</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Analytical tools: Interpretive practice: interplay -not synthesis- of discourse-in-practice and discursive practice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Discourse-in-practice: the what’s of narrative identity; narrative resources and templates available in particular settings; the what’s mediate and delimit the how’s; based on Foucault (1983)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Discursive practice: the how’s of narrative self-enunciation; focus on the actual process of articulating selfhood including narrative play and variation; based on ethnomethodology (Garfinkel, 1967) and conversation analysis (Sacks, 1974)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Analytic bracketing: temporary alternate suspension of focus on what’s or how’s respectively in “interpretive practice”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 4.1: Theoretical framework of identity enunciation
Since both the process of self-enunciation and the enunciated selves are mutually constitutive, it is impossible to ascertain which should be investigated first. For that reason, Holstein & Gubrium (2000:97) suggest what they refer to as analytic bracketing, and regard the latter as a process of:

"[...] alternately bracketing the whats and the hows of reality construction. This means alternately holding both lived realities and their constitutive activities temporarily in abeyance in order to describe both the artful and substantive sides of interpretive practice."

(emphases in original)

An analogy could be drawn to the field of video production, where particular camera angles can be selected by panning or tilting in different directions. By doing so, it becomes possible to change the focus on the actors in comparison to the set. By alternately switching between different camera shots, it then becomes possible to offer a more comprehensive overall picture than any one perspective would have yielded on its own.

The concept of bracketing has a long tradition in ethnomethodology and, by extension, in phenomenology. For that reason, the following passage from Sharrock & Anderson (1986:10) seems particularly illustrative here and is worth quoting at length, as it serves to highlight existing parallels between Husserl’s phenomenology, Garfinkel’s ethnomethodology and Holstein & Gubrium’s outlined proposal of “interpretive practice”:

"[...] phenomenology adopts a technique of ‘bracketing’ i.e. of suspending judgement on the veracity of our experiences in order that we may concentrate on identifying the character and structure of the world as experienced. Ethnomethodology analogously gives its attention to the study of the social world as encountered in everyday experience, the world as it appears to our common sense and, likewise, attempts to bracket further questions about whether the social world really is as it appears.”

(emphases in original)

Holstein & Gubrium (2000:96) argue that it is through the interplay of the hows and whats that the narrative practices of individuals may be analytically embraced and appreciated to shed light on how subjectivities may be discursively mediated on a daily basis. Not unlike the outlined example of video production techniques, it thus becomes possible to appreciate how narratives of identity are alike and yet individually different by alternately switching between a focus on their respective what and how concerns.
The *operating space*\(^{10}\) of narrative identity or what I would refer to as possible "*spaces of self-enunciation*" may thus be seen "at the crossroads" of discursive practice and discourse-in-practice where *how* and *what* concerns overlap, reflexively mediate and constitute each other. Parallels may be drawn to Crawshaw (in press), who builds on contemporary social theory and employs Grossberg's (1996) notion of 'suture' to this "operating space" of what he refers to as "articulation" in the process of "self-affirmation". In this context, he sees 'suture' as:

> "the manner whereby the individual, knowing that his language is only one mode of representation amongst many, seeks its own voice at the 'intersection' between his own linguistic intentions and the discourses which frame his consciousness."

Crawshaw's interpretation of 'suture' therefore shows significant parallels to Holstein & Gubrium's (2000) notion of narrative identity and to what has been referred to in the present project as "spaces of self-enunciation" between emergent *how* and *what* concerns for individuals to turn to for the enunciation of their identities.

Taking Holstein & Gubrium's argument one step further, it is my contention that their proposed *analytics of interpretive practice* may also be seen as a feasible analytic framework to investigate from a qualitative, interpretive perspective how individuals discursively anchor their sense of cultural selfhood as L2 learners in intercultural communication. It is the aim of the following sections to substantiate these claims by attempting to apply Holstein & Gubrium's model to settings, materials and textual resources associated with L2 learning and cross-cultural environments.

4.4. From pathological to cultural selves

What does the storying of subjectivities above have to do with self-enunciation and empowerment in L2 learning and intercultural communication? In this context, it must be initially pointed out that due to the institutional sources of their empirical material, the "communicated selves" described by Holstein & Gubrium are almost exclusively *pathological* in nature. The authors themselves admit that they are primarily interested in what they call "troubled selves" (2000:191) with:

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\(^{10}\) The notion of "operating space" evoked by Holstein & Gubrium (2000) follows the same metaphorical use implied in Bhabha's (1995) "third space". It therefore differs from other spatial concepts such as *location* or *setting*, which tend to be primarily geographical and less figurative in orientation.

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"narratives of squandered opportunities, botched choices, and paths not taken, all adding up to tales of lives shorn of proper meaning"(2000:215).

It is my contention that this scenario cannot be regarded as a satisfactory final word for "ending the story in interpretive practice" (Holstein & Gubrium, 2000:81) in an attempt to save the self from postmodern disarray. I do believe, however, that Holstein & Gubrium's analytical framework of "interpretive practice" may be appropriated for a critical discussion on the potential storying of cultural selves in the wider context of language learning and cross-cultural encounters.

The institutional framework of formal foreign language (FL) environments including secondary schools and universities, for instance, could be said to provide learners with a considerable variety of what Holstein & Gubrium (2000:166) refer to as "conditions of possibility" for narrating and interpreting cultural selves. In addition, local culture, i.e., the use of cultural elements conveying local and regional identities on a daily basis, seems to be the most obvious resource for the possible inscription of cultural identities. The notion of local culture, in turn, is closely related to the concepts of location or "scenic presence", which Holstein & Gubrium (2000:190) also see as a vital element of "material mediations" for individuals to resort to for self-enunciation. Location, scenic presence and, by extension, local culture, however, all include spatial dimensions and may thus be affected by displacement and travel, enabling individuals to shape the outcome of their personal histories in ways yet to be specified. We may recall that displacement and mobility also constitute recurrent themes in intercultural studies as illustrated by Byram's (1997) notion of "sojourning" in FL pedagogy and Phipps' (1999) metaphor of "dwelling-in-travel" in anthropology. For the storying of cultural selves spatial considerations are therefore of considerable importance as a flexible resource for identity enunciation.

An individual's "personal history", in turn, is closely related to biographical details that individuals may resort to as a vital resource to discursively anchor who they are. In this context, Holstein & Gubrium (2000:169) observe:

"Empirically, we see the appropriation of past experience all the time, as persons construct present selves out of what they choose to notice from their immediate and distant pasts"

(emphasis added)
This statement likewise suggests that individuals have considerable freedom to selectively restory details of their personal past thus shaping their self-enunciation and setting the stage for self-assertion and personal empowerment. As Holstein & Gubrium (2000:224) remark:

"We deal with each context on its own terms and, in contemporary life, we have considerable choice about the ones in which we immerse ourselves."

For that reason, local culture, biographical details and scenic presence will be taken up again in greater detail in the following analysis as vital resources for individuals to turn to for creating their own space of self-enunciation.

In this wider context, some scholars may wonder to what extent individuals may in fact practise deception, be it of themselves or others, when selectively restorying biographical details. It is my contention that any answer to this question cannot be understood outside the ontological and epistemological framework that informs it. Suffice it to say at this point that the notion of deception itself tends to assume an objectively fixed external reality that many qualitative and interpretivist scholars would argue against. To shed further light on the role of memory in narrative identity, we may wish to draw parallels to the notion of story-telling in contemporary anthropology. In this context, Ingold (1996:8), for instance, argues that:

"[…] story-telling is itself a skill, which like any other skill depends upon the work of memory – that is, of capacities of feeling and response shaped through past experience. In this sense, then, the past is active in the present."

The concept of a "past that is active in the present" underlying story-telling is then further explicated by Ingold (1996) as follows:

"If as history, the past lies behind us, as memory it remains very much with us: in our bodies, in our dispositions and sensibilities, and in our skills of perception and action. In the first sense, the past seems alien to present experience, in the second it appears to be generative of that experience." (1996:202, emphases in original)

From this perspective then, the notion of "selectively restorying biographical details" mentioned by Holstein & Gubrium (2000:224) may be regarded as the active contribution made by individuals' memory to their emergent storyline of self.
In connection with our discussion of local culture, biographical details and scenic presence, the question may arise, however, to what extent our ensuing remarks may be distinctively related to the concerns of language learners and intercultural communication. Despite our overall analytic interest in language learners and L2 learning, we must remember in this context that the discursive inscription of cultural identity does not take place in isolation. Nor may we assume that narratives of cultural selves are the exclusive realm of language learners. Seeing the world through Cooley's experiential "looking glass" of language learners and their cultural subjectivities should not prompt us to disregard the circumstantial, local and contingent nature of identity enunciation any more than in cases in which gender or racial identities may feature prominently. As Holstein & Gubrium (2000:105) point out:

"As significant as these 'standpoints' are for the storying of selves, however, it is still important, analytically, to allow for the standpoint's circumstantial realization and not to essentialize the narratives that result from them. As penetrating as racial or gendered identity might be, it still shares experiential space with myriad other sources of the self; self-construction isn't one-dimensional."

It is my contention that the same circumspection must be applied when analysing language learners and their sense of cultural identity. Particularly if we wish to focus on the circumstantial and localised enunciation of cultural self-hood in naturalistic L2 learning settings, i.e., outside the institutional context of language classrooms, we must remember not to isolate and overemphasise language learners' cultural selves at the expense of the "total picture". The latter may also involve other salient aspects of their selfhood, such as their identities as parents, soccer enthusiasts or best friends.

4.5. The analytical appropriation of "interpretive practice" for LAIC

The preceding arguments suggest that it is possible to interpret Bhabha's (1995) "third space of enunciation" in the new light of a qualitative, interpretive approach to the role of narrative in the inscription of cultural selves. By locating the operating space of self-enunciation at the "crossroads" of discourse-in-practice and discursive practice, i.e., where substantial resources (the what concerns) and the actual self-enunciation process (the how concerns) overlap and mediate each other, we are able to open the "floodgates" of narrative for analytic purposes. In doing so, we may gain a better understanding of how language learners diversely convey their subjectivities in a variety of institutional and organisational settings.
In what follows, I would like to undertake a first attempt to apply Holstein & Gubrium's (2000) analytic framework of interpretive practice to concrete instances of self-enunciation involving multilingual and cross-culturally skilled individuals. To this end, I intend to offer a new account of how my 1999 CCC pilot project may be viewed in the light of the proposed analytic model of interpretive practice in contrast to the somewhat more quantitative theoretical perspectives adopted during my 1999 transfer report.

4. 5.1. The storying of cultural selves in the CCC pilot project

As indicated in our earlier discussion of identity enunciation and empowerment, a CCC pilot study was carried out in early 1999 to ascertain to what extent individuals may resort to what I referred to as “assertion strategies” in the context of L2 learning and intercultural communication. To briefly recap, the latter included language-bound strategies such as identificational rechristening, i.e., choosing different target culture (TC) names for identificational reasons, choosing a multiple endo-ethnonym, i.e., using double identification labels such as German-American, claiming the right to speak as an attempt to verbally subvert oppression in communication, as well as choosing a language of habitual use (LHU) and bilingualism. To this end, a semi-structured interview was administered to a total of ten informants previously selected according to criteria of mobility, relative freedom of choice, age, language proficiency, education and socio-economic background.

In this context, we may remember from the analysis previously presented in chapter 3.2.3 that according to the findings individuals may resort to particular strategies such as choosing an LHU different from their native tongue and thus claiming bilingualism by function, competence or identification rather than by origin alone (cf., Skutnabb-Kangas, 1991a).

As a potential symbolic move to reconsider the research design and purpose of this pilot project in the new light of a qualitative and interpretive perspective, however, it could now be argued that the methodological approach of the CCC pilot study was heavily informed by particular hypotheses on assertion strategies. It thus involved an analysis of the empirical material geared towards confirming or refuting such hypotheses by counting instances of strategy use among the respondents.

It is my contention that the rich narratives provided by the respondents in the CCC pilot study may merit another analysis, this time from a qualitative, interpretive perspective to determine how the participants in the study draw on a variety of rich sources to diversely story their
cultural selves. In this context, I would like to focus initially on the *what* concerns of *discourse-in-practice* for the discursive inscription of cultural identity by discussing potential sites and resources for the storytelling of cultural subjectivities. The latter may include local culture, biographical details, scenic presence, embodiment\(^\text{11}\) as well material and textual mediations beyond the actual interview schedule used in the CCC pilot project.

4.5.1.1. Instances of *discourse-in-practice* in the CCC pilot project

A second look at the data provided by the CCC pilot study suggests that informants draw on a vast variety of resources for the enunciation of self-hood within the context of the semi-structured CCC interview. A general overview of the interview data reveals that most respondents resort to a combination of local culture, institutional setting and biographical particulars in their narrative inscription of cultural identity.

As for the institutional setting, it must be remarked that three of the ten interviews were carried out in private settings. Another three were administered to graduate language students at the University of Surrey in Guildford and the remaining four involved students and faculty at the Institute for Translation and Interpreting of Heidelberg University, Germany. The institutional embeddedness of the interviews clearly mediates the data provided with respondents referring in varying degrees to their language combination, educational background, departments, remaining study time, etc. *Local culture* features equally prominently as a resource of self-enunciation with informants mentioning geographical locations of a particular local reckoning, e.g., “Donauaueschingen im Schwarzwald” or “Wuppertal-Elberfeld” in a German context or using particular local vocabulary such as “flatmates” for a uniquely British context. *Biographical details* constitute the most commonly used resource for the storytelling of cultural selves in the CCC pilot study, but their deployment indicates high instances of *narrative play* and *variation* among the respondents. One informant, for instance, routinely illustrates his point by using *anecdotes*, while two other study participants make frequent reference to their *boyfriends* and how their love life has purportedly affected their cultural identities (see also our related discussion of “attachment” in chapter 8.3.6). All respondents present a highly *selective* overview of their personal history

\(^{11}\)According to Holstein & Gubrium (2000), *embodiment* refers to how individuals build their emergent storyline on bodily features or ailments. By way of illustration, they cite interviews involving senior citizens in retirement homes, who routinely make reference to their physical condition as an important resource of self-enunciation.
by highlighting and accentuating particular details relevant for the interview context, including details such as a Croatian grandmother and growing up in a village in Missouri.

Material mediations in terms of "material-in-use" (Holstein & Gubrium, 2000:188) also play a vital role in the CCC pilot study. Two informants refer to the purchase of local food and beverage products, for instance, while another respondent points out the importance of legal identity as manifested by passports and other legal documents. Yet another study subject mentions running all his errands using his bicycle as a metaphor for convenient, clean and healthy living, while one informant stresses the role of newspapers particularly for their role in propagating local culture and political views. Such materials-in-use may therefore be said to mediate the discursive inscription of cultural selves in the CCC pilot study. We "are" the products we choose to buy, the newspapers we choose to read and the means of transportation that we decide to use.

In similar terms, embodiment plays a major role in the CCC pilot study albeit in varying degrees. One informant, for instance, makes mention of her particular situation as a Swede with Asian looks, while another respondent repeatedly refers to her distinct Turkish appearance. These instances confirm that physical attributes may often be used for the narrative inscription of self-hood. Finally, textual mediations are also diversely employed as resources of self-enunciation not unlike materials-in-use. Examples include diplomas and other degrees, passports and newspapers, even though the latter may also be interpreted as instances of material mediation.

4.5.1.2. Instances of discursive practice in the CCC pilot project

Given the fact that all CCC study participants were administered the same semi-structured interview schedule with only minor variations due to contextual parameters, it may be interesting to take a closer look at instances of narrative play in the interview data. By doing so, we may be able to shift the focus away from the what concerns towards how the informants actually used the interview context and other resources for their own story of the self.

All respondents, for instance, were given the same question 2c in the interview schedule, i.e., "If somebody asked you 'Where are you from?', what would you say?". Their responses, however, varied significantly according to their own interpretation of the question. Less than half interpreted the question in terms of "origin" and gave short, direct replies of sometimes as few as two words, e.g., “from Guatemala”. Most respondents, however, were aware of the
complexities involved in attempts to elicit answers related to cultural identity and difference, particularly in the given interview context. As observed by Phipps (1999): "[...] our concern, in intercultural studies, is not so much 'Where are you from?' as 'Where are you between?'" Most informants therefore interpreted the question as an invitation to extended turns at talk. According to Holstein & Gubrium (2000:127) the latter constitutes an important mechanism for individuals to demarcate space for self-enunciation in everyday social interactions.

If we choose to look at the informants' replies from a conversation analysis (CA) perspective (cf., Sacks, 1974) by focusing on their respective turns at talk, we may gain a greater insight into instances of variation between individual presentations. Such a CA-inspired perspective suggests, for instance, that the interview question "Where are you from?" encouraged more than half of the respondents to seek longer turns at talk and to elaborate on potential answers depending on the context in which the question may be posed. In fact, one respondent even refused to answer the question, and gave lengthy explanations as to why it was impossible for him to provide a concrete reply. It may therefore be concluded that the same resource, such as the same concrete question "Where are you from?" in the CCC pilot study, may solicit a vast variety of responses from informants thus prompting them to establish space for self-enunciation in varying degrees according to how they choose to interpret the interview context at hand.

A second look at the empirical data provided by the CCC pilot study therefore suggests that analysing and counting instances of language-related "assertion strategies" alone may not provide a comprehensive picture of identity enunciation and empowerment in L2 learning and cross-cultural environments. Focusing on what available resources and settings language learners resort to and how they actually employ such resources for the storying of self-hood, by contrast, may adumbrate the richness and diversity of narratives underlying discursively-grounded cultural selves in L2 learning and LAIC.

4.5.2. Further sites for the narrative inscription of cultural selves

The settings, biographical details, material and textual mediations mentioned above in connection with the 1999 CCC pilot study do not constitute the only resources available to individuals for the storying of self-hood as it relates to language and intercultural learning. The institutional setting of schools, universities and language centres, for example, was previously mentioned as possible instances in which learners are provided with ample narrative openings for self-enunciation. Language classes frequently employ oral and written
exercises in which learners may selectively story their personal history, family background and time spent abroad. Ivanic’s (1998) influential work *Writing and Identity*, for instance, provides a detailed account of how the presentation of self may be shaped by individuals in academic writing.

Beyond the framework of educational institutions, however, naturalistic SLA settings may equally offer diverse openings for the narrative inscription of self-hood. On airplanes, for instance, conversations among fellow air travellers frequently involve questions such as ‘Where are you from?’ and ‘Where are you flying to?’. With the proliferation of information technology and computer-mediated communication (CMC) ever-new openings for the storying of self-hood also tend to emerge in *cyberspace*, including the use of homepages, e-mail communication and bookmarked favourite web sites on the Internet. Socio-economic concerns about the general accessibility of CMC notwithstanding (cf., chapter 3.3.1), it may be argued that *cyberspace* now constitutes the single most important postmodern *space of self-enunciation* for individuals to turn to.

So how can *cyberspace* encourage the storying of cultural selves in language and intercultural learning? In the following paragraphs I would like to illustrate how *homepages* and *e-mail communications* may be used as possible resources for multicultural and multilingual individuals to diversely articulate their subjectivities. One of the informants involved in the 1999 CCC pilot study, for instance, maintains a personal homepage on the Internet (see http://hometown.aol.com/GWLV/myhomepage/index.html for details; site visited January 28th, 2001). The informant is of adult age, has studied at universities in both Italy and the United States, is fluent in English, Italian and Chinese and holds a special interest in European high culture, particularly in opera and classical music. His web site is divided into three main paragraphs entitled *About One China policy*, *Che cazzo sto fa’?* and *Che cose mi piacciono?* In the first paragraph, he speaks out in favour of Taiwanese independence and democracy in view of the fact that he was born and raised in Taipei. He subsequently presents a brief overview of his personal history and current life and finally outlines his personal likes and dislikes as they relate to music, leisure activities, travel and sexuality. The final section of his web page includes his *favourite links*, among them the *Metropolitan Opera House* in New York, the *Vacuum Pumper site* and *Sinanet* thus highlighting his respective interest in opera music, sexuality and Chinese current affairs.

The structure and content of the informant’s homepage suggests that *cyberspace* may provide language learners with manifold resources to discursively anchor their sense of self. His web site is highly indicative of his strong personal ties to both Taiwan and Italy as indicated in his
mention of Taipei and Sinanet as well as his use of Italian in two of his subheadings. While his Internet Service Provider offers clients the same software template to generate their individual homepages, how they use such resources may vary significantly depending on their personal interests and cultural affiliations.

In similar terms, e-mail communication may be used as a postmodern resource to articulate cultural subjectivities. In a recent bulk mailing entitled *Getting to know ya*, for instance, an acquaintance of mine sent out a comprehensive list of his personal likes and dislikes to all of his cyberfriends. At the risk of sounding nostalgic and dwelling on anecdotal evidence, upon receiving his e-mail I felt catapulted back to my own days in high school, when it was rather common to collect similar accounts of personal likes and dislikes in journal entries and friendships were expressed in part by who would agree to share their accounts with others. The content and structure of said e-mail may be found below in Figure 4.2. The fields full name and nickname have been left empty to ensure anonymity.

![Figure 4.2: E-mail communication as an opening for storying self-hood](image)

A brief analysis of the e-mail message presented above suggests that it is possible to employ e-mail as an effective site to communicate a sense of self to others. The author of said
message resorts to a variety of resources for storying identity within his e-mail, most importantly food and other material mediations, such as cars, preferred toothpaste, pillow, sports brands and cologne. He also includes numerous references to biographical details including past operations, travel experiences and noteworthy particulars such as "I was born feet first, and without wisdom teeth." He also heavily draws on popular mass-media culture such as TV shows, movies and pop music thus intensifying what some theorists would refer to as the postmodern nature of his account (cf., Kellner, 1992).

In cultural terms, his presentation is indicative of his bicural German-American background. His personal history of what is often referred to as a "GI brat", i.e., the son of an American military official and his German wife, is implied in his birthplace Landstuhl and his current place of residence, Stuttgart, Germany. In addition, his past travels include places in both the United States and Germany. His predominant mention of materials-in-use including seemingly trivial items such as shampoos, salad dressings and ice cream brands may be interpreted as rather American in orientation, since material mediations are a highly common source of self-identification in the United States, possibly more so than in European contexts.

The outlined observations suggest that the e-mail message presented above may constitute a vivid example of how self-hood may be articulated and represented in myriad ways through computer-mediated narrative and how cyberspace may be regarded as a quintessentially postmodern medium for language learners to turn to for the narrative inscription of subjectivity as it relates to contemporary culture and language-in-use.

4.5.3. Locally-mediated resources for the storying of cultural selves

In addition to the sites and resources mentioned above in connection with the CCC pilot study and the emergence of cyberspace, a closer look at the contemporary social landscape may provide further insights into the potential what of self-enunciation. As briefly outlined earlier, local culture, for instance, offers individuals myriad openings for articulating their cultural identities in communication.

As a powerful source of both identification and narrative practice local culture serves to highlight individuals' locally-constituted cultural affiliations and their respective impact on self-hood. In terms of local or regional culture, this resource may include talk about street names, local politicians such as mayors or governors, local sports clubs and regional current events. Linguistically it may manifest itself in regional dialects, expressions or idioms. Rather
than being regarded as a resource for self-enunciation, however, local culture may be seen as a general site and reference point by reflexively mediating other resources that individuals may resort to for the storying of their cultural subjectivities.

What further resources could be mediated by local culture and available to individuals for conveying their cultural identities? In what follows, I will try to illustrate the potential impact of local culture on a pool of resources for the diverse enunciation of cultural subjectivities by citing examples from a variety of local and regional backgrounds, particularly as they relate to Las Vegas, Nevada and to different regions in Great Britain.

In this respect, material mediations, for instance, may include local identity cards, e.g., a Nevada driver’s licence, or a gym membership card to the Las Vegas Athletic Club. They could also include materials-in-use, such as T-shirts or other casual garments featuring prints of local sports clubs and universities. It is said, for instance, that patriotic Las Vegans even wear boxer shorts with UNLV prints to bed at night. Other examples may include ubiquitous sports team apparel such as hats and scarves of Manchester United or FC Bayern München. In this context, most people would agree that whatever printed T-shirt individuals may choose to wear makes a public statement about who they are.

Scenic presence constitutes another important resource for the storying of self-hood. As Holstein & Gubrium (2000:190) observe, a passionate embrace, for instance, may be subject to different interpretations depending on whether it takes place in a wedding chapel or in a dimly-lit motel room. In cultural terms, scenic presence may be employed as a resource, even locally, to articulate cultural subjectivity. You may not necessarily have to travel to France on a regular basis to express Francophile sentiments. A regular visit to the local Institut Francais may serve similar purposes, as commented on by some of the respondents in the 1999 CCC pilot study.

Textual mediations may equally be influenced by local culture and used as potential resources for the enunciation of cultural identity. Examples may include regional newspapers, such as the Evening Argus or the Las Vegas Review Journal. In this context, it may be pointed out that the invention of print media is regarded by Anderson (1983) in his seminal work Imagined Communities as one of the key driving forces behind the development of regional and national consciousness.

By extension, the same may hold true for other more technologically advanced and postmodern forms of local media, including TV and radio stations or, more recently, the
launching of locally oriented web sites on the Internet. Station announcements, such as “This is BBC Radio Scotland” or “You are tuned to Nevada Public Radio, KNPR Las Vegas”, are indicative of local and regional identities and may be used by individuals as sources of identification and thus as resources for the storying of cultural selves. We “are” the local stations that we decide to tune in to, the programmes we choose to follow and talk about on a daily basis. In similar terms, local television celebrities, such as the late British TV presenter Jill Dando or former Las Vegas-based Channel 3 anchorwoman Rikky Cheese, may also be diversely referred to in locally-constituted narratives. The former, for instance, may frequently draw sympathy or feelings of solidarity with her family from individuals in view of her recent murder. Rikky Cheese, by contrast, tends to be the frequent target of malicious jokes and ridicule thus prompting individuals to distance themselves from her while still using her as a narrative resource for the storying of locally-constituted cultural subjectivities.

Other examples related to textual mediations may include local bills, such as power bills from Seaboard or Nevada Power and phone bills from British Telecom or Sprint CenTel. Such textual materials produced about individuals can reflexively mediate individuals’ self-perceptions and their narrative inscription of self-hood. Consider, for instance, the possible impact of bills featuring overdue balances and late payments, which may contribute to individuals’ own sense of being “negligent” or “not creditworthy” often without the customer being actually at fault due to delayed mail delivery, vacation absences or billing mistakes. In similar terms, for instance, Holstein & Gubrium (2000:207) present a study by Smith (1987) on how school documents including progress reports and PTA mailings may mediate the conceptualisation of mothers’ identities, particularly in the “problematic” case of single motherhood.

As textual materials produced by individuals themselves, the use of cultural identity essays has been suggested as a potential tool for students to turn to for self-expression in formal educational contexts (Tomic & Lengel, 1999). Similar examples could include college-writing classes for students to be exposed to as early as in secondary school. Essays written as class assignments in this context may equally provide individuals with textual openings to diversely represent their locally-constituted cultural subjectivities, a particularly useful resource for language learners in cross-cultural environments.

Finally, embodiment also may serve as a potential source for the enunciation of self-hood. The use of physical attributes, bodily features, ailments and conditions constitutes a common resource of self-enunciation as observed by Holstein & Gubrium (2000:197) in the context of their empirical studies involving elderly residents at retirement homes. Embodiment is also
subject to significant cultural differences and may thus also be turned to for diversely storying cultural identity. At the risk of propagating cultural stereotypes, it could be argued, for instance, that storying the body tends to be more common in the United States than in most parts of Europe with people more likely to compliment each other on physical attributes and placing significant importance on external appearance including body shape, clothes, hair and skin.

It can therefore be concluded that language learners may be able to turn to a significant variety of other resources as the *whats* of self-enunciation beyond the sites and sources mentioned in connection with the CCC pilot study and the proliferation of computer-mediated communication (CMC). In this context, the outlined observations suggest that learners may be able to diversely create *spaces of self-enunciation* for storying their cultural subjectivities by resorting to variegated material and textual mediations particularly as they relate to local culture.

4.6. Conclusion

This chapter has served the dual purpose of presenting Holstein & Gubrium’s (2000) notion of *narrative identity* including its theoretical foundations, constitutive features and possible experiential manifestations, while introducing their analytic framework of “*interpretive practice*” for a qualitative discussion of selfhood in social theory and sociology.

By doing so, this chapter has aimed to provide the theoretical grounding tropes for a similar discussion of *storied selves* for cultural identity in the context of L2 learning and LAIC. In this context, it was proposed to apply the analytic interplay of *discourse-in-practice* and *discursive practice* envisioned by Holstein & Gubrium (2000) to the notion of *cultural selves* in language and intercultural learning. To this end, an attempt was made to reconsider the 1999 CCC pilot project in the new light of a qualitative research paradigm for the study of language and intercultural learning and its impact on learner identities in LAIC. It is the aim of the following chapter to offer a critical and detailed account of the ontological and epistemological assumptions underlying the qualitative and interpretivist research design of the project outlined in chapter six.
5. Towards a qualitative research paradigm in LAIC

As the next step in our theoretical discussion, I would like to move from a general philosophical outline of narrative identity towards a critical analysis of the relationship between research theory and practice, most notably as it relates to the notion of self-enunciation in LAIC. In this wider context, it is the particular aim of the present chapter to explicate the ontological and epistemological underpinnings of the analytic design that is employed for the study outlined in chapter six.

To this end, I would initially like to discuss these theoretical premises in particular as they relate to the notion of reflexivity in qualitative research theory and practice. This theoretical outline will be followed by an attempt to apply these concepts to instances of reflexive research practice. I will then proceed to offer a brief overview of the theoretical differences underlying quantitative and qualitative research designs, and how these may be regarded as pursuing explanatory and descriptive study objectives respectively. Finally, a proposal is made outlining a qualitatively-based study on self-enunciation in language and intercultural learning. For that reason, this chapter also marks a distinct narrowing of our analytic focus by attempting to appropriate Holstein & Gubrium’s sociological model of interpretive practice for a qualitative account of self-enunciation in LAIC, with the objective of appreciating L2 learners’ cultural identities in terms of their underlying discourse and narrative.

5.1. Approaching reflexivity in language and intercultural learning

“Local culture offers ways of constructing self that are reflexively both productive of and responsive to everyday interpretive circumstances.” (Holstein & Gubrium, 2000:163)

As we have seen in the preceding chapters, the general themes of language, culture and identity can be observed in various types of academic discourse, among them social theory, sociology, philosophy, anthropology and language studies. Just how the basic themes of language, culture and identity are discursively deployed and developed, however, may show significant variation across different sites of discourse. The narrative differences covered as part of our analysis in chapter 2.2 do not only suggest contrasting ways of talking about and relating such themes but in the process also tend to mediate different conceptualisations and definitions of these themes as the very subjects of research in their own right.
The following theoretical analysis may be seen as an attempt to critically reflect on the epistemological premises underlying qualitative and interpretive research in LAIC particularly as it relates to the study of cultural identity in the wider context of language and intercultural learning. With respect to the latter, I proposed in the last chapter to appropriate Holstein & Gubrium's (2000) analytic model of interpretive practice as a possible framework for a qualitatively-based study of self-enunciation in L2 learning and intercultural communication. As I set out to establish such a framework, I soon became acutely aware of how my own choice of discourse and my selection of related academic texts seemed to mediate the very subject of cultural identity at the centre of my analytic interest. My reading of feminist and post-structuralist accounts such as Butler (1990), for instance, initially paved the way for the notion of “self-construction” in my analysis, whereas my later interpretations of Holstein & Gubrium (2000) encouraged me to conceive of cultural identity as an act of “self-enunciation”. At the same time, I came across the notion of reflexivity in a variety of qualitative research texts of similar theoretical orientations, such as in Jack & Phipps’ (in press) proposal of an ethnography of encounter, engagement and exchange.

It is my intention now to add my own “storyline” to the complex relationship of language, culture and identity in LAIC discourse as I shall set out to embrace the notions of consciousness and reflexivity underlying qualitative research on cultural identity in language and intercultural learning. I set out on this task fully conscious that in this undertaking I shall have to provide a more detailed account of the ontological and epistemological underpinnings that such research entails. By doing so, it is my hope that a critical discussion of reflexivity and consciousness as part of LAIC research may contribute to what has been referred to by Phipps (1999) as critical and creative praxis in qualitative language theory and intercultural research.

5.1.1. Defining the notion of reflexivity

The concept of reflexivity is concerned with the relationship between research theory and praxis, particularly how ontological and epistemological beliefs are translated into and enacted as analytic and methodological practices. Reflexivity also mediates the relationship between academic discourse and its subject. As a broad interpretation of Saussurian and

12 It could be argued in this context that these reflexive processes may hold true for any form of research activity. I fully support that argument, but it is my contention that while reflexivity may be constitutive of any type of research, a scholar’s awareness, acceptance and conscious enactment of these reflexive processes cannot always be taken for granted.
structuralist concerns with *signifier* and *signified*, reflexivity refers to how a particular discourse may actually help to create the subject it purports to investigate and embrace analytically. Reflexivity therefore seems to come to the fore every time research theory is turned into praxis and every time either is given a linguistic form or verbal structure.

Why then has reflexivity as a concept tended to generate rather limited attention in different kinds of academic circles? The answer may be found in the role of *consciousness* in rendering reflexive practices visible, which in many cases may be lacking. In other words, many researchers may lack awareness or, in other cases, acceptance of the reflexive practices underlying their academic work. Researchers may often even be unaware of the theoretical underpinnings underlying their methodological approaches by failing to explicate the relationship between both. On the latter, for instance, Jack (1999) deplores "[...] the relative lack of theorisation of the key issues of cultural identity, difference and representations" that could be observed at preceding CCC conferences and argues that:

> "theory and method are not separable, [...] and to assume so is to shy away from the critical and reflexive discussion of the way in which theoretical perspectives create our subjects of study."

With respect to intercultural research, Jack & Phipps (in press) therefore offer on another occasion the following definition of reflexivity:

> "Reflexivity is therefore a concept which [...] sensitises us to the methodological challenges of translating the ontological and epistemological character of Buber's (1954) 'dialogical' [...] into research praxis." (emphasis in original)

What may happen if scholars fail to accept or acknowledge the role of *reflexivity* and the relationship between research theory and practice? By way of example, we may wish to take a closer look at earlier quantitative research in Second Language Acquisition (SLA) studies. In the early 1970s, the much-publicised *Morpheme Order Study* by Dulay & Burt, for instance, purported to shed light on the acquisition order of morphemes in English as a Second Language (ESL). It was discovered shortly after, however, that their elicitation technique, i.e., the *Bilingual Syntax Measure (BSM)*, was flawed and biased in that it helped to create the actual findings that it reported to arrive at. In other words, the findings on morpheme acquisition orders were an artefact of the elicitation technique rather than a "true" reflection of the order in which L2 students acquire morphemes. Of course, what we may refer to as "true" and "real" is in itself a highly controversial and much-debated topic. The present
project is not the place to join that debate in greater detail. It seems safe to suggest, however, that the way in which scholars articulate their respective positions on “truth” and “reality” tends to be indicative of their theoretical and philosophical orientations, i.e., as following either a quantitative/scientific or a qualitative/interpretivist paradigm (cf., Guba & Lincoln, 1989).

What makes the Morpheme Order Study noteworthy in the present discussion, however, is the awareness and conscious realisation even among SLA researchers with quantitative orientations that the study’s methodological approach was reflexively mediated by its underlying theoretical premises thus leading to “biased” research findings. In how many cases, we may wonder, do researchers fail to acknowledge such associations and reflexive practices blindly confiding in the validity of research findings ostensibly arrived at in the name of realist ontological and objectivist epistemological beliefs underlying traditional psychometric studies (cf., Guba & Lincoln, 1989)? This may seem to some a polemical question, but more recent qualitatively-oriented reviews of well-known SLA models tend to do just that, i.e., uncover possible instances in which study findings may have been reflexively mediated by the researcher’s analytic approach. With respect to Schumann’s (1978) highly publicised Acculturation Model involving a longitudinal study subject named Alberto, for instance, the following critical quote taken from Norton (2000) may serve as a case in point:

“While Schumann accused Alberto of saying ‘what he thought the experimenter wanted to hear’ […] , Schumann does not consider the possibility that the experimenter would only hear what he wanted to prove […].” (2000:115)

To what extent then, we may ask, are reflexivity and awareness thereof part and parcel of more interpretivist and qualitative research practices? It is to this question that I would like to turn to in the following section.

5.1.2. Ontological and epistemological perspectives on reflexivity

The traditional distinction between quantitative and qualitative research may often become rather blurred in actual research practice, but adherents to either form of research generally tend to follow quite different ontological and epistemological principles guiding their methodologies.
A 'scientific' research paradigm is based on the belief in an externally objective reality, i.e., a **realist ontological view**. This belief then translates into an objectifying view of knowledge and research, i.e., an **objectivist epistemology**. The methodologies used to study L2 learning in this paradigm are correspondingly **interventionist** in nature and may include traditional experimental and correlational research designs (Guba & Lincoln, 1989).

A 'qualitative' paradigm, by contrast, is grounded on the conviction that the existence of an externally objective reality cannot be confirmed with certainty, i.e., a **relativist ontology**. The corresponding view of knowledge and research would thus contend that the relationship between seeing and knowing is based on a subjective and individual process of interpretation, i.e., a **subjectivist epistemology**. This perspective would then translate into **interpretivist** and **hermeneutic methodologies** including qualitative approaches often associated with ethnography and anthropology (Guba & Lincoln, 1989). Even though none of the two aforementioned methodological types may appear in their purest quantitative or qualitative form, the theoretical widening in SLA to include social and cultural dimensions affecting language learning has brought increasing attention to possible alternative methodologies beyond traditional linguistic approaches. Ramanathan & Atkinson's (1999) influential paper on ethnographic approaches to L2 writing research may be seen as a recent example in this area.

In order to fully appreciate the different theoretical perspectives underlying each of these positions, however, we may wish to go back even further and turn to **metaphysics**. With respect to the latter, von Foerster (1991) argues that there are **decidable** and **undecidable** questions in life. Whereas questions, such as 'Is the number 462 divisible by 2?', may be regarded as decidable by way of their acceptance of the rules associated with a particular formalism, such as arithmetic in the given example, von Foerster (1991:64) argues that what he terms undecidable questions may leave individuals considerable **choice** in how to approach them.

Questions such as 'Am I apart from the universe?' or 'Am I a part of the universe?' and 'Is the world the primary cause?' or 'Is my experience the primary cause?' may be regarded as **undecidable** in principle. For that reason, von Foerster (1991) argues that our answer in this regard also implies that we must assume responsibility for the choices we make.13

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13 I am certainly not suggesting that these are possible research questions open to analytic scrutiny, but I do regard von Foerster's questions as basic philosophical issues that every researcher may have to decide on directly or indirectly when embarking on any research activity.
The given examples suggest, for instance, that if we decide to see the world as the primary cause and ourselves as observers of an independent universe, we also tend to believe in notions such as 'truth' and 'objectivity' and are more likely to reject or be oblivious to reflexivity (von Foerster, 1991:65). By contrast, if I see my experience as the primary cause and myself as an intrinsic part of the universe, I also acknowledge that “whenever I act, not only do I change, but the universe changes as well” (von Foerster, 1991:65) implying a focus on individual ethics and an acceptance of reflexivity underlying my actions.

Returning to questions of ontology and epistemology, it may seem clear by now that adherents to traditional scientific and experimental methodologies with their underlying realist ontological and objectivist epistemological views must have decided that they are indeed outside observers of an independent universe and the world is the primary cause. Advocates of qualitative and interpretivist approaches, by contrast, must have decided that they are enmeshed with and a part of the universe and tend to see their experiences as the primary cause. By way of illustration, we may turn to writings in anthropology, one of the major fields of qualitative and interpretive research. In this context, for instance, Ingold (1996) provides a lucid account of the ways in which the relativist and subjectivist perspectives in anthropology may impact on issues of generalisability that are a common concern in traditional quantitative research (cf., also Ramanathan & Atkinson, 1999):

“[…] if we understand the world to be a continuous process of becoming, of which our own lives are a part, and if our knowledge of the world is built up against the background of our active involvement in this process, then this logic of part-whole relations - and with it the oppositions both between the general and the particular and between society and the individual - disintegrates.” (Ingold, 1996:6)

On the basis of the arguments outlined above it can therefore be suggested that acceptance and awareness of the reflexive practices mediating our study subjects and the relationship between research activities and their underlying theoretical moorings may be frequently associated with relativist and subjectivist principles as they are commonly found in qualitative research.

In this wider context, it could be argued that each study subject may be seen as subjectively and reflexively created by the researcher’s discursive practices, which may subsequently lead to contrasting methodological choices. This position seems confirmed by numerous advocates of reflexive research practices. Krippendorff (1991:115-142), for instance, seems to echo my
claims regarding the role of reflexivity and its acceptance or lack thereof in different research circles. The following comment seems particularly illustrative here:

“The notion that distinctions are drawn rather than given, that researchers participate in the creation of data rather than finding them, that data are informed by theory rather than informing it, is an anathema only for objectivists who are blinded against seeing the social or psychological foundation of their own reality.” (1991:122)

In similar terms, it may be observed, for instance, that the emergent discourse in LAIC is frequently characterised by a wide-spread concern with hermeneutic and social issues surrounding reflexivity, consciousness and the negotiation of meaning. By way of example, the conference announcement for the 2000 CCC conference in Leeds (cf., Appendix III) explicitly focuses on “the negotiation of difference and similarities, the processing of meaning, and the shaping of identities” as key areas of interest and calls for a discussion of “the role of reflexivity and self-expression” (emphasis added) in these processes.

In addition, LAIC scholars such as Jack (Jack & Phipps, in press) express the need to “embody and enact ontological and epistemological principles underpinning the concern for a reflexive, critical and creative praxis of LAIC research”, while Phipps (Phipps & Jack, in press) proposes “creative and critical practices […] fully aware of the colonising, structuring impulses of our specific questions” likewise suggesting a key role for reflexivity in the process of turning research theory into praxis. Yet the discussion surrounding reflexivity is by no means limited to intercultural research and LAIC. It also plays a key role in other qualitatively-inspired studies from disciplines as varied as anthropology, social theory and sociology. Holstein & Gubrium (2000), for instance, frequently allude to what they see as the pivotal role of reflexivity in the relationship between research theory and praxis and between discursive practices and research subjects, as illustrated by the following excerpts:

“ It’s important to remember that narrative practice does not simply unfold within the interpretive boundaries of going concerns, but contributes to the definition of those boundaries in its own right.” (Holstein & Gubrium, 2000:107)

“The contexts that provide meaning are themselves self-generating; language and its contexts are ‘reflexive’”. (Holstein & Gubrium, 2000:88)

The statements presented above seem a far cry from traditional quantitative concerns with issues of cause-and-effect relations and the isolation of variables for experimental research purposes. In fact, it seems fair to suggest that the types of questions asked by quantitative and
qualitative researchers respectively are often entirely different. It may therefore be surmised that the notion of reflexivity and awareness or acceptance thereof may be more commonly associated with research questions and designs of a qualitative, interpretivist and hermeneutic orientation such as the ones outlined above.

5.2. Forms of reflexivity

Yet how does reflexivity manifest itself? And in what ways may researchers become increasingly conscious of the reflexive practices underlying their analytic reasoning? In this context, one of the problems may be that the notion of reflexivity and an awareness of reflexive processes tend to become blurred conceptually, since it is impossible to talk about reflexivity in research unless one may be aware of it in the first place. For that reason, it may often seem challenging to identify particular instances of reflexivity and their respective forms of manifestation. In their proposed methodology of an exchange ethnography, Jack & Phipps (in press) outline various forms of reflexivity that they see as relevant to their ethnographic endeavour to shed light on intercultural space and encounter on the Scottish Isle of Skye. These forms include relational, narrative and collaborational reflexivity. In what follows, I shall set out to explicate each of these reflexive forms fully aware of the non-exclusive and incomplete nature of the proposed list.

5.2.1. Relational reflexivity

Relational reflexivity, Jack & Phipps (in press) argue, implies that methodological practices are always mediated by relational spaces between the researcher and the study subject. With respect to their proposed ethnography of encounter, engagement and exchange such a perspective on reflexivity thus focuses on the ‘location’ or ‘space’ of research methodology suggesting that methodological practices are grounded in what they term “[…] the interrelation and not the sovereign cogito of the researcher”. Such a conscious awareness of relational reflexivity underlying qualitatively-oriented research, for instance, may be illustrated by the following quotes from Norton’s (2000) longitudinal diary study involving immigrant women in Canada:

“[…] I recognized increasingly that my own history and experiences structured the study in diverse and complex ways” (2000:22)
"In some respects, defining my own relationship to the women was even more complex than helping the women develop a format for their diaries." (2000:31)

Unlike traditional quantitative research, an explicit focus on and awareness of relationality and how it mediates the relationship between the researcher and the study subject contributes to a view of methodology as limited to a particular phenomenon and as such as non-generalisable. It therefore highlights the relativist and subjectivist ontological and epistemological moorings underlying such research.

The notions of generalisability and particularisability are likewise discussed by Ramanathan & Atkinson (1998) in their proposal of ethnographic L2 writing research. The authors argue that ethnography as a form of qualitative research often seems incompatible with the notion of generalisability, as the latter implies the isolation of phenomena from their social context. They do believe, however, that ethnographic engagement with a variety of different perspectives and subjective world views may allow researchers to draw parallels between them, gain more general insights and could thus lead to an extension of research findings to other contexts. Ramanathan & Atkinson’s discussion therefore also serves to suggest a key role for relational reflexivity and awareness thereof for research activities of a qualitative and interpretivist orientation.

The notion of relational reflexivity also redefines and impacts on the relationship between researchers and their study subjects. In this context, Gergen & Gergen (1991), for instance, comment that:

"The foremost feature of this type of work is the sharing of power between researchers and subjects in order to construct meaning. ‘Subjects’ become ‘participants’, and the number of interpretations (or theoretical possibilities) generated by the research is expanded rather than frozen." (1991:86)

This new reflexive understanding of the relationship between researchers and study participants is also reflected in Steier’s (1991:165) call to refer to informants as ‘reciprocators’ in actual research. Both therefore also suggest a key role for what has been referred to as relational reflexivity in qualitative research praxis.
5.2.2. Narrative and discursive reflexivity

"I submit that we create our research worlds through stories as experiences." (Steier, 1991:164)

The notion of narrative reflexivity is concerned with how discursive practices mediate and may constitute their respective study subjects thus implying that each study subject is to some extent the product of narrativity. In this wider context, Jack & Phipps (in press) stress the methodological need for form and "the desire to commit to structure" individual experiences during their field work carried out as part of their proposal for an *exchange ethnography* to explore experiential aspects of intercultural learning (see above, chapter 5.2).

Overwhelmed by the plethora of new sensations, observations and impressions gained during their ethnographic field work on the Isle of Skye, Jack & Phipps felt an immediate desire to express their experiences in writing, or, as they call it, to "[...] to commit to structure, to make textual imprints, to bring temporary closure". The latter they interpreted as "an act of narrativity." This suggests a key role for language and discourse in the relationship between the researcher and the study subject and between theory and research praxis. It also serves to highlight the possible relativist and subjectivist moorings underlying research practices associated with such qualitative and interpretivist scholarly commentary.

Similar accounts of what may be termed "narrative" or "discursive" reflexivity can be found in contemporary feminism and gender studies. In this context, we may recall from chapter 2.2.4 how Butler (1990), for instance, offers a critical account of the extent to which language and discourse tend to mediate and impact on conceptualisations of womanhood at the centre of feminist analytic interest. Just *how* we talk about gender differences, "male" or "female" attributes and what it means to be a "woman" may thus be said to contribute to a definition of femininity and masculinity in their own right. For that reason, Butler's constructivist account of gender identity also suggests a key role for what we may refer to for the present argument as *narrative and discursive reflexivity*, as any chosen narrative could be said to impact on and mediate its subject in a recursive and circular fashion.

Other proponents of qualitative or constructivist research praxis equally acknowledge the key role of *narrative reflexivity* in the formulation and application of research methodologies as reflected in Steier's (1991) remark quoted at the beginning of this chapter and by the following comments of Krippendorff (1991):
"Thus, it is fair to say that *data do not exist as such outside a discourse* within which relevant theories are constructed." (1991:120; emphases in original)

Of course, any interpretation of such remarks depends to a large extent on how we choose to understand the notion of *discourse*. Following the Foucauldian understanding of *discourse* adopted in chapter 2.2.2, however, Krippendorff's remarks may be said to attribute a key role to the notion of *narrative reflexivity*, whereby emergent academic discourses give rise to particular data and, by extension, create their own subjectivities (cf., Holstein & Gubrium, 2000:79).

With respect to qualitative research on narratives of cultural selves in language and intercultural learning, however, the notion of *narrative reflexivity* may also be applied to the relationship between discursive practices (the *hows*) and communicated selves (the *whats*). For the latter, the circular and recursive processes underlying narrative reflexivity can manifest themselves in how language and discourse may shape cultural subjectivities and how cultural identities in turn may mediate and impact on available discourse patterns. In the following example, Holstein & Gubrium (2000) discuss the use of 'it depends' as a resource for the variegated storying of selfhood in terms of narrative linkage and slippage. For that reason, their example may also serve to illustrate this process of what could be referred to as *"second order" narrative reflexivity* underlying instances of self-enunciation in L2 learning and LAIC:

> "Repeating 'it depends' [...] not only signals the equally compelling narrative force of two quite different stories, with distinct implications for plot development and contrasting points about domestic discipline, but also evokes the narrative reflexivity that always lurks about the storytelling process to complicate narrative identity." (Holstein & Gubrium, 2000:112)

In similar terms, Norton (2000:13) remarks with respect to her study of immigrant women in Canada that:

> "[...] language is constitutive of and constituted by a speaker's identity"

The above extracts on narrative identity suggests that the ties between research and reflexivity in qualitative studies of cultural identity tend to be highly complex with possible manifestations at different levels of analysis. Such links may include both the circular relationship between research theory, praxis and discourse in what we may refer to as *"first order" narrative reflexivity*, and the relationship between available discourse and narratives
of cultural selves in the aforementioned instances of what may be called "second order" narrative reflexivity.

5.2.3. Collaboration as social reflexivity

As a possible third form of reflexivity, Jack & Phipps make mention of their research as a "consciously collaborative enterprise" and outline to what extent their co-operation tends to mediate their proposal of an exchange ethnography in a circular and recursive fashion. Here it is what they term their intellectual "kinship" which reflexively impacts on their methodological practice. By drawing on kinship analysis in anthropology, they argue that such intellectual exchange may not operate according to principles of equivalence and may manifest itself in ways other than textual form. Each party involved may draw different benefits and gains from intellectual kinship relations, and exchange may often take on tangible material form, such as in the form of food and drink, luggage, clothes and furniture. As Jack & Phipps (in press) observe:

"[...] reflexive praxis has a profoundly material form. We felt our data, we felt the stories that people were telling us. They had gravitas. We had respect. Our methodological texts were sullied by their material form. Collaboration was material"

The above statement suggests that intellectual kinship and co-operation as outlined by Jack & Phipps are prime examples of the social nature that reflexivity may have and how social processes may mediate and impact on research theory and praxis. As Steier (1991:3) suggests:

"Perhaps we need think of research as constituted by processes of social reflexivity, and then, of self-reflexivity as social process" (emphasis in original)

From this perspective, Jack & Phipps' proposal of collaborative reflexivity may thus be regarded as one possible instance of social reflexivity and research as a social process (Steier, 1991).
5.3. Towards reflexive methodologies

Yet how can we build reflexivity into qualitative and interpretive research praxis? What are the practical and logistical challenges facing methodologies informed by the need to enact reflexive principles in actual research activities? In this wider context, it must be initially pointed out that the discussed forms of reflexivity can be actively embedded in a variety of research practices, only a few of which may be explicated here.

In the following discussion, I would like to briefly touch on three analytic approaches that may be regarded as informed by and committed to issues surrounding reflexivity in research praxis. They include the notion of analytic bracketing first introduced in chapter 4.3.3, the idea of research as a “patchwork-like” reflexive activity and, thirdly, the proposal of innovative “exchange-based” writing formats.

5.3.1. Analytic bracketing as reflexive interpretive practice

As outlined earlier in chapter 4.3.3, Holstein & Gubrium (2000) propose a methodological model entitled interpretive practice to analytically embrace narratives of selfhood in a variety of institutional and organisational settings. In this context, we may remember that interpretive practice is concerned with the interplay rather than the synthesis of what the authors refer to as the whats and hows of narrative self-construction, i.e., constitutive resources or settings on one side and the actual self-construction process on the other.

In order to achieve this type of interplay, Holstein & Gubrium propose a process known as analytic bracketing commonly found in studies informed by ethnomethodology (Garfinkel, 1967), conversation analysis (Sacks, 1974) and even prior to that in Husserl’s phenomenology. We may recall here that analytic bracketing implies a suspension of existing beliefs and preconceived notions regarding particular phenomena in order to embrace them conceptually from a variety of potential perspectives.

So to what extent may Holstein & Gubrium’s methodological concepts of analytic bracketing and interpretive practice be regarded as committed to and informed by the notion of reflexivity in research praxis? To begin, their proposed analytic model suggests a key role for reflexivity in research activities by arguing that we should alternately bracket our focus on the respective whats and hows of narrative self-enunciation. Their argument therefore calls for a recursive and circular process of bracketing similar to the principles underlying reflexivity outlined earlier.
It is by focusing on the small mundane details, the *whats* of narrative identity, that we may gain an insight into the overall process, the *hows*, of self-enunciation. Individual experience is therefore no marginal concern, but of key importance to an overall understanding of the "big picture". Jigsaw puzzles would not yield a final image were it not for each individual piece involved. General impressions would mean nothing were it not for each little story told and experience recounted. As Holstein & Gubrium (2000:98) observe:

> "Analytic bracketing thus amounts to deliberately and purposefully bracketing the *whats*, then the *hows*, of interpretive practice in order to assemble a more complete picture of language use." (emphases added)

For that reason, the notion of *analytic bracketing* may be regarded as one possible instance in which methodological choices may be mediated by a direct and conscious concern for principles of recursiveness and circularity underlying the notion of *reflexivity* in actual research praxis.

### 5.3.2. From "patchwork selves" to reflexive methodologies

In a key paper on problems and possibilities involved in LAIC as an emerging discipline, Phipps (in press) stresses the close links between *discourse* and *identity* in language and intercultural learning. In this context, she suggests a vital role for individual *agency* in the process of marking *self* and *other*, i.e., *identity* and *difference* in cross-cultural encounters. On the latter, Phipps observes that:

> "Where identity is formed (and forming) along frontiers or seams then the *communicator* becomes the boundary and the languages used become markers of identity that are accorded considerable power."

In the wider contexts of *discourse* and *identity*, Phipps (in press) draws on Griffith’s notion of the "patchwork self", in which

> "(...) new patches join, adjoin or obscure what is already there, changing it in the process. It is never possible to throw away the whole construction and start again. World-travelling constrains what kind of patchwork is constructed"

I have previously argued in chapter 5.2 that the ways in which we think and talk about a particular phenomenon tends to create our research subject in its own right. It is therefore my
contention that we may similarly conceive of critical qualitative research as a patchwork-like reflexive activity to analytically embrace the notion of a patchwork self suggested in Phipps’ paper. Reflexive research constitutes an on-going analytic activity with no distinct beginning and end. The types of questions asked in reflexive, qualitative research may therefore often be conceived of as more open-ended and less specific than those of interest to traditional psychometric and quantitative researchers. In the context of qualitative research on narrative identity, Holstein & Gubrium (2000:98), for instance, observe that:

“Because the self-construction process and the selves that are eventually constructed are mutually constitutive, one cannot argue that analysis must begin or end with either of these. As a practical matter, we typically begin “where people are” […] in the actual places or going concerns where they address and figure their identities.”

Reflexive qualitative research may therefore be thought of in terms of several different yet complementary metaphors, such as a “circular” or “patchwork” activity or the notion of a spiral. Despite conceptual differences between these metaphors, their underlying characteristics show significant parallels, i.e., they all imply a high degree of recursiveness and circularity mediating both our discursive practices and our related research activities. Phipps’ metaphor of a “patchwork activity”, for instance, may be conceived of as a reflexive process with no distinct beginning or end configuring and reconfiguring existing patterns in a recursive, circular fashion and yielding new insights and perspectives in the process. In similar terms, Gergen & Gergen (1991:93) evoke the image of a spiral in the conclusion to their discussion of reflexive methodologies:

“In principle the spiral knows no boundaries. With socially reflexive research one need never say ‘goodbye’.”

5.3.3. Towards “reflexive” writing styles

To name yet another aspect that may be affected by the changes in theoretical perspectives outlined above, reflexivity may impact on the form and style of academic writing. Jack & Phipps’s (in press) recent article ‘Exchange as Engagement: Making Sense of Experience’, for instance, may be seen as a conscious attempt to embody the principles of what has been termed collaborative reflexivity into a dialogical writing form.
As a change from traditional forms of academic writing, the “exchange format” pioneered by Jack & Phipps may be perceived by the reader as a welcome “breath of fresh air”. Their innovative writing style is based on a dialogue that is partly fictitious and partly reproduced from previous conversations between the two authors. The new format is not without problems, however. The “dialogical” form involving Gavin and Alison may not be regarded as a dialogue or conversation in the traditional sense, since the article is written with close attention to the semantic and grammatical notions of coherence and cohesion. It therefore seems devoid of textual features that would be of interest to conversation analysts, such as turn-taking conventions and adjacency pairs.

The presented “dialogue” tends to come across as rather “staged” and is thus reminiscent of theatrical styles frequently used in theatre scripts. In addition, the ensuing “dialogue” between Gavin and Alison tends to become difficult to convey in academic writing, since there is also the “secondary dialogue” between the authors and their readership, which may interfere with and thwart attempts to introduce additional dialogues or other exchange-based formats. The gradual change in their point of reference, i.e., who the authors refer to as “us” or “us all” in the course of their paper, may be seen as particularly illustrative here. So even though innovative forms of academic writing may be lauded as desirable and long overdue, the dialogical form pioneered by Jack & Phipps as part of their concern for a reflexive methodology may be regarded as problematic.

5.4. The implications of a qualitative, reflexive research paradigm for LAIC

Qualitative research is often portrayed by critics with traditional quantitative, experimental leanings as ill-targeted, all-embracing and somewhat erratic (cf., Nunan, 1992:53). In addition, critics frequently claim that qualitative research tends to lack theoretical foundations and often seems devoid of analytic purpose (cf., Johnson, 1992:84). As my arguments so far may suggest, it is my contention that such impressions are to a large extent informed by a lack of consciousness or acceptance of the reflexive processes underlying qualitative and interpretivist research.

An awareness or acceptance of reflexivity, for instance, would mean that it is mainly impossible to isolate and measure variables as an analytic endeavour, since numerous external influences may reflexively mediate the outcome of such quantitative analysis thus thwarting any attempt to statistically describe the phenomenon under study. In this context, I
may therefore be seen to fully support von Foerster's (1991) position of the role of causality in research. Evoking Wittgensteinian propositions, von Foerster (1991:63-76) claims that:

“To put it even stronger: the notion of causality in analytical studies has lost its meaning, hence is inapplicable; or in Wittgenstein's version [...] : ‘We cannot infer the events of the future from the events of the present. Belief in the causal nexus is superstition.’” (1991:71; emphases in original)

From my own work on cultural identity in the context of language and intercultural learning, for instance, I have been able to observe in traditional SLA literature that affective dimensions of language learning are either reduced to quantitative analysis (e.g., Gardner & Lambert, 1972) or bracketed out altogether, as critically commented on by Kramsch (1990:32). In similar terms, we may recall from chapter 2.2.1.2 how Norton Peirce (1995) and Norton (2000) reject what is referred to as the artificial isolation of language learners from their social world in traditional SLA commentary. In my own research, I have argued (Grosse, 1999) that issues surrounding identity and difference are vital, not marginal concerns, in language and intercultural learning and that identifications and affective dimensions cannot be quantified. Revolutions in consciousness are not linear or cumulative. Transformation of minds cannot be reduced to numbers.

LAIC as an emerging discipline is deeply aware of the key role of self and other, identity and difference in language and intercultural learning, as scholarly commentary here suggests (Parry, 1998; Phipps, 1999 and in press). LAIC scholars are also becoming increasingly sensitised to issues surrounding reflexivity that research on identity and selfhood may entail (cf., Jack, in press; Phipps, in press). LAIC, however, draws on a pool of different disciplines with the vast majority of scholars coming from Applied Linguistics and language pedagogy.

One challenge of the newly-founded discipline may be seen in trying to reach out to those with primarily quantitative backgrounds in a conscious effort to heighten their awareness that qualitative designs such as ethnographic fieldwork or interviewing techniques constitute valuable methodological choices in their own right. In fact, a commitment to and awareness of reflexivity in research praxis may ultimately be seen to touch on issues surrounding ethical and moral obligations in research activities. Such ethical issues will also be of pivotal importance to the newly emerging discipline of LAIC but will certainly not be limited to it. By way of conclusion, I would like to illustrate the moral implications of the envisioned notion of reflexive research praxis by quoting the following remark from Gergen & Gergen's
(1991:93) theoretical outline of reflexive methodologies involving self-reflexivity, discourse and identity:

"Perhaps our self-reflexivity - our discourse about who we are - depends on our expertise in narrativizing. The construction of narratives [...] is also the means by which it comes to be represented (in stories, poems, songs, pictures or gestures). These, in turn, influence the future unfolding of lives themselves." (emphases added)

5.5. Opening the “floodgates” of narrative in language and intercultural learning

"[Narrative] I take to be [...] the central function or instance of the human mind."
(Jameson, 1989:13, emphasis in original)

On the basis of the theoretical analysis in this chapter and our preceding account of Holstein & Gubrium’s (2000) sociological model of interpretive practice in chapter four it can be suggested that a focus on personal narratives in the study of Self in language and intercultural learning may be viewed as a worthwhile and enriching analytic endeavour. In fact, a closer analysis of what available resources individuals resort to and how they employ such resources to diversely articulate their subjectivities in a variety of settings, institutional or otherwise, may fully reveal the richness and diversity underlying narratives of cultural selves. In order to shed further light on the link between identity and narrative, we may wish to briefly consider the writings of Jameson (1989) on narrative and narratology. In this context, Jameson (1989), for instance, theorises on the relationship between history and narrative regarding the former as an “absent cause” that manifests itself to us but in the form of narrative. In particular, Jameson (1989:35) argues:

"[...] history is not a text, not a narrative, master or otherwise, but that, as an absent cause, it is inaccessible to us except in textual form, and that our approach to it and to the Real itself necessarily passes through its prior textualization, its narrativization in the political unconscious."

It is my contention that the notion of cultural identity in language and intercultural learning may likewise be conceived of as an “absent cause” that becomes accessible to us in the form of personal narratives through instances of self-enunciation provided by individuals. Jameson’s writings also allow us to reconceptualise the proposed analytic framework of interpretive practice in the light of his perspectives in narratology. This link becomes
particularly evident when Jameson elaborates on the relationship between an individual text and its social and historical context:

"[...] within the narrower [...] political or historical, horizon, [...] the individual work is grasped essentially as a symbolic act. When we [...] find that the semantic horizon within with we grasp a cultural object has widened to include the social order, we will find that the very object of our analysis has itself been thereby dialectically transformed and [...] has been reconstituted in the form of the great collective and class discourses of which a text is little more than an individual parole or utterance." (1989:76, emphasis in original)

Parallels may again be drawn between historical textual material and instances of self-enunciation provided by individuals. If we choose to appreciate the latter in their own right in accordance with the principle of analytic bracketing outlined in this chapter (see also chapter 6.5.1. on the corresponding approach to data analysis), such instances may be grasped as what Jameson calls "a symbolic act". By contrast, if we focus on resources and themes underlying narrative identity, i.e., the "whats" of self-enunciation, each individual narrative becomes an instance of parole in the Saussurian sense.

On the basis of these insights, the question then arises how the outlined notion of a discursively-grounded self and the proposed interplay of discourse-in-practice and discursive practice may be appropriated in concrete terms for language and intercultural learning in order to shed light on language learners' sense of cultural identity. To launch this exploration of new "spaces of self-enunciation" for individuals to turn to for self-expression and to begin this new "marriage" of research on language, culture and identity, I would initially like to return to the idea of description as an analytic goal in qualitative research. In particular, I intend to refocus here on the extent to which this analytic goal is linked to the underlying theoretical assumptions that inform such research.

5.5.1. Description as a qualitative analytic goal: Anthropology revisited

It has been mentioned repeatedly in the present work that contemporary language and intercultural research has undergone fundamental changes in recent years both conceptually and methodologically. In this wider context, we may recall that traditional nativist approaches towards SLA have mainly followed a scientific, experimental research paradigm, whereas more recent socially- and culturally-oriented approaches are emerging as qualitative and interpretive in nature.
A closer look at the present work and its ontological and epistemological premises outlined in chapter 5.1.2 suggests that the notion of a discursively-grounded cultural self and the analytics of interpretive practice may be seen as following relativist and subjectivist principles typically associated with qualitative research traditions. This conclusion has far-reaching implications for the objectives and, by extension, the analytic questions associated with such research. It is not the aim of such a qualitative and interpretive design to offer explanations of particular phenomena by isolating variables and determining, for instance, cause-and-effect relationships between language learning, cross-cultural skills and shifts in cultural identities. In qualitative research on identity, the underlying objectives would include gaining a better understanding of narrative practices through description, i.e., how individuals diversely enunciate their cultural subjectivities on a daily basis (discursive practice) and what settings and resources may be available to them for that purpose (discourse-in-practice). As indicated before in chapter 4.3.2, the overall aims of the proposed qualitative study may therefore be seen as descriptive rather than explanatory (cf., Sharrock & Anderson, 1986:50).

In this context, a brief look at anthropology, one of the key areas of qualitative and interpretive research, may help to shed further light on the notion of description as an analytic goal. In his seminal work *The Interpretation of Cultures*, Geertz (1973:6), for instance, borrowing a notion from Gilbert Ryle, proposes to see anthropological analysis as "[...] an elaborate venture in [...] 'thick description'". In addition, Geertz (1973:26) argues that due to the descriptive aims of interpretive research in anthropology, "[cultural theory] is not, at least in the strict meaning of the term, predictive". This view shows significant parallels to Sharrock & Anderson's (1986:50) aforementioned arguments and my own reasoning in the present chapter. Geertz subsequently outlines three constituent features of what he refers to as "thick description":

"[Ethnographic description] is interpretive; what it is interpretive of is the flow of social discourse; and the interpreting involved consists in trying to rescue the 'said' of such discourse from its perishing occasions and fix it in perusable terms." (1973:20)

It is my contention that the same characteristics mentioned by Geertz (1973) in anthropology also hold true for the notion of description as an analytic goal in the present study on self-enunciation in language and intercultural learning, i.e., it is first of all interpretive of the flow of discourse. Secondly, such discourse involves in the present work narratives of cultural selves provided by multilingual and cross-culturally skilled individuals and our aim is, thirdly, to appreciate the "whats" of such discourse by, to use Geertz's formulation, "fixing it
in perusable terms" in contrast to its "hows", i.e., "its perishing occasions". For that reason, the notion of "thick description" in anthropology may be appropriated as a useful metaphor to describe the analytic endeavour of "interpretive practice" in the present work. In addition, the appropriation of "thick description" for the present study lends support to Phipps' (1999) claim to see the emerging discipline of LAIC as a form of "reconstructed anthropology".

5.5.2. From theoretical perspective to analytic framework

In order to accomplish the descriptive aims of the proposed study and to shed light on the notion of a cultural self grounded in discourse, it has been argued throughout the preceding two chapters that the analytic framework of interpretive practice may be regarded as a valid research tool. In this wider context, however, it must be stressed that it is certainly not the aim of the proposed framework to practise "social lobotomy" and to isolate language learners' cultural selves from other social identities that may discursively overlap and reflexively mediate each other. What marks our analysis as specifically related to the everyday experiences of language learners and their cultural subjectivities is our particular analytic perspective through which it becomes possible to appreciate existing narratives in the light of language learners' cultural selves while bracketing out other potential roles and identity features.

The latter holds particularly true if we choose to focus on naturalistic L2 learning settings, which are socially less confining than the formal language classroom and thus allow for the articulation of manifold social identities in context, including those related to kinship, ethnicity, age or gender. Yet even for formal FLL settings it would be wrong to isolate language learners from their social world, as critics say is predominantly practised by traditional SLA research (see Norton Peirce, 1995, for a critical review), sending L2 learners "on social holiday", to borrow a metaphor from Holstein & Gubrium (2000:82).

By way of illustration, in educational settings such as language schools and universities, the self as language learner may become more salient than, for instance, the self as daughter or soccer enthusiast. It is nonetheless discursively inscribed along with other overlapping selves and can never be completely isolated. Narratives and turns at talk are always solicited and realised circumstantially and are contingent upon local contexts.
As Holstein & Gubrium (2000:106) argue:

"Narratives are occasioned, put together in the context of particular times and places; these circumstances influence how the self might be storied by presenting local relevancies"

In analytic practice, however, it may be possible to bracket out these "other" selves to some extent by focusing on patterns of discourse that help to create the subjective world views of the particular institutional context at hand. In the case of language schools and universities, for instance, we may wish to focus on individuals' academic background, their language combination, length of study and other institutionally-bound discourse patterns that we may observe in their narratives.

Reflecting these preceding insights and arguments, I would like to propose an analytic framework involving self-presentations, introduction exercises or similar tasks in oral or written form administered to language students of different levels. Unlike the analytic foci of traditional SLA and translation studies, the proposed analysis of such presentations would not have as its main focus issues related to linguistic development. Nor would it be concerned with attempts to measure the interdependence of L2 proficiency and cross-cultural skills or identity development. Indeed, the notion of development as such may be regarded as questionable here from a qualitative perspective, as it may imply linear, step-by-step changes towards greater linguistic and cross-cultural skills, and less ethnocentric bias.

My proposal for a qualitative and interpretive analysis involving tasks such as those described would attempt to appreciate students' self-presentations as discursive achievements. It would aim to highlight differences between beginning and advanced students in terms of what themes and resources are available to them in their respective language learning setting and just how such themes and resources are diversely employed by students to story their cultural subjectivities. In concrete terms, these narratives may be occasioned in the form of diary studies (Norton Peirce, 1995; Norton, 2000), cultural identity essays (Tomic & Lengel, 1999) or as oral introduction exercises and personal stories, in which students outline their individual experiences across cultural boundaries. With respect to such narratives, Crawshaw (in press), for instance, contends that essays may be the most useful material for the analysis of what he understands as 'suture' (cf., Grossberg, 1996), or what we have called the 'operating space' of self-enunciation.
In this connection, he argues that:

"The essay provides probably the best example of 'suture' in that it enables the analyst to identify precisely the interface between the rhetorical constraints of the genre and the personal style of the narrator." (Crawshaw, in press)

Again, the parallels to anthropology in this context are highly noteworthy. On the subject of essays, for instance, Geertz (1973:25) comments that:

"[...] the essay [...] has seemed the natural genre in which to present cultural interpretations and the theories sustaining them [...]" (1973:25)

Even though the essay genre is not pursued as a study design in the present work, similar observations as those voiced by Geertz (1973) and Crawshaw (in press) may be said to hold true for the use of oral self-presentations, which I would like to propose for the present study. The advantage of such a framework and study context may be seen in the immediate availability of empirical material for data gathering in the form of a/v recordings for subsequent transcription and analysis. Potential drawbacks may include greater time requirements for such a project, as a comparative analysis of such presentations may not be overly revealing unless they involve the same study subjects observed over longer periods of time as part of longitudinal case studies. A large enough number of samples as part of a cross-sectional, comparative study project, however, could alternatively help to overcome some of those difficulties.

It may therefore be concluded that the outlined proposal could be regarded as a viable framework and suitable study context to approach the notion of selfhood grounded in personal narrative from a qualitative and interpretive perspective in language and intercultural learning. By opening the “floodgates” of narrative it may become possible to unravel and explore how multilingual and cross-culturally skilled individuals may choose to articulate their cultural subjectivities in a variety of L2 learning and intercultural settings. As Phipps (in press) remarks in “Over the Sea to Skye”, quoting Reid:

"We crave narrative and we crave exchange. Both compulsions seem inherent in human culture: to interpret our experience as story-shaped and to interpret it as reciprocally transactional."
This chapter has served the purpose of appropriating Holstein & Gubrium's analytics of interpretive practice for a qualitative, interpretivist and consciously reflexive account of cultural identity in L2 learning and LAIC. It therefore sets the stage for an analytic framework to investigate the notion of narrative identity for a variety of L2 learning contexts and intercultural settings in which individuals may diversely enunciate their cultural subjectivities.

It is the purpose of the following chapter to develop and propose a methodological design based on the presented framework in an attempt to uncover, explore and analytically embrace narratives of cultural selves from a qualitative, interpretive perspective in the context of language and intercultural learning.
6. Cultural Identity Research Project (CIRP 2000): outline of a quasi-naturalistic, qualitative research design

On the basis of the framework outlined in chapter five, this chapter will attempt to put some flesh on these theoretical bones. The aim of the chapter is to establish a viable qualitative and interpretive design to approach and investigate the notion of cultural identity in terms of personal narratives for concrete instances involving language learning and cross-cultural settings. To this end, it is initially necessary to develop a working design for a qualitative study in tune with the analytic framework presented in chapter five. The introduction of this design will include an outline of the scope and boundaries of the study subjects and the reasoning behind basic decisions relating to elicitation techniques, location and procedures used for the study.

In this context, it must be pointed out that for our purposes of appreciating personal narratives in terms of their underlying resources and processes, a naturalistic design seems more appropriate than an experimental design. In addition, the choice of a naturalistic study environment seems more in tune with the overall qualitative and interpretivist moorings of the proposed project. The working design proposed in this chapter may be regarded as quasi-naturalistic because participants are unaware of the fact at the outset that their performance may be the subject of subsequent analysis for research purposes. Even though their performance may not be regarded as naturalistic in terms of location and context due to the institutional character of the proposed setting (see the differences between naturalistic SLA and formal FLL discussed in chapter 2.1.1.1), it may nonetheless be regarded as more naturalistic in orientation than most conventional quantitative and experimental research designs.

In order to explain why it may seem preferable to opt for a naturalistic setting for the proposed study, it will be helpful to take a brief look back at its theoretical premises and to offer a short review of the project's qualitative and interpretivist underpinnings.
6.1. The theoretical background: A brief review

As indicated in the preceding analysis of chapter five, the Cultural Identity Research Project (CIRP 2000) that I would like to propose in this chapter, purports to shed light on the notion of self in language and intercultural learning. In particular, the present work intends to unravel how learning another language may be said to impinge on an individual's sense of self, transform consciousness and lead to greater cross-cultural skills in the process.

Unlike traditional Second Language Acquisition (SLA) research, which, we have argued, tends to be more quantitative and experimental in orientation, it is the aim of CIRP 2000 to approach the relevant notions of language, culture and identity from a primarily qualitative and interpretivist perspective. To this end, the project attempts to appropriate Holstein & Gubrium's (2000) notion of narrative identity from sociology outlined in chapter 4.2 for a qualitative account of cultural identity in L2 learning and intercultural communication.

The project therefore also intends to follow key principles of qualitative research proposed and discussed by other scholars in the emerging field of Languages and Intercultural Communication (LAIC). The latter include a commitment to reflexive research theory and practice (Jack & Phipps, 1999) as discussed in chapter five and a concern with the roles of self-feeling\textsuperscript{14}, subjectivity and consciousness (cf., 2000 CCC conference announcement; Appendix III) in language and intercultural learning.

Analytically, CIRP 2000 purports to do justice to these principles by drawing on Holstein & Gubrium's (2000) analytic model of interpretive practice previously discussed in chapter 4.3. Their model consists of an alternate focus on the whats and hows of self-enunciation, i.e., what they refer to as discourse-in-practice and discursive practice respectively. The implications of this model for the actual analysis of individual narratives, e.g., enacting the principle of analytic bracketing (Holstein & Gubrium, 2000:97) among others, will be touched on again in greater detail in our outline of analytic approaches later in this chapter and in the discussion of findings in chapter seven. For the present review, however, suffice it to reiterate that Holstein & Gubrium seem particularly interested in pathological selves in their sociological studies as evidenced by their examples of accounts from individuals in Alchoholics Anonymous (AA) groups, nursery homes and detention centres. The latter, we

\textsuperscript{14} In the present work, I prefer the notion of self-feeling in the tradition of early American pragmatists such as James and Cooley (cf., chapter four) to the more general concept of feeling. The use of the latter may run the risk of trivialising the role of individuals' emotive make-up and identifications similar to the use of feeling in popular image culture rather than facilitating a critical debate on its potential contributions to successful language and intercultural learning.
have argued, may be seen as a questionable undertaking if the aim is to save the Self from postmodern gloom, as proposed by the authors (2000: 68, 100). As a change in perspective, it was therefore seen as CIRP 2000's mission to appropriate interpretive practice as an analytic tool for institutional contexts where cultural rather than pathological selves are being enunciated in variegated ways.

On the basis of these theoretical principles, I would now like to introduce the study’s working design. As a first step in this introduction, I intend to answer the questions of where the proposed qualitative study will be carried out and who it will be administered to in order to shed light on the nature and workings of identity enunciation in LAIC. In this context, the scope and boundaries of the intended study subjects will be presented and explained. It is followed by a discussion of the subject groups themselves, data gathering and transcription procedures, the role of language in this regard and an outline of the intended approach to data analysis.

6.2. Criteria for the selection of study subjects

In order to appropriate Holstein & Gubrium’s sociological research tool of “interpretive practice” for the discussion of cultural identity in language and intercultural learning, I would like to propose to involve language learners with comparatively high degrees of language proficiency, cross-cultural skills and frequent exposure to situations of intercultural communication. To this end, it is necessary to establish criteria for the selection of these subjects. Such criteria may include the notion of personal mobility as part of the theme of ‘dwelling-in-travel’ (Phipps, 1999) along with other boundary-marking features, such as age, language proficiency, education and their overall socio-economic status. We may recall that the same profile criteria had previously been applied with promising results in the 1999 CCC Pilot Project and could thus be adopted for the same purpose in the proposed CIRP 2000 project. Any individual that meets these criteria could be expected to display high language and intercultural skills. In the cultural identity study undertaken here, however, our analytic focus will be in particular on two distinct groups of postgraduate students in translation and interpreting programmes in Germany, as will become evident in our introduction of the student groups in chapter 6.3.1. In what follows now, I will initially provide an outline of each of the aforementioned criteria and why we may deem them relevant for the present study.
6.2.1. Mobility and socio-economic status

The notion of personal mobility constitutes one of the most salient boundary-marking features of the respondents in the cultural identity research project. From our earlier discussion of prominent themes in late modern or postmodern times (cf., chapter 3.1) we may recall that the concept of 'mobility' is regarded by many scholars interested in CCC and LAIC as an important characteristic of individuals with high cross-cultural skills (cf., Byram, 1997:1; Phipps, 1999). In tune with the images of dwelling-in-travel and sojourning evoked by these scholars in this context, the notion of personal mobility is understood in the present study in terms of frequent travels and having claimed temporary residence in at least two different countries. For that reason, the notion of mobility is also indirectly tied to study subjects' socio-economic status, as only a privileged minority could be expected to afford the cost of frequent travels and transnational moves. The present study is therefore less concerned with the mobility of economically disadvantaged migrants, refugees or political dissidents and instead focuses on the angst and dreams of the economically privileged middle classes (cf., Bourdieu, 1984).

In this wider context, respondents may also be expected to make regular use of new technologies such as e-mail and the Internet as a virtual way of travelling and crossing borders (also see chapter 2.1.1.2 on the vital role of new technologies in L2 learning and LAIC). The latter, however, should not be viewed as a necessary prerequisite for the subjects' participation in the present study, as students do not always have equal access to computer technology despite their personal mobility and privileged economic standing. Furthermore, individual circumstances such as family relations or job requirements may not have allowed particular students to spend longer periods abroad despite their interest in other languages and cultures. For that reason, the use of criteria such as mobility must always be seen as relative and contingent upon the individuals' personal background and trajectory as revealed in their narratives. The issue of criteria compliance and possible instances of non-compliance among the chosen study participants will be elaborated on in further detail in the discussion of findings in chapter seven.

6.2.2. Age and sex

It was suggested above that the proposed qualitative study should be carried out with two distinct groups of postgraduate students in translation and interpreting programmes in Germany. The institutional setting and the study programme mean that subjects tend to fall
within a certain age range and are expected to be 21 years or older. In addition, the study will attempt to use respondents of both sexes and will seek fairly equal distribution between both male and female study subjects, although university translation and interpreting programmes generally tend to have significantly more female than male students.

6.2.3. Language proficiency

Study subjects for the cultural identity research project are expected to have advanced proficiency to native-like fluency in two or more languages. For both proposed student groups enrolled in translation and interpreting programmes minimum requirements would therefore include the successful completion of the entry exams required for admission to the postgraduate programme, i.e., the so-called ‘Vordiplom’ or German equivalent to a Bachelor of Art’s degree. In addition, student respondents are required to successfully participate in beginning and advanced consecutive and/or simultaneous interpreting courses for at least German or English as their A and B language, i.e., their first and second language (L1 and L2) respectively.

6.2.4. Education

The suggested criteria for language proficiency are also closely tied to study subjects’ educational level as yet another boundary-marking feature. In this context it is expected that student respondents hold at least an undergraduate language degree for their respective L1 and L2, such as a bachelor’s degree, or ‘Vordiplom’, in Germany and that they are studying towards their postgraduate degree in consecutive and simultaneous interpreting.

6.3. Subjects and procedures

In order to gain a deeper insight into instances of self-enunciation provided by individuals with high degrees of proficiency in two or more languages and cross-cultural skills, I decided to turn to my alma mater, the Institute for Translation and Interpreting at Heidelberg University. I knew from my own study days that the “IÜD” (Institut für Übersetzen und Dolmetschen), as it is usually abbreviated, hosts a variety of hybrid and cross-culturally versed individuals with a plethora of different upbringings and cultural leanings thus providing a suitable setting for the project. In what follows, I would now like to introduce the
two distinct student groups identified as consistent with the proposed criteria and explain the study’s approach to data gathering and transcription.

6.3.1. The novice and final-year student groups

The first group of study subjects consists of participants of what is known as the ‘Dolmetschpropädeutikum’ in Heidelberg, i.e., a highly-demanding introductory crash course in consecutive interpreting. We will attempt to focus here on the language combination of German/English or English/German. Students in this programme have already proved their advanced language and translation skills with the successful completion of their “Vordiplom”, or Bachelor of Arts degree. As beginning postgraduate students, however, they tend to have good but limited cross-cultural skills and may not have yet benefited from the Year Abroad exchange scheme with partner universities. In addition, they still tend to have limited public speaking skills, an issue likely to be addressed as part of ‘Sprecherziehung’, or speech training classes, during their ‘Dolmetschpropädeutikum’ semester.

The second group involves interpreting students in their final semester prior to graduation, i.e., typically 5-6 semesters ahead of the novice interpreters. In contrast to the outlined novice group, the graduates are more likely to display even higher language and cross-cultural skills, have had more instances of personal mobility such as the aforementioned Year Abroad programme and are better versed in public speaking than their novice counterparts. For this advanced student group, we will likewise attempt to focus on German/English or English/German as the main language combinations.

6.3.2. Approach to data gathering

It was established that there were two different yet complementary settings in which data would be gathered for the novice group, i.e., their interpreting induction courses and their speech training class.

As to the former, course instructors tend to subject students to a variety of repetition, translation, “shadowing” and other drill exercises designed to sharpen students’ language, recall and reproduction skills. As novices to the world of interpreting training, these students tend to have rather limited knowledge of what to expect in these classes. In addition, most of the participants barely know each other due to the high number of students enrolled in
translation and interpreting programmes particularly at undergraduate level. For that reason, it is common for the course instructor to suggest an introduction and self-presentation exercise, in which selected students give a brief overview of their background, current life and visions for the future. Such exercises also help instructors to get to know their course participants and to determine whether they can be seen as suited for the particular requirements of interpreting training, including ease in public speaking and excellent verbal skills.

For the purposes of the present study, having obtained the permission and co-operation of the relevant faculty member, it was decided that all presentations would be tape-recorded by the instructor, as is usually done in any case in consecutive and simultaneous interpreting classes. Following the proposed introduction exercise, it was also decided that the students involved would be asked whether they agreed to have their presentations analysed for research purposes to comply with general ethical guidelines for ethnographic-type qualitative research. Due to our focus on the language combination of German/English and English/German, it is also possible in this class setting to elicit presentations from the same respondents in both languages, which can also provide useful corpus material for comparative analyses.

The second class setting for the novice group consists of their initial gathering for 'Sprecherziehung' or speech training class. As their first class assignment in public speaking, the course instructor generally requests participants to offer a brief self-presentation, in which they introduce themselves to their instructor and to fellow students. It was decided that these introductions would be tape-recorded by audio and video, which students have to expect anyway as part of their required course work, after which the recordings would be transcribed and analysed. As in the first class setting, however, the proposed analytic efforts can only be undertaken once all students have signed a waiver form following the data gathering, in which they grant me permission to transcribe and analyse the data and to publish possible findings.

Despite our attempt to focus primarily on the language combination of German/English and English/German, the speech training class setting also involves students with A and B languages other than German and English, such as Spanish, French or Russian. The inclusion of alternative A and B language combinations is not seen as a logistical problem for the successful implementation of CIRP 2000, however, provided that all participants give their presentation in German.

The use of introduction exercises tends to be more problematic with final-year students, as most of them are likely to know each other already. Self-presentations may therefore come
across as staged and theatrical and lack the naturalistic feel of self-introductions in the novice group. Despite these shortcomings, advanced postgraduate interpreting courses still attract an eclectic mix of students that in accordance with the German educational system may decide after varying lengths of academic training to take the "final exams" and attempt to graduate.

The proposed introduction and self-presentation exercise therefore also functions as a feasible design for such advanced student groups. In addition, the conduct of these classes also usually includes consecutive and simultaneous interpretations, paving the way for a possible comparative analysis of originals and their respective renderings or among different interpretations themselves. For that reason, it was decided to likewise record, transcribe and analyse final-year student presentations and their interpretations within the proposed framework of interpretive practice, once students had agreed to the use of their material for research purposes.

As for the number of subjects and the length of individual presentations, it was decided that the planned introduction exercises and their respective renderings should if possible be kept relatively short, i.e., to about 5 minutes or less. In addition, it was felt that the study should try to keep the number of possible respondents to under 10 in each of the student groups. Keeping the presentations short and the number of subjects to under 10 in each group helps to streamline operations and avoid unnecessary and time-consuming transcription work.

While the main purpose of the proposed design is to shed light on students' cultural subjectivities by unravelling the whats and hows of narrative self-enunciation, it also allows for a comparative study of narratives of cultural selves among novice and advanced interpreting students. The proposed design may also provide a rich source of comparative material featuring presentations by novice students in both English and German. In addition, it may open a Pandora's box of additional comparative material among the advanced student group by providing comprehensive data in the form of both consecutive and simultaneous interpretations in the other language, i.e., German and English respectively.

Finally, I would like to comment on the role that I had decided to play in the proposed study as a participant present in each class. Following our discussion of relational reflexivity in chapter 5.2.1, I certainly would not see myself as an objective outsider observing an external reality. I was aware of the fact that my presence and participation in the proposed interpreting and speech training classes would impact on the implementation and subsequent interpretation of the study. For that reason, it was my conscious methodological choice, for instance, to have my own self-introduction as the first presentation in the speech training class
without divulging to participants that I was attending their class for research purposes. In this context, it was expected that my own presentation would to some extent provide a template for subsequent speakers to emulate. In our discussion of the implementation and findings of CIRP 2000, the role of the first presentation will be covered in greater detail in chapter 7.4.3.1. Following the outline of our chosen approach to data gathering, I would now like to turn to issues surrounding data transcription in the study.

6.3.3. Data transcription

It was decided to store the recordings of the proposed introduction exercises along with their respective consecutive and/or simultaneous interpretations on audio or video and then to transcribe them for later data analysis with the respondents’ permission (see Appendix I for full transcriptions and biographical details).

For the analytic purposes of the proposed project, a basic set of general transcription guidelines is regarded as sufficient for the transcription of provided self-presentations. The latter includes the following general rules:

1. Transcription rate: approximately 3 seconds per line
2. “a n d”: long pronunciation of word
3. “and”: hasty pronunciation of word
4. “...”: pause (more dots mean longer pause)
5. “and”: emphatic pronunciation of word
6. “<<<<”: speaker’s voice becoming louder
7. “>>>>”: speaker’s voice becoming softer

This set of transcription guidelines had already been applied with promising results in the 1999 CCC Pilot Project outlined and discussed earlier in chapter four.

The corpus material presented in Appendix I makes use of the complete set of transcription rules described above. For ease of presentation and reading, however, quotes used in the discussion of CIRP 2000 results and findings in chapters seven and eight will not use transcription rules 5, 6 and 7 and only apply the most basic set of guidelines, i.e., rules 1-4. The “underline emphasis” of rule 5, for instance, may disrupt the flow of reading, while the implementation of rules 6 and 7 would require the insertion of an extra line thus complicating the reading process.
It must also be pointed out that for other studies divergent analytic needs may require a different and more complex set of transcription guidelines. An analytic approach based fully on the objectives and procedures of conversation analysis (CA, Sacks, 1974), for instance, would almost certainly require a much more detailed approach to data transcription. For our present analytic needs, however, the aforementioned basic guidelines for data transcription may be seen as sufficient. Our analysis of student presentations will focus primarily on the content of student narratives and will pay less attention to prosodic, para- or extralinguistic features, for instance, than tends to be the case in conversation analysis.

Before introducing the study's approach to data analysis, however, I would like to comment on the vital role of the language in which CIRP 2000 should be carried out.

6.4. The role of language

The question of what language to use for the students' initial introductions, i.e., whether to start out in English or German, may at first glance appear to be little more than a formal detail. A closer look at the issue, however, reveals that it is closely tied to the actual subject under investigation, i.e., the notions of intercultural communication, CCC, cultural subjectivity and self-identifications. For that reason, the issue is of considerable importance to the successful implementation of the proposed study. There are several possible approaches in this context, i.e., German only, a first language (L1) or Language of Habitual Use (LHU) approach, or English only.

6.4.1. A German only approach

If the original introductions were delivered in the native language of the country for which the research project is planned, i.e., German, this option would be consistent with the proposed study location, i.e., the Institute for Translation and Interpreting at Heidelberg University. German, however, may not be the study subjects' first language (L1) or Language of Habitual Use (LHU), which could affect the outcome of the study due to biased responses.

My own experiences at the IÜD Heidelberg suggest that there are numerous students with hybrid personal and language backgrounds enrolled in translation and interpreting classes there thus rendering a German only approach in CIRP 2000 highly problematic due to significant differences in students' emotive make-up.
6.4.2. A first language (L1) and language of habitual use (LHU) approach

The second option, i.e., requesting the initial presentations in the respective L1 or LHU of the proposed study subjects, could lead to problems in comprehension and analysis for cases in which the language under study may not be English or German. The IÜD Heidelberg, for instance, has students with highly diverse language combinations including Russian, Dutch and Portuguese. Including these languages in CIRP 2000 would cause insurmountable practical difficulties for follow-up comprehension, transcription, analysis and evaluation work due to my own lack of proficiency in the aforementioned languages.

In this context, it must also be noted that a possible first language (L1) or LHU approach in CIRP 2000 may be faced from the onset with some conceptual difficulties. For instance, the issue of how the choice of a language for research projects may impact the outcome of a study has been raised before in connection with investigations on ethnolinguistic identity, albeit in the context of quantitative, experimental research designs. On the latter, Gudykunst (1989:240) suggests:

"Future research on [...] ethnolinguistic identity, however, should utilise research instruments in the respondents' native languages in order to rule out any potential bias that may be caused by the use of second language."

In addition to the potential inconsistencies in applying this approach, any interpretation of Gudykunst's comment must also bear in mind the possible conceptual difficulties in defining 'native language' and 'second language' respectively. Respondents' native languages by origin may not be the same as their L1s or LHUs by function, competence or identification (cf., Skutnabb-Kangas, 1991b:9), as I have argued before (cf., chapter 3.1.1). Even if this approach were implemented consistently in the present qualitative project, a strict interpretation of native language by origin could therefore also lead to biased responses and inconsistencies due to differences in the individual self-identifications of study subjects and their respective attitudes towards the chosen study language.
6.4.3. An English only approach

A third solution would be the exclusive use of English for the proposed original introductions as part of an exclusively “English-into-German” interpreting class. Although rather simplistic at first glance, English-only for the original data could open yet another can of worms of highly philosophical dimensions. It has been argued, for instance, that the concept of languages for cross-cultural capability (CCC) may in fact be little more than a product of western neo-colonialism in the Anglo-American tradition, as critically remarked by several researchers interested in CCC and LAIC such as Jack (1999) and Phipps (1999). In this context, Jack (1999:14) writes:

“As with Orientalism, what may be at stake in the future projection of cross-cultural capability as a discipline is not a neutral, faithful and hopeful portrayal of the dialogue between the Self and the Other, but a form of systematic discipline by which our discipline is able to manage and even produce the Other culturally, politically, scientistically, ideologically, but above all in our own discursive image. Unless we become reflexive about the theoretical discourses which we bring to bear on the central constructs of our intellectual agenda, then cross-cultural capability will, like Orientalism, become just another instance of a disciplinary power."

( emphasis in original)

As previously discussed, globalisation and ‘dwelling-in-travel’ (Phipps, 1999) are after all only available to those who can afford them. The exclusive use of English as the most widely used lingua franca may therefore seem rather problematic for the proposed original data, as it could be interpreted as yet another step towards turning CCC into “just another colonising moment of the cultural self and other” (Jack, 1999:15).

6.4.4. The solution chosen for CIRP 2000

The problematic issue of what language to use for the original data in the suggested cultural identity research project is also illustrated by Parry’s (1998) experiment involving the use of French with a group of second year B.Ed. Students. Contrary to Parry’s expectations, the participants in her study formed a rather eclectic multicultural group comprising Senegalese, Algerian, Italian, French and English nationals. Naturally, the use of French in the study was met with different responses from students of different nationalities, which thus affected the outcome of the study and led to some rather inconclusive findings (Parry, 1998).
It can therefore be concluded that there is no pat solution for CIRP 2000 to the question of what language to use when collecting data from the two student groups. The least conflicting option seems to be for the course instructor to make a brief comment prior to the proposed exercise that students should feel free to express themselves in either English or German, whichever they may feel more comfortable in, despite the fact that the setting may be a German-English or English-German interpreting class.

Given the nature of the proposed setting at the IUD in Heidelberg, however, we can anticipate that the original presentations will be delivered in German for both student groups in English-German consecutive and simultaneous interpreting courses as well as general speech training classes, and in English for their respective German-English counterparts. As we will see in the discussion of findings in chapter seven, it is this last scenario that actually turned out to be the case during the implementation of the project design.

6.5. Approaches to data analysis

"In practice, culture works through the little, local stories we tell about who and what we are" (Holstein & Gubrium, 2000:221)

The data yielded by the cultural identity research project are open to many different types of analysis, only a few of which may be outlined and elaborated on in the present discussion. The following sections will focus in particular on three approaches to data analysis, i.e., appreciating individual narratives of cultural selves independently and in their own right, comparing participants' introductions within or between the novice and final-year student groups, and comparing original introductions to their consecutive and/or simultaneous interpretations. Of these three approaches, our discussion of findings in chapter seven will focus primarily on the first two, while the third option will only briefly be touched on and may be pursued in greater detail in other studies of similar orientation.

The notion of appreciating in their own right narratives of cultural selves shows significant parallels to the concept of analytic bracketing in "interpretive practice". By extension, this analytic approach also shows conceptual similarities to the perspectives adopted in ethnomethodology (Garfinkel, 1967) and conversation analysis (Sacks, 1974). For this first approach, Ten Have (1999:102) evokes the image of “unmotivated looking” defined by CA pioneer Schegloff (1996, quoted in Ten Have, 1999:103) as “...an examination not prompted by prespecified analytic goals”. This image thus seems in tune with the aforementioned
overall *descriptive* rather than explanatory orientation of “interpretive practice” and the proposed first approach to data analysis in the present study. Due to its emphasis on *descriptive* practices, the image of “unmotivated looking” thus also suggests a key role for the anthropological notion of *thick description* (Geertz, 1973) for this type of analytic endeavour, as explicated in the preceding chapter (cf., chapter 5.5.1.).

Analytic bracketing, however, may also be of significant importance to the comparative analytic approaches proposed below. In the latter, the practice of *bracketing* may allow us to move back and forth between a comparative analysis of presentations or their renderings on the basis of their *whats*, such as their themes and resources, and their individual *hows*, i.e., the variegated ways in which individuals may convey their sense of self in the given context. Since the notion of bracketing may impinge on all three of the analytic approaches to be proposed, it must be cautioned that in actual research practice it may often be harder to clearly separate the three approaches than their outline here may suggest. For instance, enacting *interpretive practice* to embrace narratives *in their own right* may not always in actuality imply an analytic perspective entirely impervious to the constraints of comparative analysis. Instead, it must be regarded as an analytic ideal for qualitative scholars to aspire to and be guided by in their interpretive research practices. Let us briefly return to Jameson (1989) here for further insight:

“[...] we never really confront a text immediately, in all its freshness as a thing in itself. Rather, texts come before us as the always-already-read; we apprehend them through sedimented layers of previous interpretations, or – if the text is brand-new – through the sedimented reading habits and categories developed by those inherited interpretive traditions.”

(1989:9)

Bearing these complexities in mind, I would now like to turn to each of the three analytic approaches and explain to what extent they may be deemed suitable for the purposes of the present project.

6.5.1. Appreciating narratives of cultural selves *in their own right*

The first proposed step in our analysis of the CIRP 2000 corpus is to focus *independently* on *self-presentations* provided by the study participants in an effort to appreciate their contributions in terms of their underlying personal narratives. To this end, we will initially focus on the *whats* of their introductions in terms of “*discourse-in-practice*” by concentrating on familiar topics and resources that students may revert to, among them their language
combinations, educational background and professional goals. Such an initial focus on narrative resources and settings is intended to help us to explore the extent to which the institutional context of the translation and interpreting department at Heidelberg University may provide study participants with discernible occasions for conveying their cultural subjectivities.

By concentrating on material and textual mediations, institutional embeddedness and biographical particulars featured in each narrative it becomes possible to unravel the ways in which the study subjects decide to cast their own emergent stories of cultural selves in the light of a particular discourse associated with the given context. Such a focus on the *whats* of student introductions can therefore adumbrate ways in which their narratives of cultural selves may be *alike* by corresponding to the conversational context of their telling.

In tune with the proposed practice of *analytic bracketing* it is proposed to subsequently suspend our analytic focus on the *whats* of self-enunciation in an effort to shed light on *how* cultural selves may be variably and adroitly crafted by the study participants. Here it is the story-telling process itself that commands analytic interest. In this context, we shall analyse extended spates of student introductions and self-presentations in an effort to unravel the underlying experiential moorings of these accounts. To this end, we shall focus on aspects associated with the notion of *discursive practice*, i.e., *how* narratives of cultural selves actually unfold and may be regarded as individually *different*.

Such an analysis of the "*hows" of self-enunciation therefore also implies a focus on aspects associated with *ethnomethodology* (Garfinkel, 1967) and *conversation analysis* (CA, Sacks, 1974) in what Ten Have (1999) refers to in this context as "*Applied Conversation Analysis*". The latter, Ten Have (1999:161) argues, may be used as an ethnographically-inspired ancillary research tool to analyse real-life institutional interaction. The analytic focus on *discursive practice* can therefore serve to suggest ways in which study participants story their cultural subjectivities *locally and contingently* and may include aspects related to turn-taking conventions, adjacency pairs and interaction repair mechanisms.

As a research tool of *descriptive* rather than *explanatory* power, the proposed framework of *interpretive practice* may therefore enable us to gain important insights into the nature of narratives of cultural selves *in their own right* in L2 learning and LAIC. In this context, it is my contention that this objective may be achieved by focusing on the extraordinary minutiae (cf., *thick description*, Geertz, 1973) of particular student accounts in terms of the *whats* and *hows* underlying their talk-in-interaction.
6.5.2. A comparative analysis of student introductions

Following the initial examination of the original student introductions, the next step consists in following a comparative approach by taking a closer look at the data provided by both student groups involved in the study. In the course of this analysis, we shall contrast student accounts in terms of the what's and how's underlying their discourse similar to our initial analysis outlined above. During this second phase, however, our analytic focus will be on how original introductions among both participating groups may be different from each other.

Such differences in said accounts can be initially appreciated in their own right by following the same principles of "unmotivated looking" introduced above, i.e., without theorising and hypothesising to what extent possible differences or similarities may be occasioned by notions of language proficiency, cross-cultural skills or other potentially-related aspects.

Along similar lines, this approach also allows us to contrast self-presentations provided by the same students on separate occasions in both German and English. This scenario, we have pointed out above, involves the novice student group in their interpreting induction programme. Although this comparative analysis is not pursued in greater detail as part of the present work, it could be highly interesting to shed light on the ways in which the same students may variably and contingently articulate their cultural subjectivities in different languages. The latter has also been of key interest to recent studies undertaken in ethnography and anthropology. Koven’s (1998) study on narratives provided by bilingual Luso-French immigrants, for instance, reveals significant differences in how individuals may portray a sense of self using French or Portuguese respectively.

We can therefore conclude that this second approach to data analysis can serve the dual task of highlighting contrasting ways of storying selfhood while explicating the extent to which such differences may be attributed to particular themes, material and textual resources or to turn-taking conventions and interactional features associated with discourse-in-practice and discursive practice respectively.
6.5.3. Comparing originals and interpretations

Finally, as part of a larger and more comprehensive research effort, it would be possible to undertake a comparative analysis of the original student introductions and the consecutive and/or simultaneous renderings into the other language, i.e., German or English respectively. Due to the limited scope of the present study, this third analytic option is not pursued in greater detail as part of CIRP 2000.

While adding interesting new stimuli on the potential role of L2 learning and translation and interpreting training in the storying of cultural subjectivities, such a wider focus could opt for a variety of possible combinations as its object of analysis. The latter could include a contrastive look at original introductions and consecutive or simultaneous renderings among the advanced student group in their interpreting class. Alternatively, it could involve an analysis of differences in the interpretations provided by both student groups, provided that interpretations can be elicited from the novice group as well, which is not anticipated as part of CIRP 2000. Such a wider analysis could equally involve a focus on aspects related to material and textual resources, settings and institutional frameworks in contrast to the locally relevant and variegated hows of the contributions under study.

As previously indicated, the additional use of consecutive and/or simultaneous interpretings may open a Pandora’s box of new analytic options and may yield a plethora of new insights related to narratives of cultural selves in both English and German. Such new insights can involve differences in the storying of selfhood due to contrasting material or textual resources in each language particularly as they relate to Unika, i.e., unique cultural concepts such as Realschulabchluss in German or council tax bill in a British context. Such a comparative analysis could equally unravel differences in the storying of cultural identities between the consecutive and the simultaneous interpretations of the advanced student group due to the contrasting nature of each respective interpreting mode. The latter, for instance, may involve a more explicit focus on the overall “sense” in the consecutive as opposed to lexical and syntactic “closeness” to the original in the simultaneous interpretation.

Understandably, the present project will be able to do justice to only a few of the aforementioned aspects and most likely not in their entirety. For that reason, our analytic efforts will centre on the first two approaches (cf., 6.5.1 and 6.5.2) and only occasionally adopt a comparative approach across linguistic boundaries. It is my contention, however, that the proposed study and analytic approach can contribute to a thought-provoking discussion and a wider, longer-term analytic effort to unravel and explore the nature of identity.
6.6. Conclusion

This chapter has served the purpose of outlining a concrete qualitative study in the form of the proposed cultural identity research project (CIRP 2000). Drawing on Holstein & Gubrium’s (2000) analytic framework of interpretive practice and the postmodern notion of communicated selves, it has been proposed to administer oral introduction and self-presentation exercises to novice and final-year postgraduate interpreting students at Heidelberg University, Germany. To this end, the scope and boundaries of the proposed study subjects were outlined, compliant subject groups were introduced, and data gathering and transcription procedures were discussed.

The chapter concluded by introducing an analytic approach that comprises at least three possibilities or stages for the investigation of the proposed data. These stages indicate a widening analytic focus from initially appreciating individual accounts in their own right to comparing original introductions between both groups and, finally, between originals and their consecutive or simultaneous interpretations. In CIRP 2000, it was argued, our analytic efforts will centre on the first two of these analytic options, while the third stage will only occasionally be considered in the present work. The following chapter will discuss the implementation and findings of the study on the basis of the chosen analytic framework.
7. Implementation, data analysis and findings

"Who are you? Who am I? What kind of persons are we? What have we personally done? Who will we become? What do we really think? How do we actually feel? We use the self to answer these questions, to locate our selves and formulate borders between them. In the process, we construct identity and difference." (Holstein & Gubrium, 2000:84, emphasis in original)

How do multilingual and cross-culturally skilled individuals convey a sense of self? To what extent may their narratives be different in another language and how do their stories correspond to the institutional context in which they are told? These are just some of the questions relevant to the proposed Cultural Identity Research Project (CIRP 2000), which was carried out in May, 2000 at the Institute for Translation and Interpreting of Heidelberg University, Germany.

In the discussion of its results and findings, the present chapter constitutes a conscious attempt to reflect on some of these issues and to introduce, outline and critically comment on the objectives, implementation and findings of CIRP 2000. In this context, I would like to pose several questions that I intend to address in the course of this chapter and in our later discussion in chapter eight. Such questions include the following:

To what extent did CIRP 2000 participants comply with the profile criteria laid down in preparation for the study? How can we appreciate individual narratives in their own right? On a comparative level, what if any are the overall differences in self-enunciation between presentations from both the novice and final-year groups? To what extent does the first speaker set a "template" for subsequent speakers to emulate and how do the latter build their narratives on preceding presentations?

Also, what are the roles of locally-constituted identities and the institutional context in the storying of cultural selves? On a more interpretive analytic level, we may also wish to ask in what ways life abroad may be said to impact on narratives of self-hood, and how such narratives may be indicative of different levels of cross-cultural skills. And finally, to what extent may CIRP 2000 be regarded as informed by and committed to principles of reflexive theory and praxis in qualitative and interpretivist research?

While the present discussion may not be able to answer any of these questions in their entirety, it is my contention that the rich data provided by CIRP 2000 may help us to assemble a more complete picture of narratives of cultural selves and to shed further light on
7.1. Implementation of CIRP 2000

As the first step, I would like to offer a brief description of where, when and how the project was implemented, including information on the corpus material, data gathering and transcription procedures. In this context, it must be pointed out that the design and procedures outlined in chapter six draws on experiences and insights from my 1999 CCC Pilot Project, which was presented and commented on in preceding chapters. While some formal aspects regarding research design and procedure may show significant similarities between the two projects, the preceding theoretical discussion in chapter 4.5.1, however, suggests that both followed quite different ontological and epistemological premises. These differences will also be reflected in the present analysis and interpretation of data. Let us first, however, take a brief look at how the study was actually carried out.

7.1.1. Time and place

The execution of CIRP 2000 was set to coincide with the beginning of the summer semester in Heidelberg in early May, 2000. The project set out to observe the first week of classes involving two separate groups of postgraduate interpreting students as outlined in the previous chapter (cf., 6.3.1). They included one novice group enrolled to take part in the “Dolmetschpropädeutikum”, a highly-demanding crash course in consecutive interpreting, and one group of advanced students in their final semester prior to graduation.

We can recall (cf., 6.3.2) that the aim was to use a quasi-naturalistic rather than experimental environment for the study envisioning a setting in which students would naturally come to introduce themselves to each other and their course instructors. The beginning of the summer term seemed ideal for such a purpose, since a new semester also tends to involve a reshuffle of course participants, many of whom may still be unknown to the teacher or to fellow students. This scenario proved particularly true for the novice student groups, since most participants received their “Vordiplom”, the German equivalent to a bachelor’s degree, just prior to the project and had not yet got to know each other well, particularly during their undergraduate studies.
Among final-year students, by contrast, the naturalistic environment envisioned for the study seemed more difficult to implement, since the majority of them had known each other for several years, and their self-presentations thus tended to come across as rather staged. For that reason, I was unable to elicit as many original presentations from the final-year group as from the novice students. To make up for this lack of original presentations, however, final-year students provided consecutive and simultaneous interpretations that were unavailable in the novice group settings.

7.1.2. Data gathering

In total, I was able to attend and participate in two classes for the final-year group, one German-English consecutive interpreting class and one English-German simultaneous interpreting course. These classes yielded three original presentations with a total of four simultaneous and consecutive interpretations. In addition, I was able to participate in four classes for the novice student group, two German-English and one English-German interpreting induction courses and one general speech training class. Among novice students I was able to gather nine original presentations with three participants providing introductions in both English and German from different classes.

The project therefore involved a total of 12 self-introductions in German, three additional presentations in English and four interpretations, which were subsequently transcribed and analysed. Two additional presentations were excluded from the study, as they involved international students at undergraduate level with questionable language proficiency in German and English. In addition, the corpus includes my own self-introduction given as the first presentation in the novice students' speech training class. All presentations were successfully kept to under five minutes with most subjects providing introductions of between two and four minutes and only two participants giving slightly longer presentations.

In order to ensure ethical guidelines for the execution of the study, the respondents were asked to sign a waiver form following the actual data gathering, in which they gave me permission to transcribe and evaluate the data and publish its findings (cf., Appendix II). All of the 12 participants in the study signed and returned the waiver form to me. It was not deemed necessary to request such waiver forms from the instructors, as they had repeatedly assured me their support and co-operation in preparatory meetings, which was seen as sufficient proof of their consent to the use of the study data for research purposes. For that
reason, excerpts and quotes from the corpus make use of the original names of both faculty members and study participants.

Self-presentations and, where applicable, their interpretations, were recorded by audio and on one occasion by video, which did not seem to conflict with the naturalistic environment envisioned for the project, since students expected such recordings anyway as a natural part of their interpreting or speech training classes. On several occasions, self-presentations turned into dialogues, interviews or conversations involving two or more participants. As we shall see in the discussion of the findings, it was often in these exchanges that participants managed to reveal a deeper part of their cultural make-up, conveying basic and often irrational feelings hitherto not reflected upon and thus providing a glimpse of their unique self-identifications, cultural leanings and hybrid sense of identity.

7.1.3. Transcription of the data

Following the initial data gathering process, the corpus material in the form of audio and video recordings was reviewed, played back and tested to ensure that the sound quality was adequate, that no parts were missing and that all recordings were comprehensible. The student presentations were subsequently transcribed in accordance with the general transcription rules outlined in chapter 6.3.3. In order to facilitate this process, most transcriptions were carried out with the help of a purpose-built transcription audio tape player.15

Upon completion of the initial transcription process, the corpus material and the respective transcriptions were reviewed twice again to ensure their completeness and to add nuances such as intonation, prosodic features, length of word pronunciations and the speaker’s volume. The corpus material found in Appendix I includes the entire set of transcription guidelines. For ease of presentation and reading, however, sample quotes used in the subsequent analysis will only use the most basic set of guidelines, i.e., transcription rules 1-4. As previously argued, our focus on the content of student narratives in the data analysis made the inclusion of transcription rules 5-8 in the discussion of findings unnecessary.

A critical first look at the content of the recorded student presentations also reveals the extent to which the participants actually complied with the profile criteria proposed. In section 7.2, I

15 Many thanks to Dr. Margaret Rogers at the Department of Linguistic and International Studies (LIS), University of Surrey, for kindly lending me the necessary transcription equipment to turn the tape-recorded student presentations into written corpus material.
would like to offer a more detailed account of issues surrounding profile compliance and possible non-compliance in the actual data gathering process.

7.2. Profile compliance of the chosen subjects

In preparation for CIRP 2000, several profile criteria were outlined in an effort to delineate and define the scope and boundaries of potential study subjects to be included in the project. Most of these criteria had previously been used in my 1999 CCC pilot study and seemed to serve their purpose of successfully limiting the scope of participants in the initial study. Such criteria included the notions of mobility and socio-economic status, age, sex, language proficiency and education. In what follows, I would like to touch on each of these categories and to explicate to what extent the participants who were included met the outlined criteria and why some participants were included in the study anyway despite their non-compliance with some of these criteria.

7.2.1. Mobility and socio-economic status

The notion of personal mobility was included in CIRP 2000 as one of the most salient profile criteria for potential study subjects. More specifically, in the present study mobility was understood as having travelled extensively or claimed temporary residence in two or more countries. For that reason, the notion of mobility was also seen as tied to socio-economic status, as only a comparatively affluent minority could afford the cost of frequent travel or transnational moves.

As expected beforehand, CIRP 2000 participants at the IUD in Heidelberg included several individuals with highly diverse personal backgrounds. All of the study subjects turned out to be German nationals, as indicated in the biographical details provided by them on their personal information sheet (cf., Appendices I and II). Among both the novice and final-year groups, some respondents, however, had lived for several years in Latin America, including Chile, Guatemala, Venezuela and Brazil. Other study subjects had merely spent a semester or a year abroad as part of their language and cultural training. A few novice students, however, had spent most of their lives in Germany unexposed to the effects of expatriate lifestyles, university-wide Year Abroad schemes or even frequent travels. One such candidate, for instance, was Stefan:
As the quoted passage suggests, this candidate may not have yet enjoyed longer periods abroad, but nonetheless seems to be exposed to a variety of cross-cultural influences and comes across as highly interested in and receptive to other cultures and languages beyond the requirements of his translation and interpreting training. For that reason, it was decided to include this candidate in CIRP 2000 despite his overall non-compliance with the notion of personal mobility.

Yet are self-introductions provided by candidates without personal mobility any different from those provided by fully complying participants? This question suggests possibilities for a further comparative study of different student presentations. For the present context, however, suffice it to point out that instances of self-enunciation provided by the non-compliant candidate Stefan showed no noticeable differences to those occasioned by the complying majority of CIRP 2000 participants.

7.2.2. Age and sex

As another boundary-marking category, it was intended to include individuals that were of adult age and to strike a balance between female and male study subjects in the project. While all participants were young adults in their twenties as anticipated, it came as a surprise that only one of the 12 included participants turned out to be male. Given the overall nature of language programmes at university level and my own experiences in Heidelberg, it had been

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16 All courtesy translations are provided by the author, Steve Grosse, CIRP 2000, unless consecutive or simultaneous interpretations of the same excerpts or the participants’ corresponding presentation in English from other classes are also available.
expected beforehand that female students would be likely to outnumber their male counterparts at the IPD, but not necessarily in such high numbers.

It seems fair to suggest then that translation and interpreting programmes in Germany have particular appeal for female students, as confirmed by one of the participants, Lena. In the following passage, she talks about her memories or lack thereof involving the translation and interpreting department in the small town of Germersheim:

Sample 2: Lena (novice group)

Gründe fuer meinen Wechsel sind eigentlich, daß mir in Germersheim die Decke auf den Kopf gefallen ist, weil dieser Ort einfach schrecklich ist. Es ist furchtbar klein [...] Und ja....dann natürlich an der Uni die ganzen Studentinnen, muß man ja nun schon fast sagen, weil es da nur Übersetzen und Dolmetschen dort gibt [...] 

Courtesy translation:

My main reason for changing to Heidelberg is that I got terribly bored in Germersheim. That place is simply awful. It is terribly small [...] And then of course at the University there's nothing but...women, since there is only the Institute for Translation and Interpreting there.

In this context, it seems interesting to point out that Norton's (2000) longitudinal study on language learning and social identity also involves exclusively female respondents, a fact that she likewise comments on and attempts to explain within the context of her diary study (2000:27). It seems open to discussion therefore to what extent the field of language and intercultural learning may appeal more to female rather than male students, but in terms of profile compliance, CIRP 2000 suggests that females may by far outnumber male students among individuals with above-average language and intercultural skills.

7.2.3. Language proficiency

In addition, CIRP 2000 purported to look at instances of self-enunciation involving individuals with above-average levels of language proficiency in at least two languages. It would have been possible to set such required proficiency levels beforehand and to submit potential study subjects to preliminary language tests. This approach, however, would have conflicted with the overall naturalistic and qualitative orientation of the project. For that reason, it was argued in the previous chapter (cf., 6.2.3) that students in their "Hauptstudium" would be appropriate subjects, i.e., graduate students that are already in possession of their undergraduate translation degree, or "Vordiplom". This qualification was seen as sufficient
proof of the participants’ high translation skills and their advanced level of language proficiency in two or more languages.

All of the 12 participants in the study met the stated criteria. As already indicated, the project included three study subjects in their final year prior to graduation and nine graduate students who had just embarked on their interpreting training at the IUD following their undergraduate exams. It was initially planned to limit the study to participants enrolled in interpreting courses in German and English only. It was later decided, however, to extend the study to students with other language combinations including French, Spanish and Russian, provided that they chose to give their self-presentations in either English or German to ensure the quality of my own follow-up comprehension and transcription work. This widening focus allowed me to consider presentations from novice students in the speech training class and final-year students in the English-German interpreting course with language combinations other than German and English.

7.2.4. Education

Last but not least, the study set out to include individuals with above-average educational backgrounds. This aspect is closely tied to the notion of language proficiency outlined in the preceding paragraph. Since all participants were required to be in possession of their undergraduate language degree to ensure their advanced language and cultural mediation skills, the same requirement may also be seen to guarantee their advanced educational qualifications by exclusively using postgraduate translation and interpreting students.

So how do postgraduate students in language and intercultural learning actually communicate a sense of self? To what extent can they be regarded as diverse in their cultural make-up? In order to find some answers to these questions, let us first attempt to consider individual instances of story telling in order to appreciate narrative identities in their own right.
7.3. Data Analysis I: Appreciating narratives in their own right

In this first part of our analysis, I would like to attempt to look at individual presentations in their own right in terms of their underlying narrative power. This analytic approach therefore purports to enact the practice of analytic bracketing initially introduced in chapter 4.3.3 and explained in detail for our approach to data analysis in chapter 6.5. It is my contention that an analytic perspective of “unmotivated looking” and suspending possible hypotheses regarding personal presentations in the given class context may allow us to appreciate each narrative as a unique discursive accomplishment.

As will become evident in the following sections, some presentations in the corpus may be said to transcend a purely comparative analysis on the basis of the outlined “what” and “how” categories alone. These presentations may instead be conceived of as unique instances in which individual selfhood is conveyed, deeper and often irrational feelings are unlocked and verbalised, and new perspectives are forged in the process. By extension, an analysis of the unique features presented in these narratives may also adumbrate ways in which they may inform issues that are of key interest to the emerging field of LAIC.

7.3.1. Transformative knowledge and alternative selves

Numerous CIRP 2000 participants mentioned in the study how they spent years of their childhood or adolescence away from their native Germany, primarily in Latin America, while their parents worked as teachers, missionaries or diplomats in the German Foreign Service. In ordinary conversation, most people would ask these individuals questions such as: “How long did you live there? Do you speak Spanish, or Portuguese, fluently? Did you miss your relatives back in Germany? Did you enjoy the tropical weather there?” They are far less likely to make comments such as: “How did your time abroad change your sense of self? To what extent do you feel less German and more Chilean, Brazilian etc.? How did learning another language alter or impinge on your feelings and perceptions?” It is such associations between the notions of language, culture and identity, however, that are of key interest to interculturalists. In addition, it is my contention that a deeper insight into individuals’ subjective perceptions, experiences and self-identifications before, during or after their time abroad may help us to shed light on the possible affective and emotive dimensions of language and intercultural learning.
A closer look at individual instances of self-enunciation in CIRP 2000 suggests that substantive time spent abroad may not merely affect biographical details and language proficiency levels by way of exposure and possible immersion. First and foremost, life abroad may be said to significantly impinge on personal sensibilities and perceptions forever altering not only our biographical storyline but our subjective experiences and, in the process, suggesting alternative stories of *Self* and *Other*.

The following passage, for instance, seems to reveal a strong connection between life abroad, subjective perceptions and narratives of *Self* pointing the way to what has been termed in LAIC circles "new modes of thinking, feeling and experiencing the world" (2000 CCC conference announcement; see Appendix III):

**Sample 3: Sabine (novice group)**

[….] ich war auch relativ klein, also. Als ich wiedergekommen bin, war ich neun. Aber manchmal fragen die Leute mich, ob ich mich überhaupt noch daran erinnere, und da sag’ ich: Ja, mein ganzes Leben wär’ wahrscheinlich völlig anders, wenn das nicht gewesen wäre. Also, ich kann nur sagen, daß das irgendwie eine sehr prägt, …und dann sicher auch für die Zukunft, weil man doch irgendwie sensibilisiert worden ist für Probleme, für die man vielleicht hier irgendwie nicht so sensibilisiert worden wäre, soziale Ungleichheiten und solche Dinge.

Courtesy translation:

[….] I was also pretty young back then. I was nine when I came back to Germany. People sometimes ask me whether I actually have any recollection of those days, and I reply: Of course, my whole life would have probably taken an entirely different course had it not been for that experience. So I must say that it does have a tremendous impact on you and also on your future, because it somehow sensitises you to problems that you would have been otherwise less receptive to, such as social injustices and the like […].

The quoted passage seems to imply, for instance, that knowledge gained during one’s time abroad is NOT purely factual, linear or cumulative, but *transformative* (cf., Tomic & Lengel, 1999). Such knowledge may thus forever change the way in which we perceive and experience the world around us and help us to forge new perspectives. In the process, it may therefore also suggest alternative stories of who we may be and how we may relate to others in any given context. This is why such a view of language and intercultural learning as *transformation* (Tomic & Lengel, 1999; cf., Giroux, 1992, Freire, 1998) seems so difficult to quantify or measure, and even more challenging to turn into pedagogic practice.

In my view, it is in the *mundane details of narrative practices* (Holstein & Gubrium, 2000), as appropriated conceptually and analytically for the present study, that we can gain a glimpse of the individual workings of transformation on the level of subjective perceptions,
experiences and self-enunciation. It is my contention that Sabine's comments quoted above may be seen here as one possible instance to illustrate that process.

7.3.2. Cultural selves as indebted to the social

Identity is not a one-way street. We do not assume particular roles or identities in a social vacuum. This is not a new insight. Our theoretical review in chapters 2.2 and 4.2, for instance, indicate that as early as the late 19th century and since then, philosophers have pointed towards the social nature of Self and identity. This social self has been advocated by the early pragmatists James, Cooley and Mead (cf., Holstein & Gubrium, 2000) and proposed by several scholars in Second Language Acquisition (SLA) theory (Norton Peirce, 1995), Linguistic Human Rights (LHR, Skutnabb-Kangas, 1991a) and contemporary sociology (Jenkins, 1996). In LHR, for instance, we are introduced to the notions of endo- and exo-ethnonym (1991:311), i.e., individuals' own chosen 'ethnic' label and what others tend to call them. Meanwhile in sociology, we may recall from our earlier theoretical review in chapter 3.1.4 that Jenkins (1996:21) employs similar images when he talks about the “internal and external dialectic of identification” as the benchmark of individual identity.

What is new in the context of CIRP 2000, however, is how the social nature of cultural identity may become narratively enacted and circumstantially realised by each participant in the study. The following quote, for instance, may be regarded as an individual instance of self-enunciation that serves to illustrate the variegated ways in which cultural selfhood may be narratively inscribed, and the individual Self may stand in relation to a social or collective Other:

Sample 4: Annika (novice group)

Also, was mir in Deutschland auffällt ist, hier wird jeder, der nicht aus Deutschland kommt, automatisch als Ausländer identifiziert, egal, wie er jetzt aussieht. In Chile ist es so, es ist ja auch'n Einwanderungsland, es sind viele Deutsche gekommen, viele Engländer, Franzosen, Araber, alles Mögliche...und ich wurde dort eigentlich dann angenommen [...] In Deutschland, ja, wie gesagt, ist es irgendwie nicht so sehr miteinander, 's mehr so ....gegeneinander oder so'n ...'Ok, Du bist halt auch noch da'

Courtesy translation:

[...] What I noticed in Germany is that anyone who is not originally from Germany is instantly identified as a foreigner, no matter what he or she looks like. Chile, by contrast, has lots of immigrants including Germans, English, French and Arabs, and I pretty much felt accepted there [...]
In Germany there seems to be less of a feeling of "we're in this together" and more a sense of competition or maybe indifference, like saying "Ok, so you're out there too. So what?" [...]

The quoted passage may hold numerous interpretive possibilities, such as the exclusive use of "national cultures", binary oppositions and a tendency to employ value judgements in the narrative. From the point of social identity, however, the quote may be seen as a unique and individual instance of self-enunciation providing a narrative account of how the social may be said to mediate subjective self-identifications (Paragraph 1) and how individual selves may be embedded in different modes of collective thinking (Paragraph 2).

Irrespective of whether we agree with the speaker in the quoted passage and feel that such a statement may in fact be more conducive to rather than preventive of ethnocentrism and cultural stereotypes, we may nonetheless acknowledge the key role of the social in the excerpt. In similar terms, we may regard the quote as an individual instance of narrative identity indicative of particular self-identifications and subjective perceptions of Self in relation to a social or collective Other. These perceptions, in turn, may suggest a particular level of cross-cultural awareness, as presented in greater detail in the following chapter (cf., 8.1.2).

7.3.3. Longing for an unknown Other: New perspectives and open spaces

A closer look at individual self-presentations may also provide us with a deeper insight into some other key issues relevant to LAIC as an emerging discipline. In the latter, we may wish to include the dialectics of Self and Other, the desire to extend oneself to gain new perspectives and a genuine longing for space both in the literal sense of physical space to live in and in the figurative sense of claiming space for self-enunciation.

It seems telling that the notion of space is featured prominently in one of the most interesting exchanges of the entire corpus. As we have seen repeatedly in our theoretical review above, the concept of space has always been one of the preferred metaphors in LAIC as evidenced by the often cited third space of enunciation (Bhabha, 1995; Tomic & Lengel, 1999) and the notion of creative ways and provisional spaces (Phipps, 1999).

The following passage seems to reveal a genuine desire to claim and discover such spaces and suggests that such a desire may constitute a key prerequisite for language and intercultural
learning by way of extension of the self. The passage would likely have been far less revealing had it not been for the probing questions posed by the course instructor, Mr. Müller-Richter, in the exchange:

Sample 5: Melusine (novice group)

Steve: ...und wo siehst Du Dich in zehn Jahren?
Melusine: Ja, also vielleicht Schweden, ja, oder Australien. [...] Mr. Müller-Richter: Uns interessiert, wieso Sie gerade auf Australien und nicht auf Neu- Guinea....Papua-New Guinea kommen?
Melusine: Naja, ok ...das war' auch ...natürlich auch nicht schlecht...[general laughter] ....
Mr. Müller-Richter: ...aber weshalb gerade Australien?
Melusine: ...Ja, weil es schon weiter weg ist ...[giggle]
Mr. Müller-Richter: [giggle] ...weil es weit weg ist? ...[giggle] Was für eine Qualität ergibt sich durch die Distanz?
Melusine: Ich weiß ja nicht, also, ...neue Perspektiven vor allem...also, daß man ein bisschen Abstand gewinnt von ...Europa ...immer dieses europäische Denken hält ...und daß man eben mal, ...weil ich nicht, ...irgendwie neue Kulturen kennenlernen...
Mr. Müller-Richter: Warum möchten Sie Abstand zum europäischen Denken haben?
Melusine: Ja, ich wage es nicht ...also, ich finde's das schon ziemlich kleinlautert, also meiner Meinung nach ....
Mr. Müller-Richter: Weshalb Weshalb?
Melusine: ...mnmm...'s kann ich jetzt gar nicht so sagen, also, irgendwie....
Mr. Müller-Richter: Etwas arbeitet doch in Ihnen, das Ihnen sagt, Sie fühlen sich hier irgendwie eingezogen....
Melusine: Ja...irgendwie schon genau...also, ich mag' auch die Weite des Raumes irgendwie...eigentlich.
Mr. Müller-Richter: Wie bitte...noch mal?
Melusine: ...die Weite des ... Mr. Müller-Richter: ...des Raumes?!
Melusine: Ja, genau ....
Mr. Müller-Richter: ...da wollen Sie dann unbedingt die Weite suchen [giggle] ...und nicht d a s Weite suchen .....[general laughter] ...oder das Weite suchen, um die Weite zu finden.....[general laughter]......Haben Sie da Sehnsucht nach der Einsamkeit?
Melusine: Also, eigentlich nicht, also....ich will schon mit vielen Menschen zu tun haben. Also, das ist schon wichtig....
Mr. Müller-Richter: Das wollen Sie aber haben in einem...Melusine: großen Land
Mr. Müller-Richter: ...Land, wo pro Quadratkilometer....eben die Bevölkerungsdichte geringer ist?
Melusine: Ja, genau.
other student: ...Rußland.... [laughter]
Melusine: Ne, Rußland ist mir'n bisschen zu kalt oder .........
other student: ...nicht überall .........am Schwarzen Meer, zum Beispiel.....
Melusine: ...na gut, in Schweden ist es eigentlich auch kalt... oder.........

Courtesy translation:

Steve: ...and where do you see yourself ten years from now?
Melusine: ...maybe in Sweden or Australia ...[...]
Mr. Müller-Richter: What we're interested in is why Australia of all places and not ...New Guinea....Papua New Guinea?
Melusine: Sure...why not...that doesn't sound bad either ...[general laughter]
Mr. Müller-Richter: ...but why Australia?
Melusine: ...because it is so far away...[giggle]
Mr. Müller-Richter: ...because it's far away? [giggle] ...What qualitative difference do you see in geographical distance?
Melusine: ...I'm not sure...but new perspectives, above all, ...to gain some distance from ...Europe and the European mindset...and to get to know ...new cultures for a change....
Mr. Müller-Richter: Why do you feel you need distance from the European mindset?
Melusine: ...I can't really say...I find it all quite narrow-minded...in my view.
Mr. Müller-Richter: Why is that....?
Melusine: ...Mmh...I can't really put it into words.....
Mr. Müller-Richter: Some inner voice inside of you must be telling you that you feel somewhat claustrophobic here....
Melusine: ...Yes...exactly...and I also like the vastness of open spaces...[...]
Mr. Müller-Richter: [making use of a popular pun in German] ...well...looking for open spaces rather than being on the run....[giggle] ...well, ...don't run away from us too far to look for those spaces [general laughter] ...Are you longing for solitude?
Melusine: ...No, not really...I do want to socialize with lots of people. That is important....
Mr. Müller-Richter: ...but you would like to do so in a country where the population density per square mile is much lower than here?
Melusine: ...Exactly....
Fellow student: ...how about Russia? ...[laugh]
Melusine: ...Oh, no...Russia would be a bit too cold for me....
Fellow student: ...not necessarily...you could go to the Black Sea for instance...
Melusine: ...Well, then again, Sweden tends to be quite cold also...[...]

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Why does Melusine long for new open spaces in Australia of all places, rather than Russia, by far the world’s largest country? Why not Papua New Guinea or Easter Island far away from modern civilisation? Why long for a place that is new and unknown to you yet unlikely to be radically different than what you are used to?

Such feelings cannot be theoretically embraced by referring to the notions of absent centres and the exoticisation of the Other also common in LAIC discourse (cf., Thurlow, in press). In the latter, individuals see themselves as the ‘norm’ and often fail to self-identify as being cultural in any way, which thus may prompt them to regard the distant Other as strange and exotic. In the outlined passage, by contrast, we may observe a genuine longing for an unknown Other that holds particular appeal to us maybe because it combines the exotic with the familiar. Australia may hold more appeal to Melusine than Russia, for instance, because it could be said to combine the exoticism of distance with the familiarity of being a first world country, a former British colony with a history closely tied to Europe and English as its official language. These are, of course, all vague assumptions, and our interpretations in this respect may hinge to a considerable extent on our own cultural leanings, identifications and conceptualisations on the nature of Self and Other in intercultural contexts and beyond.

It can therefore be suggested that the cited passage touches on several issues that are of key interest to LAIC scholars and go beyond the notion of space alone. Melusine’s longing for an affluent first-world country geographically far away from Europe, for instance, raises the question of prestige, i.e., to what extent LAIC may be mediated or even constituted by market forces of High and Post Capitalism. It also raises the issue of whether language and intercultural learning may be tied to socio-economic status and thus only available to the economically privileged middle classes (cf., chapter 3.3.1). Similar concerns, we may recall, have been raised by other scholars on separate occasions (Phipps, 1999) and have not been limited to LAIC alone (Snell-Hornby, 1999).

7.4. Data Analysis II: A comparative analysis of narratives

The quoted passages seem to suggest that it is possible to appreciate individual instances of self-enunciation in their own right and to gain a deeper insight into key issues of LAIC in the process. As a change of analytic perspective, however, we may wish to suspend our focus on the variegated hows of self-enunciation and on individual narrative inscriptions of culture, language and identity. Instead, we may choose to subject the CIRP 2000 corpus to a
comparative analysis of the *whats* of narrative identity, i.e., the *themes, resources* and *means* that may be regarded as constitutive of narratives of cultural selves in language and intercultural learning.

In this context, I would like to follow several threads as part of this comparative analysis. First, I would like to discuss the extent to which the institutional and organisational context may be said to mediate individual narratives. Then, I would like to touch on the possible role of locally-constituted identities in the narratives of cultural selves of CIRP 2000. Finally I wish to turn to the notions of narrative linkage, slippage and variation, i.e., the extent to which the first presentation may serve as a "template" for subsequent speakers to follow and how speakers may build their emergent narrative on preceding presentations.

For that reason, the analysis presented below follows primarily the second approach proposed in the previous chapter (cf., 6.5), i.e., a comparative analysis of student presentations from both groups. An analysis of original presentations and their interpretations according to the third proposal, it was argued, would go beyond the scope of the present work. In our discussion of the role of local culture below (cf., 7.4.2), however, I would briefly like to raise the theme of local culture and contrast its enactment across linguistic boundaries in the present study.

**7.4.1. Narrative control: the role of the institutional context**

"If self-construction is always artful, it invariably reflects the organizational materials from which selves are produced." (Holstein & Gubrium, 2000:179)

Our earlier theoretical review (cf., chapter 4.2) suggests that Holstein & Gubrium's (2000) sociological studies on narrative identity show a particular interest in how the respective institutional or organisational context may delineate and impact on individual instances of self-enunciation. While acknowledging the creativity and resourcefulness of individuals in articulating a sense of self, they stress the extent to which such narrative takes place in and is indicative of the institutional context of its telling. Their particular focus here, as mentioned earlier, tends to be on contexts in which *pathological* selves are enunciated, including court proceedings and Alcoholics Anonymous (AA) groups. It is in the latter, for instance, in which Holstein & Gubrium see patterns emanating from AA's "Big Book" including "drunkalogues", and the experience of "hitting bottom" permeate almost every account of individuals' personal histories.
As the present study draws heavily on Holstein & Gubrium's proposed analytic model of **interpretive practice** and is likewise interested in the processes and resources of self-enunciation, I would like to address the question to what extent **organisational embeddedness** may impinge on the enunciation of **cultural selves** in the CIRP 2000 corpus.

A contrastive look at different self-presentations provided by participants reveals strong evidence here suggesting that the institutional context of the IÜD translation and interpreting department constitutes the **key** factor of narrative control mediating and even imposing particular narrative patterns and resources for CIRP 2000 participants. Students involved in the project almost invariably talk about their **language combinations**, their **schooling** prior to embarking on the translation and interpreting programme, their passing of the undergraduate exams, i.e., the "**Vordiplom**", and about **bureaucratic difficulties** that they encountered when they decided to enrol at Heidelberg University. The following examples seem particularly telling here:

**Sample 6: Judith (novice group)**

Leider hat es dann sechsundneunzig mit der Einschreibung nicht geklappt. Da gab's ein kleines Problem. [giggle] ...Ich hab' die Einschreisfrist verpaßt ..... [giggle] ... Ich war schon zugelassen und alles und hab' ...irgendwie ...durch'n ganz dummen Fehler eben den Termin verpaßt, mich einzuschreiben. [...]

*Courtesy translation:*

Unfortunately, my registration back in 1996 didn’t work out. There was a slight problem ...[giggle] I missed the deadline to register for classes ...[giggle] I was already admitted and through some stupid mistake I missed the deadline for registration. [...]

**Sample 7: Birte (novice group)**

[...]
dann hat auch hier schon das Semester angefangen. Ich habe' mich dann hier zunächst auch recht erfolglos eingeschrieben....[giggle]. Ich hab' auch 'was verpaßt bei der .....bei der Zulassung allerdings. ....Ich hab' gedacht, ich brauchte für Russisch keine Zulassung und hatte nur die Zulasung für Englisch und bis ich dann hier am IUD eingeschrieben war ...ch....in der richtigen Kombination hat's 'ne ganze Weile gedauert [...]

*Courtesy translation:*

[...] and then the semester started here. Yet I also had some initial problems with registration ...[giggle] ...I also made a stupid mistake...in my case it had to do with admissions though. I thought I didn’t need a separate admission for Russian and was only admitted for English, and it took quite a while for me to be properly registered here at the Institute in the right language combination. [...]

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On a comparative level, the CIRP 2000 corpus reveals differences between self-presentations provided by the novice and advanced participants suggesting that the academic setting seems to be reflected even more strongly in the narratives of final-year students. Members of the novice postgraduate group, by contrast, tend to offer instances of self-enunciation that come across as more hybrid, universally oriented and less institutionally bound. The following longer excerpts may help to illustrate this observation:

Sample 8: Kristina (final-year group)

[...] Ich bin ganz normal zur Schule gegangen...Grundschule... Gymnasium...[...] Also, ich hatte Mathe, Deutsch LK...und wo ich unheimlich gerne war mit Mathe machen...aber halt nichts, was überhaupt nichts mit Sprachen zu tun hat...und das einzige, wo ich halt Sprachen mit Mathe hätte kombinieren können, war' Lehramt gewesen...und das wollte ich auf keinen Fall...Ehm...Also hab' ich das gemacht, und...hab' das vom ersten Semester bis heute immer noch...immer ab und an bereut...[...] Ich habe auch keine Idee, was ich nach dem Examen machen werde...[...] Ich denk' echt, also, in unserem Beruf halbwegs ordentlich Kohle zu verdienen ist sehr, sehr schwer...Am besten man geht in die Unternehmensberatung, weil da jeder anfangen kann (giggle) ...[...]

Translation taken from the consecutive interpretation provided in the CIRP 2000 corpus:

[...] As to my school career...first I attended primary school...after that the "Gymnasium"...[...] Ehm...in school, I also liked...I wanted to do something with mathematics, but ehm...I wanted to combine it with languages and...the only way I could have done this would have been by becoming a teacher...and really didn't like to do that...Ehm...so I started study interpreting. Eh...I have...I'm not happy with this decision...[...] After the exam...eh...I'm not sure what I would like to do...I think by working as an interpreter...you cannot earn much money, and it's very difficult to...get on...ehm...may be I should start at a consulting agency...because...everybody can start there...you don't need any...special qualifications...[...]

Sample 9: Catharina (novice group)

Ja, hallo, ich bin Catharina. Ich studiere...Französisch und Russisch hier am...IUD. Ich hab' das Propädeutikum gemacht, als ich angekommen bin, weil ich noch kein Wort Russisch sprach damals...[...] Ich komm' aus Ostfriesland...[...] Ich hab' drei Geschwister...[...] Hobbies...ich hab' immer sehr viel Musik gemacht zu Hause. Ich hab' Klavier gespielt. Ich hab' Waldhorn gespielt,[...]

Courtesy translation:

Hi, I'm Catharina. I study...French and Russian here at the IUD. I did the induction course when I first arrived, because I didn't speak a single word of Russian back then. [...] I'm from "Ostfriesland" in Northern Germany...[...] I have three brothers and sisters...[...] My hobbies include...music...I have always played lots of instruments at home, such as the piano and the French horn...[...]

While novice student Catharina is also influenced in her emergent storyline by the academic setting at Heidelberg University, a contrastive glance at both examples indicates that her narrative is far less institutionally bound than the self-presentation provided by final-year student Kristina.

Across the board, however, the corpus suggests that institutional talk and organisational embeddedness are reflected in all instances of self-enunciation to varying degrees. They may thus be seen as a form of narrative control or what Holstein & Gubrium (2000:178) refer to as
“narrative maps” imposing a template on the way individuals may articulate a sense of cultural identity in the given setting.

In this context, some quantitatively-oriented researchers may now ask “So what?”, and think these findings may hardly be surprising in view of the educational setting of the study. Such comments, however, tend to miss the point of what the chosen qualitative approach purports to achieve. Its aim, we may recall, may be seen in its attempt to provide a descriptive account of individual instances of self-enunciation in the given institutional setting and to document how the latter is reflected in variegated ways in each narrative. By doing so, it may become possible for us to appreciate the extent to which such personal accounts may be both different and yet based on similar narrative resources, such as the institutional context and local culture.

On the latter, I also wish to emphasise again that a qualitative approach inspired by ethnomethodology, conversation analysis and the notion of thick description (Geertz, 1973) is primarily concerned with the mundane details of everyday talk-in-interaction (Holstein & Gubrium, 2000:87-89). For that reason, the approach envisioned and enacted here is primarily concerned with how such talk-in-interaction may be analytically embraced as both unique and yet as indebted to the social in quite similar ways.

7.4.2. Locally-constituted identities and multilingual selves

“Revolutions in Consciousness: Local Identities, Global Concerns in Languages and Intercultural Communication.”

This is the title chosen for the 2000 CCC conference in Leeds (cf., Appendix III) suggesting that the local and global are interwoven in complex patterns in the cultural identities of multilingual and cross-culturally skilled individuals. Yet how can we be locally rooted and globally routed at the same time? Is our overall sense of cultural selfhood more contingent upon the local or the global? How do we enunciate a sense of self that is not only locally constituted but also transcends traditional linguistic or national boundaries? In this context, it is my contention that a closer look at the CIRP 2000 corpus may be able to help us shed some light on these matters. In fact, most CIRP 2000 self-presentations reveal a plethora of blends of both locally-constituted and globally-oriented identities. In what follows, let us consider a few of these.
Almost every self-presentation in the CIRP 2000 corpus suggests that locally-constituted identities play a pivotal role in the overall character of individual identities. While all participants would officially self-identify as German, as confirmed by the biographical details provided by each participant after the study, every narrative provides strong evidence for the overall importance of local and regional identities to the speaker's sense of self. The latter may include local labels such as Swabian, Hessian, from Baden and some regional variants less amenable to translation into English, e.g. Kurpfälzer (locals from Mannheim and Heidelberg, home of the prince electors of the Palatinate), Ost-Friesen (inhabitants of the Eastern Friesian coastal regions and islands in Northern Germany), etc.

In individual narratives, local culture and locally-constituted identities are adroitly employed by the speaker to either create instances of distance or self-identification with the respective regional character. To illustrate this process, let us return to Catharina:

**Sample 10: Catharina (novice group)**

Ja, hallo, ich bin Catharina. [...] ich komm' aus Ostfriesland ...aus der Nähe von Jever ...Das heißt Je[F]er und nicht Je[W]er ...Ehm,...ja, da hab' ich die ersten neunzehn Jahre meines Lebens verbracht ...sehr bodenständig ...in einem kleinen Dorf ...mit meiner Familie. [...] Seit zweieinhalb Jahren wohne ich in Heidelberg. Mittlerweile hab' ich mich auch etwas 'dran gewöhnt, wie die Leute sprechen.....[giggle....general laughter]....., wie sie so sind, denn die Mentalitäten unterscheiden sich doch sehr, find' ich....So, ...die Ostfriesen und die....Was sind das hier? .....Badenser? Bader? ......Kurpfälzer ............[general uproar and loud laughter] ............. Verzeihung ...........

Courtesy translation:

Yes, Hi there....I'm Catharina. I'm from “Ostfriesland” [the coastal regions in Northern Germany] ...near the city of Jever, which, by the way, is pronounced Je[F]er and not Je[W]er. Yes, that’s where I spent the first nineteen years of my life ...a very rooted sort of existence...in a small village...with my family....[...] I have lived in Heidelberg for two and a half years now. I have now become somewhat used to how people talk around here...[giggle....general laughter]...and how they are...because it's a very different mentality here...“Ostfriesen” are quite different from...what are the people called here? ...Badeners? Badiens? ....."Kurpfälzer" ...? ............[general uproar and loud laughter] ............. I'm sorry.......

In the quoted passage, Catharina strongly identifies with her regional home in Northern Germany while creating a distinct and almost comic\textsuperscript{17} effect of distance from her chosen place of study, Heidelberg. The same local culture used by Catharina to create distance is then taken

\textsuperscript{17} On the subject of laughter and humour in CIRP 2000, it must be pointed out that less attention is paid in the present study to para- and extralinguistic features such as giggles, laughter, gestures and facial expression. In the transcription and analysis of presentations, giggles and laughter are identified as such in terms of “thick” rather than “thin” description (cf., Geertz, 1973; see chapter 5.5.1), i.e., in most cases it is not specified whether the giggle is due to shyness, joy or embarrassment. Such “thick” description of para- and extralinguistic features was not deemed necessary for the analytic foci of the present study.
up again by Stefan, but with the opposite effect of creating a strong sense of local identity rooted in South-western Germany:

Sample 11: Stefan (novice group)

[...] [Ich] komm' hier aus der Region... Deswegen weiß ich auch, daß wir eigentlich keine Ba...Badener sind, sondern Kurpfälzer. [giggle]...Also, ich komm' aus Mannheim, ursprünglich aus Viernheim, was zu Hessen gehört. [...] 

Courtesy translation:

[...] I’m from around here....That’s why I know that we’re actually no Badenians....but "Kurpfälzer" [giggle] ....In fact, I’m from Mannheim, but was born in Viernheim, which belongs to Hesse. [...]

This thesis is not the place to discuss the technical challenges facing translators when trying to render such locally-constituted identities into another language. That issue is more appropriately addressed by scholars in translation theory and lexicography. What is interesting in the context of CIRP 2000, however, is how future interpreters may decide to deal with such elements of local culture. Many translation scholars agree here that it is usually the intended target audience that determines whether a translator would use explicitation, e.g., “Ostfriesen, i.e. the inhabitants of coastal regions in Northern Germany”, or borrowing strategies, e.g., “Kurpfälzer” (cf., Reiß, 1976; Nord, 1988).

Yet what if the interpreter has little time to reflect on the possible target audience? Among the advanced interpreting students in CIRP 2000, self-presentations also revealed strong local and regional identifications that are often difficult to render into another language, as illustrated by the following example:

Sample 12: Kristina (final-year group)

[...] ich bin in Velbert geboren in der Nähe des Ruhrgebietes und...alle denken immer, ich würde betonen, daß Velbert nicht zum Ruhrgebiet gehört, sondern zum Bergischen Land, ... weil ich nicht gerne vom Ruhrgebiet sein möchte, aber das stimmt überhaupt nicht. Ich finde das Ruhrgebiet toll. 's wie 'ne große Großstadt ...sehr...eh...modern ... und viel Kultur und so weiter. ...Insofern hätte ich überhaupt kein Problem damit, aus dem Ruhrgebiet zu kommen, aber ich tu’s halt nicht. [...] 

Translation taken from the consecutive interpretation provided in the CIRP 2000 corpus:

[...] I was born in Velbert.... That is near the Ruhr area... Ehm ...Everybody thinks that I always underline that I am not from the Ruhr area, but from the “Bergisches Land” is, because I don’t like the Ruhr area, but ...it...that is not the case at all. I like the Ruhr area, because there are...large cities.... and I like that...[...]

A brief comparative analysis of the original presentation in German and its consecutive interpretation into English according to the third analytic approach proposed in chapter 6.5
reveals that the interpreter decided to simply transfer the local German terms into the English version, e.g. "Bergisches Land". The interpreter thus either couldn't think of any other solution or seems to assume a target audience equally well versed in local German culture, but unable to understand the original, a rather unlikely scenario.

To recipients unfamiliar with Germany, the interpretation therefore seems to convey a sense of exoticism and strangeness rather than the original speaker's intended effect of displaying a locally-grounded sense of regional identity. Regardless of such possible effects on recipients in either German or English, the quoted passages seem to aptly illustrate the key role of local culture and regional identities as a resource of self-enunciation provided by multilingual and cross-culturally versed individuals.

All in all, then, CIRP 2000 suggests that individuals may think globally, may be proficient in two or more languages, tend to be cross-culturally skilled, and yet provide narratives of cultural selves that are regionally constituted and rooted in local culture. Let us finish this observation with further examples taken from the CIRP 2000 corpus:

Sample 13: Birte (novice group)

Ich heiße Birte .... [clear throat] ...Ich bin auch gebürtige Stuttgarterin wie Judith. Im Alter von zwei Jahren bin ich allerdings dann mit meinen Eltern nach Böblingen gezogen. [...] English version taken from Birte's presentation in another class:  
My name is Birte. I was born and raised in Swabia ... near Stuttgart, and I spent my life up to the age of nineteen there in Böblingen [...]  

Sample 14: Dagmar (novice group)  
English presentation provided by speaker in class:  
My name is Dagmar, and I was born in Northrhine-Westphalia, but from there I moved to Wiesbaden at the age of two. [...]  

Sample 15: Annika (novice group)  
Also, ich heiße Annika ...[...] ich komme ...ursprünglich aus Wiesbaden. Also, ich bin in Wiesbaden geboren. Echte Hesse [giggle], und ...ehm....im Alter von zehn Jahren ungefähr sind meine Eltern mit mir und meinen Geschwistern nach Chile ausgewandert für sechs Jahre...[...] Courtesy translation:  
My name is Annika ...[...] I'm originally from Wiesbaden. I mean, I was born in Wiesbaden. I'm a real Hessian [giggle] and ...ehm...at the age of about 10 my parents emigrated with me and my siblings for six years to Chile...[...]

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7.4.3. Narrative linkage and variation

“[...] self construction is a complex process that responds to multiple ‘layers’ of interpretive constraint and narrative resources.” (Holstein & Gubrium, 2000:167)

As the quoted observation by Holstein & Gubrium helps to illustrate, instances of self-enunciation do not happen in isolation, but are embedded in the social context of their telling. For that reason, it is also of interest to investigate the extent to which the first speaker may set a template for others to emulate and how speakers may refer back to preceding presentations in a variety of ways. In what follows, I would initially like to consider the role of the first presentation in the storying of cultural selves and then turn to possible instances of narrative linkage in the present data.

7.4.3.1. The role of the first presentation

To what extent does the first presentation set a precedent for subsequent speakers to follow? This question goes beyond the practical aspects of data gathering and raises epistemological and methodological questions as they relate to CIRP 2000 or other studies of this nature. I already briefly commented in chapter 6.3 on the role that I expected to play as participant and researcher in the present study. In this context, we may recall that it was not an arbitrary or random decision to have my own self-presentation serve as the opening for one of the key data gathering events involving novice postgraduate students taking part in a speech training class. The decision was made as a conscious methodological choice and was fuelled by the underlying assumption that my own self-presentation could to some extent provide a template for the other course participants to follow. It therefore raises ontological and epistemological questions related to reflexivity, i.e., to what extent my own narrative could help to create the findings I may wish to arrive at in CIRP 2000.

As we have seen in our preceding outline of the notion of reflexivity in chapter 5.3, a conscious awareness of reflexivity in research theory may translate into instances of reflexive research practice. The stated situation involving my own self-presentation as the opening introduction for the aforementioned speech training class may thus be interpreted as one possible example to illustrate that process. For that reason, it is my conviction that instances of methodological circularity in the qualitative approach chosen for the present study may be seen as a consciously-enacted choice rather than a methodological deficiency.
A comparative glance at my own self-introduction and that provided for instance by Lena immediately afterwards, however, suggests that opening the data gathering event with my own presentation may not have reflexively mediated subsequent presentations as much as was initially surmised. My own self-presentation is based primarily on a chronological outline of my personal history providing a brief overview of my background, present life and visions for the future. My narrative includes a selective presentation of biographical details, whereby I seem to give considerably more importance to recent self-initiated moves and make little mention of my upbringing in central Germany. My narrative also includes numerous references to geographical locations, including Berlin, my current life in the United Kingdom and a plethora of places in the United States that have featured prominently in my personal history, including Las Vegas, Nevada and San Francisco.

In addition, my narrative seems informed and mediated by the institutional context of the academic setting in Heidelberg. The latter includes references to my schooling, my translation and interpreting training as well as my current postgraduate studies without divulging, however, that I was taking part in the aforementioned speech therapy class for research purposes. My self-presentation is also characterised by the use of several material and textual mediations, including references to my car, bank account, driver’s license and visa requirements. Finally, my discourse is also informed by elements of local American culture including mentions of desert climate, scenery and Latin American influences in the desert Southwest.

The first presentation immediately following my own introduction is given by Lena, who had recently relocated to Heidelberg from the interpreting department in Germersheim and had spent five years of her childhood in Venezuela. A comparative look at Lena’s presentation suggests that her narrative is based on numerous resources and themes that are NOT included in my self-presentation. Lena mentions her upbringing, talks about age, her hobbies and interests including sports and music. In particular, she elaborates on her enthusiasm for horseback riding and talks in considerable detail about her family, providing several instances of anecdotal evidence, such as recounting a recent event involving her brother buying flowers for Mother’s Day. Lena also goes into greater detail as to why she decided to leave the interpreting programme in Germersheim and move to Heidelberg.

Of course, her narrative also shows certain parallels with my own preceding presentation. Such parallels include several references to geographical locations, details of her schooling and biographical background as well as name changes for personal reasons, which I have
referred to as *identificational rechristening* elsewhere (Grosse, 1999), i.e., Lena and Steve as opposed to Anja Milena and Stephan.

On a comparative level, however, the differences between the two narratives seem far more striking than their overall similarities thus suggesting that the first presentation may not serve as much as a template in terms of content and structure as had previously been assumed. In fact, her narrative seems quite different from my own and comes across as much more spontaneous, colloquial and anecdotal than mine. This observation therefore comes as quite a surprise and contrary to previous assumptions that first presentations could determine or mediate the resources, themes and motifs of subsequent narratives. Similar observations were made in the other classes that I was able to participate in for the present study. In most cases, subsequent speakers made some references to preceding presentations as a form of narrative linkage, as will be illustrated below. It cannot be claimed, however, that first speakers provide a strict "template" for other participants to follow.

7.4.3.2. Instances of narrative linkage

Even if first presentations may not serve as a strict template for subsequent speakers, we can still ask to what extent the course participants tend to build their narratives on preceding presentations. A comparative look at the CIRP 2000 corpus provides numerous instances of what Holstein & Gubrium (2000:124 ff.) refer to as *narrative linkage and slippage*. In those instances speakers refer to preceding narratives to distance themselves, create a sense of solidarity or to simply use preceding discourse thematically or structurally as the point of departure for their own emergent narrative. In one case, for instance, course instructor Mr. Knobloch alludes to my own adopted nickname Steve and asks participant Stefan:

**Sample 16: Stefan (novice group)**

Mr. Knobloch: ...auch Steve?
Stefan: Nein...also mein Name ist Stefan, nicht Steve, Stefan Quast. 'Bin fünfundzwanzig Jahre alt. Komm' hier aus der Region... Deswegen weiß ich auch, daß wir eigentlich keine Ba...Badener sind, sondern Kurpfälzer. [giggle] [...]

_Courtesy translation:_

Mr. Knobloch: ...are you Steve too?
Stefan: Not at all....my name is Stefan, not Steve. I’m Stefan Quast. I’m twenty-five years old and from around here ....That’s why I know that we’re not actually Badenians....but "Kurpfälzer" [giggle] [...]

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Mr. Knobloch thus invites Stefan to draw on my narrative and use the aforementioned name change as a resource for his own emerging storyline in which Stefan then distances himself from my portrayed American identity. As we have seen in an earlier quote involving Stefan, he then also refers back to Catharina’s presentation and picks up elements of local culture employed in her narrative but with the opposite effect of creating a strong regional identity rather than distancing himself from it. By referring back to two preceding narratives in variegated ways, Stefan thus manages to make a distinct statement about his own sense of cultural self in the given class context.

Another instance of narrative linkage may be observed in the following passage, in which Melusine alludes to what she perceives as the vast talents of preceding speaker Birte:

Sample 17: Melusine (novice group)

Melusine: Ja, ich bin zwar kein Allround-talent, aber vielleicht ein “Renaissance-Woman“, weil mein zweiter Name Renee ist. Ja, und ich mache als zweite Sprache Spanisch […]

Courtesy translation:

Melusine: Ok, I may not be so universally talented, but I could pass as a Renaissance woman, because my middle name is Renee. And I do Spanish as my second foreign language[…]

In this example, Melusine likewise refers back to a preceding speaker and uses that particular narrative as the point of departure for her own emergent storyline.

It is interesting to observe that some presentations must have caught fellow students’ attention more than others, as there are two speakers, for instance, who make references back to preceding speaker Judith drawing parallels with elements of her narrative. Let us first consider the relevant passages of Judith’s presentation and then look at the aforementioned instances of narrative linkage:

Sample 18: Judith (novice group)

Ja, also, mein Name ist Judith Schächterle. Wie der Name, der Nachname, schon vermuten läßt, komm’ ich aus’m Schwabenland. Bin gebürtige Stuttgarterin. […] … in der siebten Klasse bin ich zum ersten Mal nach Frankreich mit zum Austausch, und …das Land hat mich so dermaßen fasziniert, daß…ich dann …mich auch wirklich ‚drangespitzt hab‘ und Französisch gelernt hab’. […]

Courtesy translation:

Yes, my name is Judith Schächterle, and as my last name suggests, I’m from Swabia. I was born in Stuttgart. […] In seventh grade I went to France for the first time as part of a student exchange …and was so tremendously fascinated by the country that….I really sat down and tried hard to learn French. […]

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Sample 19: Birte (novice group)

Ich heiße Birte .... [clear throat] ...Ich bin auch gebürtige Stuttgarterin wie Judith. [...]

Courtesy translation:

My name is Birte ...[clear throat] ...and just like Judith I was born in Stuttgart...[...]

Sample 20: Stefan (novice group)

In der Schule...also, es war'n bisschen so wie bei Judith. In der Schule hab' ich dann auch in der siebten Klasse 'nen Austausch gemacht mit Frankreich [...] 

Courtesy translation:

At school ....well, it was a bit like what happened to Judith...In seventh grade I also took part in a student exchange with France [...] 

As the quoted samples reveal, biographical parallels to Judith’s background prompted both Birte and Stefan to use Judith’s presentation as a point of reference for their own emergent narrative. In Birte’s case, she is also originally from Stuttgart and thus a fellow “Swabian”, whereas Stefan had similar experiences as Judith in seventh grade when he also took part in a student exchange programme with France for the first time. On the grounds of these observations we may therefore conclude that instances of self-enunciation in the CIRP 2000 corpus are built in different ways on preceding presentations and tend to be adroitly crafted using both narrative slippage and linkage. It may thus be seen as an artful and creative act carried out in tune with the resources, themes and motifs intended by the speaker for the narrative inscription of their own unique sense of cultural identity.

Following this detailed comparative analysis of the how concerns, i.e., discursive practice, and the what concerns, i.e., discourse-in-practice, underlying self-presentations in CIRP 2000, it is the aim of the following section to discuss the extent to which the executed project may be regarded as committed to the notion of reflexivity. To this end, I will attempt to apply the relational, narrative and collaborational forms of reflexive research theory and practice to the CIRP 2000 corpus.

7.5. Principles of reflexivity in CIRP 2000

In this final section of chapter seven, I would like appreciate the study’s planning, implementation and findings in relation to its ontological and epistemological underpinnings. In particular, I would like to explicate the extent to which the present study may be regarded as following a qualitative and interpretivist research paradigm by embracing and enacting key
principles constitutive of such research. The latter include first and foremost the relativist and subjectivist principles mentioned in our preceding theoretical outline and regarded in some academic circles as a key prerequisite for qualitative research (Guba & Lincoln, 1989).

In this wider context, we may recall from chapter five that some scholars in LAIC attribute vital importance to the notion of reflexivity in research theory and practice (Jack & Phipps, in press) and to the key role of subjective experiences and consciousness in language and intercultural learning (cf., 2000 CCC conference announcement; Appendix III). It is on these qualitative principles that the following discussion will centre.

As we discussed back in chapter 5.2, Jack & Phipps (in press) propose an ethnography of encounter, engagement and exchange in an attempt to formulate a critically-reflexive theory and praxis of LAIC. We can recall that they offer a detailed account of the ways in which reflexivity may be embraced and manifested in their own research activities, distinguishing between relational, narrative and collaborative reflexivity and providing examples from their own project “Over the Sea to Skye” to illustrate each of these realisations.

To what extent then may the present study be regarded as informed by and committed to reflexive research theory and practice? By addressing this question in the discussion of the project’s implementation, analysis and findings, it is my contention that a critical look back at the actual unfolding of the study and its theoretical premises may yield some new theoretical insights and, in the process, serve as a worthwhile consolidation exercise.

7.5.1. Relational reflexivity

In terms of relational reflexivity, a look at CIRP 2000 and my entire doctoral research suggests that my own experiences, personality and sense of self are strongly reflected in my research activities. I have never set out to investigate some external reality independent of my own vision and perception of the world. I see myself as strongly enmeshed and engaged with my research interest in self-enunciation in language and intercultural learning meaning that by discovering and embracing narratives of cultural selves provided by others, I hope to rediscover myself in the process. It is therefore my contention that any research of the Other may also be regarded as research of the Self.
A brief look at the actual CIRP 2000 corpus also suggests that relational reflexivity may mediate the unfolding and, by extension, the results and findings of the study, as suggested in the following exchange involving CIRP 2000 participant Melusine and myself:

Sample 21: Melusine (novice group)

Melusine: [...] I don’t know where I want to work ... in what field and eh, I’ve got to prepare my ......eh.......my......eh....[giggle]

Steve: ......self?

Melusine: What? ...What did you say? ....No, not myself [laughter]..... my paper... my “Diplomarbeit” [...] 

Along similar lines, I asked CIRP 2000 participant Dagmar in the following exchange to what extent life abroad may have changed her sense of self:

Sample 22: Dagmar (novice group)

Dagmar: [...] [Ich] bin somit dann ...hier in Heidelberg gelandet [giggle] und ...jetzt hier im Dolmetschpropädeutikum, um zu sehen, wie liegt mir so ‘was, kann ich so ‘was ....zutrauen.... ja, aber ob’s dann auch wirklich klappt, das steht noch auf’nem anderen Blatt.....Ja,...

Steve: Mich würde interessieren, in wie weit Dich Deine sieben Jahre Brasilien verändert haben, in wie weit Du Dich vielleicht jetzt weniger Deutsch oder mehr Brasilianisch fühlst?

Dagmar: Ja, also, sie hat, haben mich so sehr, weit geprägt, daß ich ...ehm, also, immer damit konfrontiert war, auch dann jetzt andere Mentalitäten kennenzulernen, zu akzeptieren. [...]

Courtesy Translation:

Dagmar: And so I wound up here in Heidelberg [giggle] and...I’m now doing the interpreting induction to see if it suits me and to find out whether I can be good at it....but....whether it all really works out is a different story altogether....yeah..

Steve: What would interest me is to know how your seven years in Brazil may have changed you and to what extent you may feel less German and more Brazilian now?

Dagmar: Well, they have had an impact on me in the sense that I have always been exposed to other mentalities and have learned to accept them. [...]

The quoted exchanges may be interpreted as possible examples of the extent to which my own interest in the notion of Self in language and intercultural learning may impact on the execution and subsequent interpretation of the CIRP 2000 project. It may therefore be regarded as a possible instance of relational reflexivity underlying my own research in LAIC.
7.5.2. Narrative reflexivity

The notion of narrative reflexivity may also be observed in the present work. In the context of LAIC, we may remember the terminological debate that characterised the initial CCC conferences, involving key terms such as capability, competence, transcultural, intercultural, cross-cultural and awareness to name but a few. In my view, this debate reflects the narrative reflexivity underlying this emerging field’s academic agenda and the extent to which its own discourse delineates and constitutes its chosen subject of study, which has now been agreed upon as LAIC.

In my own research, I have moved away from an initial interest in intercultural competence inspired by Byram (1997) to cross-cultural capability, as propagated by the annual Leeds conferences. I then adopted the notions of self-construction and social identity taken up by some scholars in SLA (Norton Peirce, 1995; Norton, 2000) and have now arrived at the concept of self-enunciation in language and intercultural learning. This latest development has been heavily influenced by Holstein & Gubrium’s (2000) sociological studies and by the qualitative research principles of Phipps (1999) and Jack & Phipps (in press) outlined earlier.

As a reflection of that development, I have made a conscious effort to appropriate their corresponding qualitative and interpretivist terminology for my own research discourse. Examples may include expressions such as the following: “to reflexively mediate” (used 9 times in the present project so far), “subjectivities” (42 times), “engagement” (51 times) and “to narratively inscribe” a sense of Self (16 times including the nominalisation “narrative inscription”). Many of these terms have made it necessary to offer brief commentaries and explanations in footnotes intended for readers that may be unfamiliar with such qualitative and interpretivist terminology. It may therefore be argued that the qualitative discourse adopted in the present project has significantly mediated the study subject, i.e., the notion of narrative identity in language and intercultural learning, and, by extension, the execution and interpretation of CIRP 2000.

7.5.3. Collaborational reflexivity

This leads my theoretical review directly to the notion of collaboration as a form of social reflexivity. In this context, CIRP 2000 may not only be regarded as mediated by my outlined “intellectual kinship” with the LAIC forum, in particular with Jack & Phipps (1999; in press) and their notion of exchange ethnography, Tomic & Lengel (1999) and their concept of
transformation and Parry's (1998) insights on the role of literary studies in LAIC. CIRP 2000 may of course also be seen as mediated by Holstein & Gubrium's (2000) qualitative sociology and, most notably, by the close co-operation that has characterised the relationship between my supervisor, Dr. Margaret Rogers, at the University of Surrey and myself. Finally, the actual project was carried out as a “consciously collaborative enterprise” (Jack & Phipps, in press) involving former colleagues and professors at Heidelberg University, whose own research interests and discourse have likewise added to the CIRP 2000 storyline presented in this project.

In the first German-English consecutive interpreting class as part of the interpreting induction programme in Heidelberg, the course instructor, Mr. Jenkins, for instance, asked participants to give a short presentation on a particular subject related to their interests. In this context, he asked Dagmar to talk about the pros and cons of travelling, while Birte was requested to elaborate on preconceived notions that may persist between Germany and Scandinavia. Mr. Jenkins’ requests therefore set the tone for the presentations provided by the participants and, by extension, mediated the execution and subsequent interpretation of the present corpus. For that reason, it may be regarded as one instance of what I have referred to as collaborative reflexivity underlying the executed project.

Along similar lines, the long sample quote involving Melusine that forms the backbone of our analysis in chapter 7.4.3, for instance, would have been far less revealing had it not been for course instructor Mr. Müller-Richter’s insistent style of inquiry. Questions such as “Was für eine Qualität ergibt sich durch die Distanz?” (“What qualitative difference do you see in geographical distance?”), “Warum möchten Sie Abstand zum europäischen Denken haben?” (“Why do you feel you need distance from the European mindset?”) and “Haben Sie das Sehnsucht nach der Einsamkeit?” (“Are you longing for solitude?”) may be seen here as instrumental in generating the data that subsequently served as the grounding tropes of our analysis and interpretation of the notions of “new perspectives” and “open spaces” in language and intercultural learning. For that reason, Mr. Müller-Richter’s role in the exchange with Melusine may be seen as another instance of what we may refer to as collaborative reflexivity underlying the execution of CIRP 2000.

On the basis of these observations, it is therefore my conviction that the present project not only reflects but also consciously enacts the principles of reflexivity outlined above.
This chapter has served the purpose of presenting a critical discussion of the study's execution, analysis and findings. To this end, we initially looked at the implementation of the research design, such as information on when and where the project was carried out, in which classes data gathering took place and how the corpus material was subsequently transcribed. We then touched on the issue of profile compliance and explicated to what extent the participants included in the study met the profile criteria initially introduced in chapter 6.2. The chapter then proceeded with a critical analysis of selected passages from the corpus in accordance with the analytic approaches proposed at the end of chapter six. To this end, individual presentations were initially appreciated in their own right by focusing on just how CIRP 2000 participants variably story their identities. Self-presentations were then subjected to a comparative analysis with respect to the institutional setting, the potential role of local culture and the notions of narrative linkage and slippage as salient resources of self-enunciation. Finally, I offered a brief discussion of the extent to which the executed project may be regarded as informed by and committed to relational, narrative and collaborational reflexivity in qualitative research theory and practice.
8. From self-enunciation to language teaching: Towards a pedagogy of *encounter, engagement* and *exchange*

Having analysed a selection of the data generated for CIRP 2000, the present chapter may be seen as an attempt to extend this discussion beyond the mere facts of its execution and the concrete data of student presentations yielded in the process. In particular, I would like to place the project in the Applied Linguistics framework in which it originated. In this wider context, I would initially like to offer a brief review of the different theoretical perspectives underlying CIRP 2000 and traditional language pedagogy. In order to facilitate genuine *engagement and exchange* (Jack & Phipps, in press) in my own research activities, I will then attempt to discuss ways in which the project executed may be analytically harnessed by researchers with more traditional quantitative and experimental leanings. In this context, it is my intention to embrace the theoretical “other” by revisiting Byram’s (1997) model of Intercultural Communicative Competence (ICC) and to appreciate instances of self-enunciation from the CIRP 2000 corpus in the light of his pedagogical model.

I will then proceed to outline the extent to which instances of existing educational practices may be reflected in students’ self-presentations. I will focus here primarily on current curricular and infrastructural practices mentioned by participants in the CIRP 2000 project. Finally, I would like to adumbrate ways in which the executed project may inform key issues of language and intercultural learning, and may lead to new insights in contemporary language pedagogy. For that reason, this chapter is faced with a difficult task. Most of us involved in language and intercultural research will be aware of the complexities involved in the relationship between language learning and teaching. These potential associations are further complicated by CIRP 2000’s analytic interest not only in the theme of *language* learning, but also in potential overlaps with the notions of *culture* and *identity*, as we have seen in preceding chapters. It has been notoriously difficult to embrace the latter as part of traditional research designs in contemporary SLA theory and Applied Linguistics in general. The following discussion may thus be seen as an odd marriage of sorts between a qualitatively-inspired project and what clues it may hold to answer questions of interest to SLA scholars with quite traditional leanings. I shall try to approach these issues by addressing the following questions to be raised in this context:

In what ways is the present study conceptually different from traditional language pedagogy? Which concrete curricular and infrastructural practices related to existing language and intercultural pedagogy may be observed in the executed project? On a more interpretivist and speculative level, in what ways may a qualitative account of cultural identity in language and
intercultural learning inform contemporary language pedagogy? And to what extent can we transcend the complexities of the relationship between language learning and teaching by infusing current approaches to language teaching with insights gained from CIRP 2000?

In this wider context, it must be pointed out that my intended use of the term pedagogy primarily refers to general issues related to existing language learning and teaching infrastructures and curriculum planning. I am not concerned with 'micro' questions of what takes place in the classroom and have no intention to offer alternatives to the predominant communicative approach in FL pedagogy. The present theoretical discussion may therefore be regarded as an incentive to inspire a critical debate in contemporary language and intercultural pedagogy on a wide array of general themes underlying the CIRP 2000 project.

As a potential bridge between these contrasting conceptual frameworks underlying the present discussion, I would like to return to the images of encounter, engagement and exchange in the final section of this chapter. We may recall from our previous account of reflexivity in chapter five that these concepts are at the core of Jack & Phipps' (in press) proposed ethnography of the same name and constitute recurrent themes in LAIC as an emerging discipline. By articulating tentative ideas and preliminary suggestions in favour of a possible pedagogy of encounter, engagement and exchange for LAIC, it is my contention that the CIRP 2000 project may hold numerous interpretive possibilities to inform and inspire a new approach towards language and intercultural learning and teaching.

8.1. Traditional language pedagogy and CIRP 2000

The following section may be regarded as an attempt to approach the relationship between CIRP 2000 and traditional language pedagogy from a dual perspective. I would initially like to focus once more on the theoretical and conceptual differences between the present study and more traditional approaches to language and intercultural learning and teaching, such as Byram's (1997) model of ICC. Then, however, I would like to adumbrate ways in which the actual data yielded as a result of CIRP 2000 may be analytically embraced and interpreted by precisely such researchers with more traditional theoretical leanings. To this end, I will attempt to cite examples from CIRP 2000 presentations that may be said to illustrate different levels of intercultural competence in student performances.

By way of example, the first part of the following discussion could show parallels to an outline of cultural differences between the United States and Germany, for instance, with
respect to L2 education at university level. The second part, by contrast, could be compared to an attempt to "see the world through the eyes of the Other". To this end, it could set out to interpret sample narratives that are informed by one cultural value system, e.g., individual accounts by participants in the present study regarding their experiences with the German educational system, through the eyes of the cultural "Other", i.e., from an American perspective. We shall start out then with another brief review of the extent to which the present work may be seen as theoretically different from more conventional language and intercultural research.

### 8.1.1. A brief theoretical review

To what extent may CIRP 2000 be regarded as conceptually different from traditional approaches to language and intercultural pedagogy? This question has already been answered in part by the theoretical discussion on the notions of culture, language and identity in SLA and the emerging field of LAIC in preceding chapters. In particular, we have contrasted the qualitative and interpretivist premises of the present project with the more traditional and positivist perspectives underlying contemporary SLA/FLL literature, such as Byram (1997).

In this context, we may recall that Byram's (1997) book *Teaching and Assessing Intercultural Communicative Competence* set a marked contrast to existing Foreign Language Teaching (FLT) literature at the time of its publication and was seen by many as an attempt to move language and intercultural pedagogy in new directions. Byram's book seemed like an innovative approach to language and intercultural pedagogy, e.g., through its proposal of the intercultural speaker and the introduction of distinct yet interrelated competencies beyond linguistic competence alone (1997:73). A second look at Byram's model, however, reveals that it still tends to follow quite traditional FLT premises by virtue of its discourse, target audience and its ontological and epistemological underpinnings.

To recap briefly, we may recall that Byram (1997:73) separates linguistic from sociolinguistic, discourse and intercultural competence, and for the latter suggests distinct components, i.e., attitudes, knowledge, skills of interpreting and relating, skills of discovery and interaction and critical cultural awareness. In addition, Byram (1997 argues that students with high levels of ICC may experience a leap in insight (1997:105) that enables them to "decentre" (1997:34) and to stand above their own and other cultures (Meyer, 1991:141). In this context, Meyer (1991) also proposes three distinct levels of intercultural performance as a continuum. The latter include the monocultural level characterised by ethnocentric bias and
stereotypes, the intermediate intercultural level involving what Meyer refers to as the "here-and-there-method", i.e., a comparative approach based on value judgements yet capable of differentiation. Finally, Meyer proposes the transcultural level with a firm personal view and a commitment to "truth" and compromise as the most advanced stage of cross-cultural awareness.

As we have seen in part in our earlier discussion of ICC in chapter 2.2.1.1, Byram (1997:1) mostly elaborates on his key themes of assessment, evaluation, certification and the teaching of what he terms “transferable” skills. In particular, he is concerned with the complex relationship between language teaching and assessment and between setting contextually sensitive teaching objectives and assessing students’ intercultural performance (1997:29). For that reason, Byram’s discourse is characterised by key terms such as “components”, “parameters”, “degrees of ICC” and a concern with what he calls “objectivity in measurement” (1997:5). As argued before, Byram’s language may therefore be seen as couched primarily in the traditional quantitative discourse of structuralism and positivism suggesting a belief in an externally objective reality and thus in clearly observable and measurable characteristics of ICC.

CIRP 2000, by contrast, may be regarded as inspired by a multidisciplinary approach to research by drawing on a variety of disciplines including ethnography, anthropology, sociology and social theory, as we have seen in chapters three, four and five. Its aim, we may recall, can be seen in its attempt to gain further insight into the notion of cultural identity from a qualitative, interpretivist perspective. To this end, the proposed project set out to appropriate Holstein & Gubrium’s (2000) notion of narrative identity from sociology for a qualitative account of self-enunciation for language learning and intercultural contexts (cf., chapter four). On the latter, a brief look back at anthropology may serve to illustrate these differences in analytic perspective and objective. In this context, Geertz (1973:24), for instance, observes that:

“The besetting sin of interpretive approaches to anything -literature, dreams, symptoms, culture- is that they tend to resist, or to be permitted to resist, conceptual articulation and thus to escape systematic modes of assessment.”

Whereas more empirically-oriented researchers such as Byram (1997) are thus more concerned with issues of teachability and assessment, the present qualitative and interpretive work may be seen as committed to a descriptive account of individuals’ subjective experiential moorings as expressed in their narratives. This brief review of the present study’s
theoretical background suggests marked differences in how Self and Other, cross-cultural skills and the nature of language and intercultural learning are conceptually embraced in CIRP 2000 in contrast to more traditional FLT and intercultural pedagogy, such as in Meyer (1991) and Byram (1997). The project’s focus on individual discourse and personal narratives suggests a key interest in self-feeling, experience and the ability to narrativise such experiential moorings. CIRP 2000 may thus be said to follow relativist and subjectivist principles typically associated with qualitative and interpretivist research (Guba & Lincoln, 1989) as argued comprehensively in chapter five.

At the risk of oversimplifying the present observations, CIRP 2000 may be said to regard language and intercultural learning as *learning to narrativise our worlds and to verbalise our experience*. Byram’s (1997) model of ICC, by contrast, seems to regard language and intercultural learning as the *development of discrete and measurable critical skills to be taught and assessed in formal FLT environments*.

Despite these conceptual differences, it is my contention that the CIRP 2000 corpus may hold numerous interpretive possibilities to inspire and infuse contemporary language and intercultural pedagogy with new insights. In what follows, I would like to take yet another close look at the instances of self-enunciation provided by CIRP 2000 participants in an effort to adumbrate ways in which the project may inform issues of interest to more traditional language scholars.

8.1.2. A look through the eyes of the Other: Cross-cultural skills in CIRP 2000

To what extent could CIRP 2000 be of interest to language scholars with primarily quantitative and experimental leanings? Despite its qualitative and interpretivist moorings, it is my contention that the present work may also hold some appeal for interculturalists and language pedagogues that may come from a more traditional Applied Linguistics background than the approach chosen here. It is my aim in the following section to illustrate this point by turning back to Meyer (1991) and to Byram’s (1997) model of Intercultural Communicative Competence (ICC) in an attempt to appreciate instances of self-enunciation in the CIRP 2000 corpus from their perspective.

Revisiting Meyer (1991) and Byram (1997) in the context of CIRP 2000 may seem like trying to reconnect to an estranged ex-husband after a painful divorce acknowledging our fundamental differences yet also appreciating some of his better qualities. I have argued
earlier in chapter 2.1.3. that Byram and Meyer may be seen as following an overly structuralist approach by suggesting a high degree of linearity in the "development" of intercultural skills. At the same time, they tend to bracket out subjective changes in perceiving and viewing the world and other aspects related to Self and identity, as the latter do not lend themselves to quantitative analysis.

In addition, I have questioned in chapter 3.3.4 the ideal of a generic and all-encompassing affect implied in Byram’s model suggesting that our cross-cultural skills tend to be contingent on and mediated by our identification with particular cultures and languages. It has been my contention that we may be surprised at the hidden remnants of ethnocentrism, racism and irrational value judgements towards other cultures, if we dig deep enough into our own (cross-) cultural make-up. This is a position, we may recall, that is shared among others by LAIC scholars interested in psychoanalytical approaches to language and intercultural learning, such as Cormeraie (1999). Such “soul searching”, I believe, may be achieved in part by attempting to verbalise basic instincts and often irrational feelings, as practised on several occasions by participants in the CIRP 2000 corpus. I have argued that such deep-rooted bias may still persist, even though we may otherwise count as cross-culturally versed towards particular languages and culture, i.e., the ones we choose to identify with.

Despite these overall theoretical differences between Byram’s traditional, quantitative approach to what he terms “intercultural competence” and my own qualitative and interpretivist account of narratives of cultural selves in language and intercultural learning, a comparative look at the CIRP 2000 corpus suggests some marked differences between individual presentations. Some of these differences, it could be argued, may be attributed to participants’ particular level of cross-cultural awareness. In what follows, I would like to take a closer look at different student presentations in an effort to shed light on how they may be analytically embraced using Byram and Meyer’s theoretical model of what they regard as “intercultural competence”.

8.1.2.1. The monocultural level

As the first of three different levels of intercultural performance, Meyer (1991) sees the monocultural level as characterised by a highly one-sided and prejudiced worldview. The latter may therefore include marked instances of cultural clichés, sweeping stereotypes and noticeable ethnocentric bias (Meyer, 1991:140).
Due to the profile criteria used to delineate the scope of CIRP 2000 participants, it seems fair to suggest that none of the students involved in the study may be said to correspond to this lowest monocultural stage or what Meyer (1991) also refers to as the "zero-level". As postgraduate students in university translation and interpreting training, they may be expected to have at least some cross-cultural mediation skills, empathy and tolerance. This observation is confirmed by a critical look at the corpus. All of the included study participants can be said to display considerable language and cross-cultural skills. Their high proficiency in two or more languages has been confirmed by their successful completion of their undergraduate degree in translation. This qualification may also be seen as proof of some intercultural skills, as considerable cultural knowledge is required for successful translation work. In addition, none of the student presentations indicate instances of sweeping generalisations, ethnocentric comments or serious racial slurs. It may therefore be concluded that the chosen profile criteria of mobility, age, sex, language proficiency and education have successfully managed to limit the scope and boundaries of potential study subjects in CIRP 2000 by excluding individuals that may seriously lack even minimal levels of cross-cultural skills.

8.1.2.2. The intercultural level

The second level of intercultural performance is what Meyer refers to as the "sic-et-non method", i.e., the "here-and-th ere-method". At this intermediate level of cross-cultural mediation skill, the student may have developed a certain degree of awareness for cultural differences, tends to reject stereotypes and is mostly capable of differentiation. As a possible limitation, however, students at this level still often fail to use mediation and negotiation strategies and usually have not been able to adopt a firm personal position on a given subject (Meyer, 1991:141).

A critical analysis of the CIRP 2000 corpus suggests that several presentations in the study may be said to offer instances of the so-called intermediate intercultural level. In the following examples, let us consider two of these:

Sample 23: Sabine (novice group)

Also, ich finde, daß die Leute 'druben einfach herzlicher und offener sind, und hier sind die Leute oft sehr verschlossen. Und als ich dann nach Deutschland kam, dann war's so, daß ich durch die Straßen gelaufen bin, und ich die Leute dann einfach, die ich nicht kannte, dann bin ich ....ich dann Blickkontakt aufgenommen habe und ich 'Hallo' gesagt, haben sie mich ganz komisch angeschaut. Denn in Guatemala, da grüßt man halt zurück oder lächelt einen an. Also, es ist viel mehr ....Also, die Leute lächeln einfach viel mehr, und man traut sich dann auch eher, die anzusprechen [...]
Well, I think people over there are much friendlier and more open, while people here are often introverted. When I came back to Germany and walked along the street, there were people I didn’t know who would give me a weird look simply because I made direct eye contact with them and said Hello. Back in Guatemala, people return the greeting or smile. People tend to smile much more and therefore seem much more accessible. [...] 

Sample 24: Annika (novice group)

Wenn man da [in Deutschland] an der Kasse steht und mit ’nem Scheck bezahlen will und keinen Stift hat, dann drehen sich die Leute um und fangen an, groß über einen abzulastem, daß man keinen Stift dabei hat, während in Lateinamerika würden dann alle versuchen, einem zu helfen und jeder würde sagen: ‘Ach, komm’, is’ doch nicht so schlimm’, und ...irgendwie ist es vielmehr ein ‘für einander’ und ‘miteinander’ [...] 

A closer look at Sabine and Annika’s quotes reveals that both personal accounts are based on the participants’ subjective feelings regarding individual experiences in different parts of the world. Both are characterised by a differentiated account of personal anecdotes and individual impressions devoid of sweeping generalisations or stereotypes. However, both presentations are still indicative of an implicit value judgement suggesting that life in Latin America may be somehow “better” than in Germany. It is this comparative “here-and-there” approach and their failure to transcend such dichotomies that may be regarded as the main reason for why these presentations may be said to fall under what Meyer (1991) refers to as the intercultural level.

8.1.2.3. The transcultural level

Finally, Meyer (1991) regards the transcultural level as the highest possible and most ideal level of cross-cultural awareness and mediation skill with a focus on international cooperation and communication. In this context, Meyer (1991:142) points out, however, that students at this highest level should not be seen as "neutral" and uninvolved mediators. Instead, they may be seen as capable of developing their self-identity in the light of cross-cultural understanding. This process, Meyer (1991) argues, may require establishing a firm personal view, a commitment to “truth” and compromise and above all, the ability to stand above both one’s own and the foreign culture.

Turning once again to instances of self-enunciation provided by CIRP 2000 participants, the following quote seems to fall under the transcultural category outlined by Meyer (1991), as it
comes across as devoid of the implicit "here-and-there" value judgements commented on earlier in connection with Sabine and Annika's presentations.

Sample 25: Birte (novice group)

In the following English presentation, Birte is requested by Mr. Jenkins to talk about German preconceptions of Scandinavia:

I was asked to talk about the preconceptions we...Germans might have about Scandinavia... and...as I haven't really spent much time ...in Sweden or Norway... I'd just like to elaborate on Denmark. ....And I would like to concentrate on one preconception almost everyone of us will have....and that's...liberalism. We Germans....in general...think that, eh....Scandinavians are very liberal and their society is ...open for....every kind of new [giggle] ....social developments .......and I think that this preconception is partly justified, 'cause the ....Danish society is indeed quite permissive.  

There are, however, restrictions in Danish society which we don't have here in Germany. [...] From my experience, .....I can say that ....eh......although Danish society seems to be more liberal than ours, I don't feel that the young people, the young Danes are very much different from the young Germans. We have ...... similar ....plans ....for the future and similar ......ideas of life .....And ......older Danes can be ....even more conservative than old Germans, I think.

The quoted passage likewise offers a "tale of two nations" outlining differences between life in Germany and Denmark. In her presentation, Birte particularly elaborates on the concept of liberalism and concludes that neither country is more liberal than the other by carefully juxtaposing different positions and perspectives. Based on this observation, it seems plausible to suggest that Birte's presentation may be indicative of a higher level of cross-cultural skills equivalent to what Meyer (1991) refers to as the transcultural level by avoiding the kind of value judgement encountered in Samples 23 and 24.

In this context, it is also interesting to observe that the three included presentations from the final-year student group did not show more evidence of this highest cross-cultural level than those narratives provided by novice students. It seems possible to suggest here that students already require considerable intercultural mediation skills in order to successfully reach the postgraduate level in translation and interpreting training. For that reason, differences in cross-cultural skills between the two researched groups may be deemed negligible.

By revisiting Meyer (1991) and Byram (1997) in this way, it has been my intention to suggest alternative ways in which instances of self-enunciation from the CIRP 2000 corpus may be analysed and interpreted by scholars with different theoretical perspectives. To conclude this discussion, however, I would like to caution not to take individual narratives such as the quoted samples as absolute indicators of a particular level of ICC. In this context, we may wish to recall that individual instances of self-enunciation are always circumstantially realised and tend to be conditioned by the social and institutional context of their telling (Holstein & Gubrium, 2000). A seemingly cross-culturally competent individual in one situation may
turn out to be far less tolerant, empathetic and conciliatory in another, particularly if, in accordance with my earlier arguments, the new situation tends to involve a culture or language that the said individual does not identify with.

Following our discussion of possible levels of intercultural competence in CIRP 2000, I would now like to turn to issues of language and intercultural pedagogy and discuss the extent to which the present study may be used to inform issues of interest to scholars in FLT and intercultural communication.

8.2. On existing educational practices

As indicated earlier in chapter 7.2, the participants of the cultural identity research project were all chosen according to the profile criteria of mobility, socio-economic status, age, sex, language proficiency and education as a way of delineating the scope and boundaries of study subjects considered for CIRP 2000. The instances of self-enunciation provided by the study subjects of both the novice and final-year groups mostly reflect their compliance with these profile criteria and the advanced levels of their language and intercultural skills.

As postgraduate students in translation and interpreting programmes, however, the participants in the present study may not be regarded as “prototypical” language learners. What are some of the educational practices that these individuals may have been exposed to in order to achieve such high language and intercultural skills? In what ways do narratives in our corpus suggest that existing educational practices may facilitate language learning and cross-cultural awareness raising? By attempting to find tentative answers to these questions, it is my contention that we may appreciate first what is done right in existing FL education before suggesting ways in which the findings of the present study may be seen as a new source of enrichment for contemporary language and intercultural pedagogy.

8.2.1. Student exchange programmes

Several study participants mentioned in their self-presentations that their study of and engagement with the “other” language and culture have been significantly aided by their participation in student exchange schemes while they were attending secondary school. The impact of such exchange programmes seems to become even more significant the earlier the
exchange takes place. To illustrate this point, let us consider some instances of self-enunciation taken from the corpus:

Sample 26: Judith (novice group)

[...] Ich bin im Remstal auf's Gymnasium gegangen, und hab'...ehm...dort mich schon ziemlich früh für Sprachen interessiert, im Prinzip. Das heißt, in der siebten Klasse bin ich zum ersten Mal nach Frankreich mit zum Austausch, und...das Land hat mich so dermalen fasziniert, daß...ich dann...mich auch wirklich 'drangesetzt hab' und Französisch gelernt hab'. Also, das war sehr interessant. Englisch hat mich zwar auch interessiert, aber...da hab' ich nie so den Draht dazu bekommen. Aber, dadurch, daß ich eben an dem Französischtausch teilgenommen hab', hab' ich sofort gewußt, wozu ich die Sprache lern', und...das war einfach...die Motivation dazu, dann mich da auch wirklich 'reinzuhängen'. [...]

Ansonsten, ...bin ich ...in meiner Heimatstadt, also in Weinstadt im Remstal, noch im Partnerschaftsverein von 'ner deutsch-französischen Partnerschaft. Also, eben, seit der siebten Klasse bin ich da mit der Partnerstadt in Kontakt und hab' auch heute noch'n guten Draht zu meiner Austauschpartnerin von damals. [...]

Courtesy Translation:

[...] I went to High School in Remstal and, basically, developed an early interest in languages. In seventh grade, I took part for the first time in an exchange programme with France and became so fascinated by that country that I became very motivated to study French. That was very interesting, I must say. I thought English was interesting also, but I never developed such close ties to it. Because I took part in the exchange with France, however, I knew from square one why I studied the language and that provided me with the motivation to try extra hard. [...]

Back home in Weinstadt/Remstal I am also actively involved in our local association for Franco-German city twinnings. As I said, I have been in touch with our twin city since seventh grade and I am still in touch today with my former exchange partner. [...]

Sample 27: Stefan (novice group)

[...] In der Schule hab' ich dann auch in der siebten Klasse 'nen Austausch gemacht mit Frankreich...und hab' dann auch gemerkt, daß mich eben viel mit Frankreich verbindet. Ich weiß nicht, ich hab' mich da sofort wohl gefühlt...Ehm,......wußte dann auch wofür ich die Sprache lern'. Deswegen war ich sehr motiviert und hab' dort auch gemerkt, daß mich eben fremde Kulturen sehr interessieren. Das hat sich dann auch...eh, fortgesetzt. Ich hab' dann Russisch genommen....in der elften Klasse. Das konnte man als......naja, als Grundkurs konnte man es nehmen, auch im Abitur, aber es war'n ziemlich niedriges Niveau. Wir haben auch 'nen Austausch gemacht.....mit Rußland und...eh......so hat sich dann meine Liebe zu Rußland...eh...aufgebaut. [...]

Courtesy Translation:

[...] At school in seventh grade I also took part in an exchange programme with France...and realised that I felt a great affinity for the country. I don't know...I felt so at ease there right away. Ehm, that's why I knew why I studied the language too. So I became very motivated and noticed my great interest in other cultures. This continued later as well. I started studying Russian...in eleventh grade. It was possible to study Russian as an elective then and to choose Russian for the final exams, but the level was quite low. We then also had an exchange with Russia and...that’s how my love towards Russia was born. [...]

Both narratives stress the vital importance of early school exchange programmes and city twinnings as a way to lay the foundations for intercultural encounter, engagement and exchange. Judith’s account in particular highlights the long-lasting impact that such
encounters may have on individuals’ long-term engagement with the Other. In similar terms, Stefan’s story suggests that his interest in places as far away as Russia has been particularly aided by Russian language courses offered in High School and subsequent exchange visits. Both accounts also implicitly suggest that the affective impact of such exchange schemes on learners may be greatest if introduced as early as seventh grade, i.e., around age 12, or even before. In view of the fact that adolescence and puberty constitute vital periods for individual identity formation, the quoted samples illustrate the extent to which an early confrontation with the Other during that formative period may significantly contribute to individuals’ successful language and intercultural learning.

8.2.2. The High School year abroad programme

A closer look at extracts from the corpus also indicates that spending a year abroad in High School may significantly impact on identity formation and language and intercultural learning. Such High School year abroad schemes are quite common for secondary students in Germany, where the study participants are originally from. The potential impact of the year abroad scheme, however, may even go beyond its actual target group by raising interest, curiosity and envy among students not privileged enough to take part in such schemes, as the following sample quote may suggest:

**Sample 28: Dagmar (novice group)**

English presentation provided by speaker in class:

[... ] And right after school, I decided to go to the US to work there at Disney World, Florida, ’cause I don’t know when it started, may be when I was fourteen, fifteen, when some of my friends went to this High School year. I was kind of....well, not jealous, but I thought, well, I would like to go there too, but it’s expensive and so on... so I decided to go there by myself to work there, [...]

In Dagmar’s case, the High School year abroad scheme was beyond her family’s financial means while she attended secondary school, but seeing some of her peers leave for the United States during that time inspired and motivated her enough to pave the way for her own later study and work visit. The existence of the High School year abroad programme therefore contributed to raising her interest in the Other and, by extension, indirectly facilitated her language and intercultural learning.
8.2.3. Au Pair programmes

Other examples from the corpus reveal that Au Pair placement schemes may serve a similar function of confronting students directly with the issue of Otherness in language and intercultural learning. Several CIRP 2000 participants mentioned in the study how they decided to go abroad and work as Au Pairs in host families after graduating from High School. The following sample quote may seem particularly illustrative here:

Sample 29: Simone (final-year group)

[...Danach 'n...war ich auf'm Gymnasium...und danach... war ich als Au Pair Mädchen 'n Jahr lang auf Tenerifa...Da hab' ich meine Liebe zu Spanisch entdeckt...und das war sicherlich einer der Gründe, warum ich jetzt hier in Heidelberg seit fast fünf einhalb Jahren Dolmetschen studiere. [...]]

Courtesy Translation:

[...After that.... I went to High School ...and after that....I worked as an Au Pair on Tenerife for a year. ...This is where I discovered my love for Spanish....and I am sure this was one of the reasons why I have been here in Heidelberg now for almost five years studying to become an interpreter. [...]

Au Pair programmes, however, tend to be somewhat more problematic than student exchanges or High School year abroad schemes. The former are mostly available to female students only and, most importantly, do not always guarantee a successful immersion in the target language and a direct confrontation with the cultural Other. Au Pair students often tend to be marginalised and fail to socialise with locals. It seems questionable whether this isolation tends to be self-imposed or is due to societal responses. The potential problems of Au Pair placement schemes, for instance, are illustrated by the following quote from the corpus:

Sample 30: Birte (novice group)

[...] Als diese Schule dann zu Ende war, nach den vier Monaten, bin ich praktisch sofort nach Irland gegangen ....und hab' dort 'n halbes Jahr als Au Pair gearbeitet in Dublin. Das hat mir nicht so gut gefallen ...

[giggle], erstens weil ...der Erziehungsstil der Familie, in der ich da gelebt und gearbeitet hab', nicht so ganz meinen Vorstellungen entsprochen hat. [...] ...Mmh, nach dem halben Jahr war ich dann recht froh, wieder weg zu sein, obwohl es mir in Irland an sich schon ganz gut gefallen hat. Allerdings hatte ich natürlich auch das Problem, das viele Au Pairs haben, daß sie nämlich kaum Einheimische kennenlernen, sondern vor allem andere Au Pairs .....aus dem gleichen Land oder aus anderen Ländern. Und ... man findet da nicht so richtig den Zugang zu den Einheimischen. [...]]

Courtesy Translation:

[...] Four months later, when I completed my course at that school, I left immediately for Ireland and worked there for six months as an Au Pair in Dublin. I didn't care for it too much...[giggle], primarily because I didn't quite agree with how my host family raised their children. ...[...] Mmh, after those six months, I was pretty happy to leave, even though I quite enjoyed Ireland as such. However, of course I had the same problem as many Au Pairs, namely, that they hardly meet locals and mostly socialise with other Au Pairs... from their own country or elsewhere. And that makes it hard to meet locals. [...]

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As Birte's comments indicate, her impressions of Ireland were formed primarily in the context of her experiences as an Au Pair in a local host family. She disapproved of the parents' educational style and, most importantly, failed to socialise with locals and hardly became exposed to the local language and culture. Even though Birte's experiences may not apply to all Au Pair placement schemes in general, her quote nonetheless suggests that Au Pair programmes tend to be a two-edged sword with respect to their impact on language and intercultural learning. Similar concerns have been raised by scholars at the annual CCC conference in Leeds, as the following quote from the 1999 conference illustrates:

"Speaking English, the international language of foreigners in Japan, expressed the students' identity as members of 'the Gaijin (foreigner) Club'. For those with weak language skills, mixing in this foreigner world was detrimental to culture learning, as easy communication in English was often more attractive that the more demanding interaction in Japanese" (Pearson-Evans, in press)

On the basis of these observations, it may therefore be concluded that Au Pair placement schemes tend to be of relative benefit for students in language and intercultural learning. Although they provide students with the initial incentive to go abroad and temporarily relocate, such programmes may not always guarantee intercultural experiences conducive to greater language and cross-cultural mediation skills.

8.2.4. Work abroad schemes

A critical look at self-presentations in the CIRP 2000 corpus also suggests that Work abroad schemes may play a significant role in facilitating language and intercultural learning by offering students the possibility to temporarily live and work in another country. Most importantly, such schemes are also available to those who may not be able to afford the cost of student exchange visits or High School year abroad programmes, as the following example from CIRP 2000 illustrates:

**Sample 31: Dagmar (novice group)**

English presentation provided by speaker in class:

[...] so I decided to go there by myself to work there, found out that there is this "cultural representative" programme by Epcot Center and.. applied for it...and it worked out good... So I went there, worked there for a year... and of course, when you're there, you've got to see all the places. [...]

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Work abroad schemes, however, also tend to incur similar problems as Au Pair programmes by tempting students to socialise primarily with other programme participants and to settle for a “work hard - play hard” mindset that may thwart the work scheme’s original mission to foster diversity and encourage intercultural exchange. The following comment from Dagmar’s presentation may be seen as highly fitting in this context:

**Sample 32: Dagmar (novice group)**

English presentation provided by speaker in class:

[...] The work at Disney...well...it's...you have like fifty people from eleven different countries, and they're all in the age of nineteen to twenty-six, about this. And it's a big...party. You just work [insecure laughter], and after work you just meet with friends and go out and...it's not comparable to anything....any normal life at all....[...]

As we may conclude from Dagmar’s account, work schemes such as Disney’s “cultural representative programme” may be regarded as a welcome opportunity for students to temporarily live and work abroad. They may not always, however, pave the way for a critical confrontation with the language and culture of the local Other.

### 8.2.5. Majors, minors and electives in High School

Several participants mentioned in their self-introductions how their interest in studying languages was encouraged early in their selective secondary school, i.e., “Gymnasium” in a German context, by the large variety of language courses offered at different points of their school career. To illustrate this point, let us first consider the following quote from Kristina:

**Sample 33: Kristina (final-year group)**

Ich war in sofern auf Sprachen ausgerichtet, daß ich jede Sprache gemacht hab', die irgendwie angeboten wurde... Also, in der Fünften Englisch, ist klar, dann im ...in der Siebten habe ich Latein gemacht ....[externally provoked laughter]..... In der Neunten Französisch ... und dann in der Elften Italienisch...Ich hatte auch Italienisch im Abi [...]

*Courtesy Translation:*

[In school] I was geared towards languages in the sense that I took any language course that was offered. Which means that in fifth grade I took English, of course, then in seventh grade I started with Latin...then with French in ninth and Italian in Eleventh grade. I also took Italian in my finals. [...]

We may conclude from these remarks that offering as many different language courses as early as possible may give learners ample opportunities to opt for an academic track involving languages as early as secondary school. In addition, it allows students to choose the language
combinations most suited for them and to pave the way for a later career involving languages and intercultural communication, such as the interpreting programme in which the CIRP 2000 participants are enrolled.

The German educational system also allows students to add or drop particular subjects in tune with their personal tastes and talents. This system enables learners to discover their particular strong points and to optimise their academic performance in class. To illustrate the latter, let us return to Judith:

Sample 34: Judith (novice group)

 [...] in der siebten Klasse bin ich zum ersten Mal nach Frankreich mit zum Austausch, und ...das Land hat mich so dermaßen fasziniert, daß...ich dann ...mich auch wirklich 'drangesetzt hab' und Französisch gelernt hab'. [...] ich hab' dann in der zwölften und dreizehnten auch Französisch LK gemacht ...und Kunst LK, ...und ...ich hab' mir ziemlich lang überlegt, ob ich Kunst studieren soll, oder ob ich Sprachen studieren soll. [...]  

Courtesy Translation:

 [...] In seventh grade, I took part for the first time in an exchange programme with France and was so fascinated by that country that I became very motivated to study French. [...] That's why in twelfth and thirteenth grade, I took French as a major....along with Arts, and for a long time I was wondering whether to study Fine Arts or languages. [...]  

As Judith’s comments demonstrate, her early interest in French is mostly due to her participation in a French student exchange programme in seventh grade. For that reason, she opted for French as her major in the last 5 semesters of secondary school. Of course, the notion of majors and minors is a common feature of Anglo-American undergraduate programmes at university level. What is most remarkable in the German context, however, is that these course options are available to students as early as eleventh grade in secondary school, i.e. around age 16. I would like to conclude this observation with another quote from the corpus illustrating the high degree of choice and flexibility granted students at an early stage in their curriculum planning:

Sample 35: Annika (novice group)

 [...] in Hessen hatte ich dann das Glück, daß ich Mathe abwählen konnte nach der zwölf [giggle]...und, ehm, ...hatte dann im Abitur auch nur Bio als drittes Fach. Der Rest war dann Spanisch, Englisch und Deutsch. [...]  

Courtesy Translation:

 [...] Back in Hesse, I was lucky enough to opt out of maths after twelfth grade, ...and in my finals, ehm,...I only had biology as my third subject. My majors were Spanish, English and German. [...]
In addition to language classes offered at secondary school or university level, individuals may gain access to the cultural Other by enrolling in optional training courses in what is known in Germany as a Volkshochschule and may conceptually overlap in English with the role of community colleges in the US or adult education centres in the UK. Such “schools” may present learners with rather economical and diversified ways to deepen their cultural knowledge and language skills. In addition, their qualifications gained as the result of such instruction may improve students’ work prospects and shape their personal histories. In the following passage, for instance, Birte offers a lucid account of her experiences at a similar educational institution in Denmark called “Folkehojskole”, which allowed her to choose from a variety of classes and to become fluent in Danish:

Sample 36: Birte (novice group)

In Skandinavien gibt’s ...‘ne besondere Art von Schule ....Also auf Dänisch nennt die sich “Folkehojskole”. Wenn man das übersetzt, wörtlich heißt das dann “Volkshochschule”....Das ist aber ‘was anderes, als die Volkshochschule, die man hierzulande hat ...Es ist eher ‘ne Mischung aus ‘nem Internat und ‘ner Volkshochschule. Da kann also jeder hin, egal, wie alt er ist, egal, was für ‘nen Hintergrund er hat ...und man kann sich dort aus dem Fächerspektrum, was angeboten wird, die Sachen aussuchen, die man gerne machen möchte ...sofern sie eben ....man muß sich da halt seinen Stundenplan zusammenbasteln

Birte’s account aptly illustrates how her participation in and exposure to classes at the “Folkehojskole” in Denmark allowed her to freely interact with native speakers of Danish and to become quite fluent in their language. It remains questionable to what extent Birte may be able to get official credit for these classes and transfer credits towards her degree in Germany or elsewhere. Accreditation issues notwithstanding, Birte’s experiences in Denmark suggest that educational institutions accessible to the general public regardless of their citizenship, educational background or financial standing may play a vital role in facilitating language and intercultural learning by way of exposure and immersion.
8.2.7. Advanced language crash courses at university

The Institute for Translation and Interpreting at Heidelberg University, Germany, where CIRP 2000 was carried out, offers learners the opportunity to learn an entirely new language from scratch by enrolling in an advanced language crash course called Propädeutikum in German. These language courses are quite unique insofar as they enable learners to become acquainted with the grammatical and lexical foundations of another language up to a level at which they may be regarded as “proficient” enough after only one semester to participate with other students in classes of translation and Landeskunde, a German version of area studies.18

Several participants in the present study mentioned in their self-presentations that they decided to opt for such crash courses as a way to broaden their language skills and to redirect their personal engagement with the Other towards languages and cultures that had previously not featured as prominently in their educational history.

Sample 37: Catharina (novice group)

[…] Ich studiere ...Französisch und Russisch hier am...IUD. Ich hab' das Propädeutikum gemacht, als ich angekommen bin, weil ich noch kein Wort Russisch sprach damals. Mitterweile geht's ganz gut, denk' ich. […]

Courtesy translation:

[…] I am studying French and Russian here...at the Institute. When I first arrived, I enrolled in the language crash-course, because I didn’t speak a single word of Russian back then. I have come quite a ways since then, I would say. […]

Sample 38: Birte (novice group)

[…] Ich hab' nichts anderes mehr gemacht vorher und hab' eben das Russischpropädeutikum gemacht. Ich hab' mir gedacht: Jetzt kannst Du schon Französisch aus der Schule, Dänisch und Englisch. Jetzt musst Du mal 'was anderes machen noch'...und dann hab' ich mir überlegt, daß Russisch vielleicht gar nicht schlecht wär' .....und hab' dann ....zusammen mit Katharina das Russischpropädeutikum hier gemacht, .....was mir großen Spaß gemacht hat. Deswegen bin ich dann natürlich auch dabei geblieben und ....Jetzt hab' ich Vordiplom gemacht, bin jetzt im sechsten Semester. […]

Courtesy Translation:

[…] I started nothing else before this and then decided to take the crash-course in Russian. I thought I already knew French from High School, plus Danish and English and that it was time to add something entirely different. Then I thought that Russian would be a good idea and decided to join Catharina in the Russian crash-course. That was a lot of fun, which is why I decided to stay. I have just passed my undergraduate exams, and I am now in my sixth semester here. […]

As these examples taken from the corpus may help to illustrate, advanced language crash courses offered at the very beginning of university language and translation programmes may enable learners to diversify their language and intercultural skills, redirect their personal
interests and, in the process, broaden their cultural horizons. They may thus become exposed to new modes of cultural thinking previously unavailable to them during their prior studies in secondary school.

In this wider context, it must also be stressed that learners may often opt for such crash courses for reasons beyond those of personal enrichment. In many cases, instrumental reasons, such as better job prospects and profitability, may emerge as additional incentives for students to learn a new language from scratch in a foreign language Propädäeutikum. To illustrate this instrumental aspect of language learning, I would like to conclude the discussion of current educational practices with yet another sample narrative from CIRP 2000:

Sample 39: Dagmar (novice group)

Mr. Müller-Richter: [...] das erstaunliche ist jetzt eigentlich für mich, daß Sie Spanisch als zweite Fremdsprache haben und daß Brasilien quasi doch im Grund das Portugiesische mitbringt.....

Dagmar: [laughter]...statt Portugiesisch......Ich hatte gedacht, ich probier' einfach mal 'ne neue Fremdsprache. ...Spanisch ist ja dem Portugiesischen sehr ähnlich. 'Is mir dann bei dem Erlernen ...der neuen Sprache auch einfacher gefallen, sowohl grammatikalisch als auch vom Vokabular das zu erlernen, und hab' dann gedacht, [....]daß man es als dritte Sprache vielleicht noch mit nebenherlaufen läßt. [....]

Courtesy Translation:

Mr. Müller-Richter: [...] what I find most remarkable is that you chose Spanish as your second foreign language and that your Brazilian background would naturally entail Portuguese...

Dagmar: [laughter]...instead of Portuguese...I thought I’d simply try a new language....As we know, Spanish is quite similar to Portuguese, which made it easier for me in my studies....both in terms of grammar and vocabulary. And I thought I could keep it [Portuguese] then as an additional third foreign language. [....]

In the preceding discussion, it has been my aim to demonstrate the extent to which existing curricular and infrastructural practices in contemporary FL education may contribute to higher language proficiency levels and advanced cross-cultural skills in language learners, as illustrated by sample quotes from CIRP 2000 participants.

A retrospective look at the practices mentioned in this context, including student exchange programmes, work abroad or Au Pair placement schemes, indicates that most of these curricular and infrastructural aspects are not directly related to actual FL teaching methods, classroom practices and instruction types. In this context, it is my contention that the

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18 Crash course participants’ levels of proficiency are routinely tested in traditional language placement tests upon completion of the Propädäeutikum to ensure their successful participation in “regular” translation and area studies classes.
qualitative nature and limited scope of the present study may not allow sweeping conclusions about the environment and context of successful L2 learning. It is my belief that such general recommendations may seriously violate the relativist and subjectivist principles that CIRP 2000 is grounded on.

We may observe in the present corpus, however, that student exchange programmes, city twinnings, work abroad and Au Pair placement schemes, curriculum planning issues and the provision of language crash courses at university may shed light on the broader social context in which successful language and intercultural learning takes place. In the process, the inclusion or exclusion of such courses and programmes has a significant impact on confronting learners head-on with the language and culture of the Other, thus offering them ways to broaden their language and cross-cultural mediation skills. Of course, most FL educators and curriculum planners may already be aware of the potential benefits that the inclusion of such educational practices may have for students’ successful language and intercultural learning. Educators’ goals, however, may often be formulated in categories quite different from the experiential account of study participants on the transformative impact of such practices. It is therefore reasonable to assume that the present study may shed a different light on the potential role of such existing educational practices on students’ individual learning experiences.

8.3. Key themes and initial recommendations

"To propose a pedagogy is to propose a political vision." (Simon in Norton, 2000:146)

After our discussion of existing educational practices mentioned in the context of the CIRP 2000 corpus, it is the aim of the following section to take a closer look at the study’s potential theoretical contributions to language and intercultural pedagogy. In this respect, the discussion of key themes underlying CIRP 2000 and possible recommendations for FL and intercultural teaching practice must be seen as much more abstract, tentative and interpretive than the concrete provision of exchange programmes or Au Pair schemes mentioned in the previous section. Scholars looking for concrete, "hands-on" suggestions on how we may move beyond the “communicative method” in FL instruction may thus be disappointed by my ensuing remarks.

By contrast, if we seek to be inspired by instances of self-enunciation such as those in the present corpus, learn about learners’ subjective experiential moorings and gain further
insights into the experiential and transformative nature of language and intercultural learning, then the following discussion may serve as a possible source of enrichment. In this wider context, I would like to echo Norton (2000:152) by arguing that infusing a socio-theoretical framework for language and intercultural learning with new insights from qualitative studies is quite different from proposing entirely new teaching methods. As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, it is neither the explicit aim nor the underlying raison d'être of CIRP 2000 to do this.

In this spirit, I would like to approach the relationship between key themes in CIRP 2000 and LAIC by attempting to find tentative answers to the following questions. To what extent may a qualitative account of identity in language and intercultural learning help to provide new insights for a critical theory and practice of contemporary language pedagogy? In which ways may key themes of CIRP 2000 and LAIC help us to lay the foundations for a new account of language and intercultural learning by attempting to reformulate its aims, methods and procedures in the light of a critical and socially responsive “pedagogy of encounter, engagement and exchange”?

It is my contention that a closer look at the rich data provided by study participants and a theoretical consideration of themes, motifs and principles underlying the data may help us to pave the way for new perspectives on the experiential and social nature of language and intercultural learning. In the process, such new perspectives may enable us to recast the story of L2 learning and teaching in the new light of a qualitative, interpretivist paradigm.

8.3.1. Language and intercultural learning as transformative and experiential

"...die Kultur, die Musik irgendwie. Das geht einem schon ins Gefühlsleben über ..."
"...the culture and the music...somehow...deeply affect the way you feel ...

(Lena, CIRP 2000, courtesy translation provided by author)

As Lena’s quote suggests, language and intercultural learning has a significant affective dimension that often cannot be harnessed by more traditional FLT approaches concerned with the acquisition of grammar, lexis and “facts” about the target culture. The clearest insight gained from the self-presentation in CIRP 2000 is that language and intercultural learning is not factual but experiential. This observation shows significant parallels to Williams’ (1977) seminal work on what he refers to as “practical consciousness” and “structures of feeling”. In this context, Williams writes:
"[...] practical consciousness is what is actually being lived, and not only what it is thought is being lived." (1977:131)

This change of focus from factual to experiential learning implies a key role for individual experience and self-feeling. By extension, it also indicates that language and intercultural learning is social and unfolds in interaction. The findings of the present study therefore suggest that the relationship between language learners and their social worlds constitutes a vital not a marginal concern for a better and more successful understanding of language and intercultural learning, as confirmed by Norton’s (2000) influential SLA research on immigrant women in Canada. On the latter, for instance, Candlin (2000) observes:

"[The elements] of social activity, setting and context all impinge directly upon the experiences of these selves and these identities" (Candlin, 2000:XVIII, emphasis added)

Supporting some of the main arguments of Norton (2000), the vital role of individual experience in successful language and intercultural learning is likewise reflected in the present corpus. The following excerpt from Dagmar’s presentation, for instance, may be seen here as a case in point:

**Sample 40: Dagmar (novice group)**

[...] [Meine sieben Jahre in Brasilien] haben mich so sehr, weit geprägt, daß ich ...ehm, also, immer damit konfrontiert war, auch dann jetzt andere Mentalitäten kennenzulernen, zu akzeptieren. Es war während der gesamten Schulzeit auch immer so, daß in unsere Klasse nach jeden Ferien kamen neue Kinder hinzuzuraten. Die mußten, wurden ganz selbstverständlich integriert. Also, es ...man wurde vielmehr Neuen und Fremden geöffnet. [...]

Courtesy translation:

[...] [My seven years in Brazil] have significantly affected me in the sense that I was always confronted with different mindsets and was taught to accept them. During my entire time in school, new children joined our class after every vacation and it was a natural thing to integrate them. So....we were always taught to be open towards anything new and different. [...]

Dagmar’s narrative implies that individual experiences and social interaction may be at the core of a critical engagement with the Other and, by extension, of successful language and intercultural learning. How can such experiential and interactive learning unfold? In this context, it must be noted that the notions of transformation and experiential learning refer to both the process and outcome of such learning. Our past experiences and our feelings towards them may impinge on our perceptions and thus mediate the nature and outcome of cross-cultural encounters and their subsequent impact on our memory, knowledge and, in turn, on our emotive make-up. Let us turn back to the writings of Williams (1977:130) for further insight:
“[...] practical consciousness is always more than a handling of fixed forms and units. There is frequent tension between the received interpretation and practical experience.”

Parallels may be drawn here between Williams’ statement and Dagmar’s narrative in the preceding sample quote, i.e., what Williams refers to as “received interpretation” is the way in which each person interprets a particular situation, which then shapes their respective experiences and feelings. Following Williams’ reasoning, Dagmar’s account therefore suggests that such learning may be conceived of as quite different from factual, linear or cumulative learning. It may instead be understood as transformative in the sense that it tends to forever change the way we feel towards a particular person, language and culture. Let us briefly turn again to critical pedagogy for further insight:

“Critical energy cannot be imparted; it cannot be handed on as if it were a commodity.”
(Barnett, 1997:172)

At the risk of oversimplification, CIRP 2000 therefore suggests that language and intercultural learning is about broadening minds and changing lives. Analytically, we may draw these conclusions by looking at individual instances of narrative. They are powerful accounts of the transformative nature of language and intercultural learning. The following quote may be seen as particularly illustrative here:

Sample 41: Annika (novice group)

[...] dort [in Chile] hab' ich dann erstmal drei Jahre mich nicht sehr wohl gefühlt [...] und ja.....hab' mich [...] zurückgewünscht, nach Hause, nach Wiesbaden, und ...das hat sich dann aber schlagartig geändert, weil.....ehm.....mein Bruder irgendwann sich an der deutschen Schule nicht mehr wohl gefühlt hat und dann auf 'ne chilenische Schule gegangen ist. [...] Ja, und über ihn hab' ich dann sehr schnell andere Leute kennengelernt, richtige Chilenen, sag' ich mal, die einfach auch aus der Mittelschicht kamen, und hab' dann die letzten drei Jahre mich dort sehr wohl gefühlt, hab' sehr viele Chilenen kennengelernt und mich sehr aktiv auch in der Jugendgruppe beteiligt.

[•••]

Courtesy translation:

There (in Chile) I spent the first three years feeling miserable and longing for our home back in Wiesbaden. That changed quite suddenly, however, when my brother no longer liked the German school and was switched to a Chilean school. It was through him that I soon started to meet new people, real Chileans, so to speak, ordinary middle class people. So the last three years I felt very much at ease there, met tons of Chileans and was actively involved in the local youth association […]

Annika’s account indicates the extent to which her feelings for Chile changed over a comparatively short period of time. New encounters, individual experiences and personal changes, such as her brother’s exposure to “real” Chileans at a local school, may pave the way for what has been referred to at the 2000 CCC conference in Leeds as “transformation of
consciousness” (cf., Appendix III). By extension, they may forever change our perceptions, alter our vision and lay the foundations for our affective involvement and heightened engagement with the Other. As Williams (1977:132) observes in this context:

“[Structures of feeling are] not feeling against thought, but thought as felt and feeling as thought: practical consciousness of a present kind, in a living and inter-relating continuity.”

8.3.2. Enacting the notion of space: critical pedagogy revisited

“We children, not rooted to white stolen land, must find our rest in small spaces, our home in small secure places of our own making.” (Yee, 1993 in Norton, 2000:60)

A critical analysis of our corpus reveals numerous instances of self-enunciation in which the notion of space features prominently, both in physical and figurative terms (cf., chapter 7.3.3). The notion of space is also embraced conceptually in Hoffman’s (1989) account of her experiences of immigrant life in North America, as exemplified in the following observation:

“The distances, in America, are still the salient thing. The large facts of geographic distances and the smaller facts of the distances between apartments and offices and houses inform the most intimate distances between us.” (1989:267)

Building on the discussion in the preceding chapter, I would like to return to an extract taken from Melusine’s contribution in an effort to identify ways in which the principle of space may be enacted physically and metaphorically in language and intercultural learning. In fact, Melusine’s account illustrates that in such intercultural spaces, the physical and metaphorical are mutually inclusive. This time, I have decided to boldface key terms indicative of physical and metaphorical interspace in the following exchange:

Sample 42: Melusine (novice group)

_Mr. Müller-Richter:_ ...aber weshalb gerade Australien?
_Melusine:_ ...Ja, weil es schon weiter weg ist ...[giggle]
_Mr. Müller-Richter:_ [giggle] ...weil es weit weg ist? ...[giggle] Was für eine Qualität ergibt sich durch die Distanz?
_Melusine:_ Ich weiß ja nicht, also, ...neue Perspektiven vor allem ...also, daß man ein bisschen Abstand gewinnt von ...Europa ...immer dieses europäische Denken halt ...[...]
_Mr. Müller-Richter:_ Etwas arbeitet doch in Ihnen, das Ihnen sagt, Sie fühlen sich hier irgendwie eingezogen ....
_Melusine:_ Ja ...irgendwie schon genau ...also, ich muß auch die Weite des Raums irgendwie ...eigentlich ...[...]
_Mr. Müller-Richter:_ ...da wollen Sie dann unbedingt die Weite suchen [giggle] ...und nicht daß Weite suchen ...[general laughter] ...oder das Weite suchen, um die Weite zu finden ...[general laughter] [...]

Courtesy translation:

_Mr. Müller-Richter:_ ...but why Australia?
_Melusine:_ ...because it is so far away ...[giggle]
_Mr. Müller-Richter:_ ...because it's far away? [giggle] ...What qualitative difference do you see in geographical distance?
Melusine: …I’m not sure… but new perspectives, above all, …to gain some distance from …Europe and the European mindset…[…]

Mr. Müller-Richter: Some inner voice inside of you must be telling you that you feel somewhat claustrophobic here…

Melusine: …Yes…exactly…and I also like vast open spaces…[…]

Mr. Müller-Richter: [making use of a popular pun in German] …well…looking for open spaces rather than being on the run…[giggle] …well, …don’t run away from us too far to look for those spaces [general laughter] […]

As we argued in our discussion in chapter 7.3.3, Melusine appears to feel claustrophobic in her present time and place, seems to long for a distant, far-away land with vast open spaces in an effort to gain new perspectives. She seems to lack, however, a basic insight into the concrete forms that this place may take. Where should she go? Australia, Sweden, Russia, anywhere but the here and now?

It is my contention in this context that we may draw parallels between such spatial metaphors and the ethical objectives of language and intercultural pedagogy. It is my belief that LAIC can and should play a key ethical role in exposing learners to new modes of Otherness with the objective of fostering a critical engagement with the language and culture of the Other. This view of ‘ethical’ regards LAIC as instrumental in helping learners “locate” themselves, channel their feelings and “attachments” and gain greater insight into the relative nature of particular world views in the process. By extension, LAIC may thus be seen as a critical tool to help prevent ethnocentric bias, stereotyping and, ultimately, racism and xenophobia. In order to gain a better understanding of the notions of “ethical” and “critical” in language and intercultural pedagogy, LAIC may look to critical education theory for further insight. In this context, Barnett (1997:1), for instance, writes:

“The concept that I am proposing is that of critical being, which embraces critical thinking, critical action and critical self-reflection.”

Barnett (1997) then also evokes the notion of space, which plays a key role in the present study and in LAIC as a whole, as a way to embrace and enact such critical principles in actual pedagogical practice. On the latter, he postulates:

“[…] critical space has to contain three orientations such that the student has space for critical reason, critical self-reflection and critical action. Epistemological space, personal space and practical space have to be made available to every student.” (1997:172)

The ultimate objective of such critical pedagogy, Barnett (1997) argues, may then be seen in the creation of critical and creative beings:
"Through such an integration of the critical spirit, critical but creative persons will result, capable of living effectively in the world." (1997:8)

Building on these insights from critical educational theory, it is my contention that the notions of space and interspace should therefore also feature prominently in the proposed "pedagogy of encounter, engagement and exchange". In concrete terms, such spatial practices may take on the forms of student exchanges and city twinnings, as elaborated on in the previous chapter.

Such a pedagogy may also embrace new technological tools including the cyberspace provided by the World Wide Web (WWW) and Internet Relay Chat (IRC) as potential fora for exchange. In more traditional terms, it may introduce students to the vast figurative spaces of internal worlds conveyed in literary studies. The latter has always been an objective for literary studies and a key area of interest to literary scholars in LAIC (cf., Parry, 1998). As an attempt to locate themselves figuratively, students may also be encouraged to keep journals, diaries or to write cultural identity essays, as proposed by Tomic & Lengel (1999) in LAIC. In this context, the notion of "border pedagogy" (Giroux, 1992) in critical pedagogy may provide an additional theoretical guideline for such critical pedagogical practice as it is envisioned here. On the latter, Giroux (1992:174), for instance, writes:

"The notion of border pedagogy suggests [...] that students should be allowed to rewrite difference through the process of crossing over into cultural borders that offer narratives, languages, and experiences that provide a resource for rethinking the relationship between the center and margins of power as well as between themselves and others"

It is therefore my contention that a conscious pedagogical effort to focus on physical and figurative space in language and intercultural learning may indeed pave the way for a more critical engagement with the Other and a deeper understanding that

"There's a world out there; there are worlds. There are shapes of sensibility incommensurate with each other, topographies of experience one cannot guess from within one's own limited experience." (Hoffman, 1989:205)
8.3.3. Language and intercultural learning as relative and circumstantial

"[...] language learning is not an abstract skill that can be easily transferred from one context to another. It is a social practice that engages the identities of learners in complex and sometimes contradictory ways." (Norton, 2000:137)

As Norton’s quote from her book *Identity and Language Learning* helps to illustrate, language and intercultural learning may be seen as a highly complex social process involving individuals with unique personal histories and cultural make-ups. A pedagogy that is to reflect the circumstantial nature of such learning may therefore not limit itself to generalisable and all-encompassing teaching principles of universal appeal. Traditional SLA research, however, has often seemed oblivious to the contextual and locally-contingent nature of language learning by seeing aspects such as motivation, anxiety and self-confidence as invariant learner traits rather than conditions arising in particular social settings and individual communication situations. For a more detailed critique of traditional SLA in this context, see Norton (2000:109 ff.).

A look at more recent traditionally-oriented SLA research may indicate a gradual change in perspective, though. Scholars are beginning to acknowledge that an understanding of where, when, how and with whom language and intercultural learning unfolds is of paramount importance to creating optimum conditions for successful learning and should therefore inform potential pedagogical practices. Both Byram (1997) and Norton (2000) give ample thought to such locally-contingent and relative forms of language pedagogy. Norton’s (2000:134) proposal of what she calls classroom-based social research may be regarded as an example in this area. The latter, she argues, may imply that students act as researchers/ethnographers in an effort to ascertain the extent to which opportunities exist to practise the target language outside the classroom. Such ethnographic work may involve the use of observation charts or log books in which students may document their findings for later discussion in class. In addition, Norton (2000:152) suggests that learners may critically reflect on these findings in diaries and journals, which could allow them to express and analyse their experiences in writing. In her view, classroom-based social research may therefore serve as a tool to empower learners to actively seek opportunities to practise the target language and to challenge and transform inequitable relations of power that may otherwise marginalise and silence them.

Norton’s proposal of classroom-based social research shows significant parallels to the notion of language learners as ethnographers outlined by Roberts et al. (2001). The latter
includes the execution of ethnography projects during students’ year abroad as exemplified by the *Ealing Ethnography Project* (Roberts et al., 2001:101 ff.). It also involves ethnographic work in learners’ immediate familiar surrounding, i.e., “home ethnographies”, in what the authors refer to as “making the familiar strange” (2001:104). These practices stress the locally contingent and circumstantial nature of language and intercultural learning by attempting to engage learners critically both with concrete familiar and new surroundings. Freire, one of the key proponents of critical studies in educational theory, strikes a similar chord with his proposal of what he calls a “systematic way of moving in the world” in order to develop “conscious selves” (1998: 92). The following passage is worth quoting at length, as it reveals significant parallels to the notion of “making the familiar strange” and stresses the relative and circumstantial nature of such learning:

“Perhaps it would be interesting to examine one morning of ours as the object of our curiosity and to see the difference between these two ways of moving in the world, the spontaneous and the systematic ways. [...] we can observe that, to have taken any morning of ours as an object of our curiosity, it was necessary to step outside the experience of daily life. It was necessary for us to emerge from it, then, in order to “distance ourselves” from it, from the way that we move in the world of our mornings. It is interesting to observe, also, that it is in “distancing ourselves” from it, from the object that we “come closer”. The “distancing” from the object is epistemologically “coming closer” to it. Only in this way can we “admire” the object, in our case, the morning, in whose time we analyze how we move in the world. [...] I think it is easy to see the substantive difference in position that we occupy, regarding “conscious selves”, moving in the world. [...]” (1998:92-93)

On the basis of these insights, it could thus be proposed that a potential pedagogy of encounter, engagement and exchange may likewise wish to embrace such concrete ethnographically oriented activities that may help learners, in Freire’s words, “to step outside the experience of daily life”. In the process, students may learn to appreciate the mundane details of their own worlds as an exercise in positioning themselves before a critical engagement with the cultural Other. By extension, such pedagogic practice must therefore also seek to reflect the relativist and circumstantial nature of language and intercultural learning by attempting to operate at the local micro-level. It thus requires teachers to position themselves and their students and to take into account each learner’s social world, life story, trajectory and visions for the future. I do concede, however, that in view of large classrooms with at times over 30 students in the case of formal FLL, an intimate knowledge of each learner’s personal history may sometimes seem difficult to achieve.

Yet to breathe life into the concepts of encounter, engagement and exchange in language and intercultural pedagogy, they must be applied to concrete individuals interacting with others under particular conditions. Not unlike other human activities, learning based on these three concepts may be regarded as circumstantially realised and as mediated by predominant
discourse and behavioural patterns. Evoking principles of Wittgensteinian language philosophy, we may wish to illustrate the relative nature of such learning by reminding ourselves that not all forms of encounter, engagement and exchange may be equally beneficial to successful language learning and cross-cultural awareness raising. We could question, for instance, the intercultural value of furtive encounters, sexual engagement and bodily exchange. The latter may not necessarily preclude language and intercultural learning, but can certainly be said to pursue different aims and may vary considerably between individuals. To illustrate the relative and circumstantial nature of such engagement, let us briefly turn back to anthropology for further insight. In this context, for instance, Ingold (1996) writes:

"[...] the meaning of speech, like that of song, lies in the circumstances of the speaker’s engagement with the world; it is not something that precedes that engagement, and which it serves to deliver." (1996:152, emphasis in original)

In what ways other than through ethnography projects (cf., Roberts et al., 2001) or classroom-based social research (cf., Norton, 2000) may we enact a relativist and contextually-sensitive pedagogy of encounter, engagement and exchange in actual teaching practice? First and foremost, as pointed out by Byram (1997), we may wish to posit locally-relevant teaching objectives in accordance with the contextual parameters in which such learning unfolds. The teaching of German to immigrants from the former Soviet Union, for instance, may require approaches quite distinct from German instruction at an American High School. As argued before, each learner’s unique personal history may also impact on individual pedagogical decisions. A female student’s unhappy liaison with a Puerto Rican boy may forever cause her to resist studying Spanish and thus adversely affect her investment in the language. Such personal and interpersonal issues are no marginal concern for a contextually-sensitive language and intercultural pedagogy. Social engagement and individual experiences must be seen as the root cause for factors such as self-confidence, anxiety and motivation that traditional language pedagogy has tended to portray as invariant personality traits (cf., Norton, 2000:109 ff.).

Finally, the relativist principles underlying a pedagogy of encounter, engagement and exchange may be enacted in pedagogical practices by exposing learners to cultural concepts that are unique to a particular language culture and may thus not be readily translated across cultural and linguistic divides. The following quote from CIRP 2000, for instance, may serve to illustrate the extent to which such “Unika”, as these concepts are called in German, may
require students to use the language of the Self to describe, circumscribe and embrace the reality of the Other and vice versa.

**Sample 43: Birte (novice group)**

English presentation provided by speaker in class:

[...] you might have heard about 'Christiania'. That's a community in the heart of Copenhagen, which, eh, is run by ....former drug addicts, partly and all kinds of other people, hippies and....people who ....feel they don't really belong to the normal society. [...] And they are tolerated by everybody ....."Christiania" is a tourist attraction. [...]......they have resisted several attempts ....by the city of Copenhagen to throw them out .... The people of Copenhagen have supported them ....for the most part. ....And I don't think this would be possible here in Germany, that you have a community like this in the heart of a big city. [...]  

Birte’s quote suggests that unique Danish concepts that have considerable personal meaning to her, such as “Christiania” and her earlier example involving a community school called “Folkehøjskole”, may require substantial paraphrasing and detailed descriptions in English. Exposing learners to such unique cultural concepts may therefore encourage them to perform a “semantic shift” and to extend themselves towards adopting new perspectives of a given reality. In the process, unique concepts such as “tertulia”, “Trümmerfrauen”, “trick-or-treat” or “savoir vivre” may help to relativise students’ world views and sensitise them enough to critically question the universal truth value of their held beliefs. Eventually, learners may arrive at a critical engagement of Self and Other or what Hoffman (1989:170) refers to as: 

“an awareness that there is another place – another point at the base of the triangle, which renders this place relative, which locates me within that relativity itself.”

**8.3.4. The notions of power and learner investment**

“Thus the question ‘Who am I’ cannot be understood apart from the question ‘What am I allowed to do?’ And the question ‘What am I allowed to do?’ cannot be understood apart from material conditions that structure opportunities for the realization of desires. [...] In this view, a person’s identity will shift in accordance with changing social and economic relations.” (Norton, 2000:8)

In chapter 2.2.1.2 we outlined the qualitative study by Norton Peirce (1995) and Norton (2000) on the language learning experiences of immigrant women in Canada, which sets out to unravel how inequitable relations of social power may impact on an individual’s opportunities to practise the target language. In this context, Norton (2000) argues that immigrant women often tend to be marginalised and silenced by the target language majority due to their perceived “inferior” socio-economic status. This may lead to what Norton (2000:64) refers to as a “Catch-22” position involving a vicious circle of marginalisation,

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exclusion, silencing and thus a lack of opportunity to practise the target language despite learners’ considerable “investment” (Norton, 2000:10) in successful language learning.

The following example from CIRP 2000, for instance, may serve to illustrate the extent to which inequitable relations of power may silence individuals in particular social contexts. Dagmar’s experiences of working as a chemical lab assistant in different countries stresses the key role of power and authority in determining the nature of space and interspace in personal encounters:

Sample 44: Dagmar (novice group)

[…] das war eben auch die Sache der Selbstverantwortlichkeit. Ich hab’..., als Laborant ist muß man, ist man immer ...klar, wie in den meisten Jobs, auf die Weisungen des Chefs angewiesen, ...und wenn man aber als derjenige, der tagtäglich im Labor steht, weiß, so wie der das sagt, ist es viel zu kompliziert, oder es klapt nicht so ...und man hat einen uneinsichtigen Chef, daß man es aber trotzdem so machen muß, wie der es macht, und das waren halt so Sachen, da ...hat man dann schon überlegt. […]

Courtesy Translation:

[…] A lot of it also had to do with independence and authority. As a lab assistant, as in most other jobs, your hands are tied by what your boss tells you to do. But when you are in the lab every day and know that his way may be too complicated or won’t work right ...and your boss insists on his position, then you wind up doing it his way anyway...and it was then that I started to think of other options. […]

Drawing on Norton’s (2000) insights and my own findings from the CIRP 2000 corpus, it is therefore my contention that a critical and transformative language and intercultural pedagogy may wish to give considerable importance to the notions of social power and learner investment in language and intercultural learning. If we wish to see the principles of encounter, engagement and exchange as the theoretical grounding tropes of such a pedagogy, we may have to consider how power relations could impact on each of these principles.

First, we could argue, comes encounter. By this I do not wish to posit a purely linear relationship among the three principles. There cannot be any fruitful engagement or exchange, however, without the initial spark of an encounter. Anecdotal evidence and individual examples from my data suggest that such encounters tend to be most fruitful and enriching when both parties feel at ease, mutually respected and on an equal par.

For a critical language and intercultural pedagogy, this insight may imply a conscious effort to embrace the notions of power, prestige and status in language and intercultural learning, as they are at the core of learner investment in the respective language and culture. Spanish teachers in Arizona, for instance, may wish to disperse deep-rooted beliefs caused by floods of unskilled, illegal aliens from Mexico that Spanish is “inferior” to English by focusing on
perceived “positive” attributes of hispanic lifestyles. Such teachers could present Spanish as the key to a hip, carefree, “living la vida loca” mindset, or to global events such as the 1992 Barcelona Olympics. Alternatively, they may wish to portray Spanish as the gateway to stylish contemporary art, music and literature including the Spanish “movida”, movies by Pedro Almodovar or art work by Gaudi, Diego Rivera or Frida Kahlo.19

It could therefore be argued that contemporary language and intercultural pedagogy has a key ethical role to play in facilitating encounter, engagement and exchange across language and cultural boundaries. Creating a climate of mutual respect for initial encounters may be said to lay the foundations for a dignified and critical confrontation of the Self with the language and culture of the Other. By extension, a learner’s engagement with the Other may also turn into an investment in his or her identity, future and Self. As Norton (2000:11) observes:

“Thus an investment in the target language is also an investment in a learner’s own identity, an identity which is constantly changing across time and space” (2000:11)

8.3.5. Giving learners a voice and the right to speak

“The silence that comes out of inarticulateness is the inchoate and desperate silence of chaos. The silence that comes after words is the fullness from which the truth of our perceptions can crystallize.” (Hoffman, 1989:276)

The notions of language, culture and identity, it has been argued, are at the core of a possible pedagogy based on encounter, engagement and exchange. They also constitute the theoretical grounding tropes of our analytic interest in instances of self-enunciation provided by participants in the CIRP 2000 corpus. Here it was mentioned that who we are may be mediated to a large extent by our experience in narrativising (Gergen & Gergen, 1991) highlighting the complex and intimate relationship between language and identity.

Yet how do we gain experience in narrativising? How can a critical and socially responsive language and intercultural pedagogy improve learners’ expressive faculties and facilitate their self-enunciation? In this context, it is my contention that the concept of claiming the right to speak mentioned by Norton Peirce (1995), Norton (2000) and in my own 1999 CCC Pilot Project (cf., Grosse, 1999) may be appropriated for our present discussion of contemporary

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19 Some critical voices may argue that creating a climate of mutual respect and presenting the target culture in a positive light can be regarded as natural objectives of FL pedagogy whatever the approach. While I would wish to believe this is true, anecdotal evidence and accounts from SLA researchers such as Norton (2000) suggest that issues surrounding the identities of language learners and the status of the target culture are often given limited consideration in FL classrooms.
language and intercultural pedagogy. In this context, a focus on the right to speak may manifest itself as a conscious pedagogical effort to give learners their own voice and grant them space for self-expression. As Hoffman (1989:124) observes in her experiences as a Polish immigrant in Canada:

"We want to be able to give voice accurately and fully to ourselves and our sense in the world. [...] Linguistic dispossession is a sufficient motive for violence, for it is close to the dispossession of one’s self."

In concrete terms, such a focus on the right to speech and self-expression may be enacted in pedagogical practice by the use of diary studies (Norton, 2000:145), cultural identity essays (Tomic & Lengel, 1999) and the self-presentation exercises that inform CIRP 2000. In addition, students may wish to turn to modern information technology including e-mail, Internet chat and homepage design as a potential space for self-enunciation. The role of writing in the articulation of subjectivity, for instance, is also mentioned by Hoffman (1989:121) in her account of immigrant life in the New World:

"[...] writing gives me a written self. [...] This language is beginning to invent another me."

Of course, the traditional FLT objectives of providing students with a basic knowledge of grammar and lexis are still just as valid in this context. Giving students a voice and the right to speak, however, transcends these traditional pedagogical goals by focusing on the role of individual experiences and self-feeling in language and intercultural learning. The experiential value of such learning may be captured and sensed in the following remark:

"The more words I have, the more distinct, precise my perceptions become- and such lucidity is a form of joy. Sometimes, when I find a new expression, I roll it on the tongue, as if shaping it in my mouth gave birth to a new shape in the world." (Hoffman, 1989:29)

The self-presentations provided by participants in CIRP 2000 suggest that their high expressive faculties in two or more languages have led to considerable changes in their sense of Self. Birte, for instance, feels closest to "home" when expressing herself in Danish, whereas speaking Spanish constitutes an integral part of Annika’s adopted Chilean identity. In this context, the following quote seems particularly telling:

**Sample 45: Annika (novice group)**

Ich, ich war ja sehr klein, als ich ankam, und ich sprech’ eigentlich akzentfrei Chilenisches Spanisch, und [...] und ich...das prägt schon sehr die Emotionen und ..ehm...[...] ....wenn ich in Deutschland
Irgend’ nen Chilenen treffe, dann hab’ ich sofort’ ne Basis zu dem. Ich freu’ mich tierisch, daß ich ihn treffe. Ich sprech’ mit ihm, und ...also, das ist’ne ganz andere Ebene, [...].

Courtesy Translation:

I was still very young when I moved there, and I actually talk Chilean Spanish without an accent, and ...[...] that does have a major impact on the way you feel [...]. When I meet Chileans here in Germany we immediately have common ground. I’m thrilled to meet them, and we talk together. It’s a completely different level of contact [...].

CIRP 2000 findings therefore point towards a key ethical role for language and intercultural pedagogy in enabling students to find their own voice and to develop and express their hybrid identities. As Hoffman (1989:243) relates to us from her experiences of language and intercultural learning:

“Words are no longer spiky bits of hard matter, which refer only to themselves. They become, more and more, a transparent medium in which I live and which lives in me – a medium through which I can once again get to myself and to the world.”

8.3.6. Providing space for attachment and imagination

“Creative practice is thus of many kinds. It is already, and actively, our practical consciousness” (Williams, 1977:212)

Our arguments so far suggest that self-feeling and personal experiences may be at the core of a successful engagement with the Other and, by extension, of language and intercultural learning. For that reason, a pedagogy based on encounter, engagement and exchange may also wish to focus on the vital impact of attachment and imagination on individual subjectivities. I have argued earlier in chapter 3.3.4 that Byram’s (1997:34) ideal of an all-encompassing affect implied in the notions of “decentering”, and “standing above one’s own and other cultures” may not be a realistic goal for language and intercultural learning. I have suggested instead that our intercultural skills may be mediated by the way we feel towards specific languages and cultures and may thus largely hinge on our individual emotive make-up. In this context, I mentioned Castoriadis’ (1999, first published 1987) psychoanalytical writings, in which he posits that “participation in the world” and “attachment and mobility” may be seen as what he terms “the point of connection between the self and the other” (1999:85).

It is therefore my contention that the notions of attachment and imagination may have a key role to play in language and intercultural pedagogy, as they may affect the ways in which
encounter can turn into engagement and exchange. I have argued before that these principles must not be regarded as cumulative or linear. Nonetheless, they tend to build on each other, insofar as there cannot be engagement without encounter and no exchange without prior encounter and engagement. The initial spark of encounter, however, cannot turn into genuine engagement on the basis of verbal interaction alone. The spark cannot turn into a bonfire without the right conditions, i.e., attachment and participation in the world (Castoriadis, 1999:85). The latter implies that engagement is highly symbolic and involves all senses, including our senses of sight, smell and touch.

A transformative language and intercultural pedagogy may thus attempt to do justice to these insights by embracing attachment, participation in the world and imagination as key factors for successful language and intercultural learning. To quote the critical educationalist Giroux (1992:165-166, emphasis added):

“In this context, critical pedagogy is understood as a cultural practice engaged in the production of knowledge, identities, and desires.”

This goal may be achieved by involving our entire perceptive faculties, e.g., our sense of sight through sites, our sense of taste and smell through food, and our sense of touch by our physical presence in another geographically distinct location. In actual pedagogical practice, such engagement may be facilitated by regular visits to actual language communities, student exchange schemes, and miscellaneous social gatherings involving food, music, art and literature. In addition, we should not underestimate the key role of personal contacts, romance and friendships in this context. A considerable number of faculty members in language and intercultural studies programmes, for instance, are married to individuals from the language cultures that they teach. In this wider context, for instance, the following quote may serve to illustrate the intimate relationship between the notions of attachment and space and their respective impact on individuals’ sense of Self, their understanding of the Other and, by extension, their intercultural skills:

“When I fall in love with my first American, I also fall in love with otherness, with the far spaces between us and the distances we have to travel to meet at the source of our attraction.”
(Hoffman, 1989:186)

The findings of the present study equally suggest that attachment, imagination and participation in the world are of pivotal importance to successful language and intercultural
learning. Lena, for instance, spent a semester abroad in Spain in an effort to improve her Spanish skills, which, as she relates, turned out to be less than satisfactory:

**Sample 46: Lena (novice group)**

[...] Mmh, ich war jetzt gerade ein Semester, also das letzte Wintersemester, in Spanien, in Valencia, weil mein Zweitfach Spanisch ist, mein Erstfach Französisch. Dort hat es mir aber leider nicht besonders gut gefallen. Das war mehr so eine zweckmäßige Kopfentscheidung, daß ich halt 'was für mein Zweitfach tun mußte, wobei ich auch schon drei mal in Spanien war und es mir nie so ganz gelegen hat, die Mentalität und ...die Lebensart dort. Aber ich dachte halt, wenn ich jetzt sechs Monate dahingehende, dann würde ich mich schon irgendwie einleben und arrangieren und ja auch viele Spanier kennenlernen. Das war leider alles nicht so ganz, wie ich mir das erhofft hatte. [...]  

Courtesy translation:

[...] Mmh, I just spent the last winter semester in Spain, in Valencia, because Spanish is my second foreign language, while French is my first. I didn’t like it there very much, unfortunately. It was more a common-sense decision that I felt I needed to work on my second language, even though I had previously been to Spain three times and never liked the mindset and the way of life there. Yet I thought that during six months there, I would somehow adjust and get used to it and meet lots of Spanish people. Unfortunately it didn’t quite turn out the way I had hoped. [...]  

Lena’s account implies that encounter may not turn into a successful engagement with the Other without attachment and imagination. Language and intercultural learning may thus only be achieved through forms of engagement that extend learners’ minds and broaden their horizons. Such engagement allows individuals to undergo transformative learning experiences by loosing themselves, abandoning their boundaries, by emphatically embracing the Other and by rediscovering themselves in the process. It is my belief that a critical and socially responsive language and intercultural pedagogy may therefore wish to focus on the considerable impact of attachment and imagination on learners’ individual identities and their language and cross-cultural mediation skills. As Hoffman (1989:75) observes:

“Insofar as we retain the capacity for attachment, the energy of desire that draws us toward the world and makes us want to live within it, we’re always returning. All we have to draw on is that first potent furnace, the uncomparing, ignorant, love, the original heat and hunger for the forms of the world, for the here and now.” (Hoffman, 1989:75)

8.4. Further thoughts on a transformative language and intercultural pedagogy

The preceding discussion has been an attempt to present the results and findings of the CIRP 2000 project in the light of their potential contributions to a critical and socially responsive language and intercultural pedagogy in the broadest sense. Even though some of the outlined proposals may come across as abstract and tentative in nature, it is my belief that they may nonetheless facilitate a critical rethinking of current teaching practices in LAIC. If we attempt to acknowledge the transformative, experiential and relative nature of language and
intercultural learning, provide learners with a voice and the right to speech along with space for attachment and imagination, and embrace the notions of *space, power and learner investment* in LAIC, we may lay the foundations for what I have called a pedagogy of *encounter, engagement and exchange*. By way of conclusion, I would like to reiterate the key insights of the preceding discussion in favour of a transformative pedagogy in LAIC by positing two "easy" principles that belie their complexity:

A) *We are what we can narrativise*

Our arguments so far suggest that our experience in narrativising mediates our story of the Self (cf., Gergen & Gergen, 1991). This principle is intimately related to language and intercultural learning. As we expand out expressive faculties in a language native or foreign, we also gain greater narrative power in discursively inscribing who we may or may not be. As a related point, we may attribute vital importance to the role of *poetics* in this endeavour, since metaphorical and figurative language use may exponentially increase our options for self-enunciation, stimulate our imagination and touch our emotions (cf., the note on poetics in the 2000 CCC conference announcement, Appendix III). In the process, such language may help us to discursively anchor our identities. As Norton (2000:5) observes:

"I foreground the role of language as constitutive of and constituted by a language learner's identity" (2000:5)

B) *Self-feeling is vital for language and intercultural learning*

The insight that "identification facilitates language learning" is nothing new in SLA (Gardner & Lambert, 1972). As outlined earlier in chapter 2.2.1.2 and argued by Norton Peirce (1995) and Norton (2000), however, traditional SLA theory tends to regard the notions of identification, motivation and anxiety as a learner's invariant personality traits and fails to acknowledge that such feelings arise in social interaction and are often subject to inequitable relations of power. How we may feel in particular situations can consequently impact on our subjective perceptions, which may in turn mediate our individual experiences. The latter may then ultimately determine the nature of our cross-cultural contacts and, by extension, the outcome of our language and intercultural learning.

It may thus be concluded that how we feel about places and faces is at the core of our critical engagement with the language and culture of the Other and our successful language and intercultural learning. In this wider context, feelings such as love, empathy and identification
are our most powerful weapon in battling ethnocentric bias, stereotypes and cultural clichés. Our perspectives expand once we feel a sense of belonging, 'home' and inner harmony. These feelings may be so overpowering that we may feel incapable of putting them into words. Teaching to narrativise may thus become the ultimate mission of a transformative language and intercultural pedagogy:

**Sample 47: Birte (novice group)**

English presentation provided by speaker in class:

I developed close ties to the North...I like the climate.... I like the feel....the air....I can't explain...It's just ....a feeling I get when I, when I come there. I always feel at home when ....the nearer I get to the border...the more ...I feel at home...[...].it's just that.... everything seems to be familiar ... the way the air smells.... and the way the wind blows ....[laughter]. It may sound ridiculous, but it's just ....as if I belonged there....It feels as if I belonged there and.... I can't really describe it.

8.5. Conclusion

This chapter has been an attempt to place the *cultural identity research project* (CIRP 2000) into the original Applied Linguistics framework in which it originated by outlining ways in which the executed project may inform contemporary language and intercultural pedagogy. To this end, I initially presented the relationship between CIRP 2000 and traditional approaches to language and intercultural learning from a dual perspective by explicating their underlying theoretical differences and by attempting to identify different levels of intercultural competence in CIRP 2000 narratives from a more structuralist perspective.

I then proceeded to discuss the extent to which existing curricular and infrastructural practices related to language and intercultural pedagogy may be reflected in student presentations from the CIRP 2000 corpus, including student and work exchange programmes, year abroad and Au Pair placement schemes as well as curriculum planning aspects. I subsequently offered a tentative account of the ways in which the CIRP 2000 corpus may be embraced analytically to infuse contemporary language and intercultural pedagogy with new insights. To this end, I focused on the transformative, experiential and relative nature of language and intercultural learning, explicated the notions of space, power and attachment in LAIC and offered initial recommendations on how these insights may be enacted in actual teaching practice. I concluded the chapter by reiterating the importance of narrative and discourse for our envisioned story of the Self and by stressing the vital role of self-feeling and attachment in our interpretation of language and intercultural learning.
9. Outreach and Outlook: A philosophical and pedagogical rationale for self-enunciation in language and intercultural learning

The preceding two chapters have served the dual task of introducing CIRP 2000 and discussing different theoretical perspectives on the basis of which the corpus may be analytically embraced and evaluated. The outlined research questions that have guided the preceding discussion may be seen here as one possible way of approaching the notion of cultural identity providing preliminary answers to and a tentative account of instances of self-enunciation in language and intercultural learning.

In this context, further interpretive possibilities remain that could illuminate other aspects of language and intercultural learning not yet touched on in this project. The latter include a comparative analysis of advanced students' self-presentations and their respective consecutive and simultaneous interpretations. These could be evaluated in terms of content, resources, syntax and lexis, among others. Some English interpretations in CIRP 2000, for instance, made use of American English terms, whereas others seemed more British in orientation.

All instances of self-enunciation could also be of great interest to full-fledged conversation analysts, as many presentations tended to evolve into longer exchanges, dialogues and conversations involving two participants or more. "CA" experts could thus put their analytic focus on turn taking conventions, adjacency pairs and instances of prefacing, incitement, and other formal CA features to a higher degree than has been practised in the preceding discussion. CIRP 2000's commitment to the analytics of interpretive practice, i.e., to the interplay of how and what concerns of discursive practice and discourse-in-practice respectively (Holstein & Gubrium, 2000:94), may be seen here as the primary reason for why such formal features have been given less importance in our preceding analysis.

With respect to more traditional approaches to research on language and intercultural learning, the proposed analytic framework of "interpretive practice" may also hold significant descriptive power to shed light on many issues of interest to SLA/FLL researchers with more quantitative orientations, but in new terms. For instance, aspects related to students' background knowledge, motivation and affect, which tend to be approached primarily from a quantitative, experimental perspective in traditional SLA research and social psychology (e.g., Gardner & Lambert, 1972), may now be embraced in different terms within the proposed qualitative and interpretive framework of "interpretive practice". Learners' background knowledge, motivation and affect may now be analytically approached in the new light of a qualitative perspective by focusing on the mundane details of their narrative
practices, i.e., by analysing the interface of discourse-in-practice (the what concerns) and discursive practice (the how concerns). The proposed analytic framework may thus also set the stage for exploring socio-cultural and non-linguistic aspects of L2 learning by allowing us to move beyond linguistic or sociolinguistic analyses of individuals' oral or written accounts in terms of grammatical and lexical errors or the realisation of certain speech acts. In fact, the actual language used by individuals for the storying of subjectivities becomes of analytic interest to us primarily in terms of its narrative and poetics. Here we focus on ways in which language learners variably engage and interact with the Other, find their own voice and in the process reconstitute their sense of Self.

By way of illustration, I would like to outline the potential benefits of the proposed qualitative and interpretivist approach to the notion of narrative identity in language and intercultural learning by evoking themes associated with classical music. Traditional, quantitative researchers, for instance, may argue in this context that it is hardly surprising and thus hardly worth mentioning that CIRP 2000 presentations are mediated by the institutional context of their telling, i.e., the academic setting at Heidelberg University (cf., our related discussion in chapter 7.4.1). They are indeed justified in that observation within the positivist paradigm that frames their approach to research by focusing on clearly observable what categories alone. The same researchers are likely to argue that any piece of classical music will consist of a theme and variations on these themes, which may in their view be hardly a new insight worth analysing in greater detail.

The establishment of such facts alone, however, is rarely the end of the story for qualitative and interpretivist research. The latter tends to extend the discussion of such themes to how the same institutional context may be narratively enacted by CIRP 2000 participants in variegated ways, thus appreciating their individual variations. Qualitative researchers would thus not be interested in establishing the existence of themes and their variations in a piece of classical music. Rather, they would be analytically interested in how and when the same theme may be taken up and modified in variations, and how such variations, in turn, may be interpreted. One goal of qualitative research may therefore be seen in researchers trying to refine their interpretive sensitivities to appreciate and analytically embrace such variational differences.

For CIRP 2000 it is therefore my contention that we may indeed shed some light on participants' individual sense of Self, subjective perceptions and the workings of transformation by taking a closer look at the mundane details of their everyday narrative and discourse. In the process, I believe that we may gain greater insight into the extent to which instances of self-enunciation may be both unique and at the same time follow quite similar
narrative patterns. By focusing on individuals’ narrative practices in terms of *content* and *structure* and by analysing *what* resources are available to them in different contexts and *how* they resort to such resources, we may be able to shed light on their inner worlds and identifications and to fully appreciate the storying of cultural selves as a unique discursive accomplishment of everyday life.
Appendix I:

CIRP 2000 corpus material

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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>1c.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Steve Grosse</td>
<td>first presentation</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
...Soll ich noch mal anfangen?....Hmh....vier Jahre in Heidelberg..wie gesagt

und...eh...ich werde jetzt versuchen, ganz kurz mich selber vorzustellen. ....Ich

habe in der Schweiz fünf Jahre die Grundschule besucht...dann bin ich

übergewechselt in die Bezirksschule...die dauerte vier Jahre.....und ...danach kam
die sogenannte Kantonschule - noch mal vier Jahre. Und danach habe ich Abitur

gemacht - das nennt sich bei uns "Matur". Nach der Matur hab' ich mich

entschlossen, für vier Monate nach Italien zu gehen...als Au Pair Mädchen. Ich war

...
dann in Florenz. Danach hab' ich mich entschlossen, nach...in die USA zu gehen..wo ich sieben Monate war. Ich bin...hab' da studiert an der Colu.....

Columbia University in New York...und hab' danach auch noch einen Job als Au Pair


...eh....Französisch als erste Fremdsprache und Englisch als Zweite.

Italienisch läuft so nebenher, weil ich halt schon ein bischen mit dem italienischen
Markt liebäugele oder vielleicht da auch wohnen möchte. ...Tja, halt jetzt wie ihr

wisst, bin ich hier jetzt im letzten Semester, versuche im Juli bis November dann

Prüfung zu machen und hoffe, daß das dann alles gut funktioniert ...und werde
dann gucken, ob ich vielleicht in Genf arbeite ... oder dann eben wieder in Italien. ...Das

wär's....

>>>>>
...as I said, I have lived in Heidelberg for four years now....and I am trying to talk about me. .... I visited primary school in Switzerland and then I went to the secondary school, which in Switzerland takes four years, and after that it was the so-called "Kanton...." ..."Canton School". After that I did my O-levels.... Well...excuse me....my A-levels. ......After that I decided to go to Italy as Au Pair girl for four months. I went to Florence. And after that I decided to go to the United States
where I stayed for seven months at the Columba University of New York. That's where I
studied. And after that I was looking for...eh...an...a job as Au Pair and eh... I
wanted to have my driving license recognized in the United States. When I came back, I
started at the interpreting school in Zurich, which is called "Dots" (sic?). I studied there for
four years and I .....did the languages Italian, French and German. Then I came to
Heidelberg, because they told me that the "Dots" school is not recognized on an
international level. ... Then I had a few problems here, because they actually did
really not recognize my certification. After one term of doing translation, I could do
the so-called "Vordiplom" here in Heidelberg. And then after successfully having
done the so-called "Propädeutikum" - the introductory course for interpreting- I could do
interpreting here. I have French as the first language, English as a second language
and Italy as a third, because I would...could imagine living in Italy at some point. ...I
have planned to do...take my exams...very soon,...and I'll try to find a job
somewhere in Geneva or may be in Italy. .... That's all I can tell you for now........
Biographical Details:* Before the interview please take a few moments to provide us with your details:

Name: _Mueller, Mirjam__________  Gender (M/F): _F__  Nationality: ____Swiss___
Date of Birth: 24/08/71__________  Age: _28__  Profession: translator/student__
Place of Birth: ___Aarau/CH__________  Current Address/Phone Number: _________________
Languages spoken fluently: _D/F/E/Ital._

*Please note: The biographical details are those provided by the original speakers and NOT those of the simultaneous or consecutive interpreters. Personal details regarding the interpreters were not solicited as part of CIRP 2000 as they were deemed unnecessary for the analytic needs of the present project.

Below is the detailed transcription of the interpretation. The following general transcription guidelines have been used:

in case of dialogue: Interviewer: I.  Respondent: R.

Transcription rate: 3 seconds per line

and - long pronunciation of word
and - hasty pronunciation of word
and - emphatic pronunciation of word
.... - pause (more dots = longer pause)
<< - speaker's voice becoming louder
>>> - speaker's voice becoming softer

and I would like to try to....present myself really quickly. .............as I said, I have >>>>>>>>>>>, been in Heidelberg for four years....and I would like to give a short presentation <<< about my personality now.......In Switzerland I went to primary school for five >>>>>>>>>>>>>> <<< years... then the secondary school for four years and....after that....there was the <<< >>>>>>>> so-called "Canton School' for another four years......after that I graduated and it is <<< called "Matur" in Switzerland. ......After that I decided to go to Italy fo four months >>>>>>>>>>><<< <<<
as an Au Pair.....and I was in Florence. ....After that....I decided to go to the
States ....where I studied for seven months at Columbia University in New York.
And ..... after that I tried to find a job as an au pair ...., because I tried to get my
license in Switzerland, but...I was told that this would be only possible to take the
license to Switzerland if I had been in the States for a longer period of time. When I came back I
started ....in the "Docks", the interpreting school in Zurich.... ..... studied there for
four years and I finished as a translator in French, Italian and German. ..........And
after that I came to ...Heidelberg, because I found out that the "Dots" is not
internationally recognized. ....I had some problems, because my ......grade from "Dots"
didn’t...wasn’t recognized here. So I had to start with...translating here....and hap- ...I
am very happy that after one semester already I could take my "Vordiplom" and after
the "Propädeutikum", which luckily I passed, I managed to come here to the
interpreting department. French is my first foreign language and Italian my
second.....and I’m thinking about may be working and living in Italy....I am now
taking my exams semester. I would like to take my exam in June and July.....and I
hope that things will work out. ...... And may be in my future I would like to work in
Geneva. .......
...Ja, ich heiße Simone Neumaier, bin sieben und zwanzig Jahre alt... Geboren bin ich... im Schwarzwald, und da bin ich auch aufgewachsen. Mmh... zuhause haben wir ein Gasthaus mit Hotel und da hab' ich... muß' ich schon seit klein auf immer arbeiten. Sonntags hieß es immer: Egal, wo Du warst, jetzt wird gearbeitet... jetzt wird augestanden und gearbeitet...... Mmmh, dann hab' ich die Realschule gemacht.... Danach 'n... war ich auf'm Gymnasium.... und danach... war ich als Au Pair Mädchen 'n Jahr lang auf Tenerifa.... Da hab' ich meine Liebe zu Spanisch
entdeckt...und das war sicherlich einer der Gründe, warum ich jetzt hier in

Heidelberg seit fast fünf einhalb Jahren Dolmetschen studiere. ....Ehmmm....Bevor

ich aber angefangen hab' zu studieren, war ich noch für'n halbes Jahr in

Lateinamerika mit dem Rucksack unterwegs..... Und ... dann hab' ich noch'n paar

verrückte Sachen gemacht, wie zum Beispiel...‘n Schreinerpraktikum,...... was

 Dann aber vielleicht weniger erfolgreich war, und die Sprachen haben mir doch zu

viel gefehlt. ... Und da dacht' ich, dann mach' ich doch lieber ‘was mit Sprachen.......  

Ja,.....mmh ..... ja, jetzt hoff' ich, daß ich in ‘nem halben Jahr fertig bin mit meinem

Studium, ....wie wir wohl alle...und dann....ist wohl erstmal Karriere angesagt.

(laughter)........ Das wichtigste für mich im Moment ist Geld zu verdienen. ... Das

hält sich zwar vielleicht ‘n bischen oberflächlich an, aber was mir halt wirklich am

Herzen liegt, ist finanziell unabhängig zu sein. ... Das ist mein...mittelfristiges Ziel

erstmal..... ...Mmmh, ...Familie....Kinder..... Wahrscheinlich ist das auch n’ Thema,

was sich vielleicht stellt.... Ehm....weiß ich noch nicht, ob ich das haben will.... Muß

ich mal überlegen.... Wird sich einfach noch zeigen, denke ich..... . Mmmh, Sachen,

die mir Spaß machen..., oder für die ich ‘ne Leidenschaft ...ich ‘ne Leidenschaft

entwickelt hab’...ehm.......außer den Sprachen.... Gibt es da noch ‘was? (Giggle) ... 

Kleiner Scherz ..... ... Flamenco tanzen vielleicht .... Flamenco.... Singen, tauchen ...

und weggehen .... Ich glaub', das kommt manchmal ... oder kommt bei manchen zu

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kurz....und auch wenn man hier am Institut ist, sollte man das trotzdem nicht

vergessen..... daß es ganz wichtig ist, daß sich Spannung und Entspannung die

Waage hält... Ja....soviel dazu....

I: ... und wo meinst Du, daß Du nach dem Studium wohnen wirst? ...

R: ... ehm....im Moment sieht's so aus, als würde ich vor allem in Deutschland

bleiben wollen.....wobei man nie weiß, was wirklich kommt.... Aber....bis jetzt sieht

mein Plan so aus, daß ich irgendwo mich in Deutschland niederlassen will

......möglichst n i c h t in Heidelberg bleiben will, .... weil's von uns gibt wie Sand am

Meer. Also, das ist eigentlich der Grund.... Köln fänd' ich 'ne ganz interessante

Stadt. .......


My name is Simone Neumaier. I'm twenty seven years old. I was born and raised in the Black Forest. At home my family has a restaurant and a hotel where I always had to work ... even though... Even when I was still very small...on Sundays....no matter what you did....it would always be: Get up and work ....

Then I went to the so-called "Realschule" ...and later to the "Gymnasium"... After that I was an Au Pair in Tenerife for a year....it was there that I discovered my love for the Spanish language, and it was probably the reason for attending university here in...
Heidelberg for almost five and a half years now studying interpreting. Before I went to
University I did half a year of backpacking in Latin America and then I did some other
cravy...crazy things such as an internship at a carpenter, but ... I guess it was less
successful...and I really missed the languages... so I decided that I would have wanted
to do something that had to do with languages ... I hope, ...I think as we all do, ...that I will
finish university in about half a year's time, and then I will really work on my career
...the most important thing for me right now is to earn money... and may be this sounds a
little superficial... but what I really want to be is financially independent... so that's
kind of my medium-term goal.... Family.....kids.....is probably something I should
comment on..... but I don't know whether I want family and children... May be it will
just... come along...may be not... I'll have to think about it... Things I like or...things I
developed a passion for... Well, is there anything apart from languages? (giggle)
..Ehm...Flamenco may be...the dance and music....as well....singing....scuba
diving...and going out...That's important! I think... eh... some people forget how
important that is....how important it is to keep a balance between tension and relaxation.
So....That's basically it...
I think... I want to stay in Germany ...then you never know... right now it seems that
I will settle down somewhere in Germany but... I would try ... I would try not to stay in
Heidelberg... because here there is...there are so many of us... so many
interpreters.... Cologne ... would be an interesting city to go to........

<<<< <<<< >>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>
Cultural identity research project

Presentation #: 3a
(final year group)

today’s date: May 08, 2000
location: Heidelberg

Biographical Details: Before the interview please take a few moments to provide us with your details:

Name: Kristina Merkner __________ Gender (M/F): F Nationality: dt.
Date of Birth: 09/07/75 __________ Age: 24 Profession: student
Place of Birth: Wuppertal Current Address/Phone Number: 06221-480363
Languages spoken Kristina@moenchhofstrasse.de fluently: German, English, Spanish

Please note: Transcriptions are NOT listed in chronological order.

Below is the detailed transcription of the self-presentation. The following general transcription guidelines have been used:

in case of dialogue: Interviewer: I. Respondent: R.

Transcription rate: 3 seconds per line

and - long pronunciation of word
and - hasty pronunciation of word
and - emphatic pronunciation of word
.... - pause (more dots = longer pause)
<<< - speaker’s voice becoming louder
>>> - speaker’s voice becoming softer

Also, ich heiße Kristina Merkner. Ich bin vier und zwanzig Jahre alt.....ehm...ich

bin in Velbert geboren in der Nähe des Ruhrgebietes und...alle denken immer, ich

würde betonen, daß Velbert nicht zum Ruhrgebiet gehört, sondern zum Bergischen

Land, ... weil ich nicht gerne vom Ruhrgebiet sein möchte, aber das stimmt überhaupt

nicht. Ich finde das Ruhrgebiet toll. 's wie 'ne große Großstadt ....

sehr....eh...modern ... und viel Kultur und so weiter. ...Insofern hätte ich überhaupt kein

Problem damit, aus dem Ruhrgebiet zu kommen, aber ich tu's halt nicht. ......Ehmmm...I c h

.. b i n .... j a.... ganz normal zur Schule gegangen ...Grundschule.... Gymnasium...
eh....wußte ganz, ganz lange nicht, was ich machen sollte... Ich hatte auch nicht

Englisch LK oder so.... Ich war in sofern auf Sprachen ausgerichtet, daß ich jede
Sprache gemacht hab', die irgendwie angeboten wurde... Also, in der Fünften

Englisch, ist klar, dann im ...in der Siebten habe ich Latein gemacht ....[externally
provoked laughter]..... In der Neunten Französisch ... und dann in der Elfte

Italienisch...Ich hatte auch Italienisch im Abi ... und dann halt Spanisch in der Volkshochschule

....aber ich wußte trotzdem lange nicht, was ich machen würde. Also, ich hatte Mathe, Deutsch

LK...und wo l l t e unheimlich gerne was mit Mathe machen...aber halt nichts, was

überhaupt nichts mit Sprachen zu tun hat ....und das einzige, wo ich halt Sprachen mit Mathe hätte

kombinieren können, wär' Lehramt gewesen...und das wolle ich auf keinen Fall .....Ehm...Also

hab' ich das gemacht, und....hab' das vom ersten Semester bis heute immer

noch.....immer ab und an bereut... also, praktisch die meiste Zeit...Also, ich wünsch'

mir heute immer noch, grad wenn ich den Stellenteil der FAZ durchlese, ich hätte

Wirtschaftsinformatik studiert ... oder Ingenieurwesen oder irgendwas ganz anderes

... Ich habe auch keine Idee, was ich nach dem Examen machen werde...also, überhaupt

keine Ahnung.... Ich denk' echt, also, in unserem Beruf halbwegs ordentlich Kohle

zu verdienen ist sehr, sehr schwer.... Am besten man geht in die

Unternehmensberatung, weil da jeder anfangen kann (giggle)

......und....ehm...ja......das....eh..... mehr fällt mir dazu im Moment nicht ein. ......
My name is Kristina Merkner. I'm 24 years old. I was born in Velbert... That is near the Ruhr area... Ehm... Everybody thinks that I always underline that I am not from the Ruhr area, but from the "Bergisches Land" is, because I don't like the Ruhr area, but... that is not the case at all. I like the Ruhr area, because there are... large cities... and I like that... As to my school career... first I attended primary school... after that the "Gymnasium"... ehm... In school, I didn't know what
to do after....afterwards... I had English as...eh...a preferred subject in, in the last
years... Eh, and I.... In school...I did basically all the languages I, I could do....In
the fifth grade I started with English.... In the seventh grade I tool Latin, and that was
not natural.....In the ninth grade I took French...and in the eleventh grade even
Italian and ehm.....outside school I learned Spanish at an adult learning center...
Ehm..in school, I also liked, ehm, ...mathematics... and I always wanted to do
something with mathematics, but ehm... I, I wanted to combine it with languages
and...the only way I could have done this would have been by becoming a
teacher...and really didn't like to do that. ..... Eh,.....so I started study interpreting.
Eh....I have......I'm not happy with this decision eh..... not always and I... I'm still not
happy with it... especially when I read ...ehm....the econo....economy pages in the
“Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung” and then I,... I wish I would have done information
technology or something like that. After the exam ...eh...I'm not sure what I would like to
do.... I think by working as an interpreter...you cannot earn much money, and it's
very difficult to...get on...ehm.....may be I should start at a consulting agency...because...everybody can start there...you don't need any.....special qualifications... and eh....yeah.......I think that's all.......
Ja, ich bin zwar kein Allround-talent, aber vielleicht ein „Renaissance-Woman“, weil mein zweiter Name Renee ist. Ja, und ich mache als zweite Sprache Spanisch, und eigentlich ...ehm...studier’ ich Übersetzen, aber ich wollte jetzt einfach mal sehen, ob ich das Dolmetschpropädeutikum schaffe. Ich wollte mir das eben so als Möglichkeit offenhalten, also, ob das überhaupt was wäre, ne ....Tja, und ich war zwar noch nie in, ehm, also England oder den USA, aber ich war mal in Spanien, in Salamanca, für einen Monat, das war so’n Austausch. Ja, und ich wollte dann hier jetzt also das Dolmetschpropädeutikum machen ..., danach entweder das dann
weiterstudieren und auch technische Übersetzung noch machen. Dann wollte ich
Französisch auch noch weitermachen. Da mach' ich dann die Erweiterungsübungen. Ja,
und dann ... eine weitere Sprache ist noch Schwedisch. Und da könnt' ich mir auch
vorstellen, daß ich irgendwann mal in Schweden leb' Ansosnten hab' ich auch mal Italienisch
angefangen, hab' von Frau Muntasser [sic] auch den Kurs besucht. Aber ich bin da mit dem Spanisch
so sehr durcheinander gekommen, da hab' ich mir gedacht, S' mach ich jetzt nicht weiter.

....So, das wär's eigentlich ....

Mr. Müller-Richter: Warum haben Sie denn Schwedisch gelernt?

Melusine: Ja, ich hab' das irgendwann mal gelernt. Also, ich hab' mir so'n Buch von
Langenschaid geholt und mich einfach da mal hingesetzt und das gelernt. Ja, und
ich hab' gemerkt, daß das eigentlich dem Deutschen ziemlich ähnlich ist und da
sind auch viele Elemente aus dem Englischen und Französischen, und da hab'
ich gedacht, ich lern' das einfach mal weiter. Und da hab' ich hier dann auch am
Zentralen Sprachlabor einen Kurs besucht. Ja, und da war ich auch ganz gut und
hab' gedacht, ich mach' das dann irgendwie weiter. Also, ich könnte in Schweden
auch noch studieren, also, ich will mal gucken, ob es unbedingt das Übersetzen
weiter sein muß oder irgendwas anderes ....

Mr. Müller-Richter: Sie haben auch noch Französisch gemacht?

Melusine: Ja, genau, mmh...
Mr. Müller-Richter: ...das ist Ihre zweite Fremdsprache dann gewesen?

Melusine: Ja, genau ....mmh....

 [...] [Mr. Müller-Richter asking Melusine if she also took the introductory crash course in Spanish at the Institute]

Melusine: ...also, nee, das hab' ich noch in der Schule gemacht. Also, ich hab' in der elften Klasse mit Spanisch angefangen, und in der siebten schon mit Französisch.... Ja, in Französisch bin ich eigentlich fast genauso gut wie in Spanisch ...ich hab' das zwar jetzt nirgendwo gemacht, aber ich hatte... neulich 'nen Kurs bei Herrn Mattausch [sic?] und da hab' ich gemerkt, das ist eigentlich auch ganz gut. Ich muß es nur'n bißchen auffrischen....

Mr. Müller-Richter: Ja,...das ist auch richtig so...und bei Spanisch da steigen Sie eben jetzt so intensiv ein, wenn Sie diese ....Sie waren die ganze Zeit hier bei uns?

Melusine: Ja, ja .... Mr. Müller-Richter: ...vier Semester hier bei uns gemacht?

Melusine: Ach so, ich bin jetzt schon im achten Semester ...und für Übersetzen.

Mr. Müller-Richter: Ach so, ...schon vier Jahre....ja, das wußt' ich ja. [...] Naja, ich meine, ...das ist schon brauchbar....so eine Palette von Sprachen....Damit haben Sie die Grundlage für verschiedene Sprachen gelegt ....Ne....

Melusine: Ich hab' gedacht, ich leg' mir'n breites Basiswissen an, ....weil ich ja nicht weiß, wo ich die Aufträge bekomme...also, ob das jetzt alles für Englisch ist, weil
ja nun ziemlich viele Leute Englisch machen ...oder Spanisch....und da hab' ich
gedacht, vielleicht mach' ich dann noch Schwedisch oder so...

Mr. Müller-Richter: ...Mmmh,...gut...nicht falsch gedacht, denn das ist immer ein

Vorteil, wenn wir auch nach wie vor konstatieren, daß Englisch und Französisch
die wichtigsten Sprachen hier sind... [...] Nach Hildesheim wollten Sie wann noch

mal gehen?

Melusine: Ach so, im nächsten Semester....

Mr. Müller-Richter: ...nach dem Propädeutikum? Melusine: Ja, genau ...mmh...

Mr. Müller-Richter: ...weil Sie ja mehr so ...in die technische Richtung wollten..?

Melusine: Ja, genau, ich wollte das auch machen, weil ich jetzt schon Wirtschaft

und Jura gemacht hatte und ...EDV bei Frau Krohmer [sic?], ...und dann mach' ich
eben die Technik auch noch.

Mr. Müller-Richter: Mmh....mmh...

Steve: ...und wo siehst Du Dich in zehn Jahren?

Melusine: Ja, also vielleicht Schweden, ja, oder Australien. Also, ich weiß ja nicht,

ob ich jetzt nun dann Übersetzen mache. Also, ich könnt' ja noch irgendwas anderes

machen. Ich könnte ja noch Terminologie oder so 'was anderes mit Sprachen, also, daß ich eben

mehrere Elemente miteinander verbinde, weil es irgendwie nicht so interessant wär', wenn ich jetzt nur

eine Sache mache. Also, ich könnt' nur technische Übersetzung machen. ...Also,

[...] Mr. Müller-Richter: Uns interessiert, wieso Sie gerade auf Australien und nicht auf Neu-guinea....Papua-Neuguinea kommen?

Melusine: Naja, ok ....das wär’ auch ...natürlich auch nicht schlecht...[general laughter]

Mr. Müller-Richter: ...aber weshalb gerade Australien?

Melusine: ...Ja, weil es schon weiter weg ist ....[giggle]

Mr. Müller-Richter: [giggle] ...weil es weit weg ist? ....[giggle] Was für eine Qualität ergibt sich durch die Distanz?

Melusine: Ich weiß ja nicht, also, ..neue Perspektiven vor allem....also, daß man ein bißchen Abstand gewinnt von ...Europa ....immer dieses europäische Denken halt ...und daß man eben mal, ....weiß ich nicht, ...irgendwie neue Kulturen kennenlernt...

Mr. Müller-Richter: Warum möchten Sie Abstand zum europäischen Denken haben?

Melusine: Ja, weiß ich nicht ...also, ich find’ das schon ziemlich kleinkariert, also meiner Meinung nach ....
Mr. Müller-Richter: Weshalb .........weshalb?

Melusine: ....mmh.....'s kann ich jetzt gar nicht so sagen, also, irgendwie....

Mr. Müller-Richter: Etwas arbeitet doch in Ihnen, das Ihnen sagt, Sie fühlen sich

hier irgendwie eingeengt.....

Melusine: Ja....irgendwie schon genau.....also, ich mag' auch die Weite des Raums...eigentlich. Mr. Müller-Richter: Wie bitte....noch mal?

Melusine: ...die Weite des ... Mr. Müller-Richter: ...des Raumes??

Melusine: Ja, genau ....

Mr. Müller-Richter: ....da wollen Sie dann unbedingt die Weite suchen [giggle]

......und nicht das Weite suchen ....[general laughter] .....oder das Weite suchen, um die Weite zu finden......[general laughter].........Haben Sie da Sehnsucht nach der Einsamkeit?

Melusine: Also, eigentlich nicht, also....ich will schon mit vielen Menschen zu tun haben. Also, das ist schon wichtig....

Mr. Müller-Richter: Das wollen Sie aber haben in einem...Melusine: großen Land

Mr. Müller-Richter: .......Land, wo pro Quadratkilometer....eben die Bevölkerungsdichte geringer ist? Melusine: Ja, genau.

other student: ....Rutland.....[laughter]

Melusine: Ne, Rußland ist mir'n bißchen zu kalt oder .........
other student: ....nicht überall...........am Schwarzen Meer, zum Beispiel....

Melusine: ....na gut, in Schweden ist es eigentlich auch kalt....oder.........

Mr. Müller-Richter: ....Na gut....[giggle] ....Schön, dann haben wir glaub' ich

jetzt von der ersten Fremdsprache die Teilnehmer so weit gehört......[......]
[courtesy translation of key excerpts provided by Steve Grosse, CIRP 2000]

Steve: ...and where do you see yourself ten years from now?
Melusine: ....may be in Sweden or Australia [...]
Mr. Müller-Richter: What we're interested in is why Australia of all places and not ...New-Guinea....Papua-New Guinea?
Melusine: Sure...why not...that doesn't sound bad either ...[general laughter]
Mr. Müller-Richter: ....but why Australia?
Melusine: ...because it is so far away...[giggle]
Mr. Müller-Richter: ...because it's far away? [giggle] ...What qualitative difference do you see in geographical distance?
Melusine: ...I'm not sure....but new perspectives, above all, ...to gain some distance from ...Europe and the European mindset....and to get to know ...new cultures for a change....
Mr. Müller-Richter: Why do you feel you need distance from the European mindset?
Melusine: ...I can't really say...I find it all quite narrow-minded...in my view.
Mr. Müller-Richter: Why is that....?
Melusine: ...Mmh...I can't really put it into words.....
Mr. Müller-Richter: Some inner voice inside of you must be telling you that you feel somewhat claustrophobic here...
Melusine: ...Yes...exactly...and I also like the vastness of space...[...]
Mr. Müller-Richter: [making use of a popular pun in German] ....well...looking for vastness rather than being on the run....[giggle] ...well, ...don't run away from us to look for that vastness [general laughter] ....Are you longing for solitude?
Melusine: ...No, not really....I do want to socialize with lots of people. That is important....
Mr. Müller-Richter: ...but you would like to do so in a country where the population density per square mile is much lower than here?
Melusine: ...Exactly...
Fellow student: ...how about Russia...? [laughter]
Melusine: ...Oh, no...Russia would be a bit too cold for me...
Fellow student: ...not necessarily... you could go to the Black Sea for instance...
Melusine: ...Well, then again, Sweden tends to be quite cold also.... [...]

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Hello, my name is Melusine. and I am studying translating and ehm..... I want to acquire some basic skills and strategies in interpreting, because it could also provide me with better career prospects ... later ....in the job....ehm.

Concerning my hobbies, I, eh, paint with ...ehm, water colors and ehm....I do some keep-fit...keep-fit exercises ...and ehm...... I, ehm, study, ehm, Swedish and Italian...., but I don't have much time to do it ... and so I had to quit the job, eh.... quit the, eh, course with Mrs. Dalari (sic?) and I started in, in the winter term of ninety-six in Heidelberg, and I could also have studied in Berlin at the Humboldt
University, but Heidelberg has a better reputation, of course. So I started here.....

Concerning my other languages, I, ehm, do also French....and, eh, I do a course

with Mr. Matausch, "spontaneous translating". It's not so difficult as I imagined. And,

eh, I don't want to get out of practice.... In French. ....Ehm,... I also want to do the

additional exam in French as a third language. ...Concerning my career prospects, I

want to say that I don't have much vocational experience, and before I wanted to

look for a job, either in Germany at the ... big company or...eh...an institution like

the "Bundeskriminalamt", for example, because I'm also interested in

criminology. And, eh,... later, I want to study in Sweden or in Britain ..or France.

And I'm gonna apply to all eh...institutions and universities... and I'd see,

ehm,...what's, ehm, ehm, ... what will become of it. Eh, I want to develop

diverse, eh, diverse qualifications in a variety of fields ranging from, eh, economics,

ehm, and, eh, law....to medicine, because I don't know where I want to work ... in

what field and eh, I've got to prepare my ......eh.......my......eh....[giggle]

Steve: .......self?

<<

R.: What? ...What did you say? ....No, not myself [laughter]..... my paper... my

"Diplomarbeit" ... and so, eh.... I am not sure whether I can take ehm Anglo-

American law....taught law or....state law or commercial law.... Or... British law ....

That's all........
Ich heiße Birte .... [clear throat] ...Ich bin auch gebürtige Stuttgarterin wie Judith. Im

Alter von zwei Jahren bin ich allerdings dann mit meinen Eltern nach Böblingen gezogen. Da

hab' ich dann .... bis zum Abitur gelebt. ...Ich hab' ....schon in der Schule gemerkt,

daß ich mich sehr für Sprachen interessier' ...und hab' dann ab der elften Klasse

ungefähr recht genau gewußt, was ich machen will nach dem Abi. ....Während

der Schulzeit war ich begeisterte Reiterin ...[giggle]. Ich hatte ein eigenes Pferd vier

Jahre lang, ...war natürlich jeden Nachmittag im Stall ....hatte kaum Urlaub, und so

weiter. Das wüßt Ihr ja vielleicht, daß das dann recht schwierig ist, wenn man ein Pferd

>>>  >>>>>>>>>>>>
hat, das loszuwerden für ein paar Wochen ...[giggle] Ich bin da immer mit dem Fahrrad
hin gefahren und hab' auch sonst noch Volleyball gespielt und so ...war also sehr

sportbegeistert. Auf der musischen Seite war ich nicht so erfolgreich. Ich hab' mal
versucht, Gitarre zu spielen, aber ich ....es ist mir nicht zugefallen ... und ich hatte

keine Lust zu üben. Also hab' ich's nach zwei Jahren dann aufgegeben. ...Ich hab'

den ziemlich gut. ....Der eine hat jetzt angefangen, Jura zu studieren ...in Tübingen ...Der andere

ist sechzehn und geht noch zur Schule........Mhmm ...ja....Nach dem Abi

hab' ich dann erstmal ....beschlossen, ich muß jetzt was anderes machen ein Jahr lang ....und

eh, da ich als Kind mit meinen Eltern fast jeden Urlaub in Dänemark verbracht hab'

und daher 'ne große Liebe zu diesem Land entwickelt hab', bin ich dann nach

Dänemark gegangen für vier Monate. In Skandinavien gibt's ...'ne besondere Art

von Schule ....Also auf Dänisch nennt die sich "Volgeohochschoole" [sic?] Wenn man
das übersetzt, wörtlich heißt das dann "Volkshochschule"....Das ist aber 'was anderes, als
die Volkshochschule, die man hierzulande hat ...Es ist eher 'ne Mischung aus 'nem Internat und 'ner

Volkshochschule. Da kann also jeder hin, egal, wie alt er ist, egal, was für 'nen Hintergrund

er hat ...und man kann sich dort aus dem Fächerspektrum, was angeboten wird, die Sachen

aussuchen, die man gerne machen möchte ...sofern sie eben ....man muß sich da hält seinen

Stundenplan zusammenbasteln....Dort war ich dann vier Monate. Das war in der Nähe von
Kopenhagen ...in Hillero [sic?] Eh....Am Anfang hatt' ich's natürlich etwas schwer mit
dem Dänisch. Ich hab' recht viel verstanden von Anfang an, konnte allerdings nichts
sagen. Die ersten drei Wochen waren furchtbar. Ich hab' immer mehr verstanden.
Ich saß mit den Leuten in Gruppen zusammen. Wir haben gespielt und so weiter. Und wenn ich
...Lust hatte, irgend'was dazu beizutragen, irgend'was zu sagen, dann war das Gespräch
natürlich schon längst weitergegangen, bis ich mir 'ne Antwort überlegt hatte ...[giggle]... Dadurch war
ich natürlich gezwungen, sehr schnell Dänisch zu reden...zu lernen,...um mich eben
verständlich machen zu können. Nach den vier Monaten konnte ich's dann
ziemlich gut. Inzwischen ist es leider schon wieder etwas eingerostet ...da es jetzt
auch schon fast vier Jahre her ist, daß ich dort war ...Es war aber 'ne wunderschöne Zeit.
Ich hab' da viel gelernt. Ich hab' viele interessante Leute kennengelernt ...und ich
möcht' auf jeden Fall, sobald sich mir die Gelegenheit bietet, wieder für längere Zeit nach
Dänemark. Als diese Schule dann zu Ende war, nach den vier Monaten, bin ich
praktisch sofort nach Irland gegangen ...und hab' dort 'n halbes Jahr als Au Pair gearbeitet in
Dublin. Das hat mir nicht so gut gefallen ...[giggle], erstens weil ...der Erziehungsstil
der Familie, in der ich da gelebt und gearbeitet hab', nicht so ganz meinen
Vorstellungen entsprochen hat. Ich konnte mit den beiden Kindern, das waren zwei
Jungs, nicht besonders viel anfangen .... Die wollten nur vorn Fernseher sitzen oder
Computerspiele spielen. Mit denen konnte man nicht Bücher lesen oder irgendwelche
Sachen basteln....oder ....mal spazierengehen....oder irgendwie.... Was anderes machen als fernsehen, war einfach nicht ‘drin. ...Mmh, nach dem halben Jahr war ich dann recht froh, wieder weg zu sein, obwohl es mir in Irland an sich schon ganz gut gefallen hat.

Allerdings hatte ich natürlich auch das Problem, das viele Au Pairs haben, daß sie nämlich kaum Einheimische kennenlernen, sondern vor allem andere Au Pairs ......aus dem gleichen Land oder aus anderen Ländern. Und ... man findet da nicht so richtig den Zugang zu den Einheimischen. Nachdem ich dann aus Irland wieder da war, hatte ich noch ein paar Wochen Urlaub, und dann hat auch hier schon das Semester angefangen. Ich habe’ mich dann hier zunächst auch recht erfolglos eingeschrieben....[giggle]. Ich hab’ auch ‘was verpatzt bei der ......bei der Zulassung allerdings. ...Ich hab’ gedacht, ich bräuchte für Russisch keine Zulassung und hatte nur die Zulassung für Englisch und bis ich dann hier am IÜD eingeschrieben war ...eh....in der richtigen Kombination hat’s ‘ne ganz Weile gedauert. Ich hab’ dann aber sofort angefangen am IÜD. Ich hab’ nichts anderes mehr gemacht vorher und hab’ eben das Russischpropädeutikum gemacht. Ich hab’ mir gedacht: Jetzt kannst Du schon Französisch aus der Schule, Dänisch und Englisch. Jetzt musst Du mal ‘was anderes machen noch...und dann hab’ ich mir überlegt, daß Russisch vielleicht gar nicht schlecht wär’ ....und hab’ dann ...zusammen mit Katharina das Russischpropädeutikum hier gemacht, .....was mir großen Spaß gemacht hat.

Deswegen bin ich dann natürlich auch dabei geblieben und ....Jetzt hab’ ich Vordiplom
gemacht, bin jetzt im sechsten Semester ... und,... ja, nach diesem Semester, nach dem Dolmetschpropädeutikum, gehe ich erstmal für ein akademisches Jahr nach Kalifornien....nach Monterrey, was mir hoffentlich auch was....sehr viel bringen wird im Bezug auf's Dolmetschen. Eh.....zu meinen Hobbies kann ich noch sagen, ich nehm' mir immer Zeit für Sport. Ich geh' regelmäßig schwimmen, und versuche auch sonst, immer mal wieder 'was einzuschieben an sportlichen Aktivitäten.... Mmh, ich bin auch im russischen Chor bei uns im Institut ....[giggle]...und....sonst bin ich kulturell sehr interessiert, .....versuch' also, möglichst viel ins Theater zu gehen, Kino, und so weiter und so fort...... Ja, mehr gibt's im Moment eigentlich nicht zu sagen ............
Cultural identity research project

Presentation #: 5b
(novice group)

today’s date: May 10, 2000
location: Heidelberg

Biographical Details: Before the interview please take a few moments to provide us with your details:

Name: Birte Priebe
Gender (M/F): F
Nationality: German
Date of Birth: 10/12/76
Age: 23
Profession: Student
Place of Birth: Stuttgart
Current Address/Phone Number: 06221-779306
Languages spoken fluently: German, English, Danish

Please note: Transcriptions are NOT listed in chronological order.

Below is the detailed transcription of the self-presentation. The following general transcription guidelines have been used:

in case of dialogue: Interviewer: I. Respondent: R.

Transcription rate: 3 seconds per line

and - long pronunciation of word
and - hasty pronunciation of word
and - emphatic pronunciation of word
... - pause (more dots = longer pause)
<< - speaker’s voice becoming louder
>>> - speaker’s voice becoming softer

I obviously haven’t prepared anything. So I just give you a short...overview of my life

up to this moment. My name is Birte. I was born and raised in Swabia ... near

Stuttgart, and I spent my life up to the age of nineteen there in Boeblingen ...I

graduated from High school there and ...then decided I’d ... I’d like to do something

completely different. And so I....set off for Denmark ...and spent four months there

attending a special kind of school called “Holschoole”[sic?]. It’s a .....[giggle] .....it’s

the third time I’m talking about this .....[giggle....]

[Mr. Jenkins pointing out that it’s the first time for him to hear about it]
So are you familiar with the concept of these "Hoischoole" [sic?]?

Mr. J.: ... not in any sense at all....

Birte: Ok... they exist in Sweden, Norway and Denmark and are a mixture of

...well... "Internat" or boarding school and ....what we have here as

"Volkshochschule". So... you live there with people from all walks of life, who have
different professions, different ages .... And you have a variety... 

of subjects to choose from... You can put together your own timetable according to

what you would like to learn ... and, well, I spent four months there speaking

exclusively Danish. At the end of it, I was pretty much ... used to speaking Danish,

and I was almost fluent, I'd say ....but by now, all this knowledge has.....

a bit [giggle] .....Right after my stay in Denmark, I went to Ireland to work a an Au

Pair ... in Dublin ... I spent six months there. I didn't like it that much, ... because

working with children that are not my own is not my ... cup of tea, I think. Eh, ......

.... After my stay in Ireland, I came back to Germany and started at this institute. I

.... Eh... chose English and Russian ..... Russian, because I thought, eh, I should

know something about this country which has close historical links with Germany...

Well, I was also interested in learning a new language... and so I just tried and

....I think, ... I made the right decision.....by choosing Russian. .... If I had the

choice, I would rather study somewhere up North ... in Northern Germany, for
example, in Hamburg, but as you know, there are only five universities [giggle] where you can study translating and interpreting. And for me, to me it seemed that Heidelberg was the best choice. I didn’t want to go to Germersheim, ‘cause it’s just a ....hole [giggle] ...eh, so,... I didn’t want to go to Saarbruecken either, because there was nothing ...attracting me to the city .....So...I came to Heidelberg... and I’m quite happy here.... I don’t think I’ll ever ...really feel at home here, but ....that’s ...that’s not ....I don’t feel I’d feel at home in Tuebingen either, for example. It’s just.... That I’d rather go North........

Steve: That’s very interesting....being from Swabia ... and you want to go North - that’s a very interesting concept ...Do you have any explanation for why that is?

Birte: .... I ....I do have ...in deed. My grand parents came ...well.... My father’s parents came from...."West-Preussen", Western Prussia..... and my mother’s parents were from ... Flensburg ...and I spent most of my holidays when I was little [clear throat] in Denmark ....at least somewhere in Northern Germany [giggle] ....Up North ....[laughter] ....that’s an Irish expression.... [laughter]....... Mr. Jenkins: ....up North?? ......[giggle] Birte: I....I developed close ties to the North...I like the climate.... I like the feel....the air....I can’t explain...It’s just ....a feeling I get when I, when I come there.
I always feel at home when the nearer I get to the border...the more I feel at home...so...

Steve: Can you describe those feelings a bit more, because I find that very interesting....?

Birte: [giggle]...it’s just that...everything seems to be familiar...the way the air smells...and the way the wind blows...[laughter]. It may sound ridiculous, but it’s just...as if I belonged there...It feels as if I belonged there and...I can’t really describe it. [giggle]

Steve: Is this in Northern Germany or in Denmark or both?

Birte: Both...but Denmark more than Northern Germany........

[Then Birte proceeds to talk about her upcoming academic year in Monterey, California, and her preconceptions about Americans].

In part II of her presentation, Birte is requested by Mr. Jenkins to talk about German preconceptions of Scandinavia:

I was asked to talk about the preconceptions we...Germans might have about Scandinavia...and...as I haven’t really spent much time...in Sweden or Norway...

I’d just like to elaborate on Denmark. ...And I would like to concentrate on one preconception almost everyone of us will have....and that’s....liberalism. We Germans...in general...think that, eh,...Scandinavians are very liberal and their society is...open for....every kind of new [giggle]...social developments .......and I
think that this preconception is partly justified, 'cause the Danish society is
indeed quite ...permissive....For example, ehh, ......you might have heard about

‘Kristiania’ (sic?). That's a community in the heart of Copenhagen, which, eh, is run by ....former drug addicts, partly and all kinds of other people, hippies

and....people who ....feel they don't really belong to the normal society. And they have their independent community there, and they sell drugs - not hard drugs, but all other kinds of ....drugs. .....And they are tolerated by everybody ......”Kristiania” is a tourist attraction. They pay ....do they pay taxes? I don't really know, ......but, ehm,

......they have resisted several attempts ....by the city of Copenhagen to throw them out .... The people of Copenhagen have supported them ....for the most part. .....And I don't think this would be possible here in Germany, that you have a community like this in the heart of a big city. ........Then there is the educational system. In Denmark you can choose ....which school you want to send your child to. If you don't ....don't approve of the state schools, you can choose your own ....own private school ... or you can teach your children at home ....if you feel ... up to it ...And ....so everybody can find their own way .....of...ehm....developing their personality ....if they feel ...... they want to go to one of these "Hoischoole” that I have mentioned ....they can do so ....and it even ....ehm.... gets them points .... They have a point system for university entry .... And

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if they have attended a "Hoischoole", they get more points. ...Eh, ...there are, however, restrictions in Danish society which we don’t have here in Germany. For example, alcohol is very ...very ....ehm .......a topic which is often discussed. And they have imposed restrictions on selling al..... eh ....alcoholic beverages. In supermarkets, you can get wine and so on, but you can ....you can only get one kind of beer, which doesn’t have that many ....that much alcohol in it. And ....for ...the harder stuff [giggle] ....you have to go to special shops licensed to sell ...alcoholic beverages....... And from my experience, .....I can say that .....eh.....although Danish society seems to be more liberal than ours, I don't feel that the young people, the young Danes are very much different from the young Germans. We have ...... similar ....plans ....for the future and similar ......ideas of life .....And ......older Danes can be ....even more conservative than old Germans, I think. And ....[laughter] I ....I'd say that there are ...at least ......as many national movements in Denmark as , ehm, ....as there are here. Ehm, .....of course this is a relative figure, because there are only five million Danes ....and eighty million Germans, but ...... proportionally it would be about the same, I think...............OK......
Biographical Details: Before the interview please take a few moments to provide us with your details:

Name: Dagmar Flessenkämper Gender (M/F): F Nationality: German

Date of Birth: 29/05/74 Age: 25 Profession: Student

Place of Birth: Hamm/Westf. Current Address/Phone Number: 06221-712453

Languages spoken fluently: English, Spanish, Portuguese

Please note: Transcriptions are NOT listed in chronological order.

Below is the detailed transcription of the self-presentation. The following general transcription guidelines have been used:

in case of dialogue: Interviewer: I. Respondent: R.

Transcription rate: 3 seconds per line

a n d - long pronunciation of word
and - hasty pronunciation of word
and - emphatic pronunciation of word
.... - pause (more dots = longer pause)
<<< - speaker’s voice becoming louder
>>> - speaker’s voice becoming softer

Also, ich bin die Dagmar. Ich bin jetzt sechsundzwanzig Jahre, habe vor’m

Studium schon eine Lehre zur Chemielaborantin gemacht, bin auch während der

Studium, des...nein, während der Lehre da’drauf gekommen, dann auf das

Dolmetschen oder auf die Sprachen umzuschwenken, weil ein Ausbilder mich

ansprach, weil er dann von meinen sprachlichen Vorkenntnissen hörte, da ich

nämlich im Alter von sechs Jahren mit meinen Eltern für sieben Jahre nach Brasilien

gegangen bin, also da auch meine Kindheit verbracht habe, und nach dem Abitur

ein Jahr in den USA war, dort bei Disney im Epcot Center gearbeitet habe...und mich

Hörte sich interessant an. Ich hab’ mir gedacht, ’s kann man mal probieren, und bin somit dann ...hier in Heidelberg gelandet [giggle] und ...jetzt hier im Dolmetschpropädeutikum, um zu sehen, wie liegt mir so ’was, kann ich so ’was zutrauen.... ja, aber ob’s dann auch wirklich klappt, das steht noch auf’nem anderen Blatt......Ja....

Steve: Mich würde interessieren, in wie weit Dich Deine sieben Jahre Brasilien verändert haben, in wie weit Du Dich vielleicht jetzt weniger Deutsch oder mehr Brasilianisch fühlst?

Dagmar: Ja, also, sie hat, haben mich so sehr, weit geprägt, daß ich ...ehm, also, immer damit konfrontiert war, auch dann jetzt anderen Mentalitäten kennenzulernen, zu akzeptieren. Es war während der gesamten Schulzeit auch immer so, daß in unsere Klasse nach jeden Ferien kamen neue Kinder hinzu. Die mußten, wurden
ganz selbstverständlich integriert. Also, es ... man wurde vielmehr Neuen und
Fremden geöffnet. ... Ja, ... das ist halt so....

Mr. Müller-Richter. Frau Flessenkämper, das erstaunliche ist jetzt eigentlich für mich,

daß Sie Spanisch als ... zweite Fremdsprache haben und daß Brasilien quasi doch

im Grund ..... das Portugiesische mitbringt ..... 


Dagmar. [laughter] ..... statt Portugiesisch ........ Ich .... hatte gedacht, ich probier'
einfach mal 'ne neue Fremdsprache. ... Spanisch ist ja dem Portugiesischen sehr

ähnlich. 'is mir dann bei dem Erlernen ... der neuen Sprache auch einfacher gefallen,
sowohl grammaticalisch als auch vom Vokabular das zu erlernen, und hab' dann
gedacht, wenn ich jetzt mit dem Spanisch dann soweit firm bin, daß ich das nicht
mehr mit dem Portugiesisch verwechsele, was mir am Anfang durchaus auch

passiert ist, 'grad in der Rechtschreibung, daß ich das vielleicht dann nochmal so

auffrische an Hand von Lesen, und vielleicht auch die eine oder andere

... Veranstaltung hier mal mitbesuche, um zu gucken, daß man es als dritte Sprache

vielleicht noch mit nebenherlaufen läßt.

[Mr. Müller-Richter pointing out that it would be highly beneficial for Dagmar to keep
up her Portuguese for possible interpreting work later in her career]

Mr. Müller-Richter: Kann es sein, daß sie statt mit Reagenzgläsern lieber mit

Menschen zu tun haben?
Dagmar. Ja, ...kann auch sein, ...aber ich mein', im Labor kommt es ja auch sehr
viel auf Teamarbeit an. ...Also, das ist ja das A und O. ...Also, es ist ja nicht so, daß
man da alleine vor seinem Abzug steht und vor sich hinbrodelt [giggle] ....aber ich
kam, ....wie gesagt, also das war eben auch die Sache der Selbstverantwortlichkeit.

Ich hab', ....als Laborant ist muß man, ist man immer ...klar, wie in den meisten
Jobs, auf die Weisungen des Chefs angewiesen, ...und wenn man aber als
derjenige, der tagtäglich im Labor steht, weiß, so wie der das sagt, ist es viel zu
kompliziert, oder es klappt nicht so ...und man hat einen uneinsichtigen Chef, daß
man es aber trotzdem so machen muß, wie der es macht, und das waren halt so
Sachen, da ...hat man dann schon überlegt. Man hat dann auch klar gesehen, was
machen denn die Doktoren? Die sind dann mehr die Managertypen, die von einer
Sitzung zur nächsten und mit dem Kundengespräche hatten. Also, die waren dann
schon wieder sehr weit weg von der Realität der chemischen Tätigkeiten. Und ja,
halt ...also, das hat mir ....schon zugesagt. Also, ich arbeite auch in den
Semesterferien immer als Chemielaborantin in einem Labor, und 's macht auch
Spaß, ....freue ich mich auch immer wieder, dann da wieder mal 'n bisschen was in
die Richtung zu machen, Geld zu verdienen, ...aber, daß ich jetzt sage, für die
nächsten Jahre bis zur Pension immer im Labor zu stehen, das war nicht so meine
Welt. [...] 

Steve: Und wo sieht sich Dagmar in zehn Jahren?

Dagmar: Pooh, das ist 'ne gute Frage. Also, mein Traum war es eigentlich immer, auch mal in den USA ...zu sein. Ob das dann in zehn Jahren für den Rest meines Lebens so sein wird, weiß ich nicht. Ich ...bin momentan auch noch nicht so sicher, ob ich mehr ...zu einer der internationalen Organisationen tendiere, oder ob ich irgendwie in die freie Wirtschaft gehe. Oder ...es werden einem ja momentan so Möglichkeiten eröffnet, was man als Dolmetscher alles so tun kann. Ja, ...da muß ich noch mal 'n bißchen überlegen.

[Mr. Müller-Richter saying that he may have some contact numbers for Dagmar]
Cultural identity research project  
Presentation #: 6b  
(novice group)  
today's date: May 10, 2000  
location: Heidelberg  

Biographical Details: Before the interview please take a few moments to provide us with your details:

Name: Dagmar Flessenkämper  
Gender (M/F): F  
Nationality: German  
Date of Birth: 29/05/74  
Age: 25  
Profession: Student  
Place of Birth: Hamm/Westf.  
Current Address/Phone Number: 06221-712453  
Languages spoken fluently: English, Spanish, Portuguese  

fleda@gmx.net  

Please note: Transcriptions are NOT listed in chronological order.

Below is the detailed transcription of the self-presentation. The following general transcription guidelines have been used:

in case of dialogue: Interviewer: I.  
Respondent: R.  

Transcription rate: 3 seconds per line

and - long pronunciation of word  
and - hasty pronunciation of word  
and - emphatic pronunciation of word  
.... - pause (more dots = longer pause)  
<<<< - speaker's voice becoming louder  
>>>>> - speaker's voice becoming softer  

My name is Dagmar, and I was born in Northrhine-Westphalia, but from there I moved to Wiesbaden at the age of two. So I'm not really...know what's there,

<<<<<<  

<<<<<<  

<<<<<<  

yeah...my relatives, which I do visit from time to time. Yeah, ehm, when I was six.....

we went to Brazil with my family to stay there for seven years. It was quite a real good experience. I liked it very much. It's a real nice country and I had all my friends

[giggle] sure....and there I went to a German school. So we had every subject
double, one, one time in Portuguese, one time in German, because they wanted us to be....taught at the level of a German school, so that when we come back to
Germany we could go to the German "Gymnasium" without having problems.

Well....yeah, when....when I was thirteen I came back to this....town close to Wiesbaden....where I made my "Abitur". And right after school, I decided to go to the US to work there at Disney World, Florida, 'cause I don't know when it started, may be when I was fourteen, fifteen, when some of my friends went to this Highschool year. I was kind of....well, not jealous, but I thought, well, I would like to go there too, but it's expensive and so on... so I decided to go there by myself to work there, found out that there is this "cultural representative" program by Epcot Center and.. applied for it....and it worked out good... So I went there, worked there for a year... and of course, when you're there, you've got to see all the places. So we like....ehm...all every weekend we went to places close to Orlando. And from time to time, we managed to have more days off. So we could go to far....farther places like...Chicago, Los Angeles... all the nice big cities [laughter]. And....I had a really good time over there.... The work at Disney....well....it's...you have like fifty people from eleven different countries, and they're all in the age of nineteen to twenty-six, about this. And it's a big... party. You just work [insecure laughter], and after work you just meet with friends and go out and....it's not comparable to anything....any normal life at all.... So after coming back to Germany, I started an apprenticeship in Frankfurt in a big chemical company as a chemist's assistant. It
lasted for three years, and in these three years, I just realized that chemistry is very interesting and I still like it, but I just, well, thought it was not what I wanted to do for the rest of my life. So I started thinking, well, what can I do? What am I able to do? What are my... what do I imagine for a job for my life of....what I could do?

So... I found out....that I might want to do something with languages...and so...yeah, I started to apply for all these universities and.... I had something from Germersheim and Heidelberg, and since I didn't know what exactly....where exactly is Germersheim and what I could imagine about the city [insecure laughter]......whatever it is..... So I shortly decided to come to Heidelberg, 'cause it's nicer. Now I'm really glad I decided it that way ... and .....yeah...in the time I was studying here to improve my Spanish, 'cause Spanish is my second language and not Portuguese, I went to....eh...Spain...to Tarragona. It's a city close to Barcelona, to work there in a chemical lab....to improve my Spanish. And this summer ....vacations ....I'm going to Sussex in England to work in a chemical lab [insecure laughter] in order to improve my English.

Steve: Where about in Sussex?

Dagmar: ....Excuse me?....

Steve: Where about in Sussex?
Dagmar: ....I learned it's on the South Coast of England......?

<<<<< <<

Steve: ...Well, I live in Brighton, which is in Sussex. So that's why I'm asking.....

<<<<

Dagmar: ......Oh, all right....I don't know....I just heard it's...Sussex...and it's a

>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>> <<

company called "Harko" [sic?] and that's all I know.....[insecure laughter].......

>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>

Mr. Jenkins: You must go to Brighton, 'cause Brighton is an interesting place.....

<<<<<<<<<<<

Steve: Oh, definitely.......it's a party town ......................[undefinable laughter]

>>>>>,

<<<<<<<<<<<<<<<<<<<

Dagmar: .....Oh, ok........

>>>>>>>

[Then Mrs. Griffiths comes in and says hello]

[Mr. Jenkins asks why Dagmar chose Spanish over Portuguese]

[Mr. Jenkins asks why Dagmar chose to work at chemical labs]

[Dagmar proceeds to talk about cultural differences regarding security issues at chemical labs]

[Steve asks Dagmar where she feels that she belongs to and D. responds that she belongs to where her friends and family are]

[Mr Jenkins asks Dagmar whether Heidelberg is one of her 'homes' and Dagmar replies that Wiesbaden feels more like home to her because of her family there]

[Steve asks about Dagmar's preconceptions and experiences regarding Americans, and Dagmar tells about how individual encounters have transformed her views]

In part II of her presentation, Dagmar is requested to talk about the pros and cons of travelling:

...I'd like to talk about travel, as travel broa ....broadens minds. And, ehm, it's a fact.
'cause ...it's not only the **travel** when you see like all the **monuments** and architectural

...**buildings**, but also ...you get in touch with ...**people** from different

**countries**, not only from the country you're visiting, but also from countries ...like ...visiting

the country. For example, when I was travelling in the **US**, we always went to **youth hostels**

...and there is always a huge variety of international **people** ...and you get to know

them ...and they have ...all the **same** interests and ...you just ...it's just ...very

**interesting**, 'cause you get to know something about their **lifestyle** and how they

...would like to get to know this unknown **city** ...where we're in. And ...yes and so

in **doing** so, **travelling** also doesn't have to be that expensive as many people **think** it

is ...'cause I had the experience ...if you ...do the travel by your **own** ...like

...going to youth hostels or looking for ...**nice little hotels** or **motels**, it ends up **cheaper**

than going to the **travel agency** and having it in a **package**. And then you're also

very ...**connected** to the package. Sometimes you have your **hotel** and it's two

weeks on the **beach** and ....you see nothing but **beach** [insecure laughter], and may

be one time ...an excuse ...eh ...an excursion to some **nice place**. .....And,......yeah, and

the **advantage** of **travel** is for me the **knowledge** about the **culture** and

**the people** you know ....and ....but what I as being a **tourist** always thought it’s a

pity ....you’re always **tourist**. You never get to know the **real** people in the city. You

never really get to know **where** they go at night or what they **do**. And ...that was
something that when we're long...longer in that city it's better, 'cause then you're ...like

...with them and know everything. ...But still it's interesting to try to find out ...things

about the city. ....Eh, ....the disadvantage of travelling surely is that there is this big

...tourist industry ...which builds all those big hotels ...'n stuff ...and makes

...pollution and so on. And, ...eh, I don't know, it's like very ....[insecure giggle] it has two

sides. It has the good side, but also surely the bad side and ...there are many places

where ....the people ....just live from the tourism and they just ....don't do anything

else, probably.... They can't ....[uneasy laughter], 'cause the place is just ...for

...tourists ....and ....yeah....[giggle]....................Ah, yah, I wanted to say something

about the image of ....like ...people in other countries ...., 'cause for example, the

Germans have a real strong image like .... People who go to Mallorca, and ....[giggle]

...with ....in travelling and meeting other people. I think I could ...like ....show them a
different image of how Germans are .... And also I got to know other

....imaginations of how people from France, England, wherever, how they are,
Cultural identity research project

Presentation #: 7
(novice group)

today’s date: May 10, 2000
location: Heidelberg

Biographical Details: Before the interview please take a few moments to provide us with your details:

Name: Stefan Quast
Gender (M/F): M
Nationality: deutsch

Date of Birth: 26.12.74
Age: 25
Profession: Student

Place of Birth: Viernheim
Current Address/Phone Number: 0621-3362718

Languages spoken fluently: Französisch, Spanisch, Russisch

Please note: Transcriptions are NOT listed in chronological order.

Below is the detailed transcription of the self-presentation. The following general transcription guidelines have been used:

In case of dialogue: Interviewer: I. Respondent: R.

Transcription rate: 3 seconds per line

and - long pronunciation of word
and - hasty pronunciation of word
and - emphatic pronunciation of word
.... - pause (more dots = longer pause)
<<< - speaker’s voice becoming louder
>>> - speaker’s voice becoming softer

Mr. Knobloch: ....auch Steve?

Stefan: Nein....also mein Name ist Stefan, nicht Steve, Stefan Quast. 'Bin

fünfundzwanzig Jahre alt. Komm' hier aus der Region... Deswegen weiß ich auch, daß

wir eigentlich keine Ba...Badener sind, sondern Kurpfälzer. [giggle]....Also, ich komm’ aus

Mannheim, ursprünglich aus Viernheim, was zu Hessen gehört. Ehm,...dort bin ich auch

auf die Schule gegangen, obwohl ich dann später nach Mannheim umgezogen

bin. In der Schu....also, es war’n bischen so wie bei Judith. In der Schule hab’ ich dann

auch in der siebten Klasse ‘nen Austausch gemacht mit Frankreich ...und hab’ dann auch
gemerkt, daß mich eben viel mit Frankreich verbindet. Ich weiß nicht, ich hab' mich
da sofort wohl gefühlt. ....Ehm, ......wußte dann auch wofür ich die Sprache
lern'. Deswegen war ich sehr motiviert und hab' dort auch gemerkt, daß mich eben
fremde Kulturen sehr interessieren. Das hat sich dann auch.....eh, fortgesetzt. Ich hab'
dann Russisch genommen ....in der elften Klasse. Das konnte man als.....naja, als
Grundkurs konnte man es nehmen, auch im Abitur, aber es war'n ziemlich
niedriges Niveau. Wir haben auch 'nen Austausch gemacht.....mit Rußland und
...eh.....so hat sich dann meine Liebe zu Rußland ...eh...aufgebaut

......Eh,....deswegen studier' ich hier auch Französisch und Russisch, interessiere
mich aber generell für alle Sprachen. Ich war' jetzt auch ...eh....in Chile, hab' nen
Sprachkurs gemacht für Spanisch und ...eh.... Kann mich eigentlich nie so richtig
d外出, welche Sprache mir jetzt .....eh....am besten gefällt oder....in welchen
Sprachen ich dann später mal arbeiten möchte. ...Mmmh ...ich fühl' mich sehr wohl
am Institut .....Ist eigentlich genau das, was ich immer schon machen wollte .....ich
bin eher praxisorientiert. Deswegen wollte ich kein ..... also nicht Romanistik oder Slavistik
studieren, sondern eher etwas, wo ich weniger Wissenschaft ....eh....dabei habe. Eh,
.....tja....Hobbies ....also, wie gesagt, ich interessier' mich sehr für fremde Länder,
Menschen kennenlernen, Sprachen lernen ....mache auch Sport, also ich
schwimme gern .....Mmh.......................ich war leider noch nicht für längere Zeit
im Ausland. Es waren immer nur kurze Aufenthalte, so bis zu einem Monat.

.....aber das werde ich jetzt noch nachholen. Wahrscheinlich nach dem

Propädeutikum ....muß ich dann nach Rußland gehen auf jeden Fall

.........[general laughter], weil's einfach doch ....also, es ......also man kann sich

hier nicht so ....über Rußland informieren einfach in Deutschland......s'is zu weit

weg. Da muß man dann schon, ........dann ins Land gehen...... Ja,...........mehr

fällt mir nicht ein ............
Cultural identity research project
Presentation #: 8
(novice group)
today’s date: May 10, 2000
location: Heidelberg

Biographical Details: Before the interview please take a few moments to provide us with your
details:

Name: Sabine Arnold
Gender (M/F): F
Nationality: German
Date of Birth: 19.01.1977
Age: 23
Profession: Student
Place of Birth: Freiburg i. Brg.
Current Address/Phone Number: 06221 161021
Languages spoken fluently: German, Spanish, English

Please note: Transcriptions are NOT listed in chronological order.

Below is the detailed transcription of the self-presentation. The following general transcription
guidelines have been used:

in case of dialogue: Interviewer: I. Respondent: R.

Transcription rate: 3 seconds per line

and - long pronunciation of word
and - hasty pronunciation of word
and - emphatic pronunciation of word
.... - pause (more dots = longer pause)
<<< - speaker’s voice becoming louder
>>> - speaker’s voice becoming softer

Also, ich bin Sabine. Ich komm’ ursprunqlich aus Freiburg. Wir sind dann aber als

ich klein war noch ziemlich schnell nach Offenburg gezogen. Und als ich sieben

Jahre alt war, sind wir dann nach Guatemala gezogen, wo wir acht Jahre gewohnt

haben. Ich war dort an der deutschen Schule, ....und das hat mir sehr gut gefallen,

muß ich sagen, ....und das war sehr schlimm, als ich mit fünfzehn dann wieder nach

Deutschland mußte. Also, das war ’ne große Umstellung.....Und....ehm....wir sind

auch nicht mehr nach Offenburg zurückgekommen, wo ich meine beste Freundin aus
dem Kindergarten hatte, ...die hab’ ich heute noch, sondern wir sind in die Nähe von
Waldshut gezogen, und im Schwarzwald gibt's 'n Internat, Kolleg St. Blasien [sic?]

und ...dort war ich dann auf der Schule. Aber ich war nicht intern, sondern extern... Also ich bin da jeden Tag hin, nachmittags nach Hause.... Ja, und ich hatte das Glück, daß dort Spanisch angeboten wurde. .....Da konnte ich dann Spanisch weitermachen.

.....Hab' mich dann auch für andere Sprachen interessiert, zum Beispiel Italienisch....und hatte das zwei Jahre an der Schule. ....Meine Schwester, die ist vier Jahre jünger als ich, die hat da auch Chinesisch gelernt....Also, 's die einzige Schule in Deutschland, wo man Chinesisch lernen kann. Sie war dann auch mal in China

....Ja, ....und....angefangen zu studieren hab' ich dann in Saarbrücken ....Also, die Naturwissenschaften waren nie so mein Fall. Das waren immer die Sprachen....und....ich bin dann nach Saarbrücken gekommen, hab' angefangen mit Französisch und Spanisch,......hab' aber gleich gemerkt, mit dem Französisch 's klappt nicht so....obwohl ich LK hatte .....und....eh.....ich hab' dann ziemlich schwach....schnell auf Englisch gewechselt. Ja, und jetzt bin ich seit 'nem Jahr hier in Heidelberg

....und....hab' jetzt das Vordiplom gemacht, und.....hier gefällt's mir auch ganz gut....Und...ich möcht' hier auch das Studium zum Abschluß bringen.....Ja.....

[In the ensuing discussion, Steve asked to what extent life abroad may have changed each of the participants]

Also, ich finde, daß die Leute 'drüben einfach herzlicher und offener sind, und
hier sind die Leute oft sehr verschlossen. Und als ich dann nach Deutschland kam, dann war's so, daß ich durch die Straßen gelaufen bin, und ich die Leute dann einfach, die ich nicht kannte, dann bin ich ... ich dann Blickkontakt aufgenommen habe und ich 'Hallo' gesagt, haben sie mich ganz komisch angeschaut. Denn in Guatemala, da grüßt man halt zurück oder lächelt einen an. Also, es ist viel mehr ... Also, die Leute lächeln einfach viel mehr, und man traut sich dann auch eher, die anzusprechen ....Das ist mir sehr aufgefallen. Auch in der Schule, daß die Klasse....Jungs waren auf der Seite - die Mädchen auf der Seite in Deutschland, und in Guatemala war das alles ganz gemischt, also ... ein ganz lockerer Umgang ...
Also, ich heiße Annika ...mmh...ich bin dreiundzwanzig Jahre alt. Mmh, ...ich komme ...ursprünglich aus Wiesbaden. Also, ich bin in Wiesbaden geboren. Echte Hesse

[giggle], und...ehm...im Alter von zehn Jahren ungefähr sind meine Eltern mit mir...

und meinen Geschwistern nach Chile ausgewandert für sechs Jahre..., was mir damals und meinem Bruder sehr große Freude bereitet hat, weil...’s war halt kurz nach Tschernobyl und wir dachten, so...super - da drüben ist nichts angekommen. Als

Kind hat man sich ja irgendwie schon sehr damit beschäftigt, so...die schwarze Wolke.

oder so...... Und ja,...dann bin ich sechs Jahre dort zur deutschen Schule
gegangen, hab' eben ......plötzlich Spanisch lernen müssen, was für mich damals

auch nicht leicht war. Also, ich hab' ein Jahr eigentlich gebraucht, weil ich halt gar

nichts konnte...und..., es war auch nicht leicht, aus Deutschland wegzugehen. Ich

hab' in der Grundschule sehr viele Freunde gehabt, die ich alle sehr gerne hatte,

und plötzlich kam ich halt an'ne neue Schule...... wo ich auch Schuluniform tragen

mußte, was für mich auch irgendwie schrecklich war....., weil diese .....Krägen an den Blusen

extrem gestärkt waren, ich hatte dann immer so ..... Kratzstellen hier [giggle]. Also, ich

hab' dann so Allergien bekommen und hab' eben diese Uniformen auch sehr

gehaßt irgendwie. Ehm....ja.....und dort hab' ich dann erstmal drei Jahre mich

nicht sehr wohl gefühlt, weil ich eben meine Freunde vermißt habe und mit dem

Spanisch erst mal ja auch....kein....nicht so gut zurecht kam...und ja.....hab' mich

eigentlich drei Jahre lang zurückgewünscht, nach Hause, nach Wiesbaden, und

...das hat sich dann aber schlagartig geändert, weil....ehm....mein Bruder

iglandwann sich an der deutschen Schule nicht mehr wohl gefühlt hat und dann auf'ne

chilenische Schule gegangen ist ...mit fünfundvierzig Jungen in einer Klasse.

Dadurch hat er dann sehr viele Chilenen kennengelernt, ....und nicht nur, sag' ich mal,

die Oberschicht, die in der deutschen Schule ist, die auch fast alle deutsche

Vorfahren haben und deutsche Nachnamen.....,auch wenn sie nicht unbedingt gut

Deutsch sprechen [giggle] ....Ja, und über ihn hab' ich dann sehr schnell andere
Leute kennengelernt, richtige Chilenen, sag' ich mal, die einfach auch aus der Mittelschicht kamen, und hab' dann die letzten drei Jahre mich dort sehr wohl gefühlt, hab' sehr viele Chilenen kennengelernt und mich sehr aktiv auch in der Jugendgruppe beteiligt.....und..., tja, ...und das ist mir dann sehr schwer gefallen, dann nach der zehnten Klasse zurückzugehen nach Deutschland. Auf der einen Seite habe ich mich gefreut auf das deutsche Schulsystem, weil es mir dort eben nicht so.....also, gefallen, es war mehr so Frontalunterricht, und man mußte immer irgendwelche Sachen stupide auswendiglernen ....Daraufhin haben sich auch meine Mathekenntnisse extrem...auf niedrigem Niv ....Niveau...bewegt. Also, ich hab' nie gelernt, irgendwie selbständig was mir zu erarbeiten. Es ging immer nur darum, stupide 'was auswendigzulernen, was ich eigentlich auch gut konnte. Also, ich...[giggle]. .. hatte, ich hatte...immer gute Noten, aber, naja, in Hessen hatte ich dann das Glück, daß ich Mathe abwählen konnte nach der zwölf [giggle]....und, ehm, ...hatte dann im Abitur auch nur Bio als drittes Fach. Der Rest war dann Spanisch, Englisch und Deutsch....Also, ...naja, aber, ja...die letzten drei Jahre in Chile waren, wie gesagt, sehr, sehr wichtig für mich. Es hat mir sehr gut gefallen, und deswegen wollte ich auch unbedingt zurück dorthin nach ...., ehm.... nach dem Abitur, und .... hab's dann auch durchgesetzt, und nicht unbedingt, ehm, ...in Übereinstimmung mit meinen Eltern.
Die wollten eigentlich, daß ich gleich irgendwas sinnvolles tue. Ich hab' gesagt: Nee....ich
möcht' unbedingt noch mal nach Chile und dort leben...und bin dann halt auf eigene Faust
für sieben Monate dorthin, hab' bei meiner besten Freundin dort gewohnt und hab'
halt, ehm, ..........wollte es aber auch irgendwie mit 'was Sinnvollem verbinden. Also, ich
woll' nicht nur dort faulenzen und gar nichts tun, hab' dann eben ...in

...der...lutherischen Kirche an Sozialprojekten mitgearbeitet. Also, ich hab' diverse Kindergruppen gemacht, weil ich in Deutschland in 'ner experimentellen Theatergruppe war. Also, ich hatte so'n bischen Akrobatik gemacht und Pantomime und hatte da so leichte Grundkenntnisse und hab' das eben versucht, mit Kindern dort zu machen, was sehr chaotisch war ... [giggle], weil ...... ja, die sind eben nur gewöhnt in der Schule, daß man sagt: OK, Ruhe jetzt und ...keinen Mucks mehr, und wenn man dann in der Freizeit versucht, 'was mit ihnen zu gestalten, das ist sehr schwierig, weil die Kinder es irgendwie auch gar nicht gewöhnt sind, sich darauf einzulassen.....Also, sie sind nur so das Parieren gewöhnt. Und, das ist mir also schon sehr schwer gefallen. Aber es hat Spaß gemacht, und in diesen Projekten...ehm...kommen auch eben oft Deutsche vorbei, die schauen wollen, ob das Geld auch richtig ankommt, was sie dorthin schicken, ....und dann bin ich so durch Zufall ...eh...ans Dolmetschen gekommen, daß ich dann gefragt wurde, ob ich 'ne Gruppe von Deutschen aus Hannover ja ....zwei Wochen begleiten könnte,...und die haben dort die Projekte besucht ...und konnten eben kein
Spanisch, und die Chilenen konnten kein Deutsch, und ich war dann halt wohl die geeignete Person, um die auf Schritt und Tritt zu begleiten. 's hat mir sehr großen Spaß gemacht, und es ging auch gut. Ja, und später kam dann noch 'ne Gruppe Schweizerinnen. Da wurde ich dann richtig gefragt, ob ich auch ...vier Schweizerinnen begleiten könnte in irgendwelche ....Kohlenminen ...und, weiß der Geier, wo wir da überall hin sind. Ja, und damals ...kam auch so'n bischen diese Idee auf, 'was mit Sprachen zu machen, weil ich wollte ursprünglich immer ...Psychologie studieren, was nicht geklappt hat. [giggle].. Also ich hatte......, mir fehlte halt eine Kommaestelle und hab' dann ewig gewartet.... Ich dachte, nach diesem Jahr würd' ich den Studienplatz kriegen. Das war nicht der Fall, und ...ja, dann mußt' ich erstmal überlegen: Was mach'ste jetzt? Und hab' dann eben ein Jahr 'ne Ausbildung gemacht zum....... Übersetzer in Spanisch an der ...vor der IHK in ...Frankfurt. Und ...ehm ja, ...Englische Handelskorrespondenz habe ich auch gemacht. Naja, aber was ich noch sagen wollte,...nachdem ich dann die sieben Monate in Chile war, wollte ich gern auch noch 'was für mein Englisch tun, weil mein Englisch war nicht so besonders, da ich in Chile auch erst ...ehm ....ab der siebten Klasse Englisch gehabt hatte, und in Deutschland hab' ich dann sehr schnell gemerkt.... ich hab' große Defizite im Vergleich zu den deutschen Schülern,.... und bin dann auch noch dreieinhalb Monate nach Oakland gegangen ...bei San Francisco und hab' dort in einem Hei...in einem Haus gearbeitet, das im...
lateinamerikanische Immigranten aufnimmt, die kein Englisch sprechen, die keine Arbeitserlaubnis haben, die meistens auch keine Papiere haben, weil sie eben illegal eingereist sind. Und hab' eben mich um die gekümmert und dort sehr viel auch für mich selbst gelernt, eigentlich, wie man mit anderen Menschen umgeht, auch so'n bisschen die Vermittlerrolle zwischen Englisch und Spanisch gehabt.

Ja, das fand ich auch sehr interessant. Und als ich dann eben keinen Studienplatz bekommen hab' in Psychologie..., hab' ich gedacht: OK, ein Jahr geb' ich mir noch. Hab' eben diese Ausbildung gemacht, und danach dann gemerkt: OK ...Vielleicht ist es das doch nicht mit der Psychologie und hab' dann .... mehr oder weniger durch Zufall ...auch durch 'ne Freundin ...hier von Heidelberg erfahren ...von dem Studiengang und...hab' mich dann eingeschrieben ...und...ja, jetzt bin ich seit ...im vierten Semester hier, ...und hab' jetzt ...ja...Vordiplom hinter mir ...und geh' jetzt im August auch wieder'n Jahr in die USA, weil ich eben mein Englisch doch immer noch'n bisschen polieren sollte eigentlich, da ich damals in den USA eher Spanisch gesprochen hab' und Deutsch, weil da auch noch'ne Deutsche da war. Ja, und ich hoff' mal, daß mir das wieder so viel Spaß macht ....in den USA .... Ansonsten könnt' ich noch zu mir sagen, also, ...ja Musik mache ich auch sehr viel ...oder habe gemacht. Jetzt komme ich irgendwie nicht mehr dazu. Sport ....tja, man nimmt sich die Zeit irgendwie nicht so, auch wie
ich es gerne tun würde. Ja, und Geschwister [giggle] .... habe ich auch drei, ...die

ich jetzt auch sehr selten sehe. Mein Bruder ist in Hamburg und meine Geschwister

eben in Frankfurt, wo meine Eltern jetzt wohnen. Ja, und hier in Heidelberg habe

ich mich eigentlich sehr schnell eingelebt, weil ich ...auch durch Zufall in eine

Latinogruppe geraten bin [giggle] ...."Grupal" nennt sich die ...und eh ....ja, und es

goht halt darum, hier in Heidelberg ein bisschen was ...für das Bild von Lateinamerika

zu tun .....oder den Leuten Themen aus Lateinamerika näher zu bringen ........und

....ja...es is'ne sehr bunte Gruppe. Also, wie haben fast aus jedem Land irgendwie eine Person aus

Lateinamerika, und dort hab' ich halt 'was gefunden, was ich in Frankfurt immer

vermisst habe. Also dort hatte ich nie jemanden, mit dem ich Spanisch hätte sprechen können.

Und....ja, hier in Heidelberg habe ich dann sehr schnell ...alle möglichen Leute

kennengelernt, die halt mit mir Spanisch reden und das hat viel dazu beigetragen, daß ich

mich hier sehr wohl gefühlt hab' ...die letzten drei Semester ..... 

[In the ensuing discussion, Steve asked to what extent life abroad may have changed
each of the participants]

Ja, also, mit den Chilenen, das stimmt schon. Also, ich bin ....in Chile ..Das

schöne dort war eigentlich, daß man .... Also, was mir in Deutschland auffällt ist,

hier wird jeder, der nicht aus Deutschland kommt, automatisch als Ausländer

identifiziert, egal, wie er jetzt aussieht. In Chile ist es so, es ist ja auch'n
Einwanderungsland, es sind viele Deutsche gekommen, viele Engländer,
Franzosen, Araber, alles mögliche... und ich wurde dort eigentlich dann
angenommen, also, ich hab' dann auch sehr schnell ... Ich, ich war ja sehr klein, als
ich ankam, und ich sprech' eigentlich akzentfrei Chilenisches Spanisch, und ... viele
Leute haben mich immer gefragt: Ja, wie, was, Du bist Deutsche? Die kamen sich
immer verarscht vor, wenn ich das dann erzählt hab' [general giggle] und ...[giggle]
ich... das prägt schon sehr die Emotionen und ... Klar, die Leute sind dort
auch irgendwie anders auf ihr Land eingestellt. Man ist sehr ... patriotisch so'n
bißchen, oder .... wenn ich in Deutschland irgend'n Chilenen treffe, dann hab' ich sofort'ne Basis
zu dem. Ich freu' mich tierisch, daß ich ihn treffe. Ich sprech' mit ihm, und ... also, das ist'ne ganz
andere Ebene, und die unter den Leuten ... In Deutschland, ja, wie gesagt, ist es irgendwie
nicht so sehr miteinander, 's mehr so ... gegeneinander oder so'n ...' Ok, Du bist halt
auch noch da, und auch... was mir besonders auffällt ist, wenn ich in der S-Bahn
sitze oder im Bus. Jeder starrt so vor sich hin und..... oder... sobald jemand sich
... inkorrekt verhält oder irgendwas n'bißchen neben die Linie tritt, dann wird er
völlig fertig gemacht. Jeder ist gegen einen. Wenn man da an der Kasse steht und mit'nem
Scheck bezahlen will und keinen Stift hat, dann drehen sich die Leute um und fangen an, groß über
einen abzulästern, daß man keinen Stift dabei hat, während in Lateinamerika würde

dann alle versuchen, einem zu helfen und jeder würde sagen: 'Ach, komm', is'
doch nicht so schlimm', und ....irgendwie ist es vielmehr ein ‘fureinander’ und

'miteinander' also ..und.........ja...... ......ja......

Mr. Knobloch: Was lernen wir daraus? Eh, ...geh' nie ohne Stift los?? [general

laugther]

Mr. Knobloch: Was lernen wir daraus? Eh, ...geh' nie ohne Stift los?? [general

laugther]

Mr. Knobloch: Was lernen wir daraus? Eh, ...geh' nie ohne Stift los?? [general

laugther]

Annika: Nee, aber es ist schon so, daß also...Das was mich irgendwie sehr ...sehr

geprägt hat ...dieses offene oder ...daß ich einfach zu jedem ... vorbeischauen

konnte. Man wurde immer zum Essen eingeladen. Wenn Du hier irgendwo hingehest zu

Bekannten, ...die sagen nicht: 'Ok, es gibt Essen. Jetzt lß mit.' Es ist mehr so: 'Ok, wir waren

verabredet.Ja, tschüß, dann.' Und dann lßt jeder für sich zu Hause, anstatt

daß man sagt: 'Hier, willst Du 'nen Brot', oder so. Die denken immer gleich, man muß da

sonst 'was auffahren oder ...also, das empfinde ich so bei vielen Leuten.

Steve: Meinst Du, daß Du in der Zukunft dann mal wieder dann nach Chile

kommen wirst .....?

Annika: ...Auf jeden Fall....Also, ja gut, ich mein' ....hier hab' ich vielleicht

.....arbeitsmäßig bessere Chancen. 's weiß ich nicht, aber es ist schon so, daß ich

immer das Bedürfnis hab', sobald ich kann, wieder nach Chile zu kommen. Also,

ich war letztes Jahr auch wieder in den Semesterferien dort, und will dies Jahr

vielleicht, von den USA aus mal nach Chile fliegen. Also, ....doch.....also, man

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vermißt das sehr. Also, in Chile hab' ich nie Deutschland vermißt, aber immer hier

öffn Chile vermißt .......

Mr. Knobloch: Gut, es ist zehn Uhr. Wir haben eine intensive Stunde jetzt hinter

uns. Herzlichen Dank [...]
Ja, hallo, ich bin Catharina. Ich studiere Französisch und Russisch hier am

IUD. Ich hab' das Propädeutikum gemacht, als ich angekommen bin, weil ich

noch kein Wort Russisch sprach damals. Mitterweile geht's ganz gut, denk' ich

noch neunzehn Jahre meines Lebens verbracht....sehr bodenständig.....in einem

kleinen Dorf...mit meiner Familie....Ich habe drei Geschwister....einen älteren

Bruder, eine ältere Schwester und eine jüngere Schwester....Mittlerweile sind wir

table over....ganz Deutschland...ehm...verteilt....also, Braunschweig, Hannover,
Wiesbaden, Heidelberg. Das ist also 'ne schöne Verteilung, denk' ich. Aber, grad' seit wir nicht mehr alle zusammenhocken....auf einem Haufen ...verstehen wir uns ganz gut.... Also, wir haben, denk' ich, intensiveren Kontakt als vorher, als wir noch zusammengewohnt haben. Es sind halt nicht mehr die alltäglichen Streitereien, die eh....die....ja...das Verhältnis etwas vermiesen.....Ehm...ja....nach dem Abitur bin ich für ein Jahr nach Paris gegangen.... Als Au Pair Mädchen war ich bei einer Familie ...mit drei Mädels. Um die hab' ich mich dann gekümmert, mehr oder weniger ...[giggle]....Ehm,...ich bin auch zur Uni gegangen....also, in 'nen Abendkurs für Französisch, ...weil mein Französisch damals ...ziemlich schlecht war ...[giggle]....Ehm, ...mittenweile hat sich das gebessert.... J a, ja...danach bin ich hergekommen....Seit zweieinhalb Jahren wohne ich in Heidelberg. Mittlerweile hab' ich mich auch etwas 'dran gewöhnt, wie die Leute sprechen ....[giggle.....general laughter]....., wie sie so sind, denn die Mentalitäten unterscheiden sich doch sehr, find' ich....So, ..die Ostfriesen und die.....Was sind das hier? .....Badenser? Bader? .....Kurpfälzer ...........[general uproar and loud laughter]...............Verzeihung...........[laughter]........Sehen Sie, das hab' ich immer noch nicht gelernt....Also, ....[laughter].....gut.....Das lernt man wahrscheinlich auch nicht wenn man ..........Verzeihung...........
Mr. Knobloch: ....Badener? .......

Catharina: Ja, ....wahrscheinlich werde ich mich auch nie 'dran gewöhnen. Also,

...ehm.....Ja......was noch? Ich studiere, .....ich ....Hobbies....ich hab' immer sehr viel Musik gemacht zu Hause. Ich hab' Klavier gespielt. Ich hab' Waldhorn gespielt, ...aber das Klavier konnt' ich nicht mitnehmen, weil meine Wohnung zu klein ist....Das Waldhorn ....wollt' ich meinen Nachbarn nicht antun....weil's doch recht laut ist....wenn man übt. Naja,....ich mach' ein bischen Sport.... Ich schwimme.... ich... ehm.... eh... versuche, .....mein Französisch etwas aufrechtzuhalten, in dem ich das Französischcafe mit...eh...unterhalte....eh....mitorganisiere ...... Wir singen.

Also, ...wir haben einen russischen Chor hier am Institut, ...in dem ich sehr gerne mitsinge....seit einigen Semestern...Ja, und ansonsten versuch' ich, das Beste hier aus Heidelberg [giggle]...zu machen.......
Ja, also, mein Name ist Judith Schächterle. Wie der Name, der Nachname, schon vermuten läßt, komm' ich aus' m Schwabenland. Bin gebür tige Stuttgart erin.

Ehm ... ich bin .... also, ich hab' ....drei Jahre lang direkt in Stuttgart gewohnt, aber meine Kindheit im Prinzip hab' ich in der Nähe von Stuttgart verbracht. Ich bin im Remstal auf's Gymnasium gegangen, und hab' ...ehm... dort mich schon ziemlich früh für Sprachen interessiert, im Prinzip. Das heißt, in der siebten Klasse bin ich zum ersten Mal nach Frankreich mit zum Austausch, und ...das Land hat mich so dermaßen fasziniert, daß... ich dann ...mich auch wirklich 'drangesetzt hab' und Französisch
gelernt hab'. Also, das war sehr interessant. Englisch hat mich zwar auch I
interessiert, aber...da hab' ich nie so den Draht dazu bekommen. Aber, dadurch, daß
ich eben an dem Französisch-austausch teilgenommen hab', hab' ich sofort gewußt, wozu
ich die Sprache lern', und......das war einfach ...die Motivation dazu, dann mich da
auch wirklich 'reinzuhängen. Ehm, ...ich hab' dann in der zwölften und
dreizehnten auch Französisch LK gemacht ...und Kunst LK, ....und ....ich hab' mir
ziemlich lang überlegt, ob ich Kunst studieren soll, oder ob ich Sprachen studieren soll. ...Da ....um
das zu entscheiden hab' ich mir ziemlich lang Zeit gelassen. Nach'm Abi bin ich
erstmal ein Jahr nach Argentinien gegangen, ...um Spanisch zu lernen. Und ....bin
...also, ich war in Rosario. Das ist die zweitgrößte Stadt Argentiniens. ....wollte ursprünglich
dort als Au Pair Mädchen arbeiten, hab' aber leider keine Stelle bekommen. 's ist
in Argentinien einfach nicht so üblich wie in Frankreich oder Amerika. Also, 's gibt
keine offiziellen Organisationen, die einem da helfen, und ....eben ...privat hab' ich ...
nichts gefunden. Ich bin dann dort ...auf die "Escuela Superior de Bellas Artes"
 gegangen, also auf die Kunsthochschule, als Gasthörerin. Richtig einschreiben war
leider auch nicht möglich. Und, ....ja, ....auch zu der Zeit war ich mir noch nicht ganz sicher, was ich
jetzt machen soll. Hinterher, als ich dann wieder nach Deutschland kam, ....das war im
Mai sechsundneunzig, ....hab' ich mir ....hätt' ich mir vorgenommen, mich eigentlich an der
Kunsthochschule in Stuttgart zu bewerben, hab's dann aber ...ganz kurzfristig doch noch
fallen lassen, weil ich mich dann endlich doch für Sprachen entschieden hab'.

[giggle] ...und eben für's Übersetzen, Dolmetschstudium in Heidelberg. ...Leider

hat es dann sechsundneunzig mit der Einschreibung nicht geklappt. Da gab's ein
kleines Problem. [giggle] ...Ich hab' die Einschreibefrist verpaßt ....[giggle]... Ich
war schon zugelassen und alles und hab' ...irgendwie ...durch'n ganz dummen
Fehler eben den Termin verpaßt, mich einzuschreiben. 'War dann zunächst

ziemlich frustriert, weil man sich ja eben nur zum Wintersemester einschreiben

kann ...und hab' dann eben 'n Jahr lang ...die Zeit mit Jobben verbracht. Hab' die
unterschiedlichsten Sachen gemacht ...in'ner Bäckerei gearbeitet, ..Kleider

verkauft. ...Mmh..., was hab' ich noch alles gemacht? ...In'ner Fabrik gearbeitet bei Birkel-
nudeln [giggle] und ....was sich hal so angeboten hat als Job. Und ...sieben-<
undneunzig hat's dann endlich geklappt. Ich bin zugelassen worden wieder, und

hab' mich dann auch fristgerecht eingeschrieben. Ja, und seitdem bin ich hier ...am

Institut ...und ...es macht mir auch wirklich großen Spaß. Also, ich denk', ...ich hab'

wirklich 'was gefunden, was meinem Geschmack entspricht ...und, ja, ich hoff', daß es

dann auch 'was wird mit dem Studium. Mmmh, zu meinen Hobbies, ...Sport hab' ich
früher gern gemacht, aber ... da komm' ich in letzter Zeit irgendwie nicht mehr ganz dazu...

Ich nehm' mir die Zeit auch nicht ...irgendwie. 's gibt so viele andere Dinge, die interessant

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sind. Aber wenn ich Zeit hab', geh' ich gern mal schwimmen. Das ist eigentlich ...so

meine Lieblingsdisziplin im Sport. ...Ansonsten ...engagier' ich mich auch 'n

bischen politisch. Das heißt, ich bin ...in'ner kleinen Partei, “Ökologisch-

Demokratische Partei”. Da bin ich hier in der Ortsgruppe in Heidelberg ...als

Schriftführerin. Das heißt, [giggle] ...da ...damit beschäftige ich mich auch. Also, das

nimmt auch Zeit in Anspruch. Ansonsten, ...bin ich ...in meiner Heimatstadt, also in

Weinstadt im Remstal, noch im Partnerschaftsverein von'ner deutsch-

französischen Partnerschaft. Also, eben, seit der siebten Klasse bin ich da mit der

Partnerstadt in Kontakt und hab' auch heute noch'nen guten Draht zu meiner

Austauschpartnerin von damals. Und ...ja...im Partnerschaftsverein hab' ich ...mit
der Jugendarbeit 'n bischen zu tun, hab' schon mehrere Jugendgruppen begleitet

auf Europäische Jugendtreffen. ...Also, ‘grad in der Partnerstadt, Partenai [sic?]

heißt die, liegt in ...Deux Sevres [sic?] in der Nähe von Poitiers, und ...ja...da bin

ich eben auch oft schon in die Situation gekommen, daß ich dann Dolmetschen

mußte, weil da Jugendliche mehrerer Länder da waren, und ...die waren dann

immer froh, wenn sie'nen Mittler hatten, der kurz ...also, schnell irgendwelche

Probleme regeln konnte oder einfach ...'n Informationsfluß ...ehm....in Gang

bringen konnte [giggle]. Und ...ich denk', daß auch daher ...mein Interesse eben
für's Dolmetschen herkommt ....Ja, das wär's dann mal zunächst. ....
Cultural identity research project

Presentation #: 12
(novice group)

today’s date: May 10, 2000

location: Heidelberg

Biographical Details: Before the interview please take a few moments to provide us with your details:

Name: Lena Prätzel ___________ Gender (M/F): F Nationality: __D__

Date of Birth: 29.11.1977 __________ Age: 22 __________ Profession: __student__

Place of Birth: __Bremen (D)____ Current Address/Phone Number: _06221/162053___________

Languages spoken fluently: __apraetze@ix.urz.uni-heidelberg.de

german, french, spanish

Please note: Transcriptions are NOT listed in chronological order.

Below is the detailed transcription of the self-presentation. The following general transcription guidelines have been used:

in case of dialogue: Interviewer: I. Respondent: R.

Transcription rate: 3 seconds per line

and - long pronunciation of word
and - hasty pronunciation of word
and - emphatic pronunciation of word
.... - pause (more dots = longer pause)
<< - speaker’s voice becoming louder
>>> - speaker’s voice becoming softer

Also, wie Ihr gerade ja schon von der Liste gehört habt, heißt‘ ich eigentlich Anja

Milena Prätzel, aber … weil ich das nicht besonders schön finde, hab‘ ich irgendwann

mal beschlossen, allgemein anzugeben, daß man mich Lena nennt, und das tun

eigentlich auch alle. Mmh, ja, … ich bin zweifundzwanzig, und auch ja nun, wie hier

schon alle wissen, ganz neu in Heidelberg seit zwei Monaten. Mmh, ich war jetzt

gerade ein Semester, also das letzte Wintersemester, in Spanien, in Valencia, weil mein

Zweifach Spanisch ist, mein Erstfach Französisch. Dort hat es mir aber leider

nicht besonders gut gefallen. Das war mehr so eine zweckmäßige Kopf-


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entscheidung, daß ich halt 'was für mein Zweiftach tun müßte, wobei ich auch

schon drei mal in Spanien war und es mir nie so ganz gelegen hat, die Mentalität

und ...die Lebensart dort. Aber ich dachte halt, wenn ich jetzt sechs Monate dahingehe, dann

würde ich mich schon irgendwie einleben und arrangieren und ja auch viele Spanier kennenlernen.

Das war leider alles nicht so ganz, wie ich mir das erhofft hatte. ... Naja, ... und die Semester
davor, also vier Stück, war ich in Germersheim. Das ist ja hier ganz in der

Nähe....an der Uni dort und habe auch schon ... Dolmetschen studiert,

beziehungsweise noch Übersetzen natürlich im Grundstudium. ....Ja, jetzt bin ich


Dort bin ich geboren, und hab' bis zum Abitur da gelebt. ...Mmh, mit einer kleinen

Unterbrechung, denn als ich vier Jahre alt war, sind meine Eltern nach Venezuela

gezogen, in Südamerika. Sie sind nämlich Lehrer und haben dort an der
deutschen Schule unterrichtet. Und dann hab' ich also fünf Jahre meiner Kindheit

...dort drüben verbracht, und ... natürlich auch'n bißchen Spanisch gelernt, aber so wie

Kinder eben ...Spanisch lernen, wenn sie in den Kindergarten gehen und in die

Grundschule... Naja, aber'n bißchen 'was hängengeblieben ist halt schon, also nicht viele

Vokabeln oder konkrete Dinge, aber es ist eben schon so, daß man, wenn man dann

Spanischunterricht wieder hat, was bei mir dann in der elften Klasse der Fall war,

daß man dann sich ziemlich schnell irgendwie das alles einprägen kann, und nicht lange
lernen muß, um sich die Dinge zu merken. Mmh, ja, meine Hobbies, sind

eigentlich ziemlich... ja, also, ich hab' immer mal ein paar Jahre lang das eine oder andere

Steckenpferd gehabt und dann war's wieder aus und dann kam 'was neues. Das war irgendwie so
ganz typisch, wobei die Bereiche, also, irgendwie Sport habe ich immer gemacht. Als ich

jünger war, habe ich irgendwie mit Balett angefangen, und dann Jazztanz und

dann irgendwann Aerobic, und irgendwie so....verschiedene......ja.....

Musiksachen, sage ich mal. Dann hab' ich leidenschaftlich....., bin ich geritten zehn
Jahre lang. Das hat mir immer sehr viel Spaß gemacht. Also, da gab's natürlich Phasen, wo ich
dann so ungefähr jeden Nachmittag irgendwie im Reitstall verbracht habe und da ganz glücklich war.

Schön im Sommer....mit den Pferden draußen, das war halt irgendwie immer so ....schön

...so'n bißchen.....naja, bauernhofsmaßig, so ... heile Welt .....und ...das war

irgendwie immer sehr berreichernd sozusaqen ..für's Gefühl.... Ja, nebenher hab' ich

immer Musik gemacht. Als ich klein war, habe ich Blockflöte angefangen, dann irgendwann

Querflöte, aber ich hab' meine Eltem dann irgendwie Jahre lang genervt. Ich wollte immer so gerne

Klavier spielen. Nun hatten wir halt nur so'n kleine Wohnung, und dann ...wegen der

Nachbarn und wegen dem Platz ...sollte das also nicht sein, bis ich sie irgendwie dann
doch überredet hatte, weil wir nämlich umgezogen sind, und dann habe ich also meine große

Chance gewittert, und wir habendann also auch ein Klavier anschaffen können, und dann habe

ich also bis zum Abitur Klavier gespielt.... Ich hab' noch einen kleinen Bruder, der
ist vierzehn ....ja, ist jetzt vierzehn geworden, geht in die achte Klasse, fängt auch jetzt
'grade mit Französisch an oder vor einem Jahr, und ...naja, jetzt sehe ich ihn natürlich
nicht mehr so oft. Das ist ja klar. Aber wir verstehen uns eigentlich ziemlich gut, insofern,
daß man sich halt mit Vierzehnjährigen irgendwie austauschen kann  
giggle]. ....Letztens habe ich mit ihm lange telefoniert, weil wir zum Muttertag 
überlegt haben, ob wir da irgendwas machen können, und dann hab' ich ihn also
losgeschickt irgendwie in'n Blumenladen, Erkundigungen einzuziehen....und dann
hat er mich also gestern zurückgerufen, und das alles erzählt, wie das ist, und für welchen
Preis und so ganz niedlich, und dann haben wir da irgendwas ausgeheckt und
..naja, also doch ...schon ...Kontakt hab' ich schon'nen guten zu ihm.......Ja, noch
mal kurz zu Heidelberg. Also, ich bin sehr froh, daß ich jetzt hier bin. Gründe für
meinen Wechsel sind eigentlich, daß mir in Germersheim die Decke auf den Kopf gefallen
ist, weil dieser Ort einfach schrecklich ist. Es ist furchtbar klein. Die Bevölkerung
besteht aus vier Kasernen, den Fließbandarbeitern von zwei großen Werken,
Mercedes und Yves Rocher. ....Und ja....dann natürlich an der Uni die ganzen
...Studentinnen, muß man ja nun schon fast sagen, weil es da nur Übersetzen und
Dolmetschen dort gibt. Naja, und das trägt halt schon irgendwie dazu bei, daß die
Atmosphäre sehr .....ich weiß gar nicht, wie ich es doch sagen soll, ....aber hier ist mir halt
aufgefallen, also, daß, im Gegensatz zu Germersheim, daß die Leute irgendwie
viel fröhlicher sind, viel aufgeweckt. Also, sie haben viel mehr verschiedene
Ideen, neue Impulse, interessieren sich für Dinge, und in Germersheim war das
immer so ...so lau... Alles war so auf einer Ebene, und irgendwie kam nie einer
mal zur Tür rein und 'Ach, wisst ihr, was mir wieder passiert ist?...'. oder irgendwie so'n
ganz anderes Lebensgefühl, halt ....[general giggle]. ...Das ist mir schon ...in zwei
Monaten hier aufgefallen, und darüber bin ich auch sehr froh, daß sich das
gändert hat...Über die Uni dort kann ich mich überhaupt nicht beklagen. Also,
das wär' eigentlich eher ein Grund gewesen, dort zu bleiben. ......Ja, so weit.........

[In the ensuing discussion, Steve asked to what extent life abroad may have changed each of the participants]

...'s kann man ja schon irgendwie sagen, ....mmh, auch wenn wir verschieden alt
waren ...und wir uns darüber noch nicht so ausgepackt haben, ...aber ....und ich
war auch relativ klein also. Als ich wiedergekommen bin, war ich neun. Aber

manchmal fragen die Leute mich, ob ich mich überhaupt noch daran erinnere, und
da sag' ich: Ja, mein ganzes Leben war wahrscheinlich völlig anders, wenn das
nicht gewesen wäre. Also, ich kann nur sagen, daß das irgendwie eine sehr
prägt, ...und dann sicher auch für die Zukunft, weil man doch irgendwie
sensibilisiert worden ist für Probleme, für die man vielleicht hier irgendwie nicht so
sensibilisiert worden wäre, soziale Ungleichheiten und solche Dinge. Das ...was
mich zum Beispiel sehr viel mehr ärgert und mitnimmt, als vielleicht manch
anderen und als mich, wenn ich einfach nur hier gewohnt hätte .... Zum Beispiel,
...irgendwas ...die Kultur, die Musik irgendwie. Das geht einem schon ins
Gefühlseben über, und das dann irgendwie doch ganz anders als ....ja, als
wenn man das eben nicht hätte .......

[courtesy translation of key excerpts provided by Steve Grosse, CIRP 2000]
People sometimes ask me whether I actually have any recollection of those days,
and I reply: Of course, my whole life would have probably taken an entirely different
course had it not been for that experience. So I must say that it does have a
tremendous impact on you and also on your future, because it somehow sensitises
you to problems that you may otherwise be less receptive of, such as social
injustices and the like [...].
Biographical Details: Before the interview please take a few moments to provide us with your details:

Name: Steve Grosse Gender (M/F): M Nationality: German
Date of Birth: 07-21-69 Age: Student
Place of Birth: Berlin Current Address/Phone Number: Solano@supanet.com
Languages spoken fluently: German, English, Spanish

Please note: This transcription is marked separately as first presentation, as it falls outside the actual instances of self-enunciation provided by CIRP 2000 participants. This self-introduction by the author of the present project was deliberately used as the first presentation for a key data gathering event in a speech training class to appreciate the extent to which the first speaker may set a template for subsequent speakers to emulate.

Below is the detailed transcription of the self-presentation. The following general transcription guidelines have been used:

in case of dialogue: Interviewer: I. Respondent: R.

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and - hasty pronunciation of word
and - emphatic pronunciation of word
.... - pause (more dots = longer pause)
<< - speaker's voice becoming louder
>>> - speaker's voice becoming softer

Ich heiße Steve, oder Stephan. Ich bin gebürtiger Berliner, ehm, ....wohne
allerdings im Augenblick in Brighton, an der Südküste von England, und studiere
dort ...eh...auf meinen Doktortitel an der Universität Surrey in Guildford. Ehm,

...ich hab' ...seit eh und je enge Verbindungen schon zu den USA gehabt. Ich war

ein Jahr in der High school, eh, ...in Michigan damals ...und habe auch viele Verwandte
und Bekannte überall in den Staaten. ...und war seinerzeit sechs Jahre hier in Heidelberg

zum Studium ...und habe damals bereits während des ...Jahres, also, in den

>>>
Semesterferien immer drei, vier Monate im Jahr in den Staaten verbracht...und...dort

...überwiegend in Kalifornien, Sacramento, eh, und San Francisco, auch...und...eh....bin

auch oft mit Bus, Bahn und Flugzeug durch die USA gereist. Eh, hier in Heidelberg

habe ich seinerzeit Deutsch, Englisch, Spanisch studiert...und, eh,

neunzehnhundertvierundneunzig dann meinen Abschluß als Dolmetscher

gemacht. Eh,....habe seinerzeit allerdings dann nicht gleich...als Dolmetscher
gearbeitet, sondern ein Stipendium in den USA angeboten bekommen, und zwar
an der Kent State Universität in Ohio. Dort habe ich einem Jahr dann noch einen

Mastersabschluß gemacht. Fünfundneunzig im Mai...bin ich also dann....hab’
ich dort meinen Abschluß gemacht und .... [...]

Ja, dann neunzehnhundertfünfundneunzig war so’n schwieriges Jahr, denn wenn
man dann so seinen Abschluß gemacht hat, und dann konnt’ ich das auch noch

verlängern für ein Jahr mit’ner Arbeitserlaubnis, und dann wußt’ ich halt nicht so
recht, was ich machen sollte, und dann hab’ ich ‘ne Zeit lang auch in Columbus
gewohnt, auch in Ohio, und dann...meine Sachen ins Auto geschmitten und bin
nach Las Vegas gezogen. Und dort habe ich dann mehrere Jahre
gewohnt...eh...und unter anderem etwas über zwei Jahre an einer High School Deutsch und
Spanisch unterrichtet, war aber nie so...eh...geistig...hundertprozentig
herausgefordert.... So Anfängerkurse Spanisch...und dann die gleichen Fehler korrigieren, das
lag mir nicht so. Und ...war dann immer in Kontakt mit meiner ...eh...Betreuerin in Ohio, und sie hat mich dann in Verbindung gesetzt mit Leuten, die, also, eine Doktorarbeit betreuen konnten, unter anderem in Wien und auch in England. Und da haben wir dann seinerzeit einen Forschungsvorschlag vorgelegt, und der ist dann ...erst abgelehnt worden...und dann ...hab' ich dann doch ...eh....das Stipendium bekommen und studiere jetzt seit etwas über zwei Jahren in ...Surrey, ...wohne aber fast nie dort. Eh, 's ist mir nicht so ganz leicht gefallen, von Las Vegas dann nach England zu ziehen. Und ...ich bin eigentlich auch ...selten dort. ....Ich muß nämlich keine Kurse belegen, sondern bin überwiegend nur in Kontakt mit meiner Doktormutter, und ....so ein paar Mal ...alle zwei Monate...muß ich sie vielleicht sehen, und hab' auch eigentlich nie meinen..."local status", mein....irgendwie....ortsansässiges Gefühl für Las Vegas aufgegeben....Ich hab' da auch noch ein Auto, mein Bankkonto, hab' noch meinen Führerschein dort, und meine ganzen Freunde wohnen noch dort, und normalerweise bin ich auch etwa zwei, drei Monate im Jahr dort und lerne dann auch dort für die Uni. ....Ja, ehm, ...vor allen Dingen, was ich dort am Südwesten sehr schön finde ist ...ehm ....eben auch das Wetter. Man wacht halt immer zu einem blauen Himmel auf, es gibt auch sehr viel lateinamerikanische Kultur dort, vor allem Mexikaner,
und...ehm....ja, auch die **Hitze**, ...so die **Wüste**, ehm, ...auch als **Landschaft** finde >>>>>>>>>>.
ich die Wüste sehr schön. Und jetzt weiß ich noch nicht, hoffentlich im Frühjahr
Zweitausendundeins werde ich meinen **Abschluß** dann machen und ....was dann
<<<<<<<<<<<<<<
wird.....steht noch so'n bißchen in den Sternen, aber voraussichtlich ....hoffentlich
wird mir'ne Stelle irgendwo an'ner **Uni** angeboten, wo ich dann unterrichten und
**forschen** kann, aber auch ...nebenher könnt' ich noch als Reiseleiter dann [...]>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>
arbeiten und mich über die Runden schlagen. Am liebsten würd' ich **langfristig**
>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>
die Sommer in Europa verbringen ....vielleicht in **Budapest**, was mir auch sehr liegt
<<<<<<
als Stadt, und ....vielleicht die Winter irgendwo, wo es etwas **wärm**er ist..., **Mexiko**.
zum Beispiel. Das wär' ganz nett. ....Ja, das wär's erst mal zu mir.....
>>>>>>>>>>.> >>>>>>>>>>>>>>>> <<<<<<<<<<<<<<<<<<<<<<<<
Appendix II:

CIRP 2000

background information sheet

waiver form
Cultural Identity Research Project

Background information sheet

today's date: ______________________ location: ______________________

Biographical Details: Following your participation in the cultural identity research project please take a few moments to provide us with your details:

Name: ______________________ Gender (M/F): _____ Nationality: ___________
Date of Birth: ________________ Age: _____ Profession: ___________
Place of Birth: ________________ Current Address/Phone Number: ___________
Languages spoken fluently: __________________________

Thank you very much for your time!

WAIVER

I hereby authorise Stephan A. Grosse, University of Surrey, to transcribe and analyse the data obtained as part of the cultural identity research project and to publish its findings.

Name________________________

Date________________________ Thank you very much for your cooperation!
Appendix III:

2000 Cross-cultural Capability Conference

Announcement
IALIC (International Association for Languages and Intercultural Communication)

5th ANNUAL CROSS-CULTURAL CAPABILITY CONFERENCE
2nd and 3rd December 2000

REVOLUTIONS IN CONSCIOUSNESS:
LOCAL IDENTITIES, GLOBAL CONCERNS IN
LANGUAGES AND INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION

Centre for Language Study
Leeds Metropolitan University
Beckett Park, Leeds, England
www.lmu.ac.uk/cls

Leeds Metropolitan University
Centre for Language Study

Background

As the inaugural conference of the newly formed International Association for Languages and Intercultural Communication, which has developed out of the series of annual cross-cultural capability conferences held at Leeds over the past four years, the conference will seek to further interdisciplinary debate in this important field through a programme which includes:

- plenary addresses from leading specialists representing different disciplinary perspectives
- seminars to further critical debate on new and ongoing research in the field
- workshops/poster sessions dedicated to the sharing of pedagogy

The Focus

At the preceding conferences debate has centred on the way in which encounters with the other and the crossing of linguistic, geographic and political spaces is leading to new modes of thinking, feeling, and experiencing the world, and to the way in which these may influence and be reflected in our pedagogy. Increasing consideration is being given to the affective, psychological and expressive dimensions of language and intercultural learning, as new types of relationship are fostered by interactions on a global scale. The notion of consciousness, broad and interdisciplinary in scope, is emerging as one of our key concerns, and intrinsic to such questions as the negotiation of difference and similarity, the processing of meaning, and the shaping of identities.
The Questions

A range of questions - pedagogic, epistemological, ontological - are raised, amongst which:

• In the context of ongoing work in LAIC, what evidence do we have from praxis and empirical work in the field of the workings and transformation of consciousness?
• What theoretical perspectives inform this work and what different disciplines do these perspectives represent?
• How do such perspectives translate into language teaching pedagogy?
• As regards thinking on identity within different disciplines, what are the points of intersection between, for example, psychology, anthropology, and philosophy as relevant to LAIC?
• How important is the historical dimension?
• What is the role of reflexivity and self-expression?
• How important is literature? Can we / should we ground poetics in our endeavours?
• How are ‘revolutions in consciousness’ made manifest in and/or achieved through language learning?
• How do we teach to transform? Should we / can we teach to transform?
• What are the self-expectations and social motivations we seek to foster, and how are these conceptualised and articulated at the level of the individual?
• Are the ‘revolutions’ posited pointing to world convergence?

The Interests Served

The above are indicative questions the conference would hope to address. As well as exploring practical and concrete questions relevant to teachers / researchers in the field, the conference will seek to contribute to wider philosophical and social debate, with reference, for example, to the contesting positions of humanist and postmodernist views of the individual and identity and to theories of language which inform them. Whilst the main disciplinary focus will be LAIC, the conference is again looking for contributions from related disciplines – in particular social psychology, anthropology, psycholinguistics and sociolinguistics - which can provide deepening insights into the questions and issues addressed.

Invitation for Papers

Proposals for papers/workshops on the conference theme of an ideological, theoretical or pedagogical nature are invited. It is hoped to receive proposals from teachers and researchers in modern languages, psycho- and socio- linguistics, ethnography of communication, and from the fields of business studies, literature, education, and cultural studies. We welcome proposals from delegates to previous conferences who have reached a more advanced stage of their research, as well as from new delegates, and we hope to attract a strong international representation.
Conference Proceedings

Papers accepted for publication will appear in the conference proceedings, to be edited by an editorial committee and published commercially.

Note: For delegates new to the conference who are interested in the nature of critical enquiry and debate which has informed previous conferences, proceedings for all of these are available from Joy Kelly, Conference Administrator (£20 per issue, £38 for set of two, £50 for set of three, plus £5 postage and packing outside UK; proceedings for 1999 conference are scheduled for availability in June / July 2000).

Association

The International Association for Languages and Intercultural Communication (IALIC), launched at the 1999 conference, now has its administrative structures in place and is recruiting members. Please forward your membership subscription (payable annually, by cheque - £25 ordinary members, £15 student members - or on a 3 year basis) as soon as possible to Joy Kelly, Conference Administrator, at the Centre for Language Study, Jean Monnet Building, Leeds Metropolitan University, Beckett Park Campus, Leeds, LS6 3QS. Association members will receive the journal and a newsletter.

Please note that an on-line application form for membership of the Association and for attendance at the conference is available at the Association web-site:

http://www.cf.ac.uk/uwcc/encap/sections/lac/ialic

Journal

The Association journal (title Language and Intercultural Communication) will be published by Multilingual Matters. The first issue is scheduled for Spring 2001. Further information can be found at the IALIC web address given above.

Proposed journal cost to non-IALIC members is £25.

Accommodation

Delegates will be able to arrange accommodation in a range of hotels conveniently located for the Beckett Park campus, with delegate rates available at selected venues. Full details will be supplied to all participants.
From the 1999 conference proceedings

‘The fact that the most serious problems students had in Japan were on the level of pragmatics and core values, rather than purely linguistic difficulties, suggests the importance of approaching foreign language teaching as an interdisciplinary subject, with a broader definition of language.’ Aileen Pearson-Evans

‘There are strong pedagogical advantages to an approach to intercultural learning which focuses on and problematises the 'words people live by', that is, culture-specific vocabulary of emotions, values and social ideals.’ Cliff Goddard

‘Miles from home in a country so different from my own. I know that travel broadens the mind, but to feel your mind and senses actually expanding, in a few moments, is quite an amazing feeling...’ Student narrative quoted by David Stevens

‘English language teaching and learning can be seen to exist in a ‘contradictory space’, a space which, in our globalizing and capitalistic culture, needs to be challenged.’ Fiona Doloughan

‘Cultural awareness ought first and foremost to be about Self and the individual’s own cultural experience. One way of doing this is to reflect on the nature of culture itself, another is to encourage the exoticisation of Self.’ Crispin Thurlow

‘If conducted rigorously, an analysis of individual discursive features should allow researchers to gain a fuller knowledge of the topics or events in the real world which prompt students to react in particular ways, and offers a greater insight into the process of personal development engendered by intercultural encounter.’ Robert Crawshaw

‘The crisis of representation, fostered recently by the critical impulses of feminism and post-colonialism, troubles our own story-telling and our hermeneutic attempts to understand and then to represent our understanding.’ Alison Phipps and Gavin Jack

‘Instead of conceiving of the foreigner as a person given from the outset as other, the focus will be on the manner in which the other is conceived and constructed according to the requirements of sameness, as part of a process of self-understanding.’ Peter Cryle

‘Strangeness is no longer a temporary condition, but the way of life of modernity.’ Elizabeth Murphy-Lejeune

‘Cross-Cultural Studies advocates the constant flow of intellectual and emotional tensions among language-subjects. Its challenge is to find the threads that make up our experience of this world beyond our immediate national sense of cultural belonging.’ Roberto di Napoli
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