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Synchronous eTandem Communication Between English and Korean Learners: Learning Through International Partnership and Intercultural Communication

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Synchronous eTandem Communication Between English and Korean Learners: Learning Through International Partnership and Intercultural Communication

by

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To my parents for being my first and finest teachers

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Synchronous eTandem Communication Between English and Korean Learners: Learning Through International Partnership and Intercultural Communication

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This dissertation is a report of an investigation of intercultural communication and learning in online tandem exchanges between two groups of foreign language learners: college students learning English as a foreign language at a Korean university and college students learning Korean as a heritage language at an American university. The focus was on (a) how native frames of reference were related to diverse experiences and differing functioning across dyadic partnerships; (b) how differing dyadic functioning were related to linguistic and cultural exchanges in synchronous text-based computer-mediated communication; and (c) how differing dyadic functioning were related to peer feedback exchanges on each partner's foreign language essay and to feedback incorporation in the subsequent revision.

A semiotic-ecological perspective to foreign language learning informed the research focus, design, and analysis of the study. I adopted a qualitative, embedded multiple-case study design. Data sources were transcripts from synchronous computer-mediated discourse; learner reflections produced during the telecollaborative project, from a post-project questionnaire, and from interviews; and first and revised versions of

essays written in foreign languages. As analytical methods, I employed a modified grounded theory, the constant-comparative method, and techniques of discourse analysis.

The findings showed that students in the two classes reported different perceptions about their experiences, and this seemed partly explained by culturally and institutionally different expectations about academic tasks and communication and by differing levels of foreign language proficiency and typing skills. Depending on how individual students configured the learning context, including the partner abroad, differing degrees of dyadic functioning emerged. Differing degrees of dyadic functioning seemed related to the degree that partnering students' perceptions of their experiences and of each other were aligned between the two students. Differing degrees of dyadic functioning were also related to language functions, stance taking, and engagement with cultural knowledge, as exhibited in the computer-mediated discourse. In addition, differing degrees of dyadic functioning were associated with the discourse moves and content of peer feedback exchanges and ultimately with how much peer feedback was incorporated into the revision.

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Chapter One

INTRODUCTION

In this dissertation, I report on an investigation of foreign language learners' communication and learning during online telecollaboration across cultures. In the study, I sought to understand how the expectations and assumptions fostered by cultural and institutional settings related to learners' experiences with intercultural communication and telecollaborative tasks and how peer relationships, interactions, and learning evolved accordingly in a multilingual and multicultural environment. Central to this study was an examination of the dialogic process of meaning making and engagement between partnering students, a notion drawn from semiotic and ecological perspectives. Students learning English as a foreign language at a Korean university and students learning Korean as a heritage language at an American university participated in linguistic and cultural exchanges that lasted for eight weeks. In this chapter, I describe the theoretical background of my research focus and design, present the rationale for my study, and end with a brief overview of the study.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND TO THE RESEARCH

In the realm of culture, outsideness is a most powerful factor in understanding. It is only in the eyes of another culture that foreign culture reveals itself fully and profoundly [...] A meaning only reveals its depths once it has encountered and come into contact with another, foreign meaning [...]. (Bakhtin, 1986, p. 7).

In the past few decades, foreign language teaching and learning has experienced three types of shifts in an increasingly global and digital world. It has shifted away from an emphasis on linguistic competence toward intercultural communicative competence. It has also been influenced by the growth and advancements of various technologies. Furthermore, there has been an increase in sociocultural considerations in theoretical assumptions and pedagogical practices. Telecollaboration over networked computers between groups of foreign/second language (L2) learners is a rich and complex pedagogical context that addresses these three interrelated and growing areas in foreign language education (FLE). The field has been involved in an active discussion about how foreign language learning can help learners play with all possibilities of this particular learning context and mediate between cultures.

However, we have just begun to realize that intercultural communication inherent in telecollaboration has more to do with "far less negotiable discourse worlds" than with functional language (Kramsch, 2011, p. 354). All forms of interaction take place at the intersections of several discourse systems that are situated within multiple contexts at the individual, social, cultural, and historical levels. Interaction is a process of making meaning around such various discourse and contextual systems. However, intercultural communication between L2 learners involves culturally different discourse systems. Sharing a linguistic code, that is, the target language, is not enough because L2 learners do not share common interpretive frames of reference that belong to various discourse systems (Ting-Toomey, 1999). Therefore, it is not easy for L2 learners to operate on or create a shared understanding of the context, one critical condition for successful

meaning negotiation (Kramsch, 2002; van Lier, 2004). The situation becomes more complicated when intercultural communication is mediated through an online communication tool because of the blurriness in genres and interactional cues that the online medium affords (Kramsch, 2009; Murray, 2005).

Telecollaboration between different cultures creates an intercultural space, one that Pratt (1991) called a *contact zone* referring to "social spaces where cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in contexts of highly asymmetrical relations of power" (p. 34). The contact zone implies inherent difficulties and problems in communication across cultures as well as possibilities for mutual understanding. The complex nature of intercultural communication explains diverse stories that have been documented about L2 telecollaboration. Telecollaborative exchanges produce "rich points" (Agar, 1994) for linguistic, cultural, and motivational learning to L2 learners who experience successful communication with their partners (e.g., Belz & Reinhardt, 2004; Negueruela-Azarola, 2011). Telecollaborative exchanges can also become a space for conflicts, tensions, and missed learning for those who experience intercultural miscommunication and misunderstanding (e.g., Ware & Kramsch, 2005). Such dynamics found among international partnerships are the locus of the current investigation.

In order to explore L2 learners' diverse experiences in the process of intercultural communication and learning, I drew on semiotic and ecological perspectives of language learning. According to a semiotic view, language is not simply an innate and individual cognitive function, but it is intimately interconnected with the physical, social, and symbolic world. All forms of interaction, including intercultural communication, are

contact zones of different sign systems around a shared object of discussion. Thus, interaction is a dialogic process of making and negotiating meanings between interlocutors. An ecological perspective on learning proposes that the language user is a whole person, and the dynamic interaction between the language user and the environment becomes one living organism (Kramsch, 2009; van Lier, 2004). Such a perspective concentrates on bidirectional and dialogical relationships between language and the environment and between the learner and the learning context, thus, on the processes of meaning or sign making. Both of these theories posit that L2 learning is a semiotic process continuously undergoing dialogic and emergent change.

From these semiotic and ecological perspectives, intercultural communication is an evolving process of context configuration in which individual learners understand and accordingly engage with the learning context, including the partner (van Lier, 2004). International partnerships, in this sense, can be understood as a manifestation of two partnering students' engagement with the context that they configure and construct together. This dialogic and relational process of interaction may explain differing trajectories of relationship building and learning in telecollaboration. My study had as purpose to explain variability and heterogeneity in the process of intercultural communication in telecollaboration, ultimately in order to answer the second language acquisition field's "need to theorize experience" (Ortega, 2007, p. 247).

RATIONALE FOR THE STUDY

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In the last decade or so, there has been an increasing number of research studies on telecollaboration for its various cognitive, motivational, and cultural potentials and limitations. One strand of research has been about linguistic affordances and L2 learning (e.g., Belz, 2004; Belz & Kinginger, 2002; O'Rourke, 2005). Studies have also been conducted to examine cultural learning and the development of intercultural communicative competence (e.g., Chun, 2011; Hertel, 2003; L. Lee, 2011; Stickler & Emke, 2011). There have also been studies that focused on interactional features characterizing bilingual interaction or showing levels of learner engagement (e.g., Basharina, 2009; Kötter, 2003; Schwienhorst, 2004b).

Relevant to the current study are examinations of diverse aspects of the intercultural communication process. One popular focus of research has been about differing genres and expectations of communication between two cultures that influence learner participation and interaction (Basharina, 2009; Belz, 2003; Kramsch & Thorne, 2002; Thorne, 2003; Ware, 2005). Clashes in expectations about communication often result in tensions and disengagement in international partnerships (Ware & Kramsch, 2005). However, there have been only a few studies that explored differing dynamics across intercultural relationships: for example, amount of language production and discussion topics showing group functioning levels (Belz, 2001); interactional patterns explaining differing levels of community building across groups (Darhower, 2007); and characteristics of e-mail exchanges associated with differing levels of intercultural communicative competence across groups (O'Dowd, 2003). These studies, however, were limited to connecting group dynamics with several interactional features and

patterns. My study was an attempt to extend the literature by exploring the role of differing intercultural partnerships on learners' perceptions of their experiences and learning as well as intercultural interactions.

Moreover, all of the studies mentioned above explored linguistic and cultural exchanges between European language groups (e.g., English-Spanish). There is a paucity of research on telecollaborative projects involving two languages that do not share orthographic systems (Bower & Kawaguchi, 2011; Jin, 2013). In particular, Korean-English telecollaboration has rarely been researched, except for one study about English-Korean bilingual interactions between peers in the same class in an ethnic Korean school (e.g., Chung, Graves, Wesche, & Barfurth, 2005). In particular, the telecollaborative project that served as the context of the current study involved the interaction between two groups of learners who shared a heritage connection as ethnic Koreans, a coupling of learner populations that has not been explored in L2 telecollaborative contexts.

THE CURRENT STUDY

The study addressed these gaps in the literature by examining both process and product and both the linguistic and cultural dimensions of online exchanges between two groups of L2 learners: college learners of English as a foreign language in Korea and college learners of Korean as a heritage language in the United States. Pairs of learners exchanged information about their native languages and cultures and learned about each other's language and culture, taking on in turn the roles of learner and expert (O'Rourke, 2007). The learners in dyads were involved in text-based synchronous computer-

mediated discussions (i.e., online chatting) that is characterized by real-time interactivity and spontaneous and dynamic meaning-making and negotiation. As the emic perspective becomes important in understanding the process and the multidimensionality of learning, I also aimed in the study to investigate how the learners' subjective understanding of intercultural communication connected with their interactions with their partners and their L2 learning. The main purpose of the study was to explore how differing interpersonal dynamics emerged across dyads and were related to perceptions of the experiences, interactions, and learning.

Throughout my dissertation study, I was guided by the following research questions. When Korean-speaking English learners and English-speaking Korean learners engaged in cultural and linguistic exchanges in dyads:

1. What were leaners' perceptions of the computer-mediated intercultural communication, and how did these perceptions differ depending on whether a student was a member of a well-functioning or less well-functioning pair?

2. How did the learners engage in the computer-mediated intercultural communication depending on differing levels of the dyadic functioning?

3. How did the learners' experiences with the computer-mediated intercultural communication connect with their learning depending on differing levels of the dyadic functioning?

To answer these questions, I designed my research as a qualitative, embedded multiple-case study. I triangulated my data through computer-mediated discourse transcripts, learning products, and ethnographic data explaining learners' perceptions of their

experiences and learning. My analysis was informed by a modified grounded theory and the constant comparative method. As for analysis of the communication data, I used discourse analytic techniques for close textual analysis, combined with a coding-and-counting approach for comparative analysis across cases. After identifying emerging patterns and themes, I conducted an inductive and interpretive analysis to identify major characteristics in perception, interaction, and learning that may account for differing dyadic functioning across intercultural partnerships.

Chapter Two

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

In this chapter, I describe the theoretical orientations that guided my dissertation study, and review research on intercultural communication and telecollaboration in the field of foreign language education (FLE). The first section explains a framework on which I base my understanding of language, language use, L2 learning, and language-culture relationship, ending with a list of my theoretical assumptions. Then, I present a review of the literature that informs my theoretical understanding of online intercultural communication. In the next section, I provide an overview of the FLE field's recent discussions on integrating culture learning into L2 learning and on promoting intercultural competence. Finally, I review research on computer-mediated intercultural communication and telecollaboration and research on group dynamics and functioning. I aim to provide an overview of the field in this chapter. I then present specific concepts and frameworks that directly informed my analysis at the beginning of each of the three findings chapters, Chapters 4 through 6.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Language as Semiotics and Dialogism

Questions about what language is and how communication works have a long history of focus in human philosophy. According to van Lier (2004), the Peircean sign system, which is triadic and cyclic, consists of three elements (i.e., sign, what the sign

stands for, and meaning or outcome of the sign) that dynamically and continuously interact with each other. Each of the three elements has values that are socially, culturally, and historically constructed. This semiotic view explains how linguistic structures come to connect with cultural and conventional meanings. van Lier (2002, 2004) further developed a semiotic understanding of interpersonal communication as shown in Figure 2.1. The two dots at the center of the two sign systems represent the subject. The structure is purposely drawn not as a closed but an open triangle in order to show unequal and ever-evolving relations of the three elements at every moment. When two people join together to talk about something (i.e., object), they bring two sign systems into the context. They might use language to share their signs; however, this does not mean that the two signs are identical because each person places differing levels of value to his or her own sign elements. Depending on the values that each element takes on, this joint sign system produces numerous possibilities of joint meaning making.
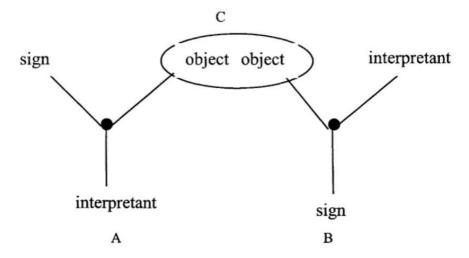
Figure 2.1. van Lier's diagram showing "dialogically coupled signs" (2004, p. 69)

Thus, the notion of language as a semiotic system suggests the dialogic nature of joint meaning making. Proposing the notion of dialogism, Bakhtin (1981) rejected consistency in language across contexts, but instead focused on the situatedness of "real" utterances made by a certain subject in a particular context and emphasized voice and dialogicality conveyed in actual speech. Bakhtin theorized that interaction is a process of appropriating others' words, attending to the important role of dialogue for reciprocal learning. Applying Bakhtinian dialogism, van Lier (2004) emphasized the dialogic interaction between two sign systems as semiosis:

> every successive iteration (rotation in my visual imagery above) of signifying will pick up signifying energy from the other (where 'other' can be co-present interlocutor, institutional habitus, cultural artifact, physical object, and a million other 'others'). The sign is thus always a social sign, it is, paraphrasing Bakhtin, "half someone else's" (1981, p. 345-6). It takes place in the world, not in the mind […] the point is to show how signs gain in complexity, in engagement, and in depth, through the ongoing inter-activity of the meaning-making subjects. (p. 70)

Seen from this semiotic perspective, the process of meaning making is based on relations between the self and a triadic sign system, between signs, and between the self, the other, and the environment during the triadic interaction. Language use is a semiotic activity and communication is the non-linear, emergent process of meaning making. Thus, psychological processes of L2 learning can be studied by looking at the actual learning process rather than only at the state product of learning or outward behaviors or outcomes (Wertsch, 1991).

An Ecological Perspective: Affordances and Learner Engagement

As already implied, one L2 researcher whose theory has informed the current study is van Lier (2002, 2004). He presented the onion metaphor, as a way to show his

"ecological" view, in explaining that any utterance carries multiple layers of meaning and is situated within multiple contexts; that is, multiple historical-cultural contexts influence the meaning-making process.

Two important concepts that define van Lier's ecological perspective are *affordance* and *emergence*. He explained the relationships between the learner and the environment in terms of *affordances*, that is, relevant resources that the environment offers to the learner. Depending on how the learner configures or constructs the environment, affordances become either "opportunities for or inhibition of action" (van Lier, 2004, p. 4). Therefore, what the learner is exposed to is not "input" but affordances with which s/he actively engages. He further posited that affordances are grounded in the physical, social, and symbolic world and that affordances are both immediate and mediated. With constant interactions between agent and environment and between perception and activity, this process is explained as semiosis, that is, meaning making. Meaning making occurs as a result of meaningful and active participation in an event or activity in which the learner picks up information from available affordances and uses them for deeper engagement or further action. In other words, learner engagement and consciousness play an important role in interaction with affordances and ultimately, learning. *Emergence* is a concept that explains the formation of complex linguistic systems and language learning. Emergence happens when "relatively simple organizations or elements reorganize [or transform] themselves into more complex, more intelligent systems" (van Lier, 2004, p. 105). Depending on the way the learner engages

with the context, emergence of learning can take different "trajectories." These learning trajectories are non-linear, but characterized by a series of transformations and transitions.

An Ecological Perspective: Learners' Subjective Experience

Kramsch (2002), another ecological researcher, proposed that an ecological perspective can be an alternative attempt to reconcile the division of the second language acquisition field between language acquisition and language socialization. Relative to van Lier (2002, 2004), Kramsch focused more on lived experience and subjectivities. *Subjectivities*, defined as "the affective aspects of the language experience and is positively associated with the cognitive and emotional development of the self" (Kramsch, 2009, p. 16), include perceptions, attitudes, emotions, values, and desire. Subjectivity involves the use of language as a symbolic form. She used the word *symbolic* to refer to two meanings: the representation of the Other (i.e., representation of objective realities) and construction of the Self (i.e., construction of subjective realities). Through using language, the self understands objects and people as well as constructs subjective realities. In addition, language carries "symbolic power" with it as it influences people's emotions, cognitions, and actions. Kramsch argued that subject positions or subjectivities newly constructed during every moment of language use are thus symbolic rather than simply social or psychological realities. Because of this symbolic nature of language, each language user's experiences are different. In sum, Kramsch portrayed language learning as the process of constructing and reconstructing new subjectivities. The multilingual subject, as she called it, who uses more than one language, becomes the ever emergent "subject-in-process" (p. 78).

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My Theoretical Assumptions

As second language acquisition is a complex phenomenon that a single perspective cannot fully explain, we need epistemological diversity and mutual, dialogic engagement across different paradigms (Alexander, Schallert, & Reynolds, 2009; Atkinson, 2011; Ortega, 2007, 2011). In response, I attempted to incorporate semiotic and ecological perspectives to language learning. My semiotic-ecological theoretical stance is, to borrow van Lier's (2004) words, "not a finished system or theory, nor is it a method of looking at language as a tool of many uses, and as a key component of all human meaning-making activity" (p. 224). Based on my dialogic engagement across various theoretical views outlined thus far, I have identified my theoretical assumptions that reflect my approach to the research focus, design, and analysis of the study:

First, language is a semiotic and symbolic tool, and an integral part of many meaning-making systems.

Second, the learner is viewed as a whole person, and along with the environment, produces one holistic organism.

Third, my semiotic-ecological view looks at dynamic and bidirectional relations rather than elements or classifications.

Fourth, I look at the individual, social, environmental, material, and symbolic realms of learning.

Fifth, I take into account learner engagement and its historicity (e.g., past experiences, current emotions and perceptions, and future goals and imaginings) during semiotic mediation and development.

Sixth, ongoing tension and mutuality between agency and structure is a force for

development, change, or learning. Therefore, both individual and

collective variations are likely in learning.

Based on these theoretical assumptions, I provide my understanding of intercultural

communication, particularly over networked computers, between L2 learners in the next

section.

ONLINE INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION

From a semiotic view of language learning, full participation at all levels of value

in sign systems is necessary in order to have complete control of the target language. For

L2 learners, however, the "keys" to the full control of sign systems are in a number of

ways "broken, lost, or withheld" (van Lier, 2004, p. 154). When the learner does not have

full control over available resources from the learning context, she or he cannot notice

affordances, and as a result, cannot fully engage with the learning potential. From this

semiotic perspective, intercultural communication can be understood as a situation in

which two interlocutors bring two different sign systems with multiple historicities and

culturalities and create multiple levels of meaning-making systems. It is highly possible

to picture the situation as when the interlocutors lack a common "indexical ground of

reference or are unable to co-construct one, so it is difficult to establish a sphere of

intersubjectivity, and the encounter is likely to end in failure" (Kramsch, 2002, p. 13). In

this sense, intercultural communication between L2 learners, particularly in a

multilingual setting, becomes a space in which the establishment of shared

understandings about semiotic resources presents learning opportunities, whereas a lack

of established intersubjectivity leads to risks of miscommunication.

Although such debilitating circumstances, of course, do happen to native language

learners, they become exacerbated in foreign language learning settings. This is because

in foreign language education settings, language is not fully taught as a symbolic form

that combines both psychological and social realities, but instead as cognitive realities

that are normativized according to the monolingual native speaker of the target language.

That is, the learner is not regarded as a holistic organism who carries multiple subject

positions based on past experiences, current perceptions and emotions, and future

imagination. As a result, in a foreign language classroom, the learner remains as the

permanent "learner" and the totality of his/her symbolic abilities, including his/her native

language and experiences, are ignored. The results of this formal and linguistic

instruction are the dichotomous notions about the target language and culture such as

native speaker/nonnative speaker, learner/teacher, and correctness/incorrectness

(Kramsch & Whiteside, 2007, 2008). As foreign language learning does not occur in

natural settings, the learning experiences heavily rely on the learner's imagination,

therefore, creating:

> imagined communities of native speakers endowed with timeless attributes that
> are projected onto the language itself. No doubt these projections are stereotypes,
> that exoticize and essentialize the speakers of those languages, but stereotypes—
> good and bad—fulfill an important emotional function as non-native speakers try
> to make sense of the new symbolic system. (Kramsch, 2009, p. 13)

Therefore, intercultural communication between foreign language learners becomes a space in which knowledge gaps about the target language and culture are filled with imagination, stereotypical images, emotional responses, and ethnocentric assumptions.

The medium of communication is another aspect of the environment for communication, thus influencing the semiotic and symbolic process of meaning making. Computer-mediated discourse (CMD) has brought about new and still evolving linguistic varieties and complexity and new ways of communication, and as a result, the nature of language acquisition and socialization is also changing (Crystal, 2001; Lam & Kramsch, 2003). Crystal argued that the kind of language used on the Internet is so different from spoken, written, and sign languages as addressed in traditional language studies that we should regard "computer-mediated language" as a fourth medium (2001, p. 272). The computer-mediated language provides both opportunities and risks. It extends the boundaries of traditional classroom instruction and face-to-face communication. Many new semiotic systems used as part of Internet language such as emoticons and graphic and visual displays bring Internet users together regardless of their native languages. Simultaneously, however, the newly evolving sign systems can also distance speakers of different languages if they do not have shared social and cultural sign systems. Nonverbal signs such as facial expressions and gestures that usually complement verbal signs are blocked or delayed in CMD. The ambiguity produced by the lack of boundaries in terms of space, time, and reality complicates the reality of online communication and interaction (Kramsch, 2009). The blurred boundaries afforded by CMD can be more complicated because various types of CMD tools are used differently for different

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communities, as Thorne (2003) called "cultures-of-use" of Internet communication tools. Because of these complicated affordances and constraints, CMD contains inherent risks of miscommunication and misunderstanding. By contrast, for the same reason, some people experience deep engagement and often a psychological state called "hyperpersonal interaction" through CMD as a result of the absence of sufficient interactional and temporal cues of the medium (Walther, 1996).

In sum, online intercultural communication can be understood as taking place in contact zones between languages, cultures, language modes (written, oral, sign, and computer language), signs, sign systems, and shared knowledge. The semiotic process seems more complex and unpredictable when communication takes place in online intercultural spaces between L2 learners.

CULTURE LEARNING AND INTERCULTURAL COMPETENCE

Language and Culture

The profession of foreign language education has experienced recent progress in understanding culture learning as an integral part of language study. Competence in the target culture is not any more the fifth skill to be acquired separately from language skills; as Kramsch explained, "it is always in the background, right from day one" (1993, p. 1). This intertwinement of language and culture is well expressed in Agar's term "languaculture" (1994). As one of the ultimate goals of learning a foreign language, consequently, learners are encouraged to understand the criticality of culture both as the

object of language learning and as an important component of their daily lives and communication.

Two documents that suggest new standards and goals for foreign language education demonstrate these new trends in the field: The *Standards for Language Learning in the 21st Century* (ACTFL, 2006) and the MLA Report, "Foreign Languages and Higher Education: New Structures for a Changed World" (MLA Ad Hoc Committee on Foreign Languages, 2007). Highlighting the interconnectedness of language and culture, both documents clearly propose that culture learning should move beyond surface behavior or product towards learning different perspectives between cultures and reflecting on ourselves through the lenses of different perspectives. Therefore, seeing and teaching culture as consisting of facts and truths can be greatly limited and misleading. In this sense, the goals of foreign language study should be to develop translingual and transcultural competence and to learn about "differences in meaning, mentality, and worldview as expressed" in one's native language (L1) and in the target language (MLA, 2007, p. 4).

Intercultural Communicative Competence

Intercultural scholars in this field have also explored the complex nature of culture and culture learning and proposed theories about the development of translingual and transcultural competence. Byram (1997, 2008) proposed a model of intercultural communicative competence, a foreign language speaker's comprehensive competencies necessary in order to interact with a foreign culture and people and mediate between people from different cultures. Although viewing linguistic competence as an important

outcome of FLE, he argued that "the most desirable outcome is a learner with the ability to see and manage the relationships between themselves and meanings … and those of their interlocutors" (1997, p. 12). A person who possesses such abilities is called *the intercultural speaker* (Byram, 1997). Byram rejected the notion of the native speaker as a model for foreign language learners and instead proposed that the foreign language speaker is an "attainable ideal" (1997, p. 70). Among various knowledge, skills, and attitudes, critical cultural awareness or *savoir s'engager* (Byram, 2009, p. 327) plays a central role in the competencies of the intercultural speaker. Being intercultural requires a "willingness to suspend those deeper values, at least temporarily, in order to be able to understand and empathise with the values of others that are incompatible with one's own" (Byram, 2008, p. 69). This calls for more active engagement and involvement from the L2 speaker.

Kramsch (2009) proposed the concept of *symbolic competence* to refer to a subjective experience in which the L2 learner continuously reconsiders and reconstructs the familiar and the unfamiliar between languages and cultures. Symbolic competence means being competent in both objective and subjective realities. That is, being symbolically competent means going beyond compliance with the conventional meaning of language as used by the other toward active engagement with it to experience and express subjective positions creatively and actively. She proposed that the conventional notion of communicative competence was confined to learning how to negotiate referential meanings from a monolingual perspective. In contrast, a multilingual subject with symbolic competence is:

less intent on decoding than on interpreting words and their indexicalities, less focused on the standard monolingual use of one language than on the ability to use one language or the other, or less keen on explaining and judging one national culture versus another than on understanding their own and others' historical trajectories and values. (Kramsch, 2009, p. 189).

A person with symbolic competence, however, does not remain satisfied with passively experiencing and expressing subjective positions. Kramsch further proposed a "multilingual imagination" as a key component of the competence. The imagination opens up possibilities to find appropriate subject positions and to play "between languages" (2009, p. 201). Thus, L2 learning is defined as environmental adaptation and transgression, and what is important for learner development is the ability to shift between frames and semiotic signs.

Kramsch (2011) expanded her notion of symbolic competence by attending to intertwined relationships between language, culture, and discourse in an increasingly globalized world in which boundaries are less defined. Defining culture as discourse, she postulated that communication across cultures involves looking beyond words and actions towards "discourse worlds" (p. 356), arguing her notion of culture to be now more connected with the poststructuralist notion of discourse:

> culture today is associated with ideologies, attitudes and beliefs, created and manipulated through the discourse of the media, the Internet, the marketing industry, Hollywood and other mind-shaping interest groups. It is seen less as a world of institutions and historical traditions, or even as identifiable communities of practice, than as a mental toolkit of subjective metaphors, affectivities, historical memories, extextualizations and transtextualizations of experience, with which we make meaning of the world around us and share that meaning with others. (Kramsch, 2011, p. 355)

She argued that the discourses that come from diverse realms structure the world, and the world in turn structures the discourses, and she defined culture as these discourses.

Therefore, for her, intercultural competence has to do with "far less negotiable discourse worlds" (p. 354) than communicative competence that traditionally focused on functional language.

Research about Intercultural Learning and Competence

With the new scholarly attention to culture learning as an integral part of FLE, much research has been conducted to explore effective pedagogies for teaching and learning culture: for example, a cultural portfolio project (Su, 2011), use of an image or video (Bush, 2007; Herron, Cole, Corrie, & Dubreil, 1999), use of literature compared to cultural fact sheets (Scott & Huntington, 2002); and explicit instruction on intercultural communication strategies (Savignon & Sysoyev, 2002). With easier contact with native speakers coming from the target culture (C2) than ever before, ethnographic interviews or communication with C2 informants have also been incorporated as a pedagogical tool (Bateman, 2002).

Outcome-focused studies measuring the development of intercultural competence have also saturated the FLE research field. For example, Scott and Huntington (2002) operationalized intercultural competence as consisting of cognitive flexibility and affective awareness, that is, empathy toward a target culture, in measuring the development of intercultural competence. Some research has used external criteria such as models of acculturation and intercultural development: for example, Bennett's (1993) five stages of intercultural sensitivity and Byram's (1997) model of intercultural communicative competence. These pre-established models have been used to develop

ways to measure how much the language learner has achieved intercultural competence and adjustment after an intervention (e.g., Bacon, 1995; Durocher, 2007).

Because of potentials for student engagement and affect, nontraditional power dynamic systems, and exploration of diverse participant roles (Abrams, 2001; Beauvois, 1998; Chun, 1994; Kelm, 1992; Kern, 1995; Warschauer, 1996), the incorporation of computer-mediated discourse (CMD) has also been increasing in teaching culture and promoting intercultural competence for L2 learners. For example, Garrett-Rucks (2013) found that the use of CMD for peer discussions within a foreign language class helped L2 learners shift from an ethnocentric approach to an ethnorelative approach to culture. CMD tools also enable learners to communicate with people at a distance such as informants from the target culture. For example, in Lee's (2011) study of a study-abroad program, L2 learners' interaction with native speakers of the target language through blogging and face-to-face interviews helped them to develop communication skills and a critical awareness toward intercultural communication.

Another strand of research has explored the process of intercultural learning and communication during online exchanges between groups of learners studying each other's language, to which I turn in the next section.

COMPUTER-MEDIATED INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION

Networked computers can also connect two distant groups of language learners from different cultures/countries. The term, *telecollaboration,* as an umbrella term is broadly used to refer to such pedagogical contexts, although there are several different

types depending on how language use and tasks are set up, such as *Cultura* (Furstenberg, Levet, English, & Maillet, 2001) and eTandem (O'Rourke, 2007). Electronic tandem (eTandem) language learning, a context explored in the current study, allows pairs of learners to exchange comments about their native languages and cultures and to learn about each other's language and culture. It also offers a more balanced power system and learner engagement through its three major principles: bilingualism, reciprocity, and autonomy (Schwienhorst, 2004a). As studies have employed the differing uses of L1 and L2 and different CMD tools, the umbrella term *telecollaboration* is used in the following review of relevant research.

The research on telecollaboration has explored two areas of interest. The first is about whether a telecollaborative project is effective in promoting intercultural awareness and competence (e.g., Chun, 2011; Schenker, 2012). For example, Hertel (2003) found that after participating in cultural e-mail exchanges with Mexican students, U.S. students increased their intercultural sensitivity and developed positive attitudes about the target culture and people. One interesting finding reported in Chun's (2011) study is that students who participated in a U.S.-Germany project through text-based chats showed a greater development of intercultural competence than those who participated in asynchronous forum discussions.

The other area is concerned with learners' experiences of and behaviors in their telecollaborative exchanges and with relevant issues to intercultural communication, directly informing the research focus and design of the current study. In the following, I discuss findings from such research, by focusing on four major issues that may explain

intercultural communication: native frames of reference, subjective experience, foreign

language status, and international partnerships.

Frame of Reference: Native Language and Native Culture

Culture is a complex frame of reference that consists of patterns of traditions, beliefs, values, norms, symbols, and meanings that are shared to varying degrees by interacting members of a community. (Ting-Toomey, 1999, p. 10)

Pratt (2002) reflected on intercultural interaction through the metaphor of

translation. Translation produces something that is similar but not equivalent to the

original, containing both a distance from and an understanding of the Other. In a similar

sense, intercultural communication is cultural translation. She further argued that in order

to have successful intercultural communication, one should go beyond one's own cultural

"glosses" (p. 31). What is at the core of this translation process is native and existing

schemata (that is, what is familiar) such as one's native language and native culture.

The notion of the native schemata has been discussed by numerous sociolinguistic

researchers in terms of various concepts such as frames, perspectives, scripts, anchoring,

schema, and cultural conceptualizations (Ensink, 2003; Goffman, 2001; Moscovici,

2000/1984; Sharifian, 2007; Ting-Toomey, 1999). *Frames*, a term used in the current

study, refer to a shared sense of the way in which discourses function in a community.

Such frames are critical in perceiving and understanding information because frames

generate expectations that drive interpretation and perception processes (Ensink, 2003).

Thus, in intercultural contexts, native culture and language, as points of reference,

condition the process of intercultural communication and learning. Unless L2 learners

possess a critical awareness and open attitudes toward cultural differences going beyond

what is familiar to them (Byram, 1997), they are likely to rely on ethnocentric knowledge and perspectives in intercultural contexts, often filling gaps in their background knowledge with their imagination and preconceived stereotypical ideas (Drewelow, 2013; Golato, 2002; Kramsch, 2009; Porto, 2003).

In a study about telecollaboration among learners of English as a foreign language from Japan, Mexico, and Russia, Basharina (2007) investigated the way that students' different preconceptions and expectations produced contradictions. She found that intercultural contradictions in communication genre, topic choice, and unequal contribution between cultural groups remained unresolved by the end of the project. Mexican participants developed negative attitudes towards Russian students as a result of this project. The researcher explained those contradictions in terms of broader activity systems in which participants were embedded in institutional and sociopolitical systems of the three cultures.

Different "cultures-of-use" of communication tools across cultures are also related to how individual learners interact with partnering students abroad (Thorne, 2003). In a study of the same telecollaborative projected mentioned above, Basharina (2007) found that the activity was mediated by communication tools: for example, differing previous experiences with technologies, differing degrees of Internet accessibility and connection speeds, and different preferences for different tools across cultures. Thorne (2003) similarly reported a case in which U.S. and French students showed low engagement with three-week e-mail exchanges in a formal instructional setting, but were highly involved in one-week synchronous chats in an informal, out-of-class setting.

Students from the project reported that they preferred synchronous chats over asynchronous CMD for age-peer interactions, whereas they preferred asynchronous e-mail communication with professors and parents. These studies showed that culturally framed expectations about communication and task influenced the process of intercultural communication and peer relationship.

Learner Engagement and Subjectivity

It has been documented that international telecollaboration is beneficial for learner engagement and motivation. For example, Schwienhorst (2004a) found that native speakers and nonnative speakers initiated topics of discussion equally in both English and German sessions between Irish and German students and argued that this finding was contrary to previous research on face-to-face communication in which native speakers initiated many more topics. In a case study by Negueruela-Azarola (2011), a U.S. college student, who had been disengaged from and frustrated about Spanish learning, increased her motivation to learn Spanish after participating in a telecollaborative project with students in Spain. The student attributed the increased motivation to several features of the project: learner-centered and culture-focused learning and genuine communication with a sympathetic partner who was also an L2 learner of English. The researcher emphasized how the learner reconstructed her motivation for L2 learning not with cognitive reasons but with emotional reasons.

Intercultural exchanges also provide opportunities to explore one's identity in relation to others. In Chung, Graves, Wesche, and Barfurth's (2005) study, Korean-L1-speaking students (i.e., first generation Korean-Canadians) and English-L1-speaking

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students (i.e., second generation Korean-Canadians) from the same school in Canada were paired to help each other with L2 essays and presentations through chats, and they developed an awareness of their own ethnicity in relation to other ethnic Koreans. In Helm, Guth, and Farrah's (2012) study, English as a foreign language learners from Palestine and Italy, by discussing critical issues (i.e., issues about the West vs. the Arab and Muslim world) through audio-video conferencing, experienced an interior struggle (accept or reject cultural differences), went through a journey of intercultural learning about self and other, and explored their possible identities depending on topics and their roles in the group (e.g., one participant was the only westerner in his group). English-as-L2 speakers in both groups had a very high level of engagement in exchanging their own cultural perspectives and identities openly.

By the nature of promoting peer interaction, telecollaborative activities are conducive to a casual and informal atmosphere. Belz and Reinhardt (2004) explored the ways that CMD in a U.S.-Germany telecollaborative project facilitated a U.S. student's language play in German as an L2 and that language play gave him the pleasure of linguistic creativity and a means of rendering a positive face and personal relationship with German partners. Heightened states of interpersonal intimacy were also found in one of the three case studies reported by Thorne (2003). One American student became frustrated with her French partner's low engagement during e-mail exchanges, but when they extended their communication to synchronous chats, they both experienced authentic interpersonal communication and a state of flow.

As a result of telecollaborative activities, students tend to be focused more on meaning and peer relationship rather than accuracy. For example, Darhower (2008), in a study of intercultural exchanges between U.S. and Puerto Rican students, found that there were low opportunities for providing and responding to linguistic affordances available in chats and concluded that telecollaborative chats would be more beneficial for building intercultural social relationships. In a U.S.-Germany project by Kötter (2003), learners used much less teacher-like strategies for communication breakdowns (e.g., comprehension checks) and used more informal strategies (e.g., request for elaboration) than previous studies of face-to-face communication had reported, probably because they wanted to maintain the positive face of their partners. They also used many overt expressions to give positive feedback (e.g., agreement and understanding). In a Sino-American project (Jin, 2013), Chinese partners provided their American partners with quality scaffolding through the form of consistent and contingent help and handover, and this explained American learners' gains in quantity of their L2 production in Chinese over time. However, the scaffolding focused on friendship building and culture sharing and lacked a focus on form, thus leading to small gains in accuracy.

Language Valuation and L2 Proficiency

A few studies addressed the matter of English as a lingua franca as a factor influencing intercultural communication patterns and engagement. From an analysis of interview data, Ware (2005) discovered that the different values of the English and German languages in the two societies was one cause of tensions arising among participants in a Germany-U.S. project. In Germany, learning English was highly valued,

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whereas communicative competence in German as an L2 was not as strongly emphasized in U.S. society, and students took a German class for its own sake. Belz (2001), in a study of a German-U.S. project, used national statistics on foreign language education in the two countries to explain L2 proficiency gaps between U.S. and German students. In the study, some of the American students, with a lower L2 proficiency in German, seemed to lose their motivation and engagement in the process, and their brief and infrequent exchanges led their German partners to misunderstand them as lacking engagement. In a study of an Irish-German project, O'Rourke (2005) similarly concluded that different valuations of the two languages led to proficiency gaps, which explained the findings that there were five more turns in English sessions, but twice more non-understanding instances in German sessions. O'Rourke called the imbalances in L2 proficiency and language production the *lingua-franca effect*.

International Partnerships and Group Dynamics

Intercultural scholars (Hofstede, Pedersen, & Hofstede, 2002; Lewis, 2006; Trompenaars & Hampden-Turner, 2012) generally agree that both group differences and individual variation make up culture, and many factors explain variations within cultures. Levy (2007) argued that cultural patterns in a group and individual perceptions about culture are layered and function at multiple levels, thus creating the complexity and variation of culture. Telecollaboration and intercultural communication represent a very complex learning situation as learning depends on multiple contexts at individual, interpersonal, cross-linguistic, cross-cultural, and cross-institutional levels. As a result,

depending on how all possible conditions and levels play out, different intercultural interactions take on differing trajectories and outcomes.

A handful of studies have documented tensions and differing levels of learner engagement that arose in international partnerships. In a study of a U.S.-Germany project, Belz (2001) explored how differences in cultural, social, and institutional features resulted in different levels of group functionality. In a high functionality group, American and German students participated equally and their discussion was full of personal topics and face-saving encouragement, whereas a low functionality group lacked involvement from both sides and had superficial discussion. Another low functionality group had direct confrontation in the end after several mismatches in engagement levels, language use, and collaboration on tasks. Darhower (2007) similarly explored group dynamics and community building in a U.S.-Spain project, and reported two contrastive groups. One group constructed a cooperative, cohesive communicative environment in their chat room over a semester, whereas the other group had fewer social affordances (e.g., humor) and more disruptive behaviors and absences, reaching a lower level of online community building. O'Dowd's (2003) study on Britain-Spain e-mail exchanges reported five partnerships, two of which were less successful. One pair had many heated debates over Spanish culture (e.g., bulls and Flamenco), and the British partner later started to disengage from the exchanges. In the other pair, a Spanish student actively sought a dialogue over stereotypes about British people, but his British partner was not receptive to the conversation at all, so the Spanish student confirmed his previous stereotypes (e.g., rude British) after this experience.

The complex nature of telecollaborative exchanges also seems to explain unpredictable dynamics and outcomes of partnership formation across studies. For example, five times more turns were produced in English than German in Irish-Germany exchanges (O'Rourke, 2005), whereas there were almost even turn-takings between Japanese-Australian partners (Bower & Kawaguchi, 2011). One interesting finding from Bower and Kawaguchi's study is that Australian students produced slightly more turns in both the English and Japanese sessions, a finding contrary to other studies. Chun (2011) reported that in a U.S.-Germany project, American students from a German sociolinguistics class were more actively involved, complained of their German partners who were majoring in math and science for being less active, and felt that their communication was less successful. In contrast, in Ware's (2005) study, German students were highly motivated, taking an English class during a winter vacation, and sought personal and intimate interactions with same-age peers and wrote messages carefully in a friendly tone. However, American students had more extrinsic motivation in response to institutional demands and wrote in a more formal and task-oriented way. German students complained about their American partners' low engagement and their having "no time." Interestingly, in the same project, one German student and one American student became involved in a huge misunderstanding, but the German student continued to write actively and ended the exchanges feeling positive, whereas the American student entirely disengaged from the 3-week project after the first week (Ware & Kramsch, 2005). Telecollaboration is thus a dynamic contact zone in which diverse experiences and partnerships are constructed.

Overview of the Research on Telecollaboration

Previous research on L2 telecollaboration provided three main insights that helped guide my study. First, interaction takes place within multiple contexts and on multiple levels. Intercultural communication opens up numerous possibilities for joint meaning making. Yet, preexisting frames or schemata may also hinder successful communication and learning. Second, depending on how learners understand the learning context, different dynamics of learner engagement emerge. The learning context includes all available learning sources and affordances, including the language and the partner. Third, learning greatly depends on relational issues and subjective experiences. Learner engagement is a dialogic process involving how one feels, thinks, and knows in relation to the other. Thus, learners co-construct their own learning context, whereby differing interpersonal dynamics and functioning are formed and developed. Yet, we have limited knowledge about the ways that differing group functioning is related to learner experiences and ultimately to foreign language learning in telecollaborative contexts. A few studies that explored group dynamics across international partnerships were limited to analyzing the interactions themselves (Belz, 2001; Darhower, 2007; O'Dowd, 2003). I wanted to gain insight into intercultural partnerships and partnership functioning by looking "beyond the texts of interaction to the broader contextual dynamics that shape and are shaped by those texts" (Warschauer & Kern, 2000, p. 15). Thus, I now turn to the literature and research about group dynamics and functioning in the next section.

GROUP DYNAMICS AND FUNCTIONING

Because L2 teaching and learning by its nature involve active communication, L2 learners tend to experience much more salient interpersonal and group processes than learners of other subject areas (Borg, 2006). Thus, many L2 researchers have emphasized the importance of cohesive group environments, and proposed that more attention be paid to the influence of group formation and dynamics on language learning (e.g., Dörnyei & Murphey, 2003). However, research on group dynamics in L2 learning contexts has been limited. Therefore, for my review of relevant research, I relied on the literature of social psychology in which numerous studies have been conducted on the ways that group members get along and how group functioning influences performance and learner psychology. I paid particular attention to the literature testing whether the establishment of an interpersonal relationship among group members is an important aspect for the formation of a healthy group and the successful performance of group tasks, among various characteristics defining groups such as engagement levels, group norms and structures, and shared purposes of tasks (Dörnyei & Murphey, 2003; Schmuck & Schmuck, 2001).

First, the experiences of group work and dynamics has been shown to influence learners' perceptions of their experiences and other group members. For example, research findings in social psychology have generally found that members belonging to cohesive and well-functioning groups appreciate and accept each other and enjoy interacting with each other (e.g., Forsyth, 1999). In an L2 learning context, Clément, Dörnyei, and Noels (1994) found that cohesiveness among class members affect L2

learners' positive evaluation of their learner group. Group dynamics also seem related to learners' motivation. For example, Chang (2010) found that cohesiveness in the class was associated with individual students' motivation, which was operationalized as self-efficacy and autonomy, in learning English as a foreign language.

Research has also explored interaction patterns and task performance in relation to group dynamics and functioning, providing empirical findings about important characteristics of well performing groups, including a high level of participation and cooperation among members, interaction patterns encouraging high performance and quality, significant amounts of time discussing the problems and decisions that a group faces, an open communication structure, engagement in self-disclosure, and less tendency toward disruptive behaviors and absenteeism (e.g., Buzaglo & Wheelan, 1999; Schmuck & Schmuck, 2001). In a study of foreign language learners, Hinger (2006) found that the time group members spent together learning a foreign language was associated with the amount of group-building utterances made by learners, compared to those made by teachers, and with the level of mutual acceptance and cooperation as shown in peer interactions. Based on their review of the literature, Dörnyei and Murphey (2003) concluded that one of the most important characteristics of a "good group" is acceptance and cooperation among members that is promoted by and evidenced through learning about each other, meaningful contact and interaction, the rewarding nature of group experience, the successful completion of whole-group tasks, extracurricular activities, and joint hardship.

Group dynamics are also related to the outcomes of group interaction and performance, such as task completion and language learning in L2 learning contexts. Past research in social psychology has consistently revealed a positive relationship between group cohesiveness and outcomes for groups that had shared goals and norms supportive of performance (Dörnyei & Murphey, 2003). In a study of group processes in L2 classrooms, Senior (1997) found that L2 learners felt more comfortable when speaking and sharing ideas with peers, and as a result learned more efficiently in a group that fostered and maintained cohesion among group members. In a study of the relationship between group cohesion and time spent together in a group (Hinger, 2006), foreign language learners reported that the feeling of cohesion helped them care about each other, promoting mutual learning.

Altogether, the literature about group dynamics and functioning seems to concur that interpersonal relationships among members are an important aspect of group dynamics and that the functioning of a group is related to members' perceptions about their groups and other members, their interactions and task participation, and outcomes and learning. These conclusions lead to the question of how such characteristics would be manifested in intercultural partnerships in a telecollaborative context. Yet, there has been little research about the ways that learners' subjective experiences and relational issues arising in L2 telecollaboration are related to differing group functioning in the formation and development of international partnerships. In addition, existing telecollaboration research about the relationship between differing group functioning and intercultural interactions is limited to investigating several interactional patterns, and research about

the influence of differing group functioning on language learning is nonexistent. In this study, I aimed to contribute to the L2 telecollaboration research by exploring the ways that intercultural communication was related to the formation of dyadic relationships and the ways that dyadic functioning was evidenced in learners' perceptions of their experiences, interactions, and learning in the process of intercultural exchanges between university students in two countries.

Chapter Three

METHOD

EPISTEMOLOGICAL APPROACH

In this study, I sought to understand the process of communication and learning during networked communication between learners of Korean at a U.S. university and learners of English at a Korean university. The entire process of project implementation, data collection, and data analysis was guided by the following research questions. When Korean-speaking English learners and English-speaking Korean learners engaged in cultural and linguistic exchanges in pairs:

1. What were leaners' perceptions of the computer-mediated intercultural communication, and how did these perceptions differ depending on whether a student was a member of a well-functioning or less well-functioning pair?

2. How did the learners engage in the computer-mediated intercultural communication depending on differing levels of the dyadic functioning?

3. How did the learners' experiences with the computer-mediated intercultural communication connect with their learning depending on differing levels of the dyadic functioning?

I approached these research questions from a semiotic-ecological stance. To repeat my theoretical assumptions in the previous chapter:

First, language is a semiotic and symbolic tool, being an integral part of many meaning-making systems.

Second, the learner is viewed as a whole person, and along with the environment,

produces one holistic organism.

Third, my semiotic-ecological view looks at dynamic and bidirectional relations

rather than elements or classifications.

Fourth, I look at environmental, social, and symbolic realms of learning.

Fifth, I take into account the learner engagement and its historicity (e.g., past

experiences, current emotions and perceptions, and future goals and

imaginings) during semiotic mediation and learning.

Sixth, ongoing tension and mutuality between agency and structure is a force for

development, change, or learning. Therefore, both individual and

collective variations are likely in learning.

These assumptions suggest that meaning is neither determined as a cognitive and

individual endeavor nor given prior to interaction, but meaning-making is situated in

multiple historical-cultural contexts. Therefore, the purpose of my inquiry was to look

into the ways in which meaning was continuously constructed and negotiated through the

interaction between self and other, self and cultural artifacts, and self and environment.

This epistemological orientation informed my research methodology, which I describe in

detail in this chapter. First, my rationale for a qualitative approach to my investigation is

provided. In particular, I designed my study as a multiple case study. Then, I describe the

details of my study design including the setting, participants, and methods and procedures

of data collection. Then, I explain data sources, my approach to data analysis, and issues

of the trustworthiness of this investigation. Finally, I end the chapter with an overview of how the findings chapters are organized.

QUALITATIVE RESEARCH DESIGN

To identify the ways of communication and learning that students undertook during an intercultural communication project, I chose a qualitative paradigm for this study because I am concerned primarily with processes and meanings, rather than outcomes or products, and with socially constructed realities (Erlandson, Harris, Skipper, & Allen, 1993). This qualitative approach emphasizes a naturalistic approach, rather than predetermined assumptions, to a learning phenomenon and attends to the specificity and detail of the context, participants, and experiences rather than generalization across contexts. This paradigm is also based on the assumption that qualitative research itself is a situated, value-laden, and interpretive process (Marshall & Rossman, 2011). As a qualitative researcher, therefore, I am conscious of myself being "the biographically situated researcher" (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994, p. 12). That is, I acknowledge that my personal background, position, and theoretical and epistemological stance should influence the research process and that the process is constructed by the researcher, the researched, and the context (Merriam, Bailey, Lee, Ntseane, & Muhamad, 2001).

There are several ways to design qualitative research, but I chose the method of multiple-case and cross-case study. The case study design is widely used in the field of education because it focuses on a specific, bounded system as the unit of study such as program, organization, or process (Merriam, 1998; Yin, 2003). Case study reports

typically provide a detailed description of the setting and participants and focus in-depth on a specific phenomenon. It is important to define the "case" in a study because the definition directs data collection and analysis. In my study, I defined the case at multiple levels. First, each individual student was one bounded system with recognizable boundaries. Students at each site were bounded through their L2 learning practices, learning in a class, and common institutional and social settings. At the next level, each pair (i.e., one Korean and one U.S. student) was identified as a case as their tandem communication and learning products explained one bounded phenomenon. At another level, each class (i.e., two classes in my study) formed a case as it was bounded within institutional, cultural, and international settings. Therefore, I designed my research as a multiple-case-study. I also adopted the method of cross-case analysis. According to Merriam (1998), this design needs two stages of analysis, the within-case analysis and the cross-case analysis. This research design allowed me to engage in iterative processes of understanding the target phenomena through closely analyzing each case and discovering a general explanation across cases.

STUDY DESIGN

The Setting and Participants

The class on the U.S. side was an intact intermediate-level Korean class at a large Southwestern university. I recruited the class through the instructor, who was a personal acquaintance of mine. I chose to avoid a beginning-level class because certain levels of L2 proficiencies were necessary for using and typing Korean for text-based online

communication (Lin, Huang, & Liou, 2013). The instructor willingly agreed to offer her intermediate-level class, and included this project as part of the syllabus. The instructor spoke Korean natively, having been born and educated in Korea. Students' participation in the project counted toward 10% of their final grade. There were 25 students enrolled in the class, and all of them were heritage learners of Korean, as is the reality of a typical college Korean class in the United States. Five students were born in Korea and had immigrated to the United States when young, the latest age being seven years old, and all other students were born and raised in the United States. About half of the students had had experiences of traveling to Korea to visit relatives or travel. The majority of students indicated that they were taking the Korean language class to improve their Korean in order to communicate with family and relatives or to fulfill their language requirements. Their majors varied, including computer science, architecture, biology, history, economics, nursing, electrical engineering, and so on.

The class on the Korean side was an English composition class at a women's university located in Seoul, South Korea. I also recruited this class through its instructor, also a personal acquaintance. The class was offered by the university's College of Education to preservice teachers of English as a foreign language (EFL) and to any students majoring in education. The class was conducted entirely in English, including all class components such as lectures, class discussions, and student tasks and assignments. The instructor was a native Korean, speaking Korean as a native language and English as a foreign language. There were 26 students enrolled in the class, and all of them were native Korean speakers, learning and using English as a foreign language. Their majors

were mostly education or a foreign language such as English and German, but many of them were double-majoring, for example, in English and education. Several students had had experiences of studying in or traveling to the United States, but the majority had not visited any English speaking country. Student participation in the project also counted toward 10% of their final grade.

Both classes faced a certain degree of heterogeneity in the learner group. Although this issue could present a potentially confounding variable, I believe it represented the realities in which the students were to varying degrees all multilinguals and multiculturals. The students in the U.S. class had varying degrees of heritage connections to the Korean language and culture. Due to globalization and the advance of technologies, the students in the Korean class also had some contact and experience with English and U.S. culture. However, students in both classes obviously had no full access to the target language and communities. Therefore, I began my data collection and analysis with an expectation that each pair would exhibit idiosyncratic characteristics in terms of L2 proficiencies and experiences with the target cultures.

As the project was implemented as a course component in both classes, the students were not informed of its research purpose until all tasks and assignments were completed. I first visited the U.S. class during a regular class meeting to explain research purposes, request for participation in my study, and ask for willingness to have an interview with me. The instructor left the classroom while the students were completing their consent form. The instructor was informed of participants only after all final grades

had been posted after the semester was over. For one student who was absent that day, I emailed the consent form to the student.

Then, I flew to Korea, and visited the English composition class toward the end of its regular three-hour class meeting. I similarly explained the research purpose of the project and requested for their consent to participate in the study. Out of 26 students, 15 students were attending the class that day because the other 10 students were out in the field for their practicum practices as part of their preservice teacher education programs. I asked the 15 students to indicate their decision for participation on the printed consent form, while I contacted the other 10 students via e-mail asking for their willingness to participate in the study. The instructor of the class also was not informed of participation decisions until the semester was finished.

Out of 25 U.S. students, 22 students agreed to participate in my research, completing the post-project questionnaire, and 14 students had an individual interview with me while they were on campus before they left town for summer vacation. From the English composition class on the Korean side, a total of 20 students agreed to participate in the study. Among them, ten students completed the post-project questionnaire, and seven students participated in an individual interview with me. All names appearing in this manuscript are pseudonyms. In an attempt to minimize the reader's difficulty in reading, I will call the students in the EFL composition class on the Korean side *Korean students* and those in the Korean language class on the U.S. side *U.S. students*, instead of using the adjective "Korean" to indicate the language being learned. In addition, when assigning pseudonyms to participants, I purposefully used traditional Korean names for

Korean students and common English names to U.S. students (although several U.S. students had Korean names) so that readers would have less difficulty in following my findings and discussions. For class-level case analysis comparing Korean and U.S. students' experiences, I used the data coming from all 42 students. For pair-level case analysis, I used the data coming from 18 pairs in which both U.S. and Korean students allowed me to use their communication transcripts and task products. In addition, I engaged in purposeful case sampling for close discourse analysis by selecting four focal pairs among the 18 complete pairs (Miles, Huberman, & Saldaña, 2013). The information about the selection of the pairs and participants follows in the next section.

Four Focal Pairs

I defined the concept of dyadic functioning in communication and task completion as a spectrum consisting of well-functioning pairs at one end and less well-functioning pairs at the other end (see Chapter 4 for a detailed description of how I applied a similar concept, alignment, to the perception data analysis). I attempted to assign each pair to one of three groups: well-functioning group, somewhat well-functioning group, and less well-functioning group. My criteria for determining each pair's degree of dyadic functioning were based on the following data sets: reflections about experiences with chat communication with partners abroad, as shown in journal entries written after each chat meeting; experiences reflected on post-questionnaire responses, if any; completion of required tasks in a timely manner; and my researcher field notes showing scheduling and communication problems as reported to the instructors and the researcher during the project. The process of identifying each pair's

degree of the dyadic functioning involved a preliminary analysis of comparing and contrasting within-case and cross-case findings from the reflection data.

After categorizing the 18 complete pairs, I purposefully selected two pairs from the well-functioning group and two pairs from the less well-functioning group. I tried to make a balance between the two groups in terms of gender and L2 proficiency. Each group had one woman-woman pair and one woman-man pair. The well-functioning group had one mid-level and mid-level L2 proficiency pair and one high- and high-level L2 proficiency pair, while the less well-functioning group had one low- and low-level L2 proficiency pair and one high- and high-level L2 proficiency pair. More information about how students were categorized in terms of their L2 proficiency is provided in a later section of this chapter. In the following paragraphs, I provide detailed information about the eight participants from the four focal pairs.

Well-functioning Pair 1: Seungah and Ethan. Seungah was a Korean woman student majoring in education, and Ethan was a U.S. male student majoring in music and pre-medical studies. Both of their L2 proficiencies were categorized as mid-level. According to my research notes, this pair did not seem to have any serious tension or communication problems throughout the project. Although Ethan was late to the second chat meeting and Seungah was late also to the third chat meeting, this did not result in obvious tension nor did it influence their perceptions of their experiences negatively as reflected in their perception data. Both students completed their required assignments.

Well-functioning Pair 2: Kyungae and Isabella. Kyungae was a Korean woman student majoring in ethics education and English, and Isabella was a U.S. woman student

majoring in economics. They were a high-high L2 proficiency pair. Like the other well-functioning pair, this pair did not seem to have obvious tension or problems during the project, and their reflections showed that they generally had positive experiences about the project and perceptions about each other. These students also completed all their required assignments.

　　　Less well-functioning Pair 1: Heejoo and Tyler. Heejoo was a Korean woman student majoring in education and English, and Tyler was a U.S. student majoring in electrical engineering. They were a high-high L2 proficiency pair. This pair was one of the few pairs that had serious interpersonal tension coming from scheduling and communication problems. I witnessed their problems because I communicated with both students via e-mail during the project. The Korean student first emailed to seek my help because her U.S. partner was not promptly responding to her scheduling e-mails both before the first chat and before the second chat meetings. It looked as if they were able to finish the first meeting successfully, but in the second meeting, the Korean student had an incorrect understanding of their scheduled meeting time, so they had to exchange rescheduling e-mails again. In the meanwhile, the U.S. student was complaining about his partner's delayed responses and difficulty in scheduling because he had a very busy schedule, and by the time he heard from his partner, his schedule was already filled up, and had to send another rescheduling e-mail. Around the week when they had to finish the task of the second chat meeting, Heejoo also began her field practicum, so it looked as if engagement with this project became more difficult for this student. She missed her deadline to send her L2 essay to her partner before the third chat. Later, I heard another

complaint from Tyler that he had to wait for two hours because his partner did not show up to their third chat meeting. At the same time, Heejoo complained that she had not been able to read Tyler's confirmation e-mail confirming her proposed meeting time because of her busy schedule, so they had to reschedule. Both students did not complete their journal entry assignments. It seemed that both their frustration in communicating with each other and their busy schedules were largely responsible.

Less well-functioning Pair 2: Karam and Madison. Karam was a Korean woman student majoring in ethics education and English, and Madison was a U.S. woman student majoring in management of information systems. This pair was a low-low L2 proficiency pair. This pair did not have outward tension or problems during the project, and they completed all their assignments. The reason I categorized this pair in the less well-functioning group was that this pair was one of four pairs whose ratings of enjoyment and usefulness of their three chat meetings showed the greatest differences between the two students. I hypothesized that larger differences in perceptions of their experiences would imply greater differences in expectations and engagement with the same tasks, with a possibility that interactions would show markers for different preferences for the organization of talk.

Data Collection and Procedures

I chose text-based synchronous chatting as the mode of communication based on two reasons. Previous research has found that college students may prefer synchronous over asynchronous communication with age peers (Thorne, 2003). I concluded that video-conferencing would be much harder to arrange for logistical and technological

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issues unless the participants were provided with a computer lab, an arrangement that was also logistically difficult because of the time difference between the two countries (e.g., 8 am in the United States is 10 pm in Korea). In addition, it is believed that text-based chats will continue to remain an important online, including mobile, communication venue in the future (Herring, 2004). Because of the time difference, tandem exchanges were conducted as an out-of-class activity, and students wrote journal entries after each chat meeting to reflect on their scheduling and chatting experiences. Students were instructed that both their L1s and L2s should be used (for similar arrangements, see Belz, 2003; Bower & Kawaguchi, 2011; Kötter, 2003; O'Dowd, 2003).

All other required tasks of the project were given and completed as in-class activities. A few other components of the research, not required as class tasks, were administered as the logistics of each class allowed. For scheduling and informal communication purposes, students used their personal e-mail accounts and in some cases various SNSs such as Facebook and KakaoTalk (a smartphone application provided by a Korean company for text messaging); but, these informal conversations were not part of my data collection.

The pedagogical design of the tasks pertaining to intercultural communication and learning was greatly inspired by Barnes-Karol and Broner's (2010) proposal for teaching culture. They proposed a four-step sequenced approach to integrate the teaching of culture and the target language, using images as springboards for moving from cultural products to the inquiry into cultural perspectives. This approach guided the students to be cultural explorers or ethnographers through a data-based exploration of the target culture.

The students first explored their own native culture and variation within it through images. Then, through images from the target culture, they explored the products and related cultural perspectives, compared and contrasted between C1 and C2, and tested their hypotheses about the target culture by exploring additional various resources or cultural artifacts from the target culture. In the third step, they explored the target culture more deeply through increasingly more demanding linguistic tasks. In the last step of the assessment, they wrote about their cultural learning and about their meta-reflection over the learning process. The design of the computer-mediated communication task was based on a three-dimensional model of literacy education incorporating digital technologies: operational, cultural, and critical dimensions (Lankshear, Snyder, & Green, 2000). That is, in designing the class tasks and communication using technologies, the following needs to be considered: (1) logistical and literacy issues regarding how the language system operates and technologies operate; (2) social and cultural contexts in which the language and technology systems operate; and (3) critical evaluation and reflections of technologies, languages, and information exchanged or learned.

A brief description about the procedures in which project tasks and assignments were instructed and implemented is given in Table 3.1, followed by more detailed information in the following paragraphs.

Preparing for the Project Implementation

Before implementing my project, I had numerous discussions with both instructors to explain the purposes and procedures of tasks and to discuss if my proposed tasks could be implemented successfully at the local level. As I was physically on the U.S.

Table 3.1. *Overview of the Procedures and Student Tasks*

Week	Procedure	Student Tasks
1, 2	Introduction and training chat	➤ Introduced to the project ➤ 60-minute training chat session with classmates
3	Tandem chat 1: free conversation	➤ 60-minute chat session with tandem partner (free conversation) ➤ Wrote a journal entry reflecting on the chat
4	In-class pre-tandem activities	➤ Wrote any knowledge that they had about education system in the target culture ➤ Read news articles and watched video clips about the two education systems ➤ Wrote about their reaction to the materials
5	Tandem chat 2: Culture-focused discussion	➤ 60-minute chat session with tandem partner: Talked about similarities and differences between US and Korean education systems ➤ Wrote a journal entry reflecting on the chat
6	Writing an essay draft	➤ Wrote an L2 essay showing their understanding of the target culture based on the materials shared in class, chat discussion, and optional individual research
7	Tandem chat 3: Essay feedback exchange	➤ 60-minute chat session with tandem partner: Helped with each other's L2 essay ➤ Wrote a journal entry reflecting on the chat
8	Revision and reflection	➤ Revised the essay based on peer feedback ➤ Submitted the revised essay
9 ~	After the project	➤ Completed the consent form ➤ Completed a post-project questionnaire ➤ Had an individual interview

university's campus, I discussed these aspects with the U.S. instructor in person, via e-mail, and over the phone, but I had to communicate with the Korean instructor via e-mail and over the phone. Some of the tasks had to be changed slightly according to local and institutional settings. For example, the EFL composition class was to be conducted entirely in English, thus all the tasks in this project were completed in students' L2, English. In contrast, the journal entries were written in U.S. students' L1, English, as originally planned, because the journal entries were meant for students to reflect on their

experience without linguistic constraints. All written instructions were provided in English to both classes. In addition, as assessment was an issue beyond my control, I could not control that the two classes would have the same assessment criteria. The U.S. students were graded on a participation basis, whereas Korean students were letter-graded for each task.

As a platform for computer-mediated intercultural communication, I chose to use *Drupal*, a content management system provided and managed by the College of Education of my institution. The *Drupal* system contained computer-mediated communication tools. For easy administration, I requested help from an office in the College managing instructional technologies to create a class for this project in the *Drupal* system and to create login IDs and passwords for all students and the two instructors. After acquiring administrator access rights, I created four folders to be used for the four chat sessions within the newly created class: one training chat session with local classmates and three chat sessions with partners abroad. Within each folder, I created chat rooms for each group or pair.

Step 1: Introduction and Training

Introduction to the project: The students were introduced to this telecommunicative project and had the project tasks and assignments explained during their regular class sessions. I developed written instructions about important principles for successful tandem exchanges (Appendix 3.A). The instructions explained culturally different online communication behaviors (O'Dowd, 2003) and the major principle of tandem communication, bilingualism (Schwienhorst, 2004a), and they also emphasized

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the importance of meaning-focused communication rather than error-free sentences. I asked the instructors to go over and discuss each point with students in class. In all cases of computer-mediated communication including both training and tandem sessions, students were instructed to aim for half of their communication to be in Korean and half in English in order to provide their partners with their L1 production as well as to practice their L2s. The U.S. instructor conducted this introduction on her own. The Korean instructor asked me to prepare the introduction through videotaping, so I prepared voice-over presentation slides explaining the purpose and procedure of the project, the principles of tandem exchanges, a log-in instruction for the training chat, and a brief introduction about the three chat conversations with their U.S. partners.

Training CMD with classmates: The instructors grouped their students into groups of four or five students for the training chat session. This activity was arranged for the purpose of training them in the communication mode and in the use of the *Drupal* tool. Discussion topics were given in the form of prompt questions in terms of their expectations about partners abroad, the text-based communication mode, language use, and possible challenges (Appendix 3.B). These questions were meant to elicit students' cultural and individual expectations that they would bring to the communication. In addition, I expected to use the transcripts from this training session with which to measure each student's L2 proficiency for grouping purposes. For this training chatting, each chat room was set as private, so the two classes could not see each other's chat conversations.

Once the first chat session was done, I categorized Korean students into three L2 proficiency categories within the class (low-level, mid-level, and high-level) based on the L2 comments that they produced. I did the same among U.S. students based on their L2 comments, along with the information about student L2 proficiencies provided by the U.S. instructor. Similar L2 proficiencies were matched for grouping; for example, a low-level L2 student was paired with a low-level L2 student in the other class. Previous SLA studies of CMD have reported that the fast pace of conversation in chat rooms intimidates L2 learners, and if the number of participants increase, the situation becomes exacerbated. In particular, a few studies found that a one-on-one grouping is the most suitable setup in promoting negotiation of meaning for learners (Blake, 2000; Pellettieri, 2000; Tudini, 2007). Therefore, students were grouped into dyads, forming about 25 partnerships. In one case, two Korean students were grouped with one U.S. student.

Step 2: First Chat Conversation

Once the groupings had been completed, I sent an individual e-mail message to each pair, to provide information about their partner's name and e-mail address and a brief instruction about how to schedule and conduct their first chatting communication. In the e-mail message, I introduced myself as a teaching assistant helping with the setup and logistics of the project and mediating between the two classes, and wrote that I would be available for help for any problems in scheduling or technological issues. The message was provided in both languages.

The students were also given a printed copy of instructions about the three telecommunication sessions, written in English for both classes, by the instructors

(Appendix 3.C). The written instructions included information about how to schedule a time for their meetings via e-mail by considering the time difference or using an online tool calculating two time zones and how to log into the chat system. The students were instructed to use both Korean and English to preserve the principle of bilingualism. The instruction also contained information about journal entry writing that students completed after the first chat as an out-of-class activity. For the journal entry, students were given two Likert-scale questions asking about the perceived enjoyment and usefulness of each chat conversation and three open-ended questions that they were supposed to answer. For the first chat meeting, they were told to talk about any topic of their own choice and preference. The instructors also guided them to consider the first chat meeting as an opportunity to get to know each other.

The students had about eight days to contact their partner to schedule a time and finish their first chat meeting. During this period, two Korean students and two U.S. students emailed me to seek my help because their partners were not responding to their e-mail messages, while the deadline for the first meeting was approaching. I sent an e-mail message to those partners asking for a response for scheduling. In the meanwhile, I monitored the progress of the chat meetings, and all pairs finished their chatting assignment by the deadline. Korean students completed their journal entry writing in a Word document and submitted it in a digital format to their online class management system (i.e., similar to U.S. *Blackboard* or *Canvas*). U.S. students completed their journal entry by handwriting and submitted it in a hard copy to their instructor. These formats for submitting journal entries were applied similarly for the other two journal entries.

Step 3: In-Class Activities Learning About the Two Cultures

Following these in-class activities, the topics of the tasks and tandem exchanges were about education systems in the two countries. During a regular class meeting, first, students in each class were instructed to write about any knowledge they had about the target culture's education system and/or to compare it with that of their native culture. Then, the classes watched two five-minute clips from two documentary films about secondary education in Korea and in the United States. They also read three news articles reporting on Korean and U.S. students' academic achievements on international tests and educational rankings. A detailed description about the video and reading materials is provided in a forthcoming section. Both classes appeared to have in-class discussions about these materials. Then, the students were instructed to write freely what they had learned or felt about the materials, given three prompts questions to guide their reflection. The written instructions about the pre- and post-writing pieces are provided in Appendix 3.D. Students in both classes wrote in English.

In the Korean class, these activities were done in a computer lab, and students typed their responses into a Word file and uploaded it to their class management system. In the U.S. class, the activities were done in their regular classroom, and the writing pieces were completed by handwriting. I asked the two instructors to budget about 30 minutes in total for these activities. I later learned that the U.S. class spent about 30 minutes, but the Korean class spent 90 minutes of their class time. It looked as if the Korean class invested much more time in understanding the English (their L2) parts of

the materials, whereas the U.S. class focused on understanding the content by reading the English (their L1) parts of the materials or English translations that I provided.

Step 4: Second Chat Conversation

After the in-class activities, students were provided a printed copy of the instructions for their second chat communication. These instructions were similar to the ones given for the first chat communication (Appendix 3.C), except for the discussion topic: "Discuss the two cultures' education systems as represented in the videos and news articles that you watched and read in class." After the in-class activities, students had about nine days to schedule a time and conduct their second chat communication.

This time, I did not send an e-mail message at the beginning of the period, but as scheduling problems occurred in many pairs, I wrote an e-mail message reminding them of the chat assignment and encouraging prompt responses three days before the deadline to the pairs who had not yet completed their chatting. During this period, I heard many complaints about partner students either through students' e-mail messages sent directly to me or through the instructors, but more frequently from the Korean side and most frequently of the three chatting periods. From the chat conversations, I noticed that in roughly eight pairs, one student was late to their meeting, and in a few cases they had to reschedule. Also, each class had one case of a student not attending class for over a week. Two pairs completed their chatting assignment after the deadline.

Step 5: Writing an L2 Essay Draft

As an out-of-class task, students wrote an L2 essay about their current understanding of the target culture based on the video prompts, news articles, and

communication with their partner. An English instruction about the essay assignment was provided to both classes (Appendix 3.E). Students had about seven days to finish this essay-writing task after the second chat meeting. After finishing the assignment, students uploaded their essay to their class management system or e-mailed it to their instructor, and they also sent it to their partners abroad via e-mail.

Step 6: Third Chat Conversation

After exchanging the first draft of their essay, students had about seven days to prepare peer feedback on their partner's essay and to conduct their last chat meeting. Students received similar instructions to those that they had received for the previous two chat meetings (Appendix 3.C). However, they were instructed that they could be more flexible in language used for feedback exchanges because metalinguistic feedback is sometimes more clearly communicated through L1: "As for language use, you can be flexible this time, although the goal is to use each language for about half the time." Students were also reminded that they should spend an equal amount of time in discussing each essay.

Although the tension and problems among the pairs seemed to have decreased, some pairs still had recurring problems in terms of delayed responses, missed appointments, and difficulty in finding a time because of busy schedules. In about three cases, Korean students complained about their U.S. partner's undependable attitudes in communicating for scheduling. Interestingly, in about three cases, students blamed each other for problems in their essay exchanges, scheduling, and communication. In one case, one U.S. student by this time had been absent from the U.S. class for a month, and

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therefore, the Korean student could not complete her third chatting assignment, and I instead provided feedback on her English essay.

Step 7: Essay Revision

Students revised their L2 essays based on the feedback and communication they had received during their last chat meeting. All students completed this assignment digitally, finally uploading their revised essay to the class management system or sending it to their instructor via e-mail.

Step 8: Post-Project Questionnaire and Interviews

The post-project questionnaire had three sections (Appendix 3.F). The first section asked about students' experiences visiting or traveling to the target country, age, and purposes for studying the target language. The second section asked about their perceived overall experiences about the project in terms of enjoyment, usefulness, and linguistic and culture learning. The items were asked in Likert-scale questions. The third section asked for their descriptions of their partner. I used a Likert-scale style for this section, but I wanted to capture relative differences in their perceptions between Korean and U.S. students. Thus, I defined the mid-point of the scale, 4, as representing the self of the respondent, and asked students to rate their partner relative to themselves. For example, the first item asked about nervousness, 1 indicting "much less nervous than myself"; 4 indicating "myself"; and 7 indicating "much more nervous than myself." Six other items followed characterizing the individual's personality and engagement in tasks: friendly, hardworking, prepared/organized/meticulous, patient, reliable/punctual, and interested in the project. The third section was developed while I was observing some

different reactions from the two classes and differing interpersonal dynamics across pairs. Through the partner ratings, I hoped to capture culturally different perceptions and expectations in communication and academic tasks.

The individual interviews included two parts (Appendix 3.G). The first part was a semi-structured interview with general questions asked of all interviewees. Through this part, I attempted to elicit general experiences and perceptions in terms of intercultural communication, bilingual language usage, the text-based communication mode, and cultural and linguistic learning. As interesting responses came up during an interview, I tried to elicit more detailed or honest responses. The second part of the interview was a stimulated-recall interview, in which I shared a computer screen showing an interviewee's chatting transcripts and asked some prepared questions. These questions were asked either to gather information about a situation that I could not understand otherwise (e.g., Why was there a missed appointment here, and why do you think that happened?) or to elicit information about a student's thinking process at a certain moment (e.g., What did you feel at this moment?; Why did you switch to this language here?).

The questionnaire and interviews were not part of the required class project. The U.S. instructor administered the questionnaire during a regular class time. Then, I visited the U.S. class to explain the research purpose of the project and gathered students' consents in hard copies. Then, I conducted individual interviews in a group studyroom in a library, and each interview lasted for about 30-40 minutes. All interviewees agreed that their interview sessions could be voice-recorded. Most of the interviews were conducted

in English, but a few students with high levels of Korean proficiency used both Korean and English.

Then, I flew to Korea to visit the Korean class to explain the project as a research study and to ask for participation in the study. I collected students' consent forms in hard copies from those who were in the classroom on the day of my visit and in digital copies for those who were absent for practicum practices. After the semester was over, I contacted the students who agreed to participate to ask them to complete the post-project questionnaire and/or have an interview with me. As I was back in the United States by that time, they had to complete the questionnaire in an online format (i.e., Qualtrics) and to conduct the interview with me over the phone. Both the questionnaire and interview were conducted in their native language, Korean. Each individual interview lasted for about 30-40 minutes. The interview sessions with Korean students were not voice-recorded, but I took brief notes about interview responses during the interviews, and as soon as an interview was over, I typed their responses more fully.

In-Class Activity Materials

I selected two documentary films about students' daily lives in high school in the two countries (Parnami & Choi, 2012). I provided written instructions explaining these two films and providing two website links at which the two films could be accessed for the instructors and students (Appendix 3.H). Students were welcome to watch the whole films outside the class, if they wanted.

The film clip documenting one U.S. high school is called "Kenia Loyola" (Washington, 2012), part of a documentary film: *Go Public: A Day in the Life of an*

American School District (O'Keefe & O'Keefe, 2012). According to the film's website, on May 8, 2012, 50 camera crews followed individuals including students, teachers, principals, and volunteers in the Pasadena Unified School District in Southern California to produce a 90-minute documentary of one typical, full day in a public school. "Kenia Loyola" is one of the 50 short films: 3 minutes and 39 seconds long. I asked the instructors to show this film in its entirety. I provided my typed script of the English conversations appearing in the film as per the Korean instructor's request.

The other film clip showing the Korean education system came from a fundraising video showing sample clips of a documentary film that had not been released as of the telecollaborative project. The film was directed by a young American filmmaker, Kelly Katzenmeyer (Katzenmeyer, n.d.). The film similarly aimed to show Korean students' daily lives. The fundraising video was 18 minutes and 47 seconds long, but I asked the instructors to show in class only the first three minutes directly talking about Korean education.

As the two films represented U.S. schools relatively more positively and Korean schools relatively more negatively, I decided to provide supplementary materials that could highlight positive aspects of the Korean education system. Through an Internet search, I found three news articles originally written in English that discussed Korea's high academic achievements and the U.S.'s relatively lower achievements. The first article highlighted Korea's second highest rank in global educational rankings and its culture emphasizing education. The second article reported the current U.S. President's positive comments on the Korean education system. The third article shared U.S. students'

relatively lower achievements on an international test and highlighted different educational systems and cultures in the countries who achieved high scores on the same test. I provided my Korean translated versions of the three articles to both classes so that students could make a personal choice of focusing on their L1 or L2 (Appendix 3.I).

APPROACH TO DATA AND DATA ANALYSIS

Data Sources

The data sources are explained below in relation to my three research questions.

Research Question 1: What were leaners' perceptions of the computer-mediated intercultural communication, and how did these perceptions differ depending on whether a student was a member of a well-functioning or less well-functioning pair? The primary data serving to answer this question were ethnographic data that allowed me to gain access to subjective aspects of learning and experience. The data included reflections shared in journal entries written after each chat meeting (both quantitative responses to Likert-scale questions and qualitative reflections to open-ended questions), quantitative responses to Likert-scale questions on the post-questionnaire, interview responses, and student demographic information. Voice-recorded interviews were transcribed, and hand-written responses in the journal entries and the post-project questionnaire were typed into a Word document.

Research Question 2: How did the learners engage in the computer-mediated intercultural communication depending on differing levels of the dyadic functioning? For this question, I focused on the behavior of communication and learning, by analyzing the

communication data coming from the four focal pairs only. Their digital transcripts of computer-mediated intercultural communication in the three electronic chat rooms served as the primary data, totaling 12 transcripts. The pairs' journal entries were also a secondary data source triangulating my cross-case and within-case findings based on the communication data.

Research Question 3: How did the learners' experiences with the computer-mediated intercultural communication connect with their learning depending on differing levels of the dyadic functioning? I examined the ways that students exchanged peer feedback during the third chat communication and how they incorporated peer feedback into their essay revision. Therefore, the comments directly showing feedback exchanges in the third chat transcripts served as the data set. A second data source was the first draft and revised draft of L2 essays.

In this research, I placed a particular emphasis on the perception and ethnographic data for several reasons. The ecological validity of contextual research can only be ensured through a consistency between researchers' and participants' understandings of the learning context (Cole, Hood, & McDermott, 1997; Kramsch, 2009; van Lier, 2004). Today, students and researchers, including me, are multi-cultural to varying degrees, and without data triangulation, it is difficult to ascertain what participants share in their understanding of their personal reality. Therefore, it is important to understand phenomena from the participants' perspectives rather than with predetermined assumptions. In addition, in order to explore the relationship between learning behavior and perceptions about the experience, I included stimulated-recall interviews with

individual students during which I went over their CMD transcripts (Mackey & Gass, 2005). I believe such a data collection procedure differentiated my study from previous research on CMD and telecollaboration. In addition, the data of learning products showing learning trajectories were also a unique feature that had not been used in previous research on culture learning and telecollaboration in FLE.

Data Analysis Methods

My research design, as an embedded multiple-case study, informed my approach to data analysis. For each question, I repeatedly went back and forth between cross-case and within-case analyses to identity similarities and differences across and within cases. My analysis also involved case analyses at multiple levels. My across- and within-case analyses at the class level were conducted to compare culturally different expectations, particularly, in order to answer my first research question, using the perception data. I also employed a pair-level case analysis to explore students' perceptions of their experiences depending on differing dyadic functioning across pairs. As for the second and third research questions, I first focused on finding differences between the well-functioning group and less well-functioning group, that is, at the group level. Then, I employed a close discourse analysis of the four pairs.

In terms of the methods used in data analysis, I primarily adopted the constant-comparison method approach to analyzing the perception data (Corbin & Strauss, 2008; Miles et al., 2013). I analyzed the perception data qualitatively and inductively. This approach began with identifying the content and recurring patterns and looking for emerging themes. This qualitative analysis involved such analytical techniques as making

contrasts and comparisons, noting relations between variables, and checking the possible

meanings of outliers. Qualitative findings were constantly triangulated with students'

quantitative responses on the journal entries and post-project questionnaire.

My analysis of the communication data was informed by a modified grounded

theory and the constant-comparative method (Corbin & Strauss, 2008) and techniques of

discourse analysis (Herring, 2004; Mercer, 1995). Jaworksi and Coupland (1999) pointed

out that discourse analysis often cannot provide a rationale for why a certain conversation

has been chosen for a close analysis, suggesting that close textual analysis should be

supplemented with other traditions such as quantitative surveying or quantitative analysis

of discourse data. Gee (2011) similarly noted that as discourse exhibits recurrent patterns,

"counting" in discourse analysis guides us "in terms of hypotheses that we can

investigate through close scrutiny of the actual details and content" of language use (p.

154). Therefore, I adopted the "coding and counting" approach of classical content

analysis to discourse analysis, an analytical method frequently found in CMD research

(Herring, 2004). First, I developed four coding schemes both informed by previous

literature and by a modified grounded theory. In my next phase, I employed both

quantitative counts of the codes and qualitative analysis at the interactional level of talk

in order to capture both local salience and the process of discourse features on the one

hand and their prevalence and distribution in a larger context on the other. Gee also

demonstrated his sample discourse analyses alternating between qualitative analyses and

quantification of discourse phenomena of the same talk (2011, pp. 148-163). Therefore,

the combination of both qualitative and quantitative approaches complement each other

in "arriv[ing] at a full understanding" (Herring, 2004, p. 25). I note, however, that finding

codes that emerged from data and applying a code to a comment always involved

interpretive processes, and the quantitative results reported in my dissertation should not

be interpreted as reality but be supplemented with qualitative findings.

Data Analysis Phases

Although the entire process of data analysis represented an iterative process of

going back and forth among data sources, findings, and literature, it had roughly three

phases.

First, as data collection began, my rudimentary-level analysis began. I analyzed

cultural differences in perceptions and group dynamics across cases/pairs while

communicating with the two instructors and the students, typing up my research field

notes throughout the project, modifying project materials and tasks, interviewing

participants, and transcribing interview and questionnaire data. Initially striking issues

that surfaced during observation were further explored through the partner-rating section

of the post-project questionnaire that I developed toward the end of the project, and those

issues were also consciously explored during my individual interviews with participants.

Second, formal analysis began after the data collection period had been completed.

This phase was characterized largely by constant comparisons between units of analysis

and between data sources. As recurring patterns or themes were identified, I constructed

generalized findings. In the process of constant comparisons, some findings were

confirmed, modified, or discarded. In this phase, I tried to address each research question

at a time. First, I began with the perception data to identify culturally different

expectations between the two classes and to discover differing levels of the dyadic functioning as evidenced in participants' perceptions. Then, I conducted a discourse analysis of the four focal pairs' transcripts, looking for any communication behaviors that might have caused or may explain differing levels of the dyadic functioning across the pairs. Lastly, I analyzed the communication patterns during peer feedback exchange and the amount of peer feedback incorporated into revisions depending on the degrees of the dyadic functioning in communication and relationship building. More detailed information about data analysis particular to each research question as well as coding schemes will be provided in the findings chapters.

The third phase of data analysis involved yet another level of interpretation and generalization: reporting the findings. This phase could be characterized as constant dialogues between my knowledge about real people and these participants' representations in my dissertation and between differing levels of abstraction in findings. I was responsible to protect the confidentiality of all members involved in this project, thus I needed to be careful and selective in reporting participant responses and wordings even though some of them could have served as important evidence supporting my major findings. In this process, I also had to separate any data and information that could reveal respondents' identities from reporting results coming from the questionnaire and interview data. In addition, themes, categories (codes in my coding schemes), and counting results themselves are only abstractions of the data (Merriam, 1998). Interpreting these abstractions and their relationships and providing the form and names to these interpretations were another level of data analysis.

Trustworthiness

There were several ways to address trustworthiness issues of my research (Corbin & Strauss, 2008; Erlandson et al., 1993; Marshall & Rossman, 2011). Credibility and dependability were established through use of multiple data sources and analytical methods. I also triangulated multiple perspectives through regular peer debriefing and member checks. Confirmability was addressed through regular peer-debriefing meetings in the coding process and during my analysis of communication data. I also conducted iterative processes of interpretations and checks throughout data collection and analysis in order to improve the credibility and dependability of my findings. Finally, throughout data analysis, I returned to the literature to evaluate my interpretations and seek greater insight. Providing proper thick descriptions and participants' emic voices in the reported findings also ensured that the results of the study could be transferrable to other contexts. As ethical considerations are also parts of trustworthiness, I tried to uphold the principle of respecting participants through assuring informed consent and protecting confidentiality and anonymity.

OVERVIEW OF THE FINDINGS CHAPTERS

The findings will be presented in three separate chapters. Each chapter corresponds to each of the three research questions. As they relied on different conceptual frameworks and literatures as well as different sets of data, each chapter will begin with a brief literature review describing the concept or framework that directly guided my

analysis and with a brief method section explaining data sources and analysis. Then, a findings section will follow. Each chapter will end with a brief summary of findings.

Chapter 4: Findings Part 1. By analyzing student perception and reflection data, I first provide findings about culturally and institutionally different expectations between Korean and U.S. students that may explain differing interpersonal dynamics across pairs. Next, I provide within-case analysis findings to reveal the ways that culturally different frames of reference were related to differing levels of the dyadic functioning across pairs.

Chapter 5: Findings Part 2. In the second analysis, I investigated communication behavior and patterns that may evidence differing levels of the dyadic functioning, by analyzing the CMD conversations of the four focal pairs. I first provide findings comparing the well-functioning group (with two pairs) and the less well-functioning group (with two pairs). Next, I present findings from micro-discourse analysis of each pair's CMD transcripts to show how discourse functions and moves worked in actual communication.

Chapter 6: Findings Part 3. In this last analysis, I aimed to discover differences in peer feedback exchanges and feedback incorporation between the well-functioning group (with two focal pairs) and the less well-functioning group (with two focal pairs). I first present my exploration of communication patterns and behavior during feedback exchanges in the third chat meeting. Then, findings about how much peer feedback was incorporated into subsequent essay revisions are provided.

Chapter Four

FINDINGS PART 1: PERCEPTIONS

In this first part, I report on my first research question: What were leaners'
perceptions of the computer-mediated intercultural communication, and how did these
perceptions differ depending on whether a student was a member of a well-functioning or
less well-functioning pair? I begin by providing a direct rationale and background before
reporting my results.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Several theoretical concepts guided my analysis of learners' perceptions of their
experiences. The first concept was *culture* defined as "*a complex frame of reference* that
consists of patterns of traditions, beliefs, values, norms, symbols, and meanings that are
shared to varying degrees by interacting members of a community" (Ting-Toomey, 1999,
p. 10, italics added). From this view, culture is what a group of people are familiar with,
and these culturally different frames of reference are manifested in and through the
language and cultural products that interlocutors produce. The United States and South
Korea have different systems of meaning as shown in Figure 4.1 (Hofstede Center, 2010).
The figure shows that these culturally different meanings in the six dimensions of culture
(e.g., individualism) are not definitive, but rather relative across these two cultures. In
this sense, U.S. participants in my study, having heritage connections to Korean language
and culture, would have familiarity with both Korean and American cultures. The same

idea would apply to Korean students because South Korea has been influenced by American culture in various ways.

This notion of cultural relativism is also well captured in Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner's (2012) conceptualization of intercultural contact. These researchers represented intercultural contact as a meeting of two normal distributions that have within-culture variation (Figure 4.2). Seen from this view, individuals coming from different cultures may have commonalities and differences in their cultural norms and values to varying degrees. If individuals share many commonalities, their interaction is likely to be successful. If individuals bring very different frames of reference but are not sensitive to these cultural differences, then, they are likely to experience conflicts and tensions coming from cultural clashes in their expectations. A possible result is the stereotyping of the Other.

South Korea
in comparison with United States

	Power Distance	Individualism	Masculinity	Uncertainty Avoidance	Long Term Orientation	Indulgence
South Korea	60	18	39	85	100	29
United States	40	91	62	46	26	68
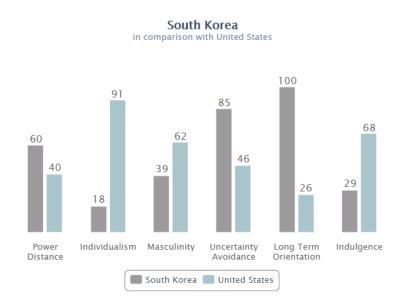
Figure 4.1. Different cultural values in the United States and South Korea (Source: The Hofstede Center, 2010)

How the Americans see the French:
• arrogant
• flamboyant
• hierarchical
• emotional

French culture

How the French see the Americans:
• naive
• aggressive
• unprincipled
• workaholic

American culture

Norms and values
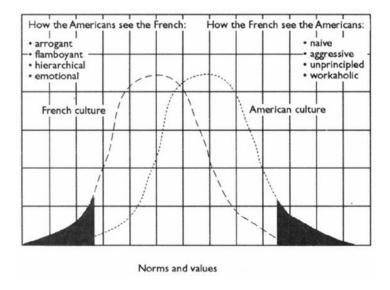
Figure 4.2. Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner's figure visualizing a cultural contact and stereotyping (2012, p. 25).

Based on these notions about culture, I hypothesized that depending on the extent to which cultural norms and values are aligned between individuals coming from different cultures, intercultural contacts may have differing degrees of success in communication and relationship building. This hypothesis was further grounded in the concept of *alignment* that refers to a motivational and sociocognitive state in which the learner comes into "*coordinated interaction* with the language being learned, in tandem with the full array of sociocognitive affordances" such as communication tools, individuals, purposes, identities, historical trajectories, and so on (Atkinson, Nishino, Churchill, & Okada, 2007, p. 172, italics added). Based on their analysis of L2 interactions, Atkinson et al. concluded that the L2 learning activity became more deeply engaging when coordinated interaction among various affordances occurred, and further argued that its pedagogical implication may thus be "the more alignment the better"

(2007, p. 185). In other words, degrees of alignment between individuals' expectations would influence the ways that they establish and maintain joint activities and negotiate meanings. It could be posited that in an intercultural context, alignment in frames of reference may be responsible for coordinated interaction among various learning affordances, thus translating into successful communication and relationship building. In my analysis reported in this chapter, I aimed to explore the role of alignment in native frames of reference in intercultural communication and the formation of international partnerships. Based on a notion that alignment operates as a continuous variable rather than as a dichotomy (Du Bois & Kärkkäinen, 2012), I additionally aimed to discover whether degrees of alignment in partnership formation were associated with participants' perceptions of their experiences (i.e., perceptions of their enjoyment of and involvement in the project and of usefulness of the tasks for learning) and with their perceptions of their partners.

APPROACH TO DATA AND DATA ANALYSIS

The purpose of this analysis was to identify cultural frames of reference or cultural settings that might have influenced the computer-mediated intercultural communication and learning, by analyzing participants' perceptions of their experiences. As data for analysis, I utilized self-reported reflection including three journal entries that participants wrote after each chat session, post-project questionnaire responses, interview responses, and my research field notes.

With an embedded multiple-case study design (Merriam, 1998; Yin, 2003), I first conducted a class-level case analysis comparing the two classes as embedded in two different cultures. For this analysis, I used all the data of the participants who consented to participate in the study. Next, I conducted pair-level case analysis to investigate the ways that differing degrees of dyadic functioning across pairs were related to differing degrees of alignment in perceptions of the experience between two partnering students within pairs. Among 18 complete in which both Korean and U.S. students participated in the study, I will report findings from four pairs. These four pairs are not the same as the four focal pairs explained in the Method Chapter and analyzed in the other two parts of the findings in Chapters 5 and 6. Participant responses to Likert-style questions in journal entries and the post-project questionnaire were quantitatively analyzed. Other responses in the journal entries and interviews were qualitatively analyzed. I employed a modified grounded theory approach to identify characteristics of culturally different expectations and settings (Corbin & Strauss, 2008; Miles et al., 2013). This qualitative analysis involved such analytical techniques as making contrasts and comparisons, noting relations between variables, and checking the possible meanings of outliers. The entire analysis was iterative processes of comparing the data within and across cases and data sources. In the following section, I will present (1) class-level findings comparing experiences between the two classes and (2) pair-level findings comparing experiences across pairs.

FINDINGS

Class-Level Case Analysis

Quantitative Responses about Participants' Experiences

In order to explore students' perceived overall experience, I selected four post-project questionnaire items asking about: involvement in and enjoyment of the entire project and its usefulness for language learning and culture learning. I calculated the means of the four items within each class and compared them between the two classes (Figure 4.3).
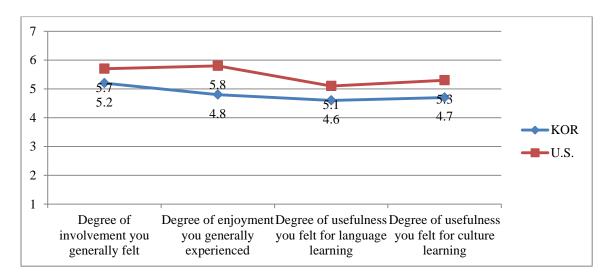
Figure 4.3. Overall experience of the project (Data source: post-project questionnaire)

All the means were higher than the mid-point, 4, on Likert-scale questions (1 representing the least degree; 7 the highest degree) in both classes. In all four items, the Korean class showed relatively lower degrees of perceived involvement, enjoyment, and usefulness than the partner class. It seems that U.S. students perceived their experience slightly more positively than Korean students.

The journal entry data also provided quantitative responses to two Likert-scale questions: enjoyment and usefulness of each chat communication. Figure 4.4 shows the

means of ratings in perceived enjoyment across three chat meetings. After the first chat on a freely chosen topic, the two classes reported similar levels of perceived enjoyment, and their ratings were quite high, showing positive perceptions in both classes. However, after the second chat exchanging cultural knowledge, their enjoyment levels dropped in both classes, but more markedly in the Korean class. This was when problems in scheduling and communication increased and tensions in some pairs became quite serious. Their ratings of enjoyment increased after the third chat in which they exchanged peer feedback on their partners' L2 essays.
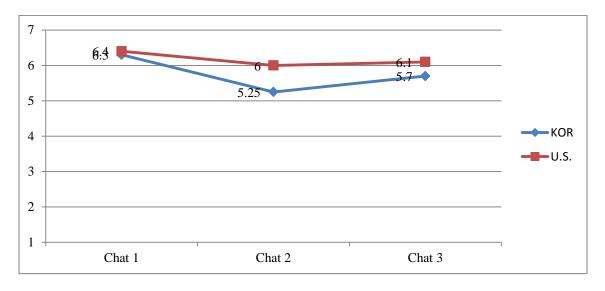
Figure 4.4. Enjoyment of each chat session (Data source: journal entries)

The mean scores relating to perceived usefulness are shown in Figure 4.5. The two classes reported similar levels of perceived usefulness of the first chat. Then, for the Korean class, the ratings of the second chat meeting dropped by one half of a scale point as in the enjoyment item, but the ratings for the third chat on feedback exchange increased by one scale point. The Korean class perceived the second chat as the least useful (although still above the mid-point of the scale), and the third chat as the most

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useful chat among the three sessions. In contrast, for the U.S. class, the ratings in terms of usefulness remained almost at the same level across all three chat sessions. The U.S. students perceived the usefulness of the second chat slightly higher than the Korean students. As for the third chat, however, the two classes' perceptions were reversed.
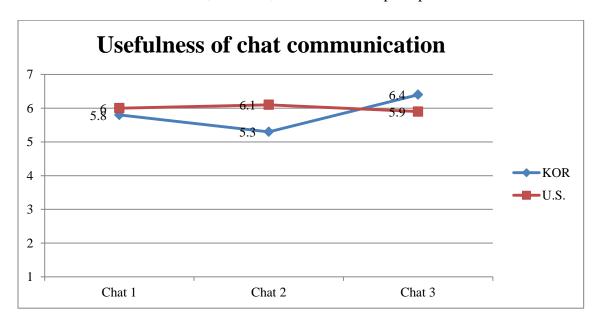
Figure 4.5. Perceived usefulness of each chat session (Data source: journal entries)

In sum, it seems that students' overall perceptions of their experiences on the U.S. side were more positive. In both classes, the levels of enjoyment of each chat meeting decreased slightly in the second chat, but they regained enjoyment from the third chat. In terms of usefulness of the second and third chat meetings, the two classes reported opposite experiences. It is important to note that the values did not change very much across the three sessions. Also, some caution in interpreting these results is warranted as people from different cultures interpret and respond to the same question differently (Trompenaars & Hampden-Turner, 2012). However, it was noteworthy to discover that these quantitative ratings were well supported and confirmed by my observation

throughout the project as well as students' qualitative responses. I now turn to the findings coming from my qualitative analysis of possible reasons that might explain the different experiences between the two classes.

Qualitative Responses about Experience

        I identified three differences between the two classes in the social, cultural, and institutional realms that seemed to have influenced students' experiences and perceptions: (1) different expectations about academic tasks, (2) different expectations about communication and relationship building, and (3) different levels of L2 proficiency and typing skills.

(1) Different Expectations about Academic Tasks

        Korean students generally expected L2 use and learning as the main goals of participating in the project. Korean students expressed this L2-learning goal throughout their three journal entries, and this expectation explained their different experiences across the three chat sessions. Answering an open-ended question in the journal entries (i.e., "what have you learned from this session?"), more than half of the students mentioned the learning of L2 vocabulary and expressions as their main learning from the first chat (i.e., free conversation): for example, "I mean I got a lot of REAL and CORRECT English expressions" (Yoojeong). Some students specifically listed the expressions that they learned. For example, Noori wrote that "he used the expression 'slip my mind'. I had never heard of this expression, so I looked it up and found that it means 'completely forget something'. And l also learned 'call it a night'. I used to use 'call it a day' sometimes, but I didn't know that I could use 'call it a night' either." In addition,

many Korean students ended their first journal entry sharing their expectations about English improvement through the remaining tasks.

When expectations about L2 learning were not met, students felt that their learning goals were not satisfied. Eunjee's journal entries, in particular, demonstrated her concept of learning. She reflected on her first and third chat meetings in the following ways:

> I think there is not many things that learned today, because we don't mentioned about each other's language fault. If we let know each other's language fault, the conversation would be more useful. (first journal entry)

> I learned the term of grammar. I searched some words which can explain the error of grammar. For example, about spacing, I learned terms like word spacing. Also I learned the word 'abbreviation' for explain the difference between 안 and 않. The most impressive correction she gave me is 'First is how each country handles their extra curriculars'. I learned how can express the property is different way. It was good that my essay is getting better than the draft since [my partner] gave me well-corrected sentences. (third journal entry)

Eunjee felt that she did not learn much from the first chat because her U.S. partner and she did not correct each other's L2 errors during the communication designed for students to get to know each other. Regarding the first chat, she rated her enjoyment as 5 and usefulness as 5. In contrast, reflecting on feedback exchanges in the third chat, she listed the language that she learned from the communication and more positively rated its usefulness (5 on enjoyment, 6 on usefulness). These two excerpts showed that Eunjee equated learning almost entirely with L2 learning.

Korean participants' higher emphasis on L2 learning influenced their different experiences across different tasks. For example, the second chat session that focused on cultural knowledge exchange did not seem engaging to Sora: "This time I had not that

much fun … Maybe it's because of me myself who expected from this telecommunicating too much that I almost disappointed. While I was correcting his wrong expression through the 'reactive' way of correcting like following." After expressing her disappointment, Sora shared two screen-captured images that showed how she corrected her U.S. partner's L2 grammatical and spelling errors through a recast strategy. She continued to write that: "However, he was not that helpful to me for learning exact expression of english and somehow it seemed like it is he's only eagerness to learn and practice korean not to help other non-english speaker like me." She regarded L2 error correction as one important way of learning an L2, thus she tried to fulfill this role as a native-speaker of Korean by attending to her partner's errors. When she felt that her native English-speaking partner did not help her with "exact expression of english," she became "disappointed" and her experience of the second chat became less positive, even negative (4 for enjoyment, 3 for usefulness), compared to that in the first chat (7 for both enjoyment and usefulness). However, she regained her enjoyment through the task of corrective feedback in the third chat: "The third telecommunication out of three times of it was the most meaningful one for me" (6 on enjoyment, 7 on usefulness). Many other students similarly perceived the third chat as the most meaningful chat: "I think it was the most important chatting time for me, because I can correct my minor grammar mistake and add something about my essay subject" (Juhee); "I think editing mutual essays is more meaningful than just chatting" (Karam). The qualitative responses from the journal entries confirmed the quantitative finding that Korean students found the third chat the most useful among the three chats.

U.S. students' perceptions of the same tasks, as reflected in their journal entries, were interestingly different from those of Korean students in several ways. When it came to the same question asking about their learning, U.S. students relatively less frequently and less explicitly mentioned aspects related to L2 learning as what they had learned from the chat meetings. After the first chat session, several students wrote that they had learned how to type in their L2 (Korean), and one student mentioned the learning of "informal" Korean as his learning. All other comments were about their learning about their partners' personal lives and culture: for example, "I learned a lot about my partner as well as some cultural differences when it comes to college life in Korea vs. in America" (Ethan). The relatively lower focus on L2 learning among U.S. students became more obvious in their reflections after the second chat session. Unlike several Korean students who reflected that their second chat session was not as helpful for their L2 learning as they had expected, all U.S. students reflected on the content of their second chat conversations. No student mentioned any aspect related to L2 learning, and most students mentioned their culture learning: for example, "I thought I knew a lot about the Korean system but I found a bit of new surprising information" (Davis); and "I learned a lot about the Korean education system and how Korean think about American education system is" (Mason). A few students wrote that they did not learn much new because they had already had sufficient knowledge about Korean culture before this project.

With regards to the third chat session, many U.S. students noted their L2 learning with their partners' feedback on their L2 essays more explicitly, but three students

reported that the last chat communication was not as enjoyable as the previous two chat

sessions:

> [The third chat was] maybe a little less fun [than the other ones] because we only did revisions. (Andy's third journal entry)

> Communication was less enjoyable because it was less of a discussion than usual. We spent most of the time correcting each other and typing to explain. (Emma's third journal entry)

> I enjoy discussing culture, but the [third] chat felt like a grammar class. We spent much of our time correcting the essay. While it was definitely helpful for the essay revision assignment, it felt like a grammar lesson, mostly from the Korean student to me. (Sofia's third journal entry)

Unlike Korean students who generally perceived the feedback exchange task as more

enjoyable and useful than the second chat, some U.S. students' experiences of these

feedback exchanges were not as positive. These students felt that "correcting each other"

was not authentic interaction, and it even felt as a "grammar lesson" given from a teacher

to a student in a lecture style. It is notable to see that no Korean students negatively

reflected on these feedback exchange sessions like U.S. students did. These different

reflections on the second and third chat meetings between Korean and U.S. students

confirmed the quantitative findings showing their different experiences of the same tasks.

Some of the interview responses also demonstrated that Korean and U.S. students

had different expectations about academic tasks and different understandings of the

concept of learning. To my interview question about which part of the project they liked

the most, Korean students provided such responses as the following (note that the

interviews were conducted in Korean, but I provide English translations of their

responses that are not exactly verbatim):

I think the most helpful part was that I was able to use English. As I had to communicate with a native-speaker in English that I had rarely used, I had to keep practicing and looking up vocabulary, and by doing so, I think I got to study. (Eunjoo)

I think the essay writing task was a lot of help to me. I liked it because after I wrote the essay and my partner corrected it, and when I saw the corrections, I was able to learn like "oh, this expression cannot be used this way." (Sunyoung)

I think I enjoyed all three chats, but I think the last one where we corrected each other was the most helpful because I was able to learn frequently used vocabulary words and something like that. (Younghee)

These interview responses showed that Korean students engaged in the project with a goal of learning English and enjoyed the tasks fulfilling this goal the most. They found meaning in having the opportunity to speak with a native speaker of English and receive corrective feedback on their English use and writing.

In contrast, when asked the same question about which part of the project they liked the most, U.S. students generally responded that they valued most the opportunities to make friends and communicate with same-age peers from Korea:

I thought it was cool that we got to communciate with someone in Korea. This was kinda, like, I mean, I always knew about the Korean culture, and I have a few relatives in Korea, but most of my relatives live in the U.S., so I wasn't sure about the modern Korean culture. (Carla)

I liked the project, it was good. Because I've never done anything like this. Yeah, usually, when you are younger, have you heard of penpals? Some people do penpals, and I've never done penpals. This is my first time talking to someone that I didn't know in a different country, so it was really fun. (Ethan)

Overall [the third chat] was an OK chat, that was not as enjoyable as the other chats … I liked our first two chats for it was a lot more free. We just kinda talked about things and got to know each other. I disliked the third chat the most where it felt much more like we were doing work. We were here to get the business done. (Emma)

These responses showed that U.S. students generally enjoyed penpal-like communication

with people in Korea as well as learning about Korean culture. Therefore, some students

did not enjoy the third chat that was restricted to talking about L2 language issues, and

felt that the purpose of the communication had become too business-like.

The differences in instructional structures in the two classes also seemed to

influence students' different expectations and attitudes toward the same academic tasks.

Although I designed the same materials and tasks with the same instructions, the two

instructors modified them according to their local settings and needs, and these local

adaptations created differing class requirements. In addition, a few institutional settings

seemed also responsible; for example, the English composition class in Korea was

offered to English and/or education majors, whereas the U.S. class was offered as a way

to fulfill language requirements or as an elective to any student regardless of major. As a

result, on the Korean class side, a relatively higher degree of formality seemed expected.

Sunyoung in her interview said that her first chat conversation was graded, so she had a

feeling of obligation to finish the chatting tasks because of the grading. Younghee also in

her interview responded that although her class was instructed to spend no more than ten

minutes for each journal entry, she found her classmates writing more than one page for

each, so she felt she needed to write more, spending almost an hour for one journal entry.

Inhye mentioned that there seemed to be differing levels of formality in essay writing

expected between the two classes; that is, she felt that her classmates wrote more formal

essays attending to conventional formats and requirements pertaining to academic writing,

whereas U.S. students wrote very informal essays that looked rather like "reports" to

write about impressions after reading a book or watching a movie. It seemed that U.S. students had relatively informal attitudes about participation in the project. Most of the U.S. students whom I interviewed said that they had considered the assignments and tasks from this project as easy and informal ones and had not spent much time in completing them. Their general attitudes toward the project was evidenced in Julia's response: "for us, it was really easy, it's not like stressful at all. It's just an environment where you can just discuss about anything. It's not an assignment you have to follow these guidelines, you have to do these, which is that stressful, I guess. But for this, I bet all of, everyone in our class probably was not stressed at all." In sum, it appeared that the two classes had both academically and institutionally different expectations and attitudes toward this academic task.

In addition, students on both sides connected their differences in academic engagement with culturally different lifestyles and views about life in a larger socio-cultural context. In the following, the first two responses were provided by two Korean interviewees and the last response by a U.S. interviewee.

> The cultural difference that I definitely felt was that my partner was just more relaxed. I felt obliged to come back and talk about our assigned topic during the chats, and I cared more about what was required for the essay assignment. But, my partner was just taking it easy. I am not sure if it is cultural. It might be because my class was a major class, whereas to the partner the class was a Korean language class. I am not sure what kind of difference this was, but my classmates cared more about such things, I felt. (Inhye)

> American people are very open compared to Korean people. We think that education is very important in our lives in getting a good career. It did not seem to be the same for those U.S. friends. They were not as desperate about it. (Hyojin)

> At first, even a little now, I feel, not intimidated, but I feel like on a level lower than her … not because of my Korean, but because it seems like she has to do a

lot more work over there, which is true … just some talking with my partner, like I said, about being kinda of being intimidated by her status. Just by talking with her, she was a lot busier than I was and had a lot more responsibilities to deal with. (John)

The first Korean interviewee felt that her U.S. partner seemed "more relaxed" about the project than Korean students. The second Korean interviewee shared her impression that U.S. students in general seemed less "desperate" about education itself compared to Korean students. Whether referring to their own partners or their partner class as a whole, these students were attributing U.S. students' different attitudes toward academic tasks to cultural differences in a larger context. A similar perception was evidenced in the U.S. student's interview response. John said that his Korean partner seemed to be "a lot busier" with "a lot more responsibilities" than himself, an impression that made him feel that he was "on a level lower" than his Korean peer. He commented on his awareness of these differences that seemed to extend beyond the academic realms to lifestyle in a broader cultural context.

(2) Different Expectations about Communication

My analysis revealed that Korean students generally expected their partners to respond promptly when they communicated with partners outside the required chat sessions, for example, as in scheduling a meeting. When this expectation was not met, Korean students attributed their partners' delayed responses as a sign of lower engagement or interest in the project. During the project, relatively more Korean students contacted me because their partners were not responding to their e-mail or text messages as promptly as they expected. One student even complained to me that as her Korean e-mail services provided an e-mail tracking service, she confirmed that her e-mail message

had been read by her U.S. partner, but the partner had not replied yet. Punctuality to scheduled chat meetings was also another issue that caused many cases of tension in the partnerships. Korean students frequently mentioned these problems about scheduling and communication in their journal entries. For example, Eunjee wrote about her partners' seemingly less diligent attitudes in her second journal entry: "I was little upset because my partner breaks an appointment twice. She was late an hour all of telecommunications, first and second chatting. I was disappointed about her attitude." She outwardly expressed her emotion about her partner's attitudes that "disappointed" her.

I could not hear how U.S. students thought about these issues until I had interviews with them because they rarely shared their negative experiences or complaints in class or in their journal entries. Some U.S. students responded that they preferred prompt responses in communication, and in these cases, they did not have problems with their partners. In other cases, however, some U.S. students had quite different expectations from those of Korean students. These students did not expect prompt responses, but they would rather consider delayed responses as more appropriate in certain situations. The following response by a U.S. student, David, shared his belief that prompt responses were not part of American culture in his interview in which he talked in his L2, Korean:

> 첨부터 파트너가 저한테 이메일 보냈어요. '누구지,' '아~ 누군지 알았다.' 근데 바로 대답 안 했어요. 하루 있다가 대답했죠. 미국은, 저 스타일도 좀 있는데요. 미국은, 사람마다, 전체적으로 그렇게 안 급한 거 같아요. 미국 사람들, 저, 미국에서 태어나서요, 저렇게 사니까 똑같이 마음이 좀 놓이는 거 같아요. 아주 그냥 슬슬씩 대답. I mean, 대답은 대답했지요. 근데 바로 대답하는 건 좀 안 used 돼서요. 아니요 할 수, 당연히 할 수는 있는데요. 근데 원래 미국이 풍습이, custom 아니고

lifestyle 이 바로 대답 하면은요, 좋은 건 좋은건데요. 그냥 똑같이 뭐가 긴장, 걱정돼요. '왜 바로 전하지, 저러지, 왜 뭐 사건 있나, 뭐' question 이 있어서 조금 달라요. 아주 급하고, 그 뭐지, 가족끼리 사건이났다 그러면 바로 대답하죠. 근데 지나갈 수 있는 일이면은 내일 대답할게요, 아니면 오늘 오후에 저녁 때 대답할게, 생각해서 ... 문자를 처음 보냈을 때요, 바로 대답 안 하니까 계속 문자 보냈었어요, 파트너가. 영어말 해서. 제가 불안해서. 아니 1 시간도 안 됐어요. 10 분 있다가 처음 문자 보낼 때 다시 문자가 왔어요. 10 분 됐는데, '이야, 쟤가.' 근데, 저도 좀 무서웠어요, 무서운 게 아니 깜짝 놀랐어요. '아 진짜 대답할까 바로 대답할까.' 궁금하면 보여줄 수 있어요. (He shows his Kakotalk chat to the interviewer.) 여기 시간 나오지요? 봐. (He laughs.) 계속 계속 이렇게 보내니까 불안했어요. 다음날 next day 에 대답했지요. 그렇죠 패턴이. [*When my partner sent her first email, I was like 'who is this,' 'oh I guess I know.' But, I did not respond right away, but did so on the next day. In America, although it's also my style, in America, individuals overall are not that rash or busy. American people, because I was born in America, I think I also live like that, so I feel relaxed about stuff. Responding very casually. I mean, I replied, I did reply. But, I am not really used to replying right away. No, I can, of course, I can reply. But, American custom is, no, lifestyle is, if you reply right away, of course that is good, but, I feel like it creates a tension. It's different like we ask questions like 'why did they reply right away, something urgent happened, or what.' If things are very urgent, or family emergencies occur, then, I would reply right away. But, if things are not urgent, I would reply tomorrow, or I would reply that afternoon or evening, I think. When my partner first sent a text message, I did not reply right away, so my partner kept sending messages using English. I felt uneasy. Not even an hour had passed. 10 minutes after the first message, another message came in again. Only 10 minutes. 'oh well, that person,' but, I was scared a bit. Not scared, but I was taken aback. 'ah, do I really reply, reply right away?' If you are curious, I can show it to you. (He shows me his Kakaotalk chat). Look, you see the time stamps here? Look. (He laughs.) She kept sending like this, so I felt uneasy. I replied the next day. The pattern was like this.*]

David explained that prompt responses would not be a norm widely expected by U.S. people. Unless urgent attention is needed, he would usually take his time in responding to messages. When his partner kept sending text messages within a short, to his perspective, span of time, he was taken aback. Because his partner's several messages made him feel uneasy as well as because he was not used to replying right away, he decided to wait and

delay his reply. He even showed me his text-message conversation with his partner on his phone so I could see how she sent a series of messages within a one-hour span. He continued to explain that although he knew that he was getting text messages, he did not open the conversation window because if he did, his partner would know he had read her messages. According to this norm that David defined as part of American culture, prompt responses or sending multiple messages without waiting for a reply can be regarded as culturally inappropriate, making recipients feel uncomfortable. This norm was in contrast with the expectation of Korean students who thought of promptness in responding as a sign of engagement or commitment.

Regarding punctuality to appointments, the instances of missed appointments and lateness occurred more frequently among U.S. students. With limited data, it is difficult to determine to what extent the issues were related to the levels of individual students' engagement or interest in the project as some Korean students blamed their partners as "problematic students" or "not interested in the project." However, when asked about those issues during the interviews, U.S students seemed more tolerant about similar experiences. For example, Larry said in his interview that: "[when I was late the first time,] I'm sure she was a little irritated. The second time when I was having technological issues, she sounded kinda mad. I don't think it was an issue. When she was late, I didn't mind." Just as Larry stated, a few more U.S. students similarly reflected that they had not taken such cases seriously, while at the same time they had noticed their partners' frustration regarding these issues.

Based on these student responses, it can easily be imagined that clashes in expectations about communication were highly likely to contribute to intercultural miscommunication or tension. Such misalignment in expectations between partners was more evident when I could hear from both sides in a pair that had had problems during the project. The following interview excerpts are two partnering students' responses to the same question asking about how their communication had gone. The first response was given by the Korean student:

> I did not like my partner's attitude, for example, her ways that she left our chat conversations right when the one-hour requirement was fulfilled. I kakaoTalked her but her responses were very delayed. Once, I waited until very late at night, but she after all did not reply, so I was upset. So, things did not work out well. I first used emails, but I started using KakaoTalk thinking our communication would be faster. In terms of lateness, she was late to our appointment once. It's okay that she was late, but like I said before, she looked just concerned to finish early and leave.

The Korean student said that she became upset because her partner did not reply to her message even though she waited until very late at night on that day. This interviewee also shared her negative impression that the U.S. partner did not seem genuinely engaged in the chat conversations but instead looked only task-oriented. Because of her partner's attitudes, the Korean student concluded that her telecommunication overall did not go successfully, and she judged her entire experience with the project negatively.

However, as for the same question about how their communication had gone, the U.S. partner pointed to a different aspect of her communication with the Korean partner. This U.S. student replied that their communication generally had gone pretty well except for one moment that gave her a negative experience out of the entire project, and the story about the moment was shared in the following way:

Americans do this, too. But, like, I actually missed our first meeting. I was, like, 30 minutes late. She had contacted, 'oh, where are you,' and then I said, like, 'oh, I'm sorry.' It was all on KakaoTalk. At that time, I didn't have notifications coming to me. So I said 'do you wanna reschedule? I am sorry for missing.' You know, like, the Korean thing really goes like '휴,' like a sigh. So at that point, I just, like, I don't know how it does in Korea, but typically in America, people don't show their irritation until it gets really bad. Because I didn't show up on time. She asked like 'oh, do you have time right now?' and then I didn't answer because I didn't have the notification coming in, and then she said '휴' and then she said 'let's do this time.' It was just that moment [when something did not go well].

When she was late to their first scheduled chat meeting, her Korean partner sent a text message through KakaoTalk, a smartphone text-message application popular among Koreans. Even though the application might have been familiar to the Korean student, it was not familiar to the U.S. student, who had not set up notifications to signal new incoming text messages. Therefore, this U.S. student did not know that her partner's messages were coming in, so her responses were not as prompt as expected by the Korean partner. Then, the Korean partner shared her irritation during the text-messaging conversation, which the U.S. student considered as inappropriate according to U.S. norms. She shared her understanding that showing irritation must be a part of Korean culture. Other than this moment when the U.S. student felt a negative impression about the project, as she replied, her overall experience of the project was relatively positive. These two partnering students reflected on different aspects of the communication as their negative experiences from the project, and their overall experiences with the project were also quite different.

In sum, students in the two classes had different expectations and norms about communication that caused tensions in some partnerships. In many cases, they were not

aware of these differences, thus arriving at biased judgments of their partners abroad. In addition, U.S. students' experiences of their telecommunication were relatively more positive. It is above the dimension of this current research study to determine to what extent U.S. students' experiences were more positive than their Korean peers or to what extent they decided not to share their negative emotions or experiences. In any case, however, it is obvious from the perception data that the two classes operated in culturally different norms and expectations about communication.

(3) Different Levels of L2 Proficiency and Typing Skills

In general, Korean students' L2 proficiencies in English seemed higher than U.S. students' L2 proficiencies in Korean. In addition, many of the U.S. students reported that it was their first experience to type in Korean even though some students had high oral proficiencies in Korean, so they had difficulty in communicating during Korean chatting times. These L2 proficiency differences can be partly explained by the fact that the English class on the Korean side was offered mostly for English or education majors, whereas the Korean class on the U.S. side was offered for non-Korean majors. The differences can also be explained in a larger global context in which languages have differing levels of valuation.

In Korea, English is one of the three main mandatory subject areas that greatly influence academic success in general, being offered through K-12 levels in public schools. Because English proficiency is highly valued for professional sectors as well, Korean people's investment in developing their English proficiencies is internationally known. As many universities offer courses taught in English even for non-English majors,

typing in English is almost an essential skill for Korean college students. In contrast, the language valuation of Korean as a foreign language is relatively low in U.S. society. Those heritage learners in the study rarely had opportunities to practice typing in Korean even in their Korean language class. The telecommunication was the only part of their entire class for which they had to type in Korean. These differences in proficiency and typing skills seemed to have influenced students' experiences of the project and the dynamics of international partnerships.

Eunjee, a Korean student, commented on her U.S. partner's typing skills throughout her three journal entries in the following way:

> I think we talk more lively when we used English. We have more amount of conversation when we use English than Korean, so I could get lots of information about her. (her first journal entry after the first chat)

> I felt sorry about the speed of Jasmine's typing. So much time was spent when she typed that we couldn't conversation abundantly when we used Korean. (her second journal entry after the second chat)

> But one thing leave much to be desired. The one wistful thing is the balance between using Korean and English. It would be better if only we used Korean more. Overall, we use English more. I think it would be convenient to her if I express and explain hard things through English, but that was my mistake. I should have used Korean because she is learning Korean now and I have to help her to language of mine. (her third journal entry after the third chat)

Eunjee reflected that her U.S. partner's L2 (Korean) typing was so slow that they could not talk much during Korean times and that the pair generally used English more. Eunjee was sympathetic enough about the situation; expressing regret they had not used Korean more, thinking that her partner's goal was to learn Korean through the project.

U.S. students similarly perceived their Korean partners' higher L2 proficiencies and faster typing skills. In journal entries, L2 typing was the most frequently mentioned difficulty that they had about the project. Interview responses also reflected this difficulty:

> You can see like, I mean, the way they talk, they speak, I can tell it's been taught to them. Their proficiency is a lot higher, like their vocabulary … Because they are proficient enough to do, just do it in English. They probably use English. My assumption is that they probably like typing English when they search for stuff. That's what I assume, or I am guessing, so it's not that too hard. But for me, I think it was too hard because I've never used Korean typing. (Julia's interview response)

Julia's interview response showed her perception that Korean students in general had higher L2 (English) proficiencies and typing skills, from which she concluded that Korean students probably were using their L2 on a daily basis more so than U.S. students would use for their L2, Korean. U.S. students generally shared their perceptions that because of Korean students' more advanced L2 proficiencies and typing skills, their English communication went relatively more smoothly than their Korean communication. For example, a story that David shared in his interview was particularly interesting:

> 저 '타이핑 너무 느려서 미안하다. future 에서 너무 늦게 대답하면 좀 기다릴 수 있니' 하니까 알겠다고. 저도 똑같이 봐주세요 얘기했는데요. 저 파트너는 영어 대답이 훨씬, 저 한국어 대답보다 훨씬 빨랐어요 … [pointing to his chat transcript] 네, 12 분 걸린 거 같아요. 아니 좀 생각했지요. 혹시나 sentence 가 맞는지 안 맞는지. 이 단어, 잘 썼는. 사전도 많이 봤어요 하면서. 사전 계속 떠 있었어요. 한 10 개 있었어요, 10 개. 전 전화기도 썼어요, 계속. 그래서 좀 시간 걸렸죠. [*I said, 'I am sorry that my typing is slow. Can you wait a bit if I reply a little too slow in the future,' and my partner replied with an okay. I asked her for her understanding. My partner's English responses were a lot faster than my Korean responses … Right, I think it took about 12 minutes. Rather, I had to think a bit. Whether my sentence was correct or wrong. Whether I used this word correctly. I looked up words in a dictionary a lot. I always had a dictionary window up. I had about 10 dictionaries up, about 10. I also spent time on my smartphone, continuously. So, it took a while.*]

David explained that he had to spend much effort in composing his L2 comments, even

relying on 10 online dictionaries at the same time, because of his relatively low L2

proficiency and slower L2 typing. In one case, it took about 12 minutes for him to post

one comment that consisted of five sentences in his L2. His Korean partner's journal

entries showed her perception about David's typing skills:

> Actually I am scrupulous, but I tend to be impetuous. So during online chatting, I impatiently asked what's happened, because he was no answer for 5 minutes. I failed to consider his typing speed of Korean. I realized later my mistake and I was so sorry for him. And I learned lesson I basically should try to be more considerate and thoughtful to others. (Jiah's first journal entry after the first chat).

At first, Jiah did not understand why David's responses were slow during the first chat,

so she "impatiently" kept posting comments. Later, she realized that David's typing was

causing his slow responses, so she decided to be more considerate next time. She did not

comment on David's slow typing in the second and third journal entries.

However, a similar experience was more negatively perceived by another Korean

student who was less patient with her U.S. partner's slow postings of L2 comments.

Many Korean students shared negative perceptions of this through their journal entries, as

Sora did in reflecting on the first chat:

> Although I totally understand that it is hard to someone to chat spontaneously in foreign language, It was little bit boring to me for waiting him to chat me back. I really appreciate that he begged my pardon several times through email and on chatting for his lacking proficiency of typing korean. Still, it was too boring to have those long moments of scilence. (Sora's first journal entry)

Although Sora understood her partner's slow L2 postings, she simultaneously felt the

text-based communication boring. Many Korean interviewees also shared their

perceptions that in cases where U.S. students' proficiencies were low or their typing was

slow, they complained about their project partners. In sum, even as many U.S. students commented on their slow L2 typing or lower L2 proficiency levels as their main difficulty in the project, the same issues influenced some Korean students' experiences negatively.

Perceptions about Partners Abroad

As intercultural contacts often involve evaluations of individuals coming from different cultures, I also included a section in the post-project questionnaire that asked the participants to rate their partners in terms of seven characteristics: being nervous, friendly, hardworking, prepared/organized/meticulous, patient, reliable/punctual, and interested. The students were asked to rate their partners relative to themselves on 7-point Likert-scale questions. For example, as for the first question about nervousness, the mid-point of 4 represented "Self," 1 representing the partner being "much less nervous" than one's self and 7 representing the partner being "much more nervous" than one's self. The mean scores of each question by class are compared in Table 4.1, and I visually present the means in Figure 4.6.

Table 4.1. *Partner Ratings in Seven Characteristics (Source: Post-Project Questionnaire)*

	Nervous	Friendly	Hardworking	Meticulous	Patient	Punctual	Interested
Korea students as rated by partners (A)	4	4.8	5.2	5.2	4.9	4.8	4.7
U.S. students as rated by partners (B)	2.4	4.5	4.3	3.4	4.1	3.4	3.9
Difference (A−B)	1.6	0.3	0.9	1.8	0.8	1.4	0.8
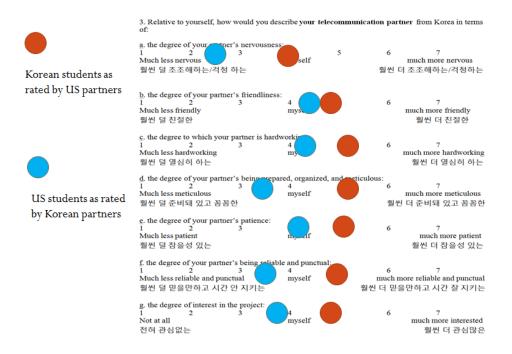
Figure 4.6. Partner ratings (Source: post-project questionnaire).

In the figure, U.S. students' ratings of their Korean partners are depicted in red (dark) dots, and Korean students' ratings of their U.S. partners are in blue (light) dots. Korean students generally reported that their U.S. partners were less nervous, less prepared and meticulous, less reliable and punctual, and less interested in the project than themselves. In the other three items, Korean students perceived that their U.S. partners were more friendly, more hardworking, and more patient than themselves. U.S. students gave their Korean partners higher ratings than themselves in all items except for the nervousness item for which U.S. students rated their Korean partners as having the same level of nervousness as themselves. When comparing the means between the two classes (i.e., A−B in the table), their relative perceptions were that Korean students showed

higher levels on all seven items; that is, Korean students were perceived as more nervous, more friendly, more hardworking, more prepared and meticulous, more patient, more reliable and punctual, and more interested in the project. Their perceptions showed the biggest differences in nervousness, meticulousness, and punctuality. In other words, students perceived that Korean students were much more nervous, prepared and meticulous, and punctual than U.S. students. The total of the mean differences for the seven items was 7.6, a value that will be used as a reference point in my pair-level analysis reported in the next section. This partner rating data provided additional evidence that along with different perceptions of the same academic tasks, students also perceived their partners abroad differently.

Pair-Level Case Analysis

In the pair-level analysis, I investigated the ways that students' perceptions were aligned between partnering students in a pair depending on the degree of the dyadic functioning. In the following, I present my findings about four cases: two pairs coming from the well-functioning category and two pairs coming from the less well-functioning category. These four pairs are not the same as the four focal pairs that I will focus on in the second and third parts of the findings.

Case 1: First Well-functioning Partnership

Both students of this pair shared positive perceptions about their overall experiences and their partners. The Korean student reflected on her relationship with her U.S. partner in the following way:

> I had no problem at all with my partner, and communication went very well. Overall, I liked the project very much. I had no single problem with my partner. If

I suggested times, then my partner would say "I have a previous appointment, so let's do it later." Then, we did it right on the scheduled time … when we uploaded photos on Facebook or Instragram, we made friends with each other on those and gave Like's to each other. My partner did not reply promptly via email, so we did KakaoTalk, too. After chatting, we exchanged messages like "how are you." I am very satisfied with the project, and our communication went well.

To an interview question about how the project went overall, the Korean student replied that she had no problem in communicating with her U.S. partner, so she liked the overall of the project very much. She reported that her pair had not had a missed appointment or tardiness to appointments. This pair also had additional communication outside the required tasks through social networking websites or through text-messages. Although the Korean student did not like her partners' delayed responses via e-mail, their communication through other channels seemed to work well for her. Their extended communication outside the required tasks also occurred for their feedback exchanges on each other's L2 essays. She said that after the one-hour third chat session, they kept exchanging their feedback via e-mails. The U.S. partner's interview response to the same question follows:

It was good. I liked the project. I didn't really dislike anything about the project … [Scheduling] was kinda hard because of the time difference, but it wasn't too bad. I just had to wake up a little bit earlier. All my chats were early in the morning. It just seemed to work for both of us … [Communication through other SNS was] not really with the project. We just kinda talked about other stuff. We used mostly KakaoTalk. We didn't really have a problem … I think we were both enthusiastic about the project, so, kinda at the beginning, [our relationship] started off good and stayed good.

The U.S. student's experiences about the project and his partner were similarly positive. This student also emphasized that their social exchanges through other SNS channels not

directly related to their project tasks were helpful for their relationship building and their positive experiences of the required tasks.

Their post-project questionnaire responses also demonstrated their positive experiences. The Korean student's responses to Likert-style questions (1 through 7) were: 6 for involvement, 5 for enjoyment, 6 for usefulness in L2 learning, and 6 for usefulness in culture learning. The U.S. student's responses were: 7 for involvement, 7 for enjoyment, 7 for usefulness in L2 learning, and 6 for usefulness in culture learning. Their partner rating results are provided in Figure 4.7. The U.S. student rated his Korean partner as similar to himself in terms of all seven characteristics items by giving 4 representing the "Self."
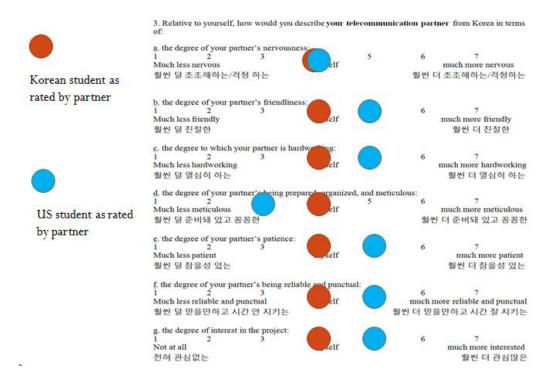
Figure 4.7. Perceptions of partners in the first well-functioning pair.

It seems that the U.S. student did not feel that his partner abroad was noticeably different from himself. The Korean student rated her U.S. partner as less meticulous, but more friendly, hardworking, patient, punctual, and interested in the project than herself. The total of the differences between the two ratings for each item was 6, less than that of the mean of all participants' partner ratings, 7.6. In sum, their perceptions about their experiences with the project and about partners were not very different.

Case 2: Second Well-functioning Partnership

Another case demonstrated well-aligned relationship building and communication throughout the project. This pair was similarly positive about their experiences about the project and their partners. The Korean student reflected in her interview in the following way:

> We were not confined to our chat meetings, but I saw my partner's face through other communication channels and I could see what his daily life was like. He was very shy and quiet at first, but he talked more and more, and I later knew that he was not that kind of person but a very humorous person. At first, I realized that a little bit through the chats. I confirmed it through his photos on his SNSs. I did not feel cultural differences much.

The Korean student commented on their informal communication and relationship building through SNS channels as an important experience. The extended communication seemed to help with their relationship building, thus leaving her with more positive experiences about the project. She commented that she did not feel cultural differences with her partner. The U.S. student reflected on the project: "I would say we stayed pretty constant. Maybe it became better, we got better as we went along because since the first day we were always nice to each other. We got along pretty well. Like, setting up a time was no problem, getting ideas to get across wasn't that bad." It seems that this student

similarly perceived that they performed their communication in aligned and successful ways.

In the post-project questionnaire, the Korean student gave the following ratings: 6 for involvement, 6 for enjoyment, 5 for usefulness in L2 learning, and 5 for usefulness in culture learning. The U.S. student's responses were: 6 for enjoyment, 6 for usefulness, 4 for usefulness in L2 learning, and 4 for usefulness in culture learning. Their overall experiences were quite positive and did not seem very different from each other. In terms of partner ratings (Figure 4.8), the U.S. student rated his partner as similar to himself, giving a higher score to her than himself for the hardworking item only. The Korean student also generally rated her U.S. partner as similar to herself, perceiving her partner as slightly less meticulous and punctual and much less nervous than herself. Overall, however, the total of the differences between the two students' ratings was only 6, lower than the mean total for all participants, 7.6.
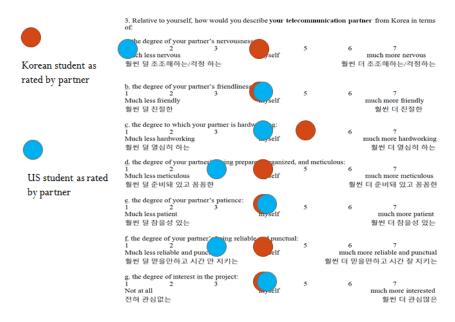
Figure 4.8. Perceptions of partners in the second well-functioning pair.

Case 3: First Less well-functioning Partnership

This pair's contrasting perceptions were discussed earlier. The Korean student's perceptions of her U.S. partner were not positive because the U.S. partner's responses were not prompt, and she felt that the partner seemed interested only in completing the required tasks:

> I think, my partner was not as interested in the project as I would have expected. In terms of willingness to learn or to participate. Once, she was so late and did not come, so back then, it was a bit weird to ask in English, so I asked in Korean why she was not coming. The partner said "super sorry" in English. We communicated only for the tasks. My problem was really about her lateness to a meeting, but because of her ways of focusing only on the task and leaving right away, I did not have a chance to build a close relationship with her, so I think we could not get close.

The student shared her impression that her U.S. partner did not seem to be willing to learn from the project. Because of her business-like attitude, she said, they could not build a close peer relationship. In contrast, the U.S. student reported her overall positive experiences; however, she negatively commented on one instance in which her Korean partner explicitly expressed her irritation and frustration from her delayed responses. Their experiences, as shared in their interviews, did not seem aligned with each other's.

In the post-project questionnaire, this pair rated their overall experiences relatively more negatively than the two well-functioning pairs. The Korean student rated herself 4 for involvement, 3 for enjoyment, 3 for usefulness in L2 learning, and 4 for usefulness in culture learning. The U.S. student rated all of the same questions at 5. Their partner rating results are shown in the following figure.

The Korean student rated her U.S. partner as quite different from herself by giving much lower scores on several items (Figure 4.9). The Korean student perceived

3. Relative to yourself, how would you describe **your telecommunication partner** from Korea in terms of:

a. the degree of your partner's nervousness:
1   3   self   5   6   7
Much less n...   much more nervous
훨씬 덜 초조해하는/걱정 하는   훨씬 더 초조해하는/걱정하는

b. the degree ... our partner's friendliness:
1   3   4   6   7
Much less fr...   myself   much more friendly
훨씬 덜 친절한   훨씬 더 친절한

c. the degree t... ich your partner is hardworking:
1   3   4   6   7
Much less har...king   myself   much more hardworking
훨씬 덜 열심히 하는   훨씬 더 열심히 하는

d. the degree of your partner's being prepared, organized, a... meticulous:
1   3   4   6   7
Much less me...us   myself   much more meticulous
훨씬 덜 준비돼 있고 꼼꼼한   훨씬 더 준비돼 있고 꼼꼼한

e. the degree of your partner's patience:
1   2   ...yself   5   6   7
Much less patient   much more patient
훨씬 덜 참을성 있는   훨씬 더 참을성 있는

f. the degree of your partner's being reliable and punctual:
2   3   4   6   7
...less reliable and punctual   myself   much more reliable and punctual
훨씬 덜 믿을만하고 시간 안 지키는   훨씬 더 믿을만하고 시간 잘 지키는

g. the degree of interest in t... roject:
1   2   4   6   7
Not at all   myself   much more interested
전혀 관심없는   훨씬 더 관심많은

Korean student as rated by partner

US student as rated by partner

Figure 4.9. Perceptions of partners in the first less well-functioning pair.

her partner as slightly less patient and interested in the project than herself (giving scores of 3) and much less nervous, friendly, hardworking, and meticulous than herself (giving scores of 2). The Korean student gave the lowest score of 1 for the item about being reliable and punctual. In contrast, the U.S. student perceived her partner to be similar to herself. The U.S. student rated her partner's nervousness and patience at the same level with herself, but she perceived that the Korean partner was slightly more friendly, hardworking, meticulous, punctual, and interested in the project than herself. The total of the differences between their ratings was 16, much different than the mean total from all participants (which was 7.6).

Case 4: Second Less well-functioning Partnership

This pair was one of the pairs that had serious problems in scheduling, communication, and being punctual with attending their scheduled chat meetings

throughout the project. The Korean student completed the questionnaire, but, she unfortunately did not volunteer for an interview with me. In the following, I provide the U.S. student's interview responses. Although one should be cautious in interpreting a one-sided voice, I concluded that these responses would nevertheless give some meaning to their communication. The U.S. student reflected on their communication in the following way:

> I think the project was a little difficult because it was not easy to schedule for the meetings. I don't know if it was my problem or hers. As soon as I got an email from her, I replied back right away, so I expected her prompt response. It was my partner who took a while to respond to me. … [referring to a certain chat meeting.] I came to the chat room, but she did not show up. At that time, I had no idea what to do any more … On another day we missed each other again, she was in the chat earlier than our scheduled meeting. I really mean that my time was correct, and she was wrong. If I knew she were there, we could have started the chat earlier because I was available. So we missed the appointment again, and that night, I stayed up all night, thinking that I had to reschedule again.

The U.S. student recounted several occasions on which they had problems in scheduling and meeting because of delayed responses and miscommunication. This student also shared his negative experience regarding the feedback exchange session: "Before we started to chat, I prepared all my feedback comments. I shared all those comments during the chat, and I wrote long comments. But, my partner said my essay was just fine. That was it. She rarely commented on mine." The U.S. student seemed disappointed by the Korean partner's seeming lack of engagement with the task. In general, this U.S. student's experiences as shared during the interview were negative.

Their responses to the Likert-scale questions in the post-project questionnaire were also revealing. The Korean student's scores for involvement, enjoyment, and usefulness in L2 and culture learning were 4, 3, 3, and 4. The corresponding ratings made

by the U.S. student were 4, 4, 4, and 5. Their partner ratings are shown in the following figure.

Usually, in other pairs, if they felt their partners to be different from themselves, their ratings in a pair tended to corroborate each other; for example, if a student in the U.S. rated the Korean partner as more nervous, the Korean student would rate the U.S. partner as less nervous. However, it was interesting to see that for this pair, their ratings were given in the same direction in three items. For example, both students perceived the partner to be less nervous, less meticulous, and less punctual than themselves. This can be evidence showing their misaligned understandings of each other probably caused by their miscommunication or insufficient communication that they had in understanding each other fully and building a sound relationship. In this case, their relative differences
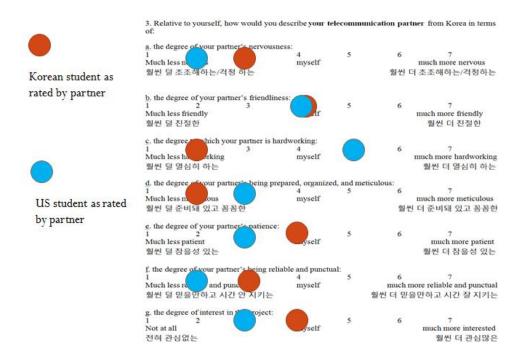
Figure 4.10. Perceptions of partners in the second less well-functioning pair.

in perceptions about each other were calculated by totaling the sums of each rating's difference from the mid-point of 4, and the total was 14. This sum represents the degrees of how differently they perceived each other.

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

From my class-level case analysis, I discovered that to the telecommunicative project, the two classes brought different expectations and norms determined from larger institutional and socio-cultural settings. These differences between the two classes were manifested in students' relatively different attitudes toward the same tasks and their relatively different answers to the same questions provided for journal entries, interviews, and a post-project questionnaire. First, Korean students, majoring in education and/or a foreign language, generally expected L2 learning from the academic tasks and sought the opportunity to interact with and receive corrective feedback from a native-speaker of English. In contrast, U.S. students valued the opportunity of communicating with age-peers speaking Korean and learning about Korean culture, thus, with more informal engagement with the tasks. Because of these different expectations about academic tasks, Korean students reported relatively more positive experiences about the essay writing task and peer feedback exchanges, whereas U.S. students were relatively more positive about their experience with chatting in which they could choose the topic freely or discuss the educational systems of the two countries. Second, different cultural norms about communication seemed to be another area that may explain intercultural tensions that arose in several pairs. Korean students regarded promptness in responding and

punctuality as signs of engagement and interest in the project, whereas Korean students' outward expectations about prompt responses and expression of their frustration coming from unmet expectations resulted in some U.S. students being taken aback. Third, largely due to the different language valuations of the two target languages, students in the two classes showed differing levels of L2 proficiency and typing skills that also seemed to influence their overall experience with the project. Thus, these cultural and institutional differences seemed to explain students' different overall experiences between the two classes and tensions arising among some pairs. Their different experiences were also demonstrated through their relative perceptions of their partners abroad. Students generally perceived that Korean students were relatively more nervous, prepared and meticulous, and punctual than U.S. students.

My pair-level case analysis revealed that the degree of the dyadic functioning was closely related to the degree of alignment in partnering students' perceptions and experiences. In the cases of two well-functioning pairs, both partners reported experiences that were similar to each other, and they rated their partners as not being very different from themselves. In contrast, in the cases of two less well-functioning pairs that experienced tension and problems, partnering students reported experiences that were not aligned in that each student recounted different stories about their negative experiences with the telecommunication or blamed each other's attitude as unacceptable or problematic from their own perspectives. Their misaligned experiences were also evident in their perceptions of their partners as being relatively more different from themselves than the well-functioning pairs.

Chapter Five

FINDINGS PART 2: INTERACTIONS

The second part of the results was related to my second research question: How did the learners engage in the computer-mediated intercultural communication depending on differing levels of the dyadic functioning?

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Grounded in the research of interactional sociolinguistics (Erickson, 2004; Gumperz, 2001), I aimed to examine the ways that different partnerships displayed differing levels of coordinated interaction depending on how individual students adapted their cultural and individual knowledge and perspectives to their current communication context. As conceptual and analytical frameworks, I relied particularly on literatures about language functions and about evaluative language. First, the following general definition of discourse informed my focus on language functions: discourse is beyond language as a system of simply signs and instead refers to language in use with its purposes and functions (Johnstone, 2008; Schiffrin, 1994). These purposes and functions are closely related to the communication context. Jakobson's (1960) scheme of discourse theorized that six contextual factors (addresser, addressee, content, message, contact, and linguistic and discourse conventions) influence six language functions (self-expressive, rhetorical, referential, poetic, phatic, and metalinguistic), and these elements of discourse acting as one coherent system largely define communication. From this view,

intercultural communication can imply inherent clashes and gaps in linguistic and discourse conventions coming from different cultures. The lack of contextual and conversational cues due to the online medium can complicate the context of communication. Therefore, it was hypothesized that depending on how interlocutors deal with culturally defined discourse conventions and contextual cues, their utterances may contain differing manifestations and combinations of diverse discourse functions.

Second, my focus on evaluative language was supported by the literature about cultural learning and intercultural communication. Culture is not only about behaviors and products but also includes perspectives (ACTFL, 2006; MLA Ad Hoc Committee on Foreign Languages, 2007). Cultural perspectives include evaluation and attitude toward what is valued, desired, useful, important, and good. Grounded in this notion, of interest were the ways that language was used to express evaluation and attitude. For the conceptualization of evaluative language in my analysis, I drew on the sociolinguistic and social research about linguistic resources reflecting evaluation such as modality (Fairclough, 2003), about evaluative language showing interpersonal relationships and social roles (Martin & White, 2005), and about stancetaking in the process of establishing intersubjectivity (Du Bois, 2007). This research commonly argues that the stance an interlocutor assumes reflects this interlocutor's attitudes toward interaction. This way of viewing stance, thus, is useful for understanding how the interlocutor's attitudes affect the nature of the interaction.

Among various categories of stance, I found Martin and White's (2005) attitudinal stance categories of affect, appreciation, and judgment to be quite

comprehensive. Belz's (2003) study of U.S.-German telecollaborative communication successfully applied these categories in distinguishing culturally preferred patterns of communication. I applied the categories with a different purpose from that of Belz's study, by investigating how attitudinal stancetaking was related with coordinated interaction across intercultural partnerships. In the categories, I also added a category of agreement from Du Bois's (2007) stance model triangle.

Because the telecommunicative project in my study included the task of cultural knowledge exchange, stance and attitude toward cultural knowledge were also of interest. As Byram (1997) argued, intercultural competence includes critical awareness and necessary attitudes toward within-culture diversity as well as across-culture differences, and thus, I was interested in the ways that intercultural encounters engaged with alternative practices and perspectives within and across cultures. Informed by the notions of heteroglossia in textual voices and dialogic functions of positioning (Bakhtin, 1981; Martin & White, 2005; White, 2003), I conceptualized the understanding of culture as differing degrees of engaging with heteroglossic diversity. My concept of heteroglossia in cultural exchange goes beyond voices or perspectives to include cultural practices and products. I began broadly with a distinction between utterances that engaged with cultural alternatives, termed *heteroglossic engagement with cultural knowledge*, and utterances that did not, termed *monoglossic engagement with cultural knowledge*. The monoglossic engagement represents culture as consisting of simple facts and established knowledge that are not usually questioned or complicated. In contrast, heteroglossic engagement opens up the space for recognizing cultural diversity and complexity. Based on a

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synthesis of the literature, I came up with three rough ways of engaging with cultural knowledge: (1) heteroglossic or monoglossic engagement (e.g., through the use of adverbs, conjunctions, or content); (2) commitment to the truth of knowledge presented in an utterance (e.g., epistemic modality or phrases); and (3) attribution of sources for knowledge (e.g., personal experience, external sources, personal opinion, etc.).

In my analysis, I oriented more toward meanings and functions in contexts rather than toward grammatical forms and structures. This was inspired by those scholars mentioned above who had a broad orientation with a semantic or rhetorical focus (Fairclough, 2003; Martin & White, 2005). As the linguistic devices used for evaluative language are culturally different, I decided to focus primarily on the meanings and functions, whether explicit or implicit, of utterances.

APPROACH TO DATA AND DATA ANALYSIS

The participants were the four focal pairs explained in the Method chapter: two pairs from the well-functioning category and two pairs from the less well-functioning category. The 12 chat transcripts from their three chat meetings and their journal entries served as the data.

Although representing an iterative process of going back and forth between data sources, findings, and literature, my analysis had roughly two phases. In the first phase, I developed four coding schemes informed by the relevant literature. Each comment was the unit of analysis for all codings. The coding scheme of language functions (Appendix 5.A) contained three major categories: main task comments (i.e., getting to know each

other, cultural knowledge exchange, and peer feedback exchange in the three chat sessions), comments indirectly related to the main tasks (e.g., conversation management, comments discussing task issues or experiences, meaning negotiation, etc.), and comments not related to main tasks but having social functions (e.g., phatic expressions, L2 experience sharing, and small talk). The coding scheme of attitudinal stance (Appendix 5.B) included four subtypes (affect, appreciation, judgment, and agreement), and each subtype was divided into sub-codes (e.g., positive affect and negative affect). If a comment did not contain a marker for attitudinal stance, the No Stance code was given. These two coding schemes were applied to all 12 transcripts.

I also aimed to investigate main task comments more systematically. The main task of the first chat session was to discuss any topic that would serve to know each other, so topics as brought up guided the communication, and I did not develop a coding scheme for the first chat conversations. As for the main task of cultural knowledge exchange in the second chat, I developed two coding schemes. The first one was about sources of cultural knowledge (Appendix 5.C): personal experience, personal opinion, statement of generally accepted knowledge, class source, other source, and comments showing novice-learner stance. The last coding scheme about engagement with cultural knowledge (Appendix 5.D) had two distinct categories: (1) heteroglossic vs. monoglossic engagement; and (2) intensification vs. mitigation in commitment to the truth of knowledge, a concept similar to epistemic stance. When a comment contained stance markings toward cultural knowledge, the comment received two codes from these two categories. These two coding schemes were applied to main task comments only. As for

the main task of feedback exchange in the third chat session, I will provide findings in Part 3 in the next Chapter.

For interrater reliability, I coded the entire 12 transcripts for the language function coding and the knowledge source coding with another researcher who was also a graduate student researching second language acquisition and L2 interaction and was versed in both Korean and English. Over the course of three months, we had weekly meetings to discuss the coding schemes, have training and practice with one transcript for each coding scheme, individually code, get together to compare our codings, and resolve any disagreements through consensus discussion. We obtained interrater agreement ranging from 85% to 95% for each transcript. The other two coding schemes (attitudinal stance and stancetaking with cultural knowledge) and this application of them were discussed through peer debriefing, but the coding itself was done by me alone.

The next phase of data analysis was informed by the constant comparative method (Corbin & Strauss, 2008) and techniques of discourse analysis (Gee, 2011; Herring, 2004; Mercer, 1995). I first quantitatively compared the coding results between the well-functioning group and the less well-functioning group. Then, I qualitatively analyzed the four pairs' communication data, exploring to what extent the coding findings were confirmed and disconfirmed at the individual pair level. I also applied an inductive and interpretive approach to identifying additional interactional features that the coding-and-counting approach could not reveal. I focused on similarities and differences across cases and particular characteristics within cases. My analysis was not so much to identify

culturally different patterns as to explore how the intercultural relationships were evidenced in interactions.

In the following section, I present findings from (1) across-case analysis with the coding-and-counting approach (well-functioning group vs. less well-functioning group) and (2) within-case analysis of the four pairs using qualitative and discourse analytic methods.

FINDINGS

Well-Functioning Group vs. Less Well-Functioning Pairs

Language Functions

As shown in the results of coding all 12 transcripts (Table 5.1.a), overall, the well-functioning group's total number of comments produced across all three chat sessions (1,588) was more than twice as large as that of the less well-functioning group (663). In terms of the three subcategories, the total number of main task comments produced by the well-functioning group was about twice as large as that of the less well-functioning group (852 vs. 405). The well-functioning group made nearly three times as many comments that were indirectly related to main tasks and had functions of managing conversations and tasks (332) as the less well-functioning group (128), and made over three times as many comments that were not related to main tasks but had social functions (404 vs. 130). The well-functioning group produced many more comments in all language functions. The group was not only more engaged in main tasks, but it also focused on conversational and social issues relatively more than the other group.

Table 5.1.a. *Language Function Coding Results*

	Code	Well-Functioning Group				Less Well-Functioning Group			
		Chat 1	Chat 2	Chat 3	Total	Chat 1	Chat 2	Chat 3	Total
(a) MT	Total	400	311	141	852	218	90	97	405
(b) Indirectly Related to MT	CM	24	29	29	82	8	8	22	38
	Further Communication	4	16	34	54	10	0	1	11
	Task Issues	3	10	13	26	0	5	0	5
	Task Experience	7	4	13	24	0	0	2	2
	Meaning Negotiation	38	28	31	97	17	20	32	69
	Footing	7	34	8	49	0	3	0	3
	Total	83	121	128	332	35	36	57	128
(c) None-MT Related (Social)	Phatic	103	87	80	270	32	18	32	82
	Status Check	10	6	6	22	7	3	4	14
	L2 Learning	0	0	15	15	9	1	2	12
	L2 Learning Experience	4	6	14	24	7	0	0	7
	Side Talk	5	29	21	55	0	0	8	8
	Typo Correction	7	8	3	18	2	3	2	7
	Total	129	136	139	404	57	25	48	130
Comment Total		612	568	408	1588	310	151	202	663

Note. MT: Main Task; CM: Conversation Management. Some major results are highlighted.

To compare the coding results across groups and chat sessions, the percentages of code occurrence within each chat session or each group are provided in Table 5.1.b. In the following, the findings comparing the two groups are discussed in terms of the code percentages.

(a) Main Task Comments vs. Other Comments

The well-functioning group had relatively fewer comments directly related to the main tasks (51.6%) than the less well-functioning group (60.9%). The well-functioning group produced more comments indirectly related to the main tasks (22.3%) and other

Table 5.1.b. *Language Function Coding Results in Percentages*

Code		Well-Functioning Group				Less Well-Functioning Group			
		Chat 1	Chat 2	Chat 3	Mean	Chat 1	Chat 2	Chat 3	Mean
(a) MT	Total	64.3	54.0	36.4	51.6	70.2	61.6	50.8	60.9
(b) Indirectly Related to MT	CM	4.0	5.1	7.4	5.5	2.6	6.0	9.2	5.9
	Further Communication	0.8	3.1	7.4	3.8	3.3	0	0.3	1.2
	Task Issues	0.4	1.9	2.8	1.7	0	2.5	0	0.8
	Task Experience	1.3	0.7	3.0	1.7	0	0	0.7	0.2
	Meaning Negotiation	6.6	5.3	8.6	6.8	5.5	9.8	11.5	8.9
	Footing	1.0	5.8	1.9	2.9	0	2.0	0	0.7
	Total	14.0	21.9	31.0	22.3	11.4	20.3	21.7	17.8
(c) None MT Related (Social)	Phatic	16.8	15.3	19.2	17.1	10.3	12.5	15.4	12.7
	Status Check	1.9	1.2	1.3	1.5	2.3	3.1	3.6	3.0
	L2 Learning	0	0	3.2	1.1	2.9	0.5	0.7	1.4
	L2 Learning Experience	0.6	1.0	3.3	1.6	2.3	0	0	0.8
	Side Talk	1.0	5.1	5.0	3.7	0	0	6.6	2.2
	Typo Correction	2.7	2.9	0.6	2.1	0.6	2.0	1.2	1.3
	Total	21.7	24.1	32.6	26.1	18.4	18.1	27.4	21.3
Comment Total		100	100	100	100	100	100	99.9	100

Note. The individual values were rounded and may not total 100%.

comments with social functions (26.1%) than the less well-functioning group did (17.8% and 21.3%, respectively). It seems that the less well-functioning group produced relatively more comments directly fulfilling their required tasks. The proportions of the main task comments decreased over the three chat sessions in both groups, perhaps because the later chat sessions by the nature of their topics required more of the interaction management and social functions.

(b) Comments Indirectly Related to Main Tasks

The well-functioning group produced relatively more comments coded as the following than the less well-functioning group: Further Communication, Task Issues, Task Experience, and Footing. Further Communication referred to occasions when students discussed how to schedule their next meeting, how to contact each other through informal SNSs, or how to exchange peer feedback outside the required chat session; the well-functioning group produced these comments more frequently (3.8%) than the less well-functioning pairs (1.2%). These comments indicated extended task fulfillment beyond the requirements and seemed to indicate informal peer relationship building. The Task Issues comments, in which students discussed task requirements and related issues, were also found more frequently in the well-functioning group (1.7%) than the less well-functioning group (0.8%). Through these comments, the well-functioning group tried to make sure they had similar understandings of project requirements (e.g., Isabella: "the topic is discuss the two cultures' education systems as represented in the videos and news articles that we watched and read in class"). Through the Task Experience comments, the well-functioning group shared their experiences or attitudes toward the project more frequently (1.7%) than did the less well-functioning pairs (0.2%). For example, the first well-functioning pair shared the experience of getting help from others in writing the essay (e.g., Ethan: "i got my friend and mom to edit it lol") and also seemed comfortable in sharing their emotion in relation to project participation (e.g., Seungah: "I am nervous a little but it's interesting"). Such Task Issues and Task Experience comments were indicators of reflection during the interaction. The well-functioning pair displayed more instances of the Footing function (2.9%) than the less well-functioning group (0.7%). The

code was applied when a native-speaking partner tried to set up a common understanding about a cultural topic before explaining it in detail. For example, the Korean student in the second well-functioning pair checked if her partner understood the Korean word meaning field practicum before saying in Korean that she would be out in the field for practicum that semester. This language function indicated their consideration of their partners' L2 understanding. In sum, these comments indirectly helped the management of main task discussion, and were found more frequently in the well-functioning group (22.3%) than the less well-functioning group (17.8%).

(c) Social Comments Not Related to Main Tasks

The Phatic code was applied when comments were phatic in their functions (i.e., having no content but showing that the listener is following the conversation, such as "I see" and "really?"), formulaic politeness or greeting expressions (e.g., "hello," "you're welcome"), or short emotive expressions (e.g., "that's cool"). These conversational markers function to make the conversation more interactional and to help interlocutors feel that they are under the same understanding of the conversation. These comments working as lubricants in interaction were, not surprisingly, more frequently found in the well-functioning group (17.1%) than the less well-functioning group (12.7%). Similarly, small talk has the social function of making interlocutors feel intimate with each other (e.g., Ethan: "oh boy... yeah i have two midterms next week as well :/"), and the well-functioning group displayed a higher percentage of this function (3.7%) than the less well-functioning group (2.2%). In addition, the well-functioning group (1.6%) also produced more comments sharing their L2 learning experiences than the other group

(0.8%). Through these comments, they shared any issue related to L2 learning such as difficulty in L2 learning or tasks (e.g., Madison: "Sorry if I take forever to respond; I'm terrible at reading/writing"), L2 proficiency (e.g., Isabella: "너 영어 무지하게 잘해" meaning "*your English is very good*"), and past L2 learning experiences (e.g., Kyungae: "어렸을 때부터 다녔어" meaning "*I have had private tutoring since I was very little*").

The well-functioning group seemed relatively more aligned between partners by sharing their L2 identities and sympathizing with each other's L2 experiences. In contrast, the Status Check function was more found in the less well-functioning group (3%) than the other group (1.5%), showing tardiness or missed appointments: for example, Tyler wrote, "hello? I've been sitting here for an hour." This result demonstrated that the less well-functioning group had more frequent instances of problems in scheduling and punctuality.

Attitudinal Stance

The results of attitudinal stance coding are provided as percentages in Table 5.2. Overall, the well-functioning group showed a higher percentage of attitudinal stancetaking (27.6%) than the less well-functioning group (21.5%). Among the four types of attitudinal stance, the well-functioning group showed affective stancetaking much more frequently (19.2%) than the less well-functioning group (9.7%). Although it is difficult to determine the causal relationship between relationship building and affect-stance sharing, the partnering students in the well-functioning group seemed more open or intimate with each other in sharing feelings and emotions. Interestingly, the number of comments showing affective stance fluctuated across the three chat sessions, showing

that affective stancetaking reflects the topic of discussion. The Agreement stance was the stance in which students shared agreement in thoughts or showed alignment or sympathy with partners. As expected, agreement was found more frequently in the well-functioning group (2% vs. 0.6% in the other group). For example, during the second chat meeting, the first well-functioning pair realized that they had something in common, that is, having a dog as a pet; then the Korean student replied, "I have a dog [too] hoho." After finding out that both of their dogs were small ones, the U.S. student replied "me too haha." Such comments seemed to help partners to build commonality between each other. Interestingly, agreement stancetaking slightly increased across the three chat meetings in the well-functioning group but decreased for the less well-functioning group.

Table 5.2. *Attitudinal Stance Coding Results in Percentages*

		Well-Functioning Group				Less Well-Functioning Group			
		Chat 1	Chat 2	Chat 3	Mean	Chat 1	Chat 2	Chat 3	Mean
Stance Type	Affect	24.6	15.4	17.6	19.2	13.8	4.9	10.4	9.7
	Appreciation	1.3	9.5	4.9	5.3	2.9	20.2	4.5	9.2
	Judgement	1.6	1.0	0.9	1.1	3.9	2.0	0	2.0
	Agreement	0.9	2.6	2.5	2.0	1.3	0.5	0	0.6
Stance Total		28.3	28.5	25.9	27.6	21.8	27.7	14.9	21.5
No Stance Total		71.7	71.5	74.1	72.4	78.2	72.3	85.1	78.5
Comment Total		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

In contrast, the less well-functioning group displayed a higher percentage of stancetaking in Appreciation (9.2%) than the well-functioning group (5.3%). The first less well-functioning pair was responsible for this result because this pair produced many comments sharing their outward evaluation of cultural phenomena during the second chat session in which they were instructed to discuss educational systems in the two countries. For example, the following comment showed an appreciative stancetaking evaluation of

the Korean high school system: Tyler wrote, "I think Korean system is very uptight." I will discuss this finding in detail in the pair-level case analysis section.

Knowledge Sources and Stance Toward Cultural Knowledge

Cultural Knowledge Sources

This coding was applied only to main task comments exchanging knowledge about the two educational cultures in the second chat session, so the proportions of code occurrence were calculated from the total number of main task comments in each transcript (Table 5.3). The Novice Learner code was applied when students took a novice positioning as a less knowledgeable person regarding the target culture by expressing curiosity or asking questions about the target culture or partner's experience. This code was found over twice more frequently in the less well-functioning group (34.4%) than the well-functioning group (16.8%). My qualitative analysis revealed that the less well-functioning group showed relatively more questions but developed topics to a lesser extent. As a result, comments sharing cultural knowledge (General Statement) were found less frequently in the less well-functioning group. As one source of knowledge, General Statement referred to when students, as cultural informants of their native culture, provided general knowledge or simple facts in the form of generalized statement: for example, Madison wrote, "Private school as main school is very expensive - more than college tuition. When it comes to private education, a lot of it is just SAT prep classes if anything." The less well-functioning group produced much fewer comments containing such general statements about culture (29.4%) compared to the well-functioning group (46.6%). In contrast, the well-functioning group had relatively more nuanced discussions

about cultural topics, whereby the cultural informants provided more information through

the general statement form.

Table 5.3. *Coding Results for Cultural Knowledge Sources in Percentages*

Code Type	Well-Functioning Group			Less Well-Functioning Group		
	WF1	WF2	Mean	LWF1	LWF2	Mean
Experience	18.5	20.3	19.4	15.2	17.5	16.3
General Statement	47.9	45.3	46.6	27.3	31.6	29.4
Opinion	0.8	7.8	4.3	21.2	5.3	13.2
Class Source	5.0	0	2.5	6.1	0	3.0
Other Source	4.2	3.6	3.9	0	0	0
Reaction	7.6	5.2	6.4	0	7.0	3.5
Novice Learner	16.0	17.7	16.8	30.3	38.6	34.4
Comment Total %	100	99.9	99.9	100.1	100	99.8

Note. WF1: first well-functioning pair; WF2: second well-functioning pair; LWF1: first less well-functioning pair; LWF2: second less well-functioning pair. The individual values were rounded and may not total 100%.

The well-functioning group also used personal experience (19.4%) and other

sources such as hearsay evidence or information learned from the Internet and pop-

culture materials (3.9%) as their cultural knowledge sources relatively more than the less

well-functioning group (16.3% and 0% respectively). The well-functioning group seemed

to use various knowledge sources in exchanging more nuanced cultural knowledge. In

contrast, the less well-functioning group exhibited a much higher percentage of personal

opinion that was not based on empirical evidence or experience (13.2%) than the well-

functioning group (4.3%). Lastly, the well-functioning group (6.4%) produced more

reactive comments showing the building of new cultural knowledge than the other group

(3.5%): e.g., Seungah wrote, "생각보다 사람사는 건 비슷한거같아..ㅋㅋ" [*It looks as if

people's lives are similar across cultures*]. Thus, it seemed that the well-functioning

group's in-depth discussions of culture more readily led to new cultural learning and

reaction to it. These finding showed that the well-functioning group used more diverse

sources of knowledge, and the interaction in this well-functioning group was more

interactional and two-way.

Stance Toward Cultural Knowledge

Coding results for the two types of stances toward cultural knowledge are

presented as percentages in Table 5.4. The proportion of stancetaking within main task

comments was much higher in the first less well-functioning pair (LWF1) than the other

three pairs, so I calculated the percentages of stance occurrences within the total of

comments containing knowledge stance for comparison purposes. Overall, the results

seem better explained as between-pair differences rather than as between-group (i.e.,

well-functioning vs. less well-functioning) differences. For example, the stance type

combining monoglossic engagement and intensifying epistemic stance was more

frequently found in the first well-functioning pair (WF1) and the second less well-

functioning pair (LWF2). Another stance type combining monoglossic engagement and

mitigating epistemic stance was more frequently found in the second well-functioning

pair (WF2) and the first less well-functioning pair (LWF1). Although it is difficult to

come to hard conclusions based on only four pairs, one possible interpretation would be

that stance toward cultural knowledge is what individuals bring to intercultural

communication (i.e., prior-to-interaction variable) rather than what is shaped through

interaction. This was partly confirmed as I will discuss in presenting findings from

qualitative case analysis. Another feasible interpretation is that discourse markers

showing these types of stances are closely related to linguistic devices; thus, students' L2

proficiency may be a factor explaining the results. That is, the two high-high L2

proficiency pairs (WF2 and LWF1) displayed similar coding results, whereas the other

partnerships of mid-mid proficiencies (WF1) and low-low proficiencies (LWF2) were

similar in knowledge stancetaking.

Table 5.4. *Coding Results for Stance Toward Cultural Knowledge in Percentages*

Code Type	Well-Functioning Group			Less Well-Functioning Group		
	WF1	WF2	Mean	LWF1	LWF2	Mean
Monoglossia + Intensification	65.3	58.4	61.9	50	68	59
Monoglossia + Mitigation	6.1	22.8	14.4	31.8	16	23.9
Heteroglossia + Intensification	18.4	17.8	18.1	18.2	0	9.1
Heteroglossia + Mitigation	10.2	1.0	5.6	0	16	8
Total within stance codes	100	100	100	100	100	100
Stance within Total MT Comments	45.0	54.9	49.9	71.0	43.9	57.4

When the two types of stances were separately analyzed, the well-functioning

group's comments took a heteroglossic stance relatively more frequently (23.7%) than

the less well-functioning group (17%). The well-functioning group's discussion of

culture seemed to reflect a plurality of cultural alternatives more than the other group's

discussion. In terms of epistemic stance showing degrees of commitment to knowledge

truth, the well-functioning group's discussion displayed more intensifying epistemic

stance (80%) than the less well-functioning group (68%). As my qualitative discourse

analysis will reveal later, while providing the foreign partners with information about

native culture, the cultural informants produced many comments presenting generally

accepted knowledge or truth in the general statement form, and many such comments

were coded as a truth-intensifying epistemic stance. In other words, they provided more native culture knowledge with comments containing strong epistemic devices.

Case Analysis of the Four Focal Pairs

In this section, I present and discuss findings from my case analysis of the four focal pairs. First, student reflections on the communication are analyzed. Then, coding results about language functions and attitudinal stance are qualitatively discussed. Finally, I present findings about interactional patterns in the first and second chat sessions. Tables 5.5 and 5.6 present the pair-level coding results of language functions and attitudinal stance in percentages.

Well-Functioning Pair 1 (WF1): Seungah and Ethan

This was a woman-man and mid-mid L2 proficiency partnership.

Their Reflections in Journal Entries

Seungah and Ethan were positive about all three chat meetings in their reflections. Their ratings of enjoyment and usefulness of the first chat session were 7 and 6 for Seungah and 6 and 6 for Ethan. Seungah commented on her first experience of talking with a foreigner, ending her reflection saying, "I am looking forward to next chatting with him." Ethan commented on his slow typing skills, but ended his reflection with a similar remark: "after the conversation, I actually couldn't wait to do it again next week." After the second chat meeting, Seungah rated the enjoyment and usefulness as 5 and 6. Seungah reflected that the topic of educational cultures was more difficult for her to discuss, and because the topic was "profound," she thought that a one-hour conversation

Table 5.5. *Language Function Coding Results in Percentages by Pair*

	Code	Well-Functioning Pair 1			Well-Functioning Pair 2			Less Well-Functioning Pair 1			Less Well-Functioning Pair 2		
		Chat 1	Chat 2	Chat 3	Chat 1	Chat 2	Chat 3	Chat 1	Chat 2	Chat 3	Chat 1	Chat 2	Chat 3
(a)	Main Talk Total	58.2	46.9	24.3	70.4	61.1	48.6	75.3	67.3	57.1	65.1	55.9	44.5
(b) Indirectly Related to MT	Conversation Management	4.4	5.5	5.5	3.6	4.8	9.2	2.5	8.2	5.4	2.6	3.9	13.0
	Further Communication	1.6	5.9	13.6	0	0.3	1.2	0	0	0	6.6	0	0.7
	Task Issues	0	3.1	5.5	0.8	0.6	0	0	0	0	0	4.9	0
	Task Experience	2.0	0.8	4.3	0.6	0.6	1.7	0	0	0	0	0	1.4
	Meaning Negotiation	8.8	8.7	2.1	4.4	1.9	15.0	3.2	0	1.8	7.9	19.6	21.2
	Footing	0	3.9	2.6	1.9	7.6	1.2	0	2.0	0	0	2.0	0
	Total	16.7	28.0	33.6	11.4	15.9	28.3	5.7	10.2	7.1	17.1	30.4	36.3
(c) Social Not Related to MT	Phatic	16.7	15.4	21.7	16.9	15.3	16.8	12.7	14.3	14.3	7.9	10.8	16.4
	Status Check	3.6	2.4	2.6	0.3	0	0	2.5	6.1	7.1	2.0	0	0
	L2 Learning	0	0	6.4	0	0	0	2.5	0	0	3.3	1.0	1.4
	L2 Learning Experience	0.4	0	4.3	0.8	1.9	2.3	0	0	0	4.6	0	0
	Side Talk	2.0	5.5	6.0	0	4.8	4.0	0	0	12.5	0	0	0.7
	Typo Correction	2.4	2.0	1.3	0.3	1.0	0	1.3	2.0	1.8	0	2.0	0.7
	Total	25.1	25.2	42.1	18.3	22.9	23.1	19.0	22.4	35.7	17.8	13.7	19.2
Comment Total %		100	100.1	100	100.1	99.9	100	100	99.9	99.9	100	100	100
# of Total Comments		251	254	235	361	314	173	158	49	56	152	102	146

Note. The individual values were rounded and may not total 100%.

Table 5.6. *Attitudinal Stance Coding Results in Percentages by Pair*

Type	Sub-codes	Well-Functioning Pair 1				Well-Functioning Pair 2				Less Well-Functioning Pair 1				Less Well-Functioning Pair 2			
		Ch1	Ch2	Ch3	M	Ch1	Ch2	Ch3	M	Ch1	Ch2	Ch3	M	Ch1	Ch2	Ch3	M
Affect	Pos	21.1	11.4	14.5	15.7	21.9	12.7	5.8	13.5	10.1	2.0	5.4	5.8	5.3	4.9	11.6	7.3
	Neg	2.0	2.4	6.4	3.6	2.5	2.5	6.4	3.8	7.0	0	1.8	2.9	3.9	2.0	1.4	2.4
	Other	1.2	1.2	1.7	1.4	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.6	1.3	0	0	0.4	0	1.0	0.7	0.6
	Total	24.3	15.0	22.6	20.6	24.9	15.9	12.7	17.8	18.4	2.0	7.1	9.2	9.2	7.8	13.7	10.3
Appre-ciation	Pos	0.8	1.2	6.0	2.6	0.6	4.1	2.9	2.5	1.9	6.1	9.0	5.6	0.7	4.9	0	1.9
	Neg	0.4	2.0	0.4	0.9	0.8	11.8	0.6	4.4	1.3	26.5	0	9.3	2.0	2.9	0	1.6
	Total	1.2	3.1	6.4	3.6	1.4	15.9	3.5	6.9	3.2	32.7	8.9	15.0	2.6	7.8	0	3.5
Judge	Self	0	0	0.9	0.3	0.3	0.6	0	0.3	1.9	4.1	0	2.0	1.3	0	0	0.4
	Other	1.2	0	0.9	0.7	1.7	1.3	0	1.0	2.5	0	0	0.8	2.0	0	0	0.7
	Total	1.2	0	1.7	1.0	1.9	1.9	0	1.3	4.4	4.1	0	2.8	3.3	0	0	1.1
Agree		1.2	3.5	3.8	2.9	0.6	1.6	1.2	1.1	0.6	0	0	0.2	2.0	1.0	0	1.0
% Total Stance		27.9	21.6	34.5	28.1	28.8	35.3	17.4	27.1	26.6	38.8	16	27.2	17.1	16.6	13.7	15.9

Note. M: Mean; Pos: Positive; Neg: Negative

was too short. Ethan seemed to enjoy the second chat better than Seungah, his ratings being 6 for enjoyment and 7 for usefulness. He wrote that he had learned how differently the two educational systems had been set up and that chatting with his partner was very enjoyable.

In terms of the third chat, Seungah rated the enjoyment and usefulness as 6 and 7. As a final comment on the entire project, she complained about logistical issues of scheduling and meeting up as well as her partner's delayed e-mail responses, but she also shared her positive experiences in terms of enjoyment and usefulness. She ended the journal entry saying that she had mixed emotions of feeling happy and sorry about the entire project coming to an end. Ethan also gave scores of 6 and 7 for the enjoyment and usefulness, by positively reflecting on their feedback exchange communication.

Language Functions of Chat Comments

For this pair, successful relationship building and communication were evidenced in the ways that Seungah and Ethan used interactional devices. In terms of language functions (Table 5.5), their interaction was characterized with the lowest proportion of main task comments and highest proportion of the other two categories (i.e., comments indirectly related to main tasks and social function comments) across all three chats among the four focal pairs. For example, they discussed scheduling of their next meetings and exchanged their KakaoTalk IDs so they could continue to communicate outside the required chat sessions (Further Communication). In addition, in the third chat on feedback exchange, they exchanged their edited versions via e-mail giving each other a digital format of the essay, and then they spent the required chat session to explain their

feedback and provide further explanations. Like other well-functioning pairs, this pair

extended their academic tasks beyond the requirements and attempted informal

communication and relationship building.

In addition, this pair discussed their class requirements relatively more frequently

(Task Issues). One such instance worthy of discussing was when they realized that the

two classes had slightly different requirements:

> Seungah: 근데 너 오늘 한국말 거의 안했어 ㅋㅋㅋ [*by the way, you rarely used Korean today*]
>
> Seungah: 그래도 반은 한국말 해야돼....ㅋㅋㅋㅋ[*but, at least half should be Korean*]
>
> Ethan: 아라.. 근대 우리 선생님이 오늘은 괜찬타고 그래서 [*I know, but my instructor said we could be a little more flexible today, so*]
>
> Ethan: essay 설명해야하닝깐 [*because we have to explain the essay*]
>
> Seungah: 그래? 우리는 자유롭게 해도 되지만 그래도 반씩 섞어쓰라고 하셨어
>
> ㅠㅠㅋㅋ [*really? We were told to try to use each language half the time, although we can switch between them more freely*]
>
> Ethan: haha wow
>
> Seungah: 그리고 출처 쓰는 것도 ㅋㅋㅋㅋㅋㅋ [*and, the citing issue as well*]
>
> Seungah: ~~~(my partner or article or video)
>
> Seungah: 이런식으로 쓰라고 하셨었거든 ㅋㅋㅋ [*my instructor told us to use like that*]
>
> Ethan: 진짜?? [*really*]
>
> Ethan: 우리는 내가한대로 하라고 example 도 존는대 [*we were given examples just like what I did*]
>
> Seungah: 웅 막 '내 파트너가 이렇게 말해줬습니다' 이렇게 쓰지말라구 ㅜㅜ [*like we were not supposed to use phrases like 'my partner said so'*]
>
> Seungah: ㅋㅋㅋㅋㅋ아그럼 [*ah, then*]
>
> Seungah: 그건 다르게 적용해서 쓰면 되겠다 [*then, I think we can apply our different class requirements to that matter*]
>
> Ethan: ㅇㅋ 좋아 [*okay, sounds good*]

Thus, during the feedback exchange, as they started discussing issues relating to the last

task and essay writing, they realized that their requirements were different and adjusted

their expectations about language use and feedback accordingly. They also more readily shared their metacognitive reflections on their task experiences (Task Experience). For example, after learning the complexity of learning about native and target cultures in the second chat meeting, Seungah commented on the task: "today topic is profound question." Their high percentages of using these functions suggested that the two students spent effort and time in building aligned understandings about their tasks.

In terms of social functions of language, this pair also had the highest proportion of phatic expressions among the four pairs. In addition to greetings and short polite expressions, the phatic expressions functioned as social markers of emotion sharing and as interactional markers by signaling the listener's participation in the interaction. Such phatic expressions seemed to play an important role perhaps because the text-based communication lacked paralinguistic and temporal cues for interaction. In addition, this pair shared small talk at the highest percentage among the four pairs. They usually exchanged casual information about their daily lives at the beginning and end of each conversation so that they could have smooth transitions into and from main task discussions. Their ending of the last chat conversation, in which they discussed possibilities of traveling to each other's countries and contacting each other, was particularly interesting in that the other three pairs' endings showed no such small talk at closing. In particular, this pair's small talk pattern was contrasted with abrupt jumps into or ends of main task discussions found in the less well-functioning pairs. Overall, this pair displayed the highest percentages of these social comments among the four pairs.

Attitudinal Stance

Along with the highest proportions of comments containing conversational markers and phatic expressions, this pair also showed the highest proportion of attitudinal stancetaking overall. Among the four types of attitudinal stances (affect, appreciation, judgement, and agreement), affect, particularly positive affect, and agreement distinguished this pair from the other three pairs. In about 16% of their entire comments, the two students expressed positive emotions either by adding emoticons usually expressing smiley faces (e.g., ^o^) or truncated letters expressing laughing sounds (e.g., haha, ㅋㅋ, ㅎㅎ) to their regular comments or by sharing their positive affect toward the tasks (e.g., "Seungah: 1 시간 동안 재미있었어!!!!!" meaning "*the one-hour chatting was a lot of fun*"). In addition, this pair produced many comments showing agreement or alignment with each other in terms of understandings, opinions, feelings, and commonality. For example, Seungah sympathized with Ethan's feeling about having difficulty with Korean grammar: "나도 조금 어려워!!ㅋㅋㅋ" meaning "*I also feel difficult about it, too*." Their frequent positive affective and agreeing stancetaking seemed related with their building of intimate peer relationship and coordinated interaction.

The First Chat Conversation

As found in their higher proportion of small talk than any other pair, their first conversation began with commenting on their different time zones and sharing their feelings about the first chat: For example, Seungah wrote, "I am nervous a little but it's interesting." Then, they exchanged information about themselves in terms of major, siblings, age and college year, hometown, future career plans, and college life. Like many

other well-functioning pairs did, this pair also shared information about their current SNS

activities. The following short excerpt shows what their conversation was like:

> Ethan: so i am guessing you want to be a teacher?
> Seungah: I will go to highschool for teaching practice, but
> Seungah: I want to do something other
> Ethan: something else, like what?
> Seungah: I want to do for government
> Ethan: oh wow... that's cool
> Seungah: public officer
> Seungah: Thanks
> Ethan: impressive...
> Seungah: You want to be a doctor?
> Ethan: yes
> Ethan: i guess, a piano playing doctor haha
> Seungah: amazing
> Seungah: so romantic!
> Seungah: hahaha
> Seungah: What kind of music do you like?
> Seungah: or playing?
> Ethan: hahaha thanks
> Ethan: hmmm well for college, i play classical music

The excerpt demonstrates how frequently this pair used phatic functions (e.g., short

emotive expressions, politeness expressions, laughing sounds) and exchanged positive

attitudinal stancetaking as they commented on each other's hopes for future careers (e.g.,

emotive expressions). These interactional markers evidenced their engagement with their

current task and with their partners. One interesting characteristic of the interaction was

that their comments were relatively short in both their English and Korean conversations.

In this regard, their conversations appeared more like face-to-face communication that

often involves exchanges of short and interactive comments between two interlocutors.

Thus, along with the use of various linguistic resources showing their coordinated

interaction, the use of short comments helped them to check on each other's

understandings, engage in more interactive communication, and thus overcome the lack

of interactional and temporal cues in the text-based communication.

The Second Chat Conversation

As sources of cultural knowledge (Table 5.3), this pair relied on the following

sources relatively more than the other three pairs: sharing their personal experiences;

making general statements about their native culture; and referring to other sources

usually when discussing their target cultures. The two students were relatively more

elaborate in sharing their C1 knowledge as cultural informants, thus producing many

general statements. In addition, their reliance on more diverse sources led them to

discover variation within cultures and the complexity of learning about a different culture.

Based on the documentary film about a U.S. high school, Seungah shared her very

positive image of the U.S. educational system that would guide students to learn through

hands-on experiences. Their ensuing discussion about U.S. education follows:

> Seungah: i watched the video,
> Seungah: i thought the students have experienced a variety of different
>   opportunities
> Ethan: yeah... U.S. schools are not like that at all
> Seungah: I want to know about the us education system and school life
> Ethan: haha after we watched the video, our class laughed alot, because
>   NORMAL U.S. schools are not like that
> Seungah: oh my god..
> Seungah: really?
> Ethan: the U.S. school on the video was a very specialized school
> Ethan: hhaha yeah
> Seungah: then how was your sch ool life?
> Ethan: hmmm... I would say a normal school life is...
> Ethan: take the bus to school, eat breakfast at school, start classes
> Ethan: all throughout high school i had about 8 classes a day
> Ethan: history, sciences, maths, PE (I played basketball in high school), and
>   electives

Ethan: but also, in many many high schools, there are alot of drugs and alcohol
    and stuff all over
Ethan: even though that is very bad, i think that is what made high school kinda
    entertaining
Ethan: Studying was not very necessary or emphasized in U.S. schools
Ethan: Well, MY high school was VERY VERY VERY easy
Ethan: I graduated 6th in my class
Ethan: very little studying needed hahaha
Seungah: oh..
Seungah: then after the class,
Seungah: did you have a club activities?
Seungah: just PE?
Ethan: But of course, other high schools were probably harder than mine, but in
    general, it is similar
Ethan: Yeah, I just did basketball for school, and student council. But I played
    piano, so that would be my after school activity
Seungah: umm...
Seungah: drugs and alcohol mean 마약, 술???
Ethan: haha yeah
Seungah: i shocked...haha
Ethan: yeah... it's everywhere all over U.S.
Ethan: underage drinking and drugs.. :/
Seungah: normal high school, right?
Ethan: yes maam
Seungah: okay haha
…
Seungah: Actually, I have a fantasy of US school life haha
Ethan: hahah fantasy??
Seungah: when i saw the movie
Seungah: they have a club activities like many things
Ethan: yeah that movie was a very poor representation of U.S. school system...

Against Seungah's misconceptions about the U.S. educational culture, Ethan explained

that the video was not a good representation of general U.S. high school. First, he

provided his current class's reaction to the video and his own personal experiences of

high school. Then, he further tried to crash Seungah's idealized misconceptions by

presenting one aspect of U.S. high school culture that literally "shocked" his Korean

partner: that is, the prevalence of drugs and alcohol. While emphasizing that it is

"everywhere all over U.S.," Ethan presented two alternative voices possible with regards to the culture: "even though that is very bad, i think that is what made high school kinda entertaining." Similarly, Ethan did not present his own experience or knowledge as a representative of the entire U.S. high school culture but acknowledged other alternatives: "But of course, other high schools were probably harder than mine, but in general, it is similar" in that studying was not as highly emphasized. In the meanwhile, Seungah's reactive comments showed her learning of her previous knowledge as "fantasy" and the complexity of within-culture variation. The way that their discussion deployed the learning of alternative subcultures and diverse voices within culture was interesting because the other three pairs usually focused on contrasting the two educational cultures: higher pressure to study in Korea vs. less pressure in the U.S.

Their comments, as individually coded, showed the highest percentage in taking heteroglossic engagement with cultural knowledge among the four pairs (Table 5.4). Analyzed at a discourse-level, as well, the development of their discussion showed the process of discovering heteroglossic voices and alternatives within culture through their use of diverse knowledge sources and careful representation of culture. This process of learning the complexity of culture may also explain why this pair had the highest proportion of the Reaction code showing reactions to new cultural knowledge (Table 5.3): e.g., Ethan wrote, "wow... that's intense..."; Seungah wrote, "i shocked..haha," "very interesting story," and "생각보다 사람사는 건 비슷한거같아..ㅋㅋ" meaning "*It looks as if people's lives are similar across cultures*." Interestingly, this pair also had the highest proportion among the four pairs in using intensification in epistemic stancetaking (i.e.,

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strong or intense forms of commitment to truth). A qualitative look at the transcript revealed that Ethan, in particular, used many linguistic devices of intensification such as lexical absolutes (e.g., not … at all; everywhere all over U.S.), typographical stress (e.g., NORMAL U.S. schools; VERY VERY VERY easy), and lexical intensifiers (e.g., very little; of course). With the given data, it is difficult to determine to what extent the use of these linguistic devices is attributable to an individual, to a cultural characteristic, or to an interactional outcome. However, interestingly, those strong epistemic markers were used when he was talking about his native culture.

A few other features characterizing the second chat conversation included the students' active engagement with the communication (i.e., their conversation lasted for half an hour more after the one-hour requirement was fulfilled, the longest communication among the four pairs); humor through language play (e.g., Ethan's expressing the sound of the English word "sorry" in Korean letters in a non-typical way, thus making the Korean partner laugh).

Well-Functioning Pair 2 (WF2): Kyungae and Isabella

This was a woman-woman and high-high L2 proficiency partnership.

Their Reflections in Journal Entries

Kyungae and Isabella demonstrated in their reflections their generally positive experiences. In her first journal entry and during the first chat conversation, Kyungae expressed her personal interest in this project because she was intending to study in the U.S. as an exchange student later that year and she also had relatives living in the U.S. In the journal entry, she wrote that she was expecting this project to be a great opportunity

to learn about U.S. culture and people. As if showing her interest, she wrote that her communication with Isabella began even before the first chat meeting through KakaoTalk. Her reflection on the first chatting was positive enough to make her think that one hour was insufficient in getting to know her partner. Isabella did not submit her first journal entry. After the second chat meeting, their enjoyment and usefulness of the meeting were rated as 7 and 5 by Kyungae and 7 and 7 by Isabella. After the third chat conversation, both students gave the highest score of 7 to both the enjoyment and usefulness questions. Like many other Korean students, Kyungae also reflected that the third chat was the most useful among the three meetings because her partner corrected her L2 sentences and taught her English expressions used by a native speaker of English. Isabella also positively reflected on their communication and on her partner.

Interestingly, reflecting on the first chat meeting, Kyungae frankly shared her thinking process in which she changed her perceptions about her U.S. partner's slow responses:

> 채팅을 하는 중에는 파트너의 답이 계속 늦는 것이 있었습니다. 처음에는 내가 별로 맘에 안 드나, 채팅에 집중하지 않고 있는 것이 아닌가 하는 생각도 들었지만 다시 객관적으로 생각해보니 한국만큼 인터넷이 빠른 나라가 없다는 것이 생각났습니다. 성격상 남이 나를 싫어할 것을 두려워하는 것이 심한 편인데, 객관적으로 생각하고 상대의 상황을 더 이해해야겠다는 생각이 들었습니다 …역시 서로 마음을 열고 좋은 마음으로 함께하고자 한다면 외적 조건이나 상황에 상관없이 모두 좋은 친구가 될 수 있는 것 같습니다. [*During the chat, my partner was sometimes slow in responding. At first, I wondered if she did not like me or she was not focusing on the chatting, but when I tried to think objectively, I came to realize that there is no such country like Korea where the Internet speed is so fast. My personality is that I am sensitive about being liked or disliked by others, but I thought I would have to try to think more positively and consider others' situations better … Like I expected, if people meet each other with open and positive minds, they all will*

make good friends regardless of extraneous conditions or situations]

This excerpt showed the general expectation of prompt responses as a measurement of engagement found among Korean students. However, Kyungae showed her open-mindedness and positive attitude toward several logistical obstacles that this project imposed.

Language Functions of Chat Comments

One main feature that characterized this pair's interaction was that they produced the highest number of comments among the four pairs overall (Table 5.5), perhaps partly attributable their high L2 proficiencies. Noting that the first less well-functioning pair was also a high-high L2 proficiency pair but produced the fewest number of comments, this pair's productiveness could also be seen as an outcome showing their aligned relationship and communication. Other interesting characteristics of this pair were that their comments had relatively high proportions of comments coded as Footing and L2 Learning Experience. The Footing function was used when a native-speaking partner tried to set up a common understanding about a cultural topic before explaining it in detail: for example, Kyungae said, "you know Korean SAT?" This function seemed to reflect a native-speaking partner's consideration in setting up an alignment with the L2 learning partner. This pair displayed several instances of using the function, but it was rarely found in the two less well-functioning pairs. This pair also shared their L2 experiences most frequently among the four pairs. The following excerpt from their feedback exchange revealed effective ways that the sharing of L2 issues operated in sharing L2 learner identities:

> Isabella: 문장 연결이 어려워ㅠㅜ [*connecting sentences is difficult*]
>
> Kyungae: 그치?ㅜㅜ [*isn't it?]*
>
> Kyungae: 너와 나를 보니 언어를 배울 때 공통 애로사항인가봐ㅜㅎㅎ[*it looks like that is our common problem in learning a foreign language*]

While commenting on each other's L2 essays, they realized that the biggest problem commonly found in both essays was lack of sentence cohesion. In terms of the other language functions, this pair's comments were about at average proportions.

Attitudinal Stance

This pair took relatively more attitudinal, particularly positive, stances in their comments, a finding similar to the first well-functioning pair (Table 5.6). Their frequent stancetaking in affect showed their active and positive sharing of their emotions. Particularly interesting was that this pair's second chat conversation had the second to highest proportion of stancetaking in appreciation (15.9%) among the 12 transcripts. Most such comments were produced when Kyungae represented her own native Korean culture by negatively evaluating its several educational situations. A qualitative analysis of this finding will be presented when discussing their second chat conversation. The other types of attitudinal stance were not particularly pronounced for this pair.

The First Chat Conversation

Kyungae and Isabella began their first chat meeting by directly delving into asking about each other and talking about themselves in terms of major, college year, and siblings. Because the U.S. student was born in Korea and had immigrated to U.S. at the age of 6 and had visited Korea a few times before, these students could easily find topics to talk about, such as Korean food and places to go in Seoul:

Isabella: I went to korea few years ago
Kyungae: for travelling?
Isabella: no. visiting my grandparents
Isabella: they live in seoul
Kyungae: aha
Kyungae: i also live in Seoul
Isabella: I went to 남대문 [*South Gate in Seoul*]
Isabella: i really liked the place
Kyungae: oh 남대문 market^^
Isabella: especially korean food <3
Kyungae: great~^^
Isabella: and 경복궁 [*an old palace in Seoul*]
Kyungae: which Korean food did you like specially??
Isabella: 떡볶이! [*rice cake stir fry*]
Isabella: so good
Kyungae: yeah that's very nice!
Kyungae: i also really like that^^
Isabella: I tried to make it one day, but it was not good.....haha
Isabella: oh I also ate 순대. [*Korean sausage*]
Kyungae: hahaha are there some Korean market there, right??
Isabella: yes. austin has some korean markets and restaurants

When Isabella mentioned that she had visited her relatives in Seoul, Kyungae took up the topic of Seoul by stating that this was where she lived, thereby revealing something in common between them. Isabella shared her positive experiences in Seoul in terms of tourist places and food, and then they continued to discuss their favorites in Korean food, to discover that they both liked a certain type of Korean food. In this process, their topic discussions evolved naturally during the conversation in a way that a new topic is latched from a previous one rather than topics being generated by questions. The first conversation of getting to know each other showed a collaborative process in which both students actively engaged with each other's comments and produced ensuing topics and comments. This latching-style conversation was a characteristic of this pair, compared to

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the other pairs, of which conversations were mainly guided by self-introduction and questions about each other during their first chat session. The interactive process of finding their commonality demonstrated the building of discourse level alignment between the two peer-age students.

The Second Chat Conversation

This pair's use of cultural knowledge sources (Table 5.3) was very similar to that of the other well-functioning pair (WF1), relying on personal experience, informants' C1 knowledge, and other various sources. In particular, this pair displayed the highest percentage of sharing personal experiences in representing and learning about culture. For example, when Kyungae cited a report that most secondary school students in Korea sleep less than six hours, Isabella expressed her curiosity about Kyungae's personal case, and they both exchanged the information about how many hours they slept. As another example, after a long discussion about the Korean education system and culture, Isabella tried to switch the discussion focus to U.S. education by asking Kyungae if she had any questions about it. Kyungae responded by asking what made her U.S. partner choose her major in economics. Kyungae continued to ask such questions as a way to learn about the U.S. college system, for example, in terms of double-majoring and college life.

In addition, this pair shared personal opinions in presenting their cultural knowledge to a relatively higher percentage (7.8%) than the other well-functioning pair (0.8%). This was because the Korean student added her personal, mostly negative, opinions with regards to the Korean education system. For example, as a first main task comment, Kyungae began with her personal opinion:

Kyungae: but it's sure that Korean students study too much
Kyungae: don't you think so?
Isabella: yes I think so
Isabella: school, academy, study
Kyungae: right..

Having shared her negative evaluation, Kyungae sought her partner's agreement on her opinion. Isabella responded with her agreement, and Kyungae confirmed their opinions with a bare assertion, "right," as if it was accepted truth. Then they discussed issues about the relationship between teacher and student in the two cultures. After hearing that "some teachers were like our friends" from Isabella, Kyungae started to explain Korea's situation by commenting on a problem in terms of teacher-student relationship: "most students don't respect the teachers." After her comments about the "decreasing" teacher authority, she added her own opinion that "i think it's the vicious circle." Then, she simply said that the disrespect toward teachers was worse in public schools rather than in private tutoring institutions, rather than presenting background information to explain the situation (i.e., Korean students generally think that their learning from private institutions is more effective). Then, Kyungae brought up a new topic about bullying, by presenting a few other different Korean terms explaining a bullying phenomenon in Korea. Finally, she reflected her own presentation of Korean educational culture saying that "근데 내가 너무 한국의 나쁜점만 얘기하는 것 같다" [*but, I think, I am talking about negative things about Korea too much*]. Then, Isabella negated her comment saying that the Korean education system had many positive aspects such as outstanding results in international testing.

As such, Kyungae's negative evaluation of her native culture was a particular characteristic of this pair's second chat conversation. This explained why this pair had a relatively high proportion in personal opinion as a knowledge source and in appreciative stancetaking. This characteristic was, however, interestingly contrasted with the first less well-functioning pair (LWF1) that similarly produced many comments coded as Personal Opinion and Negative Appreciation, but whose comments were made when talking about the target culture.

Interestingly, this pair's discussion of the two cultures contained more monoglossic comments than the other well-functioning pair (Table 5.4). This pair produced much more monoglossic + mitigation comments (22.8%) than the other well-functioning pair (6.1%). In the first well-functioning pair (Seungah and Ethan), the sharing of personal experiences functioned to reveal individual variation and difference from generally accepted cultural representation. In contrast, Kyungae and Isabella's shared experiences functioned to confirm generally accepted cultural knowledge. For example, when Isabella expressed curiosity about Korean students' lack of sleep and prevalence of extraneous tutoring outside regular schools, Kyungae confirmed it by sharing her own experience and lifestyle. Answering Kyungae's question about teacher-student relationships in U.S. schools, Isabella similarly showed monoglossic engagement with her knowledge about U.S. education and further supported it with her own schooling experience: for example, "we have lots of free compare to korean high school"; "some teachers were like our friends"; and "we talked and spent time together." Their cultural discussion did not develop into discovering within-culture diversity and complexity.

Less Well-Functioning Pair 1 (LWF1): Heejoo and Tyler

This was a woman-man and high-high L2 proficiency partnership. From a synthesis of my analysis, I would conclude that this pair's problems in communication and relationship building were caused by various reasons: cultural clashes coming from different expectations about communication and logistical problems due to difficulties in scheduling because of the two different time zones and busy college lives.

Their Reflections in Journal Entries

Heejoo completed one journal entry assignment after the first chat session, but she did not for the remaining two. It seems that because of her busy schedule and some problems with the project, she did not have enough motivation to complete the remaining journal entries. Heejoo reflected on their first chat conversation positively, however: "It was a good opportunity to practice English and sharing the cultures as well." Then, she continued to reflect on the topics that they talked about, her partner's high proficiency in his L2, and her realization that they were having L2 learning difficulty in similar linguistic areas. Unfortunately, Tyler did not write any of the required journal entries. It does not seem that Tyler was academically amotivated or demotivated because in the first chat session, he wrote, "I used to be an avid gamer, now I don't really have a hobby and I study all the time for school" and "I don't know American tv shows or dramas" because "unfortunately" he studied "all the time." A few possibilities are feasible. He may have decided not to complete small tasks such as journal entries because the assessment was on a participation basis and he had already earned enough credit. Or, it is also feasible to conjecture that he was not very interested in this project from the beginning or began to

disengage from this project later as he had problems with his partner. In any case, the sheer number of total comments posted in each chat meeting showed their relationship markedly deteriorated in the second and third chat sessions: 173 comments in the first chat, 49 in the second, and 56 in the third chat session (Table 5.5).

Language Functions of Chat Comments

In terms of language functions (Table 5.5), this pair was in stark contrast with the first well-functioning pair (WF1) which was also a woman-man pair. Whereas the well-functioning pair produced the lowest proportion of main task comments and the highest proportion of comments indirectly related to main tasks across all three chat sessions, this less well-functioning pair produced the highest proportion of main task comments and the lowest proportion of comments indirectly related to main tasks across all three chat conversations. These findings seemed to show that this pair was relatively more task-focused rather than attentive to peer interaction. As discussed earlier, the discussions of many task relevant issues characterized the well-functioning pair: for example, discussing how to communicate through other SNS channels, how to exchange peer feedback via e-mail or KakaoTalk, how to address class requirements, and how they reflected on the project tasks. In contrast, this less well-functioning pair produced none such comments.

Other interesting findings about social functions of language, supporting their task-focused orientation, were that this less well-functioning pair posted none of the comments discussing their L2 learning issues as the first well-functioning pair did: for example, talking about past L2 learning experiences, difficulty or anxiety in L2 learning, or proficiency or typing skill issues. In addition, whereas the well-functioning pair began

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and ended each of their chat meetings with small talk, this less well-functioning pair

showed no such small talk that could have helped with coordinated social interaction.

Many comments containing small talk were found in their third chat conversation, but the

comments were made when they had finished their main task of feedback exchange too

early and started talking about their opinions regarding how to improve current education

systems, a topic that was not directly related to feedback exchange and revision. The lack

of social functions in their comments was also evidenced in the ways they ended their

conversations abruptly without any greetings or closings in the second chat meeting:

> 21:54 Tyler: 저한테 물어보고싶은 질문 있으싶니까? [*do you have any more questions*]
>
> 21:58 Heejoo: 미국 시스템도 타일러씨가 말한 것 처럼 단점이 있겠지만, 아이들의 권리를 우선 생각한 다는 점 에서 좋다고 생각합니다. 물론 학업 증ㅈ실력을 늘리기 위해서는 보다 노력을 해야 겠죠. 너무 뒤쳐지는 아이들이 없도록 말이에요. 하지만 그건 한국에서도 같은 문제이기도 합니다. *[like you said, although the U.S. system has some negatives, I think the system also has positives in that it prioritizes students' rights. Of course, there should be more efforts in improving academic achievement. So that children will not be left behind. But, it's the same issue in Korea.]*
>
> 22:35 Heejoo: 특별히 없습니다. 그럼 이쯤에서 마무리 할까요? [*Not really. Shall we wrap up now?*]

The U.S. student asked if his partner had any more questions, but it seems that he then

left the chat room without indicating his leaving or posting a good-bye comment. After

sharing her thoughts about the two education systems, the Korean student did not post

any more comments for over 30 minutes. After 30 minutes had passed, Heejoo posted her

response to her partner's question, and then no more comments were posted from both

sides.

Attitudinal Stance

This pair's aggravated relationship and tensions across the three chat meetings were also evident in their affective stancetaking (Table 5.6). They began with a higher than average level of affective stancetaking (18%) in the first chat. Both students used many emoticons (e.g., ^^; ㅠㅠ; T_T) and truncated letters expressing laughing (e.g., haha, ㅋㅋ, ㅎㅎ). Heejoo also actively shared her feelings about her stressful college life: e.g., "저도 내일 발표있는데 준비가 덜 되어서 걱정이에요 ㅠㅠ" [*I too have a presentation, but I am not ready yet, so I am worried*] and "취업 때문에 부담되요.ㅠㅠ" [*I am pressured about my job search*]. Such affective stancetaking noticeably decreased in the next two chat conversations. Proportions of affective stancetaking dropped to 2% in the second chat and 7% in the third chat. Overall, this pair's mean proportion of affective stancetaking was the lowest among the four pairs. In contrast, they took appreciative stances more frequently than any other pair in all three chats. This type of stancetaking occurred when they shared their evaluation of what is desirable or important regarding a phenomenon: e.g., Tyler wrote, "아 대학교 인생 너무 힘들죠" [*ah, college life is so hard*]. Such value-laden evaluative comments were noticeably frequent in the second chat conversation, in which they discussed the two cultures' education systems, at the proportion of about 33% of the entire comments.

The First Chat Conversation

Heejoo and Tyler's discussion topics were similar to the other pairs: major,

college year, travel experiences, past L2 learning experience, college life, plans for future

career, hobbies, pop culture, and travel plans. When it came to the topic of college life,

they seemed to align themselves with each other and showed affective stancetaking.

However, in terms of the other topics, they did not seem to find a topic about which they

shared much in common. The following excerpt showed the tendency:

> Tyler: I used to be an avid gamer, now I don't really have a hobby and I study all
>   the time for school
> …
> Tyler: I used to play Warcraft 3 and Starcraft 2
> Tyler: typical Korean
> Heejoo: haha you are!
> Heejoo: I played Starcraft too
> Tyler: However I don't do anything Koreans do
> Heejoo: but always with the cheat keys
> Tyler: Some of my friends who are not Korean does more Korean things than I do
>   -_-
> Tyler: hahahaha
> Heejoo: Like what?
> Tyler: Watching the latest Korean drama, who the latest Korean popstar, all the
>   Korean food, and so on
> Heejoo: You don't like the food ?
> Heejoo: Korean food??
> Heejoo: haha yes Korean singers are popular even to foriegners!
> Tyler: I eat Korean food, but I don't know all of them!
> Tyler: I feel like Korean culture is expanding very quickly
> Heejoo: Yes by the songs and dramas
> Heejoo: I watch American drama too
> Tyler: I just don't watch tv haha
> Heejoo: The office, Modern Fam...
> Tyler: I don't know American tv shows or dramas either
> Heejoo: Really
> Tyler: I've heard of all of them
> Heejoo: you just study!!?
> Tyler: unfortunately
> Heejoo: T_Tsad
> Heejoo: how about movies
> Tyler: life of an electrical engineer

> Tyler: I rarely go to the movies too haha
> Heejoo: T_T ....

When Tyler mentioned that he used to play a computer game as a hobby, Heejoo said that she had played the same computer game, too. However, before they could extend their discussion around this topic, Tyler quickly presented himself as a person not doing "anything Koreans do." This comment quickly ended the topic about computer gaming, although Heejoo wanted to elaborate on this topic more by explaining how she had played the game. Upon Tyler's mention of Korean pop-culture, Heejoo again tried to find a common ground by saying that "I watch American drama too." However, Tyler responded that he did not watch American dramas or movies because he was busy studying, by defining himself as living the typical "life of an electrical engineer." This difficulty in finding commonality between them seemed related to the findings that this pair's interaction completely lacked the comments that could have functioned to help them to find commonalities as being L2 learners (L2 Learning Experience) and as participating in the same project (Further Communication, Task Issues, and Task Experience).

The Second Chat Conversation

The second chat conversation showed several features unique to this pair in terms of their use of cultural knowledge sources (Table 5.3). This pair's reliance on personal opinion, not based on any extraneous evidence, was the highest among the four pairs. For example, to Heejoo's question about the advantages and disadvantages of U.S. education system, Tyler responded with the following answer: "미국 학교들은 애들한태 한국처럼

안잡아서 혼내지도 않고 그냥 나뚜니까 문재라고생각합니다" [*I think the problem is that*

U.S. schools do not discipline or scold students as much as Korea but the schools just

leave the students to their own devices]. As a response, Heejoo also shared her opinion

about the U.S. education: "미국 시스템도 타일러씨가 말한 것 처럼 단점이 있겠지만,

아이들의 권리를 우선 생각한 다는 점 에서 좋다고 생각합니다. 물론 학업 증ㅈ실력을

늘리기 위해서는 보다 노력을 해야 겠죠. 너무 뒤쳐지는 아이들이 없도록 말이에요. 하지만

그건 한국에서도 같은 문제이기도 합니다" [*like you said, although the U.S. system has*

some negatives, I think the system also has positives in that it prioritizes students' rights.

Of course, there should be more efforts in improving academic achievement. So that

children will not be left behind. But, it's the same issue in Korea.]. The highest

percentage of personal opinion explained their highest percentage of appreciative

stancetaking among all 12 chat conversations of the four focal pairs (Table 5.6). About

one-third of their entire comments contained appreciative stancetaking toward cultural

phenomena.

Along with reliance on personal opinion, these two students did not produce a

single comment referring to other knowledge sources, such as the Internet or pop-culture

materials. In addition, their sharing of personal experience was the lowest among the four

pairs. Interestingly, they rarely asked about each other's personal experience. Tyler's

limited sharing of his experiences functioned to confirm generally accepted cultural

knowledge. For example, explaining the relative easiness of U.S. schools, Tyler wrote

that "even in high school I was very ahead and finished most of my classes so I only went to school for two hours a day," a comment showing monoglossic engagement. By contrast, Heejoo's sharing of her experiences showed heteroglossic engagement with cultural knowledge. For example, sharing her current field practicum experience, Heejoo noted some changes in the Korean education system that reflected a more nuanced knowledge against the generally accepted notion about the high emphasis on studying in Korea: "조금 더 자유로운 분위기로 변했고, 학교 또한 아이들의 진로나 취미 계발을 위해 많은 프로그램을 진행중이고, 아이들도 학교를 보다 즐겁고 편안한 장소로 생각하고 있어요" [*It has changed to an atmosphere of more freedom, and schools are offering programs to help students enjoy hobbies or develop skills for their future career, and the students are thinking of school as a place that is more enjoyable and comfortable*]. These two students showed different attitudes and engagement toward cultural knowledge. In addition, their cultural knowledge was not responded to or expanded upon by their partners, and their personal experiences were not taken up by their partners in reactive ways.

The most obvious feature of this conversation was a lack of meaningful interaction between the two students. First, whereas 15% of the well-functioning group's main task comments were questions asking about the target culture or the partner's personal experience, about 30% of the main task comments in this less well-functioning pair were such questions (Table 5.3). This was because they did not elaborate on sharing cultural knowledge, so comments with questions made up a large portion of the entire

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comments. In addition, their conversation did not show back-and-forth interaction

between two interlocutors in which comments are meaningfully connected with previous

comments. In addition, their comments had a tendency of being a long sentence(s) with

complex syntax, containing a complete idea, unlike the well-functioning pairs whose

comments were shorter and built upon previous comments. I interpreted this evidence as

indicating this pair's misaligned or disengaged interaction. The following excerpt showed

the less well-functioning pair's lack of such interactive features:

> 21:01 Heejoo: What did you feel about the Korean school?
> 21:01 Heejoo: Studying long hours, on pressure..
> 21:01 Tyler: I think Korean system is very uptight I'm not quite sure about college I heard you do have freedom one you reach college
> 21:01 Tyler: and yes studying up all night tonight and tomorrow night
> 21:04 Heejoo: yes, the system is, and also students get to go more institutes for futher and intensive s tudy
> 21:04 Heejoo: Then they have a big exam on thje last year of high school, which will affect the university they can apply.
> 21:05 Heejoo: So most students are so stressful about preparing the exam then they tend to think more casually about university life afterwards.
> 21:07 Heejoo: But it's kind of opposite there, isn't it? I heard it used to be very difficult to graduate the uni if you don't work hard.
> 21:21 Heejoo: Do you remember anything special from your highschool? something that would be different to Korea?
> 21:21 Tyler: yes it is very true! some majors require less than others, but if you go to a compeititve university generally than it is difficult if you don't try
> 21:22 Tyler: and in American colleges you have so much freedom that if you don't manage your freedom wisely, then it's easy to not to go to class and such then ultimately fail out
> 21:22 Tyler: even in high school I was very ahead and finished most of my classes so I only went to school for two hours a day
> 21:23 Tyler: with so much time you really lose a sense of responsibility sometimes
> 21:23 Tyler: what about you? the same question
> 21:24 Heejoo: Yes it is the same here. but some freshmen cannot concentrate on their study as they think they deserve some freedom

This excerpt came from the very beginning of the second chat meeting. To Heejoo's question asking about any thoughts on Korean education, Tyler responded with two comments. Then, Heejoo shared her general knowledge about Korean education over four consecutive comments. When Tyler did not post any comments for several minutes, Heejoo stopped posting, and there was a break of 14 minutes when neither of them produced any comments. When Heejoo posted another comment, Tyler resumed by posting five comments consecutively, and then Heejoo took a turn of writing several comments again. This turn-taking pattern of one person writing several consecutive comments at once continued throughout their second chat and even to the third chat, regardless of the language being used. As can be seen in the excerpt, many of their comments were complete sentences with relatively complete ideas. This focus on delivering complete ideas with a lack of interactional features explained the stance finding that 71% of their main task comments showed explicit stancetaking toward cultural knowledge, whereas less than 50% of main task comments contained such stancetaking in the other three pairs (Table 5.4). Based on these findings, I characterize this pair's interaction as closer to written prose, unlike the first well-functioning pair's interactive conversation that looked more similar to face-to-face communication.

Less Well-Functioning Pair 2 (LWF2): Karam and Madison

This was a woman-woman and low-low L2 proficiency partnership. My analysis revealed that insufficient L2 proficiencies and certain clashes in communication expectations may have caused a certain level of dissonance in their experiences and communication.

Their Reflections in Journal Entries

This pair's first chat experiences seemed generally positive and experienced similarly by the two students. After the first chat meeting, Karam's ratings of enjoyment and usefulness were 6 and 5, and Madison's ratings were 6 and 6. However, like many other Korean students, Karam commented on the difficulty in scheduling and communicating with her partners abroad. She continued to comment on their insufficient L2 proficiencies and typing skills, saying that this made both L2 production and understanding difficult. Because their L2 production took some time, they sometimes missed opportune moments to post their comments. Otherwise, Karam expressed that she was positive about meeting a new friend and conversing in the two languages. Madison's reflections were also positive saying that their communication went well and finding it helpful to speak to someone who speaks Korean natively.

After the second chat meeting, Madison's ratings remained the same from her first chat reflection: 6 for both enjoyment and usefulness. She wrote that she liked the conversation and the communication went well, and her reflection did not show any frustration or feel difficulty. However, Karam's ratings dropped noticeably: 3 for both enjoyment and usefulness. She wrote, "Because I do not know about American education system well, I had many questions. But I could not solve all of the questions due to difficulties in communicating and lack of time." Her expectations to learn about U.S. education seemed not to be satisfied because the two students had a difficult time in communicating their thoughts fully. With regards to their third chat meeting, Karam seemed to enjoy it better than the second one and evaluated its usefulness at the highest

score: 4 for enjoyment and 7 for usefulness. Karam wrote, "Whenever I wrote an essay, I was unsure about grammar and appropriacy of vocabulary. Through this chatting, my partner gave me feedback about these and it was very helpful. I think editing mutual essays is more meaningful than just chatting." Because her partner's feedback helped with her low confidence in her usage of grammar and vocabulary in her L2 essay, she evaluated that the task of peer feedback exchange was more meaningful than free conversations. Madison rated her enjoyment of the third chat as 6 and her perceived usefulness as 7. Madison's reflections were not very different from her previous two journal entries. She wrote that their communication had gone very well and that she enjoyed the chatting. A question still remains as to the reason why Karam's enjoyment of the three chat conversations was relatively lower than that of Madison, especially for the second chat conversation.

Language Functions of Chat Comments

In terms of language functions (Table 5.5), two main features characterized this pair's communication. First, Karam and Madison produced comments showing meaning negotiation the most frequently among the four pairs. Considering that the first well-functioning pair, of a low-low L2 proficiency partnership, showed the second highest proportion of meaning-negotiation comments, this meaning-negotiation function seemed to ensue from their relatively insufficient L2 proficiencies and ensuing difficulty in communication. Such comments occurred when communication breakdowns occurred either from understanding a difficult utterance produced by the native speaker or an incorrect utterance produced by the L2 learner. Such meaning-negotiation sequences

usually began through clarification requests or questions asking about the meaning of an

L2 word or phrase. The following excerpt, coming from the first chat conversation, is an

example of clarification request:

> Madison: Don't a lot of Korean phones have video call?
> Karam: video call? No many Korean phones have video call!
> Madison: Huh? Like they do or do not?
> Karam: many Korean phones have video call!
> Madison: Oh okay haha I see

The first example showed that Madison's negative polar question in English caused such

confusion to her partner that Karam produced a comment that contained both a negative

and positive answer. Not clearly understanding the accurate meaning, Madison requested

a clarification of the answer. The number of instances showing such meaning negotiation

increased over the three chat sessions. It seems that as topics became increasingly more

difficult in the later tasks, they had more difficulty in understanding each other and

communicating their own meanings. Their third chatting for feedback exchange had the

highest proportion of meaning-negotiation comments among all 12 chat conversations.

However, the other functions helping with main task discussions were relatively

less frequently used by this pair: for example, comments discussing task requirements or

informal communication. In particular, the Footing function was used in only one

comment produced when Karam first posted a question in her L1 ("한국 교육방식에 대해

궁금한 건 없어?-?"), but concluding that the sentence might be difficult for her partner to

understand, she rewrote a part of the question in English: "Korean education system!"

Thus, this footing function was not used well by the native speaker partners to prevent a

communication breakdown. The lack of native speakers' consideration for aligning understandings was also evident when they exchanged information about their majors. Karam first introduced her major in the following way: "MIS – it's a major in business, have you heard of it?" As her partner gave a negative answer and asked for more information, she then explained that "So it stands for management of information systems, and it's focused around information technology."

Comments having social functions were made the least frequently in this pair. They produced the least amount of phatic expressions among the four pairs. In that phatic expressions played an important role in showing interlocutors' engagement and social presence in the interaction, the lack of phatic functions seemed to make this pair's interactions relatively drier. Other comments functioning toward social cohesion or alignment between two partners were also lacking in their interaction just like the other less well-functioning pair. In the first chat conversation, they produced a few comments apologizing for their low L2 and typing skills. However, in the other two chat conversations, they did not share such social comments about their L2 learning experiences, difficulty, or anxiety at all. In addition, this pair rarely engaged in small talk. Usually, they directly went into their main task comments after sharing very brief greetings and ended their conversations with brief closings. With the lack of social comments that might have worked toward alignment and two-way interaction, this pair's interaction looked relatively more task-oriented and drier, although they did not show obvious problems in communication.

Attitudinal Stance

The proportion of attitudinal stancetaking across all three chats was about 16%, being much lower than any other pair or the mean which was 27.5% (Table 5.6). Their attitudinal stancetaking was relatively low for all types of attitude: affect, appreciation, judgement, and agreement. This less frequent disclosure of attitudinal stance might have caused their chat conversations to feel more task-oriented and business-like. In particular, they showed no stancetaking in the types of appreciation, judgment, and agreement during the feedback exchange. However, their positive affective stancetaking was relatively high in this third chat, evidence supporting their relatively more positive perceptions about the feedback exchange task compared to the previous two chat sessions.

The First Chat Conversation

I will explain several interesting discourse features characteristic of this pair by referring to the following except coming from the beginning of the first chat conversation.

20 Madison: What university do you attend?
21 Karam: XXX women's university. Do you know ?
22 Madison: No I've never heard of it - where's it located?
23 Madison: So is it an all girls college?
24 Karam: Seoul! Yes. all girls...
25 Karam: Why are you taking Korean class?
26 Madison: Have you always lived in Seoul? And wow okay I don't know if
          there's any all girls universities here
27 Madison: I mean there are all girls dorms on campus but that's all I've heard of
28 Madison: Do you like having only girls at school?
29 Karam: I am living Ilsan. I don't like it :(
30 Karam: I want boys...!
31 Karam: Do you have a boyfriend?
32 Madison: Ilsan? How far is that from Seoul? And hahaha yeah I can see that :(
33 Madison: Did your parents send you to an all girls school?
34 Madison: Oh also, I do have a boyfriend haha; do you?
35 Karam: It takes about 90minutes to go to seoul from Ilsan.
36 Karam: wow I envy you. I don't have a boyfriend...
37 Karam: How old are you?
38 Madison: Wow that's so far...how early do you have to leave from school then?

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39 Madison: And all in good time ~ how old are you?
40 Madison: Honestly many college relationships aren't that meaningful at least
　　　　here
41 Madison: Oh wow haha we asked the same question; I'm 19!
42 Karam: I should wake up at 6am when the class starts 9am.
43 Karam: I'm 2 4..!
44 Madison: I think older guys are better anyways ~ have you ever had a
　　　　boyfriend?
45 Karam: Yes. I have had 6months ago..
46 Madison: Oh my gosh...3 hours before that's ridiculous
47 Karam: ㅜ.ㅜ
48 Madison: Oh okay I see; you're the same age as my sister!!
49 Madison: When did you start attending your university?

Their interaction showed simple repetition of question-response patterns in which one

topic was not expanded but instead new questions were continuously asked. Sometimes, a

new question was asked even when the previous question had not yet been answered. For

example, at #22, Madison asked where her partner's university was located, and then,

before even hearing the answer, she posted another question asking if the university was

an all girls school in the next comment, #23. As a result, some of their questions were

missed: e.g., Karam's question at #25, "Why are you taking Korean class?" They often

included an answer to a previous question and a new question in the same comment: e.g.,

Madison at #26, "Have you always lived in Seoul? And wow okay I don't know if there's

any all girls universities here." As a result, their conversation displayed multiple

questions or topics being discussed simultaneously. I tried to show this pattern visually

by screen-capturing my coding stripes as shown in my NVivo program window. For

comparison purposes, I additionally screen-captured a segment from the first well-

functioning pair's first chat conversation. Figure 5.1 includes two screen-captured images

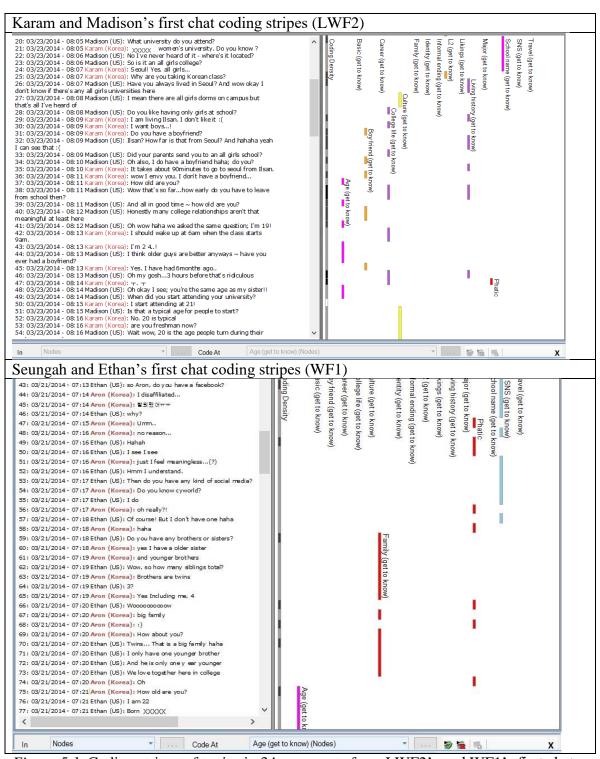each having the same number of comments, that is, 34 comments.

Karam and Madison's first chat coding stripes (LWF2)

20: 03/23/2014 - 08:05 Madison (US): What university do you attend?
21: 03/23/2014 - 08:05 Karam (Korea): XXXXX women's university. Do you know ?
22: 03/23/2014 - 08:06 Madison (US): No I've never heard of it - where's it located?
23: 03/23/2014 - 08:06 Madison (US): So is it an all girls college?
24: 03/23/2014 - 08:07 Karam (Korea): Seoul! Yes. all girls...
25: 03/23/2014 - 08:07 Karam (Korea): Why are you taking Korean class?
26: 03/23/2014 - 08:07 Madison (US): Have you always lived in Seoul? And wow okay I don't know if there's any all girls universities here
27: 03/23/2014 - 08:08 Madison (US): I mean there are all girls dorms on campus but that's all I've heard of
28: 03/23/2014 - 08:08 Madison (US): Do you like having only girls at school?
29: 03/23/2014 - 08:09 Karam (Korea): I am living Ilsan. I don't like it :(
30: 03/23/2014 - 08:09 Karam (Korea): I want boys...!
31: 03/23/2014 - 08:09 Madison (US): Do you have a boyfriend?
32: 03/23/2014 - 08:09 Madison (US): Ilsan? How far is that from Seoul? And hahaha yeah I can see that :(
33: 03/23/2014 - 08:09 Madison (US): Did your parents send you to an all girls school?
34: 03/23/2014 - 08:10 Madison (US): Oh also, I do have a boyfriend haha; do you?
35: 03/23/2014 - 08:10 Karam (Korea): It takes about 90minutes to go to seoul from Ilsan.
36: 03/23/2014 - 08:11 Karam (Korea): wow I envy you. I don't have a boyfriend...
37: 03/23/2014 - 08:11 Karam (Korea): How old are you?
38: 03/23/2014 - 08:11 Madison (US): Wow that's so far...how early do you have to leave from school then?
39: 03/23/2014 - 08:11 Madison (US): And all in good time ~ how old are you?
40: 03/23/2014 - 08:12 Madison (US): Honestly many college relationships aren't that meaningful at least here
41: 03/23/2014 - 08:12 Madison (US): Oh wow haha we asked the same question; I'm 19!
42: 03/23/2014 - 08:13 Karam (Korea): I should wake up at 6am when the class starts 9am.
43: 03/23/2014 - 08:13 Karam (Korea): I'm 2 4..!
44: 03/23/2014 - 08:13 Madison (US): I think older guys are better anyways ~ have you ever had a boyfriend?
45: 03/23/2014 - 08:13 Karam (Korea): Yes. I have had 6months ago..
46: 03/23/2014 - 08:13 Madison (US): Oh my gosh...3 hours before that's ridiculous
47: 03/23/2014 - 08:14 Karam (Korea): ㅜ.ㅜ
48: 03/23/2014 - 08:14 Madison (US): Oh okay I see; you're the same age as my sister!!
49: 03/23/2014 - 08:14 Madison (US): When did you start attending your university?
50: 03/23/2014 - 08:15 Karam (Korea): I start attending at 21!
51: 03/23/2014 - 08:15 Madison (US): Is that a typical age for people to start?
52: 03/23/2014 - 08:16 Karam (Korea): No. 20 is typical
53: 03/23/2014 - 08:16 Karam (Korea): are you freshman now?
54: 03/23/2014 - 08:16 Madison (US): Wait wow, 20 is the age people turn during their

Coding Density | Basic (get to know) | Career (get to know) | Family (get to know) | Identity (get to know) | Informal ending (get to know) | L2 (get to know) | Likings (get to know) | Living history (get to know) | Major (get to know) | School name (get to know) | SNS (get to know) | Travel (get to know) | Culture (get to know) | College life (get to know) | Boy friend (get to know) | Age (get to know) | Phatic

In | Nodes | ... | Code At | Age (get to know) (Nodes) | ... | X

Seungah and Ethan's first chat coding stripes (WF1)

43: 03/21/2014 - 07:13 Ethan (US): so Aron, do you have a facebook?
44: 03/21/2014 - 07:14 Aron (Korea): I disaffiliated...
45: 03/21/2014 - 07:14 Aron (Korea): 철회했어ㅠㅠ
46: 03/21/2014 - 07:14 Ethan (US): why?
47: 03/21/2014 - 07:15 Aron (Korea): Umm..
48: 03/21/2014 - 07:16 Aron (Korea): no reason...
49: 03/21/2014 - 07:16 Ethan (US): Hahah
50: 03/21/2014 - 07:16 Ethan (US): I see I see
51: 03/21/2014 - 07:16 Aron (Korea): just I feel meaningless...(?)
52: 03/21/2014 - 07:16 Ethan (US): Hmm I understand.
53: 03/21/2014 - 07:17 Ethan (US): Then do you have any kind of social media?
54: 03/21/2014 - 07:17 Aron (Korea): Do you know cyworld?
55: 03/21/2014 - 07:17 Ethan (US): I do
56: 03/21/2014 - 07:17 Aron (Korea): oh really?!
57: 03/21/2014 - 07:18 Ethan (US): Of course! But I don't have one haha
58: 03/21/2014 - 07:18 Aron (Korea): haha
59: 03/21/2014 - 07:18 Ethan (US): Do you have any brothers or sisters?
60: 03/21/2014 - 07:18 Aron (Korea): yes I have a older sister
61: 03/21/2014 - 07:19 Aron (Korea): and younger brothers
62: 03/21/2014 - 07:19 Ethan (US): Wow, so how many siblings total?
63: 03/21/2014 - 07:19 Aron (Korea): Brothers are twins
64: 03/21/2014 - 07:19 Ethan (US): 3?
65: 03/21/2014 - 07:19 Aron (Korea): Yes Including me, 4
66: 03/21/2014 - 07:20 Ethan (US): Wooooooooow
67: 03/21/2014 - 07:20 Aron (Korea): big family
68: 03/21/2014 - 07:20 Aron (Korea): :)
69: 03/21/2014 - 07:20 Aron (Korea): How about you?
70: 03/21/2014 - 07:20 Ethan (US): Twins... That is a big family haha
71: 03/21/2014 - 07:20 Ethan (US): I only have one younger brother
72: 03/21/2014 - 07:20 Ethan (US): And he is only one year younger
73: 03/21/2014 - 07:20 Ethan (US): We love together here in college
74: 03/21/2014 - 07:20 Aron (Korea): Oh
75: 03/21/2014 - 07:21 Aron (Korea): How old are you?
76: 03/21/2014 - 07:21 Ethan (US): I am 22
77: 03/21/2014 - 07:21 Ethan (US): Born XXXXX

Coding Density | Basic (get to know) | Boy friend (get to know) | Career (get to know) | College life (get to know) | Culture (get to know) | Identity (get to know) | Informal ending (get to know) | Likings (get to know) | Living history (get to know) | Major (get to know) | School name (get to know) | SNS (get to know) | Travel (get to know) | Phatic | Family (get to know) | Age (get to know)

In | Nodes | ... | Code At | Age (get to know) (Nodes) | ... | X

Figure 5.1. Coding stripes of topics in 34 comments from LWF2's and WF1's first chat transcripts (Source: screen-captured images from my NVivo analysis)

As can be seen in the figure, within the same number of comments, Karam and Madison talked about eight different topics, whereas the well-functioning pair discussed three different topics. The coding stripes in the first image showed multiple topics being discussed simultaneously. In contrast, the coding stripes in the second image showed that the well-functioning pair seemed relatively more focused on and expanded the current topics. Their long continuous stripes demonstrated their focus on one topic at a time, whereas the phatic coding stripe did not mean that different topics were introduced but rather indicated their use of interactional devices. This pattern of question-response being repeated, found in the Karam and Madison pair, continued through their Korean conversation. Although their discussion of multiple topics simultaneously could partly be attributable to the affordances of synchronous chatting, these repeated sequences of question-response pattern gave the impression that their interaction seemed like a formal interview with many questions to be answered.

Another interesting characteristic of this conversation was that the U.S. student used lexical absolutes (e.g., all, never, at all, any, only) much more frequently than her Korean partner. It seemed that she used such absolutes relatively more frequently than any other student in the other pairs. Although Ethan in the first well-functioning pair similarly used lexical absolutes many times, it was only in his second chat conversation, and his absolutes, used to talk about his native culture, functioned to discount his partner's myths about U.S. culture. In contrast, Madison used lexical absolutes to express her own reactions to personal or cultural situations around her Korean partner. This type of reaction was often accompanied by short emotive expressions that seemed to show her

surprise at learning about Korean culture and her partner. For example, as to Karam's question of whether she had heard of her university, Madison replied that "No I've never heard of it." Learning that Karam's university is a girls' university, Madison again posted a reaction sounding strong: "And wow okay I don't know if there's any all girls universities here." Hearing that Karam usually had to wake up three hours before her class because of her long commute to school, Madison again expressed strong surprise: "Oh my gosh…3 hours before that's ridiculous!" In contrast, Karam did not use such lexical absolutes or emotive expressions showing surprise at discovering differences with her partner. It could be conjectured that these different communication styles between the partners might have caused them to perceive their communication experiences differently.

Another interesting finding shown in Figure 5.1 was the use of phatic expressions. Within the 34 comment segment, this less well-functioning pair produced only one phatic expression (as Karam posted, "ㅜ. ㅜ"). In contrast, the well-functioning pair showed the use of diverse phatic functions: showing that the listener was following what the partner was saying (e.g., "I see I see"); promoting further speaking (e.g., "oh really?!"); and sharing a short emotive expression as a reaction to the partner's comments (e.g., "haha"). This finding further supported my conclusion that this pair's communication lacked interactional features that may have functioned to help with peer relationship building and two-way interaction and thus sounded relatively more task-oriented.

The first chat conversation also had an interesting instance that contrasted with a similar discussion found in the well-functioning group. Hearing that Karam wanted to be

a teacher at the high school rather than middle school level, Madison asked back if that

was because high school students would be easier to teach:

> Karam: No. but I prefer to High school.
> Madison: Just because the kids are easier to handle?
> Karam: High school students are not kids. I think kids are hard to handle.
> Madison: I see; I think freshmen in high school are still like kids haha

This seeming dissonance in their thoughts occurred because of the different semantic

boundaries that they assumed regarding the English word *kids*. The word's counterpart in

Korean refers only to preschool or lower-level elementary school children. I particularly

noted Madison's use of the word "easier to handle." This expression could have given the

Korean student an impression that her partner was depreciating her teaching preference as

chosen because high school students would be "easier" than other grade levels. This

reaction seemed to have caused some tension because of how the partner understood it. In

any case, the reaction did not seem to be an attempt to sympathize with or encourage the

partner's decision. A similar example contrasting with this instance came from the

second well-functioning pair (WF2). Hearing her Korean partner wanted to teach at the

college level, Isabella responded, "professor? that's great." Also, learning that her partner

was double-majoring, Isabella sent a sympathizing response: "힘들겠다 두 배로" [*it must*

be hard, twice more].

The Second Chat Conversation

The interactional patterns found in the first chat conversation were also found in

the second chat conversation: repetitions of a simple question-response pattern, multiple

topics discussed simultaneously, and more than one idea posted in one comment. The

results of cultural knowledge sources also supported these findings about their interactional patterns (Table 5.3). This pair displayed the highest percentage of comments asking questions about the partner and partner's culture (34%), much higher than the mean of the well-functioning group (16%). This result supported the qualitative finding that this less well-functioning pair produced many question-response sequences rather than having deeper engagement with fewer topics. Other characteristics were that like the other less well-functioning pair (LWF1), this pair also had a relatively high proportion of personal opinions and no reliance on other sources such as information from the Internet or pop-culture materials.

The reliance on a limited number of types of cultural knowledge sources seemed related to another finding about stancetaking: their highest level of monoglossic engagement with cultural knowledge among the four pairs (Table 5.4). Their comments explaining native cultures mostly functioned to confirm the general knowledge that their partners had or to provide their partners more information, and their discussion about culture mostly focused on contrasting the two cultures. For example, Karam confirmed Madison's general knowledge that Korean high school students had longer school hours and tougher daily schedules than U.S. students. After all, their discussion did not work toward discovering cultural diversity or complexity.

Another interesting feature of the interaction was an abrupt wrap-up of their conversation, a feature similarly found in the other less well-functioning pair.

Karam: 너가 본 기사는 뭐였어? [*what was the news article that you read?*]
Madison: 기사? 열시 되었다! 미안 하지만 수업 가기 준비 좀 하야대 :([*an article? Now it's 10. Sorry, but I have to go to prepare for my class*]

Karam: 아 그렇구나 [*ah, I see*]

Karam: 그래 다음에 또 채팅하자 [*okay, then, I'll talk to you next time*]

Madison: 응!! 안녕 ~~ [*okay, bye*]

Karam asked about the news article that Madison had read in class, but Madison replied by requesting a clarification for the Korean word, 기사, meaning a news article. However, before this communication breakdown was resolved, Madison expressed her intention to leave the chat conversation as soon as their one-hour requirement was fulfilled. Like the other less well-functioning pair, the informal communication and relationship building beyond the academic realm and required tasks were not found in this pair.

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

The cross-case analysis based on a coding-and-counting approach revealed several interactional features that set apart the well-functioning group and the less well-functioning group. The well-functioning group produced many more comments in all language functions: main task comments, comments managing tasks and conversations, and comments with social functions. In terms of comment proportions within each transcript, the less well-functioning group was relatively more focused on main task discussion, whereas the well-functioning group displayed a lower percentage of producing main task comments but higher percentages of other various language functions. The well-functioning group demonstrated more aligned understandings about tasks by discussing class requirements and sharing experiences and feelings pertaining to the current project. Explicit discussions of task issues and experiences can also be seen as

indicators of reflection during the interactions. The features showing aligned relationship building included extended informal communication outside the required chat sessions and setup of common understanding before discussing a new topic. In addition, the well-functioning group exhibited the use of diverse social functions. The frequent use of phatic expressions demonstrated the students' engagement and social presence in the interactions, supplementing the absence of interactional cues in such a text-based communication. The well-functioning group also showed many examples of alignment in L2 learner identities by sharing L2 experiences, difficulties, and proficiency issues. Small talk found more frequently in the well-functioning group played a social function of lubricating the discourse transitions between diverse topics and language functions.

In terms of evaluative language use, overall, the well-functioning pairs displayed affective and agreeing stancetaking more frequently than the less well-functioning pairs, focusing on establishing intersubjectivity with partners. In contrast, the less well-functioning group showed more frequent stancetaking in evaluating a phenomenon, focusing on the topic at hand. When discussing the educational cultures of the two countries, the well-functioning group relied on more diverse sources and engaged in more in-depth discussions of culture. In contrast, the less well-functioning group used less diverse sources of knowledge, sharing personal opinions relatively more and asking many questions that were not expanded into in-depth discussions. With the use of more diverse knowledge sources and more nuanced approaches to cultural learning, the well-functioning group's discussion tended to exhibit more heteroglossic engagement with cultural knowledge, focusing on cultural diversity and complexity. In contrast, the less

well-functioning group's discussion showed monoglossic engagement with cultural knowledge, where the sharing of cultural knowledge and personal experience tended to confirm stereotypical notions about culture.

The case analysis of the four focal pairs confirmed the across-case findings discussed above and also revealed within-case characteristics. The two woman-man partnerships showed several contrasting patterns in the interaction. Among the four pairs, the first well-functioning pair (WF1: Seungah and Ethan) produced the lowest percentage of main task comments, but the highest percentages of task issue discussion, task experience and L2 learning experience sharing, and small talk. This pair was also characterized by the highest percentage of affective stancetaking. In stark contrast, the first less well-functioning pair (LWF1: Heejoo and Tyler) produced the highest percentage of main task comments, but the lowest percentages of task issue discussion, task experience and L2 learning experience sharing, and comments about informal communication. This pair's interaction displayed the lowest proportion of affective stancetaking, showing their aggravated relationship around the second chat meeting. However, this pair used appreciative stance at the highest proportion by sharing many personal opinions and evaluative comments about cultural phenomena. Overall, the well-functioning pair used sufficient interactional markers evidencing aligned and focused engagement with the current tasks and partners, and their interactive communication looked relatively closer to face-to-face communication. In contrast, the less well-functioning pair's conversations lacked two-way interactional features, each comment containing long, multiple sentences with complex syntax, and each person posting several

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consecutive comments at a time. Thus, this pair's interaction was relatively more prose-like.

The other two pairs were woman-woman partnerships and also exhibited several contrasting characteristics in the interaction. The second well-functioning pair (WF2: Kyungae and Isabella) produced the largest amount of talk among the four pairs. This was partly due to their high L2 proficiencies and also due to their aligned peer-relationship building. In many instances, the students aligned themselves around their common L2 identities, by sharing L2 learning experiences and considering each other's difficulty in L2 communication. They easily found commonality between themselves as age-peers. In addition, the way that a new discussion topic latched on a previous topic demonstrated the building of discourse-level alignment and engagement in the interaction. In contrast, the second less well-functioning pair's (LWF2: Karam and Madison) interaction looked more task-oriented and formal interview-like. Their conversations were repetitions of a simple question-response pattern, in which many questions were asked but were not fully expanded. This pair used the social functions of language the least frequently among the four pairs, thus the interaction lacked features important to social cohesion and alignment. In addition, this pair showed the lowest attitudinal stancetaking, making the interaction more task-oriented and drier. The highest proportion of meaning-negotiation sequences also characterized this pair, largely due to their low L2 proficiencies.

With the available data in my study design, it is difficult to determine to what extent individual pairs' unique characteristics were attributable to motivational and

personality issues or to cultural differences. However, I found it noteworthy that several

interactional patterns that set apart the well-functioning group and the less well-

functioning group were in line with the findings about students' perceptions of the

synchronous CMD experiences, and those across-group differences seemed to offset the

influence of L2 proficiency and gender variables.

Chapter Six

FINDINGS PART 3: LEARNING

Part 3 of the findings was related to my third research question: How did the learners' experiences with the computer-mediated intercultural communication connect with their learning depending on differing levels of the dyadic functioning?

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

To understand the process of L2 learning, I examined the feedback-exchange interactions in Chat 3 and the revision process the students displayed on their essays. There has been no research yet about peer feedback exchanges as a target task in a telecollaborative context, although many studies have examined language-related episodes and feedback as naturally occurring during interactions (e.g., Bower & Kawaguchi, 2011). Thus, as conceptual frameworks, I drew on the literature about peer feedback in L2 learning contexts. Previous studies have explored several aspects of peer feedback, including (a) how students perform peer feedback and comment on peer writing; (b) how groups function; and (c) what factors may affect peer interaction (e.g., Staples, Egbert, Biber, & McClair, 2013; Storch & Aldosari, 2012; Woo, Chu, & Li, 2013). Of particular interest were studies about double-layered difficulties that L2 learners experienced because they had to deal with different communication styles and attitudes of peers coming from different cultures in addition to their insufficient L2 communicative skills (e.g., Nelson & Murphy, 1992).

In investigating the feedback exchange interaction, I framed my analysis with two concepts: language functions of utterances and content of feedback (Lockhart & Ng, 1995; Zhu, 2001). Lockhart and Ng (1995), in an analysis of L2 feedback dyads, first identified four types of reader stances: authoritative, interpretive, probing, and collaborative. They found that the stance types were related to the language functions that the readers performed and areas of the writing to which they attended during feedback exchange. Authoritative and interpretive readers focused on providing evaluation of the writing, whereas probing and collaborative readers were more concerned with providing information and examples. Collaborative readers attended to global issues such as ideas, writing processes, strategies, and purpose of writing relatively more than authoritative readers. Analyzing peer feedback exchanges in mixed groups of English native-speaking and ESL-speaking students, Zhu (2001) found that native-speaking students tended to provide relatively more direct suggestions, where ESL-speaking students tended to point out problematic areas more indirectly and used a narrower range of language functions. Native-speaking students provided more evaluative and local comments, whereas ESL-speaking students made no evaluative feedback. Although Zhu did not explicitly discuss the findings in relation to cultural and pragmatic skills, it can be conjectured that culturally different expectations about communication and feedback might also have been at work. Based on these studies, I took it one step further and explored the ways that the dyadic relationship built from intercultural communication was related to the feedback-exchange interaction.

Research about the revision process in L2 learning contexts has also shed considerable light on the relationship between corrective feedback and revision: students' response to feedback and short- and long-term effects of feedback on L2 learning (e.g., Hyland & Hyland, 2006). As I was interested in the ways that the dyadic relationship influenced students' response to the feedback, I focused on the types of student responses (Ellis, 2009). In particular, I was not so much interested in the quality of revised essays as whether students accepted peer feedback or not, and if so, how much they incorporated the feedback into the revision.

APPROACH TO DATA AND DATA ANALYSIS

I focused on comparing the well-functioning group and the less well-functioning group in the Chat 3 interactions and their revisions. Thus, my focus was on the four focal pairs with eight students discussed in the previous chapter.

As for the interaction, I analyzed only those comments directly related to feedback exchanges; that is, my focus was on main task comments in the four transcripts from the third chatting session. In analyzing language functions, I adopted and combined two preexisting coding schemes (Lockhart & Ng, 1995; Zhu, 2001). I selected codes applicable to my data modifying them as needed, to come up with 11 main categories and five sub-categories (Appendix 6.A). In terms of feedback content, I adopted and modified from Lockhart and Ng's categories (1995). I dropped several categories (e.g., Procedure) that had already been coded as other codes in my language function coding scheme for the entire 12 transcripts (Appendix 5.A). Also, some of the content categories found in

Lockhart and Ng's study were not found in my data (e.g., Audience, Purpose, Punctuation). I modified the remaining categories and added several new categories (e.g., Overall Comments, Local Grammar). The final version of the categories is provided in Appendix 6.B. As for response to feedback, students' first and second drafts of the essay served as the data. I adopted and modified from an existing taxonomy about the student revision process (Ellis, 2009). As I was interested primarily in whether students accepted the feedback or not, I did not analyze the correctness of the revision. By dropping a few types of feedback incorporation that did not occur in my data, I came up with a final scheme with four categories (Appendix 6.C).

I first applied the two coding schemes to the main task comments. The unit of analysis was each comment for both the language function and feedback content codings. As for the feedback incorporation analysis, each feedback unit (similar to the concept of idea unit) was counted as one occurrence. The coder who helped with the coding of language functions in the entire transcripts also helped with the coding of language functions in feedback exchange. First, we discussed the codes and applied them to one sample transcript, and then separately coded. We agreed on over 90% of the comments, and disagreements were resolved through discussion. As for the feedback content, I coded them alone. The quantitative results from the coding were combined with qualitative analysis of the transcripts to identify the properties and characteristics of the actual interaction. Next in the feedback incorporation analysis, I identified units of feedback in the chatting transcripts and then examined if each feedback unit was incorporated into the revision by comparing each student's first and second drafts of the

essay. I employed the constant-comparison method (Corbin & Strauss, 2008) in comparing and refining findings across and within cases and between quantitative and qualitative data. In the following, I present the main findings comparing the well-functioning group and the less well-functioning group in terms of three feedback issues in order: language functions, feedback content, and feedback incorporation. In order to minimize confusion, I will call feedback providers *readers* and feedback receivers *writers*. Finally, I did not note the language used for the essays or for the interaction in this analysis, and leave that to future work.

FINDINGS

Language Functions of Feedback Exchange Comments

The coding results of language functions are provided in Table 6.1. The percentages were calculated from the total number of main task comments. The results indicated four major features that characterized the well-functioning group and the less well-functioning group.

First, the readers in the two groups undertook different roles of providing peer feedback. The function of Direct Give Suggestion was applied when readers provided a direct suggestion as to revising, mostly in the form of already corrected phrases or sentences. The less well-functioning group used this function almost twice as frequently (33.3%) as the well-functioning group (16.6%). A qualitative analysis of the interaction revealed that these direct-suggestion comments were often preceded by comments coded

as Pointing. This Pointing function was where the readers referred to a specific part of the

essay to be discussed, either exactly typing the part or verbally pointing to it.

Table 6.1. *Coding Results in Percentages: Language Functions of Feedback Exchange*

Language Functions	WF1	WF2	Mean	LWF1	LWF2	Mean
Ask Suggestion: General	3.5	13.1	8.3	3.1	9.2	6.2
Ask Suggestion: Elaboration	14.0	6.0	10.0	0	0	0
Give Suggestion: Direct	10.5	22.6	16.6	28.1	38.5	33.3
Give Suggestion: Indirect	5.3	7.1	6.2	0	7.7	3.8
Give Suggestion: Elaboration	26.3	17.9	22.1	15.6	15.4	15.5
Ask Opinion	3.5	2.4	2.9	12.5	0	6.3
Give Opinion	10.5	10.7	10.6	21.9	1.5	11.7
Self Feedback	5.3	1.2	3.2	6.3	0	3.1
Exchange Information	0	1.2	0.6	0	0	0
Discuss Revising	10.5	0	5.3	0	0	0
Elicit Questions from Writer	1.8	1.2	1.5	0	0	0
Pointing	0	3.6	1.8	12.5	16.9	14.7
Accept	8.8	13.1	10.9	0	4.6	2.3
Disagree	0	0	0	0	6.2	3.1
Main Task Total in %	100	100.1	100	100	100	100
# of Main Task Comments	57	84		32	65	
# of Total Comments	235	173		56	146	

Note. WF1: first well-functioning pair; WF2: second well-functioning pair; LWF1: first
less well-functioning pair; LWF2: second less well-functioning pair.

The readers in the less well-functioning group used this function much more frequently

(14.7%) than those in the other group (1.8%). The following excerpt shows the ways that

these two functions were used by Tyler from the first less well-functioning pair (LWF1).

> Tyler: The sentence that said "He expressed the college education as such big
> freedom that if they try hard to manage it wisely, then they might end up
> failing out."
>
> Tyler: 한국말로 변역하면 학생이 시간을 잘쓰면 학교에서 떨어진다고 써져있어요
>
> [*if this sentence is translated into Korean, 학생이 시간을 잘쓰면 학교에서*
> *떨어진다*]
>
> Tyler: the correct way to express this sentence is: "He expressed that the college
> education offers much freedom, therefore if the student did not manage it
> wisely, then the student may fail out."

In the first comment, the reader, Tyler, pointed to the sentence in his Korean partner's essay that he was going to talk about. The next comment, coded as Meaning Negotiation (i.e., a code indirectly related to main task comments; see Appendix 5.A), was interesting in that he provided his own interpretation of the English-as-an-L2 sentence into Korean, which was an L2 for himself. During the feedback-exchange communication, many meaning-negotiation sequences occurred across pairs where the readers asked rhetorical questions to clarify the writer's intended meaning in the L2 essay or where the writers did not clearly understand the reader's feedback mostly given in the reader's L1. In these cases, the person who initially produced a trigger of communication breakdown provided a clarification. However, the type of clarification made by Tyler above was that the reader provided his own interpretation of the sentence rather than giving an opportunity for the writer to reflect on the meaning that she wanted to convey. Such an interpretation or clarification made by the reader was found only in this less well-functioning pair. In the next comment, he provided an already revised sentence by explaining it as "the correct way to express this sentence" (Direct Give Suggestion). Similar patterns in giving direct feedback were repeated when his Korean partner commented on his essay later in the session.

Feedback giving in such direct forms was also evident in the interaction of the other less well-functioning pair (LWF2). In a few instances, the readers provided a list of corrected expressions as they appeared in the essay within one comment, for example:

Karam: 중요하는대→중요하지만 동이라는→동일한 미국에 학교여섯살 때부터 학교 다닙니다→미국은~ 미국 고등학교와 한국 고등학교 하고 정말 다르다.→미국 고등학교와 한국 고등학교는 한국에도 여섯 살 맞여서→한국에도 여섯 살이 되면

> 한국에있는 파트너가 이 말 들였어요→한국에 있는 파트너에게 이 말 들었어요
>
> 한국에는 학생들이 학교 가고 학원도 있습니다→학교도 가고 학원도 갑니다
>
> 한국에있는 파트너가 이 말 들였어요.→한국에 있는 파트너에게 이 말 들었어요.
>
> 시험에 내려요→시험장에 내려요 어려워고, 무척 경쟁력 입니다.→어려웠고 무척
>
> 경쟁적입니다. 고등학교가 정말 어려워고→어렵고 중요하는데→중요하지만
>
> 텔레비전 에게 방송에→텔레비전 방송에서

The pattern of giving corrected phrases or sentences in a linear fashion also continued

over several comments:

> Madison: so in your first sentence
> Madison: the grammar is a bit off
> Madison: "As many people know, there are many differences between Korea and
>   the United States in their various system" -> "As many people know, there
>   are many differences between the American and Korean education
>   systems.
> Madison: That way, you don't need the second sentence
> Madison: Then, you could rephrase your third sentence to: "In this essay, I will
>   examine some of the differences between the two countries' systems.
> Madison: then after "have" in the first sentence of the first paragraph, have an 'a'
> Karam: okay!
> Madison: In your second sentence, you could rephrase to: "Under the Korean
>   school system, elementary school is 6 years long, middle school is 3 years
>   long, and high school is 3 years long.
> Madison: and then "The year of elementary and middle school can be different
>   according to the country district policy"
> Madison: does that mean how long it lasts can be different?
> Karam: yes
> Madison: Because then you can word it better like this: "How long elementary
>   and middle school last is determined by country district policy, so it varies
>   between different countries

In the excerpt above, the reader, Madison, alternated between indicating a part in the

essay and presenting a revised sentence when providing five pieces of her feedback.

There was not much elaboration on why her revised sentences would convey the intended

meaning better than the original ones. As shown in the three examples above coming

from the less well-functioning group, the readers seemed mainly concerned with telling

the writer what to do. The readers did not seem to be working with the writer together to negotiate the writer's intended meanings, but instead seemed to move from one point to the next one of the feedback. The interaction looked relatively more one-way, with the readers directing the talk as if they were following a predetermined script in a very task-oriented manner. In this regard, these readers seemed to perceive that the peer feedback was a transmission of knowledge about the language and writing, thus taking a position of being more knowledgeable by telling what to do.

In contrast, the readers in the well-functioning group displayed much higher percentages of the other two functions of Give Suggestion: Indirect and Elaboration. In the function Indirect Give Suggestion, the readers helped the writer to come up with a correct expression to convey the intended meaning rather than giving already corrected expressions. The function Give Suggestion Elaboration was often used by readers to provide a metalinguistic explanation or elaborate on their feedback. The well-functioning group used the indirect function (6.2%) and the elaboration function (22.1%) more frequently than the less well-functioning group (3.8% and 15.5%, respectively). The following excerpt shows the way that a reader, Kyungae, provided her feedback in contrast with the less well-functioning group's interaction.

> Kyungae: 그리고 첫번째 문단에서 마지막 문장에는 한국과 미국의 다른점에 대한 걸로 주제가 바뀌니까 대조 접속사를 넣으면 더 자연스러울 것 같아 [*In the last sentence of the first paragraph, the topic changes to differences between Korea and the U.S., so I think it will transition more smoothly if you add a contrast conjunction*]
> Isabella: 훨씬 글이 자연스러워 지는 거 같아 [*I feel my essay is getting much more natural*]
> Kyungae: 응^^* [*right*]

Isabella: 대조 접속사? 어떤거? [*A contrast conjunction? Like what?*]
Kyungae: 하지만, 그러나 같은 거~ [*Like, however or but*]

In the first comment, Kyungae's suggestion of a contrast conjunction was indirect feedback giving, with an elaboration as to why the topic change would need such a conjunction. She provided specific examples of a conjunction only after the writer, Isabella, requested more information, probably because the grammatical term given in the writer's L2 was difficult to understand. In this interaction, the reader played the role of facilitating the writer's revision of her own writing. Interestingly, the feedback given in the indirect form was not found at all in the first less well-functioning pair's communication.

Also, the readers in the well-functioning group elaborated their feedback relatively in more detail (Give Suggestion: Elaboration), as shown in the excerpt below coming from the first well-functioning pair's communication:

Ethan: ask me if there's anything you don't understand
Seungah: when you use 'etc'?
Ethan: when you are listing many things, like 4 or 5 things
Ethan: and usually you don't use it in an essay
Ethan: more for like research papers
Seungah: ah ha

As to the writer's question about the usage of "etc," the reader, Ethan, provided an elaboration for his feedback over three separate comments. Unlike the less well-functioning group's readers who presented their feedback in the direct-suggestion forms in a linear and one-way fashion, the readers in the well-functioning group left relatively more room for the writers to ask questions and thus guide the organization of the talk. In

sum, the well-functioning group's interaction contained more signs for interactive and two-way feedback exchanges.

The second feature that set the two groups from each other was related to the roles that the writers took while receiving feedback and participating in the interaction. The well-functioning group exhibited a higher percentage of requesting more feedback or elaboration, showing the writer's active role in eliciting feedback rather than passively receiving it. In particular, the writers in this group used the function of asking for further elaboration behind the feedback (Ask Suggestion: Elaboration) more frequently (10%), whereas the writers in the less well-functioning group did not use this function at all (0%). The readers from the first well-functioning pair (WF1), Seungah and Ethan, used this function most frequently among the four pairs (14%), and this was partly attributable to the way they exchanged their feedback. They edited and left feedback on each other's essays in a digital format and exchanged them via e-mail. Then, they used the chatting session as a venue to ask questions and provide elaborations. This explained the finding that this pair also had the highest percentage of the function of Give Suggestion Elaboration (26.3%), whereas the mean for the less well-functioning group was 15.5%. Thus, this pair's interaction was organized by the writers' questions asking for further explanations behind the feedback. For example, Seungah's questions included: "where you use 'etc'?" and "then i can not use First, Second?" Ethan's questions included: "and i thought it should be in '존댄말'?" [*deferential ending form*] and "what is the general rule for spacing." At times, the reader's elaboration of a rule elicited a request for further information from the writer. For example, Seungah explained that the Korean spelling of

a certain ending had recently been changed because of a law standardizing the language. Then, the writer, Ethan, asked back if the correct spelling was important: "and 읍니다 vs 습니다.. is it crucial to use the new one?" Such active participation by the writer was also similarly found in the other well-functioning pair (WF2).

Fuller participation for writers seemed encouraged by readers' collaborative and open attitude toward the peer-feedback task as a space for meaning negotiation. Reader elicitation of questions from the writer was found only in the well-functioning group: one comment in each pair. Ethan used this function after e-mailing his feedback to the writer: "ask me if there's anything you don't understand." He helped the writer to identify what kind of feedback the writer needed. Kyungae as a reader in the other well-functioning group also asked a similar question: "혹시 너 에세이에서 궁금한거 없어??" [*do you have any questions about your essay*]. This question was posted when Kyungae had finished her feedback, checking on the writer's understanding of the feedback or whether the writer had any further question before wrapping up their feedback exchange session.

The function of Discuss Revising referred to times when the writer and reader both discussed plans for revising, being found only in the first well-functioning pair (Seungah and Ethan). The following excerpt is one of the two instances in which they discussed how to revise together.

> Seungah: if you write intro about test systme, intro part will be too long.
> Seungah: system
> Ethan: yeah i was gonna write an intro and make the rest of the 1st paragraph into a new paragraph
> Ethan: so i will have 4 total paragraphs
> Seungah: good idea!

> Ethan: or wait, i guess 5 paragraphs including new conclusion
> Seungah: wow..
> Ethan: yeah.. thats a long essay haha

The first comment by Seungah was an indirect suggestion about the introduction paragraph. Per this feedback, Ethan shared how to revise his essay from three paragraphs to a five-paragraph one by adding a new introduction and a new conclusion paragraph. This function was another piece of evidence showing the active role that the writer played and the collaborative stance that the reader took. In sum, the three functions (Ask Suggestion Elaboration, Elicit Questions from Writer, and Discuss Revising) evidenced the collaboration between the writer and reader in which they focused relatively more on meaning negotiation and the reader played a role of facilitating the writer to take ownership of his/her own essay. The two less well-functioning pairs performed none of these functions.

The third feature differentiating the two groups was related to the use of the Give Opinion function. This function was used when the reader gave overall comments or an evaluation of the essay. The percentage of the function was relatively much higher in the first less well-functioning pair (LWF1: Tyler and Heejoo), but a close qualitative analysis of those overall evaluation comments revealed a more interesting finding than the coding result. All four readers in the well-functioning group followed this pattern of giving feedback; they first gave an overall, mostly positive, evaluation of the entire essay, and then, moved to specific feedback comments or elaborations. For example, Ethan (WF1) began his feedback with the following overall comments:

> Ethan: all your errors were grammar, which is not bad at all
> Ethan: just grammar

Ethan: but your content was perfect :)

The following is another example showing an overall evaluation followed by specific examples:

> Kyungae: 우선 너의 에세이를 봤을 때 전체적으로 보였던 것은 접속사가 거의 없다는 것이었어~ [*First of all, seen from a global level, your essay rarely had conjunctions*]
> Kyungae: 그리고 역시나 문장을 묶는 그룹핑이 조금 아쉬웠엉 [*And, like my essay, your essay also needed an improvement in sentence grouping*]
> Kyungae: 예를 들면 [*for example*]
> Kyungae: 한국과 미국에는 유치원, 초등학교, 중학교, 고등학교가 있으며 일년에 두학기가 있다.
> Kyungae: 이런 식으로 한문장으로 쓸 수 있는 문장들이 있었어 [*like I revised above, there were sentences you could combine into one sentence]*

Kyungae began her feedback by providing her overall evaluation of the essay in the first two comments (Give Opinion), pointing out conjunction use and sentence grouping as the two major areas needing revision. She produced these comments as a prelude to providing more specific feedback. She further specified the overall evaluation by presenting an example for each feedback point. After these examples, she advised the writer to think about revising the remaining parts of the essay in terms of between-sentence coherence and conjunction usage: "내가 예시 보여준 맥 락대로 뒤에도 고치면 될 것 같아~" [*I think it will be great if you could revise the remaining just like I showed through the example*s]. That is, the writer provided examples as a source that the writer could refer to while revising the entire essay, and by doing so, the reader placed the responsibility about how to revise on the writer. As such, the readers in the well-

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functioning group showed a tendency to focus on several major areas for revision first and organize their feedback around those major discussion points.

Interestingly, however, only one reader (Tyler) from the less well-functioning group followed this pattern of first performing the Give Opinion function and moving into specific feedback comments. The other three readers in the less well-functioning group used this function of providing an overall evaluation as a way of ending their feedback-giving session. For example, Heejoo (LWF1), after commenting on misspellings in three vocabulary words in the essay, posted this comment and her feedback stopped there: "그 외에는 정말 짜임새 있게 잘 쓰신 것 같아요.^^" [*Other than those, I think you wrote very well with a good structure*]. The other less well-functioning pair showed only one Give Opinion comment: "Karam: 이렇게만 고치면 될 것 같아~" meaning "*I think these points will be good enough for your revision.*" As such, the readers in the less well-functioning group tended to list their feedback points in a linear fashion from the beginning to the end of the essay, and comments with overall evaluation functioned rather to end the feedback session. In other words, the comments coded as Give Opinion functioned differently between the two groups.

The fourth feature included noticeable differences in using the functions of Accept and Disagree between the two groups. The Accept function was coded when the writer indicated acceptance of the feedback or learning of a new piece of knowledge regarding linguistic or writing conventions. The well-functioning group exhibited a much higher percentage of using this function (10.9%) than the less well-functioning pairs

(2.3%). Examples included: "oh i didn't know that~"; "my essay is getting better"; and "i didn't know which one to use [between the two ending forms, but now I understand because of your feedback]." In contrast, in the Disagree function, the writer disagreed with or responded to the reader's feedback with a justification for the original version of writing. This function was used only by Karam from the second less well-functioning pair (LWF2). The following excerpt is one of the two instances in which she did not simply accept the reader's feedback but tried to communicate her original meaning. The reader, Madison, was correcting the last sentence in the first essay draft: "These many differences in education system between Korea and the United States are causing different result and affecting other systems." When the writer realized that the revised sentence did not convey the original meaning, the pair exchanged several comments showing meaning negotiation.

> Madison: "These differences cause American and Korean students to have very disparate results when it comes to international tests of student intelligence
> Madison: disparate = different :)
> Karam: But I want to say many different results unspecifically..?
> Karam: Because there are other differences too
> Karam: except international tests of student intelligence
> Madison: These and other differences*
> Madison: :)
> Madison: oh and what kind of differences were you referring to?
> Karam: I will think about it more and make sentece later
> Karam: Do you think "These differences cause American and Korean students to have very disparate results when it comes to international tests of student intelligence" is good for conclusion sentence?
> Madison: These differing system policies, along with other external factors, cause American and Korean students to have very disparate results when it comes to international tests of student intelligence
> Madison: I think that would be good
> Madison: unless you wanted to have them be different on other bases, not just their intelligence?

Karam seemed to want to write that several differences in education systems have influenced other societal systems and as a result different outcomes in the two cultures. However, the reader understood the phrase *different results* only in terms of testing results, therefore, the revised sentence did not convey the originally intended meaning. Although the writer and reader tried to negotiate between their misaligned meanings, this negotiation unfortunately ended unresolved when Madison had to leave the chat room. This feedback was, in fact, partially incorporated into the revision because Karam accepted only the first half of the revised sentence, but did not use the latter half: "when it comes to international tests of student intelligence."

Feedback Content

Next, I examined the ways that the intercultural dyadic relationship was related to the content of feedback (or areas of the writing) discussed during the feedback exchange session. The percentages of coding occurrences were calculated from the total number of main task comments directly relating to feedback exchange (Table 6.2).

Table 6.2. *Coding Results in Percentages: Feedback Content*

Content	WF1	WF2	Mean	LWF1	LWF2	Mean
Overall Comments	17.5	16.7	17.1	25	3.1	14.0
Vocabulary	10.5	11.9	11.2	15.6	21.5	18.6
Local Grammar	22.8	19.0	20.9	15.6	20	17.8
Phrasing	0	3.6	1.8	12.5	24.6	18.6
Formality/Register	1.8	1.2	1.5	0	1.5	0.8
Intra-paragraph Coherence	12.3	16.7	14.5	0	4.6	2.3
Inter-paragraph Coherence	22.8	3.6	13.2	3.1	3.1	3.1
Idea	0	4.8	2.4	0	0	0
Feedback Exchange Management	12.3	22.6	17.4	28.1	21.5	24.8
Total % Within MT	100	100.1	100	99.9	99.9	100

Note. MT: Main task comments.

In all four pairs, a large amount of talk focused on linguistic aspects of the writing, such as vocabulary, local grammar, and rephrasing at the sentence-level, rather than on ideational or coherence aspects of the writing. However, there were interesting differences between the two groups in five content categories. The highest occurrence for the well-functioning group was Local Grammar (20.9%). The well-functioning group's interaction displayed many instances in which the writers requested further elaboration on grammar rules from the readers (Local Grammar). For the less well-functioning group, the highest occurrences were Phrasing (18.6%) and Vocabulary (18.6%). The readers in the less well-functioning group provided direct feedback by phrasing a whole sentence for a desired meaning (Phrasing), as shown in these two consecutive comments:

> Madison: "In contrast, it is hard to find private educational institute for school study or SAT in the United States. Instead of private educational institute, students of the United States go to prep classes after school. ->"
> Madison: "In contrast, it's not very common for an American student to go to private tutoring on top of their public education. If anything, high school students attend prep classes for the standardized college entrance exam, the SAT"

The rephrased sentence looked like a native-speaker version of the sentence containing errors. In addition, this reader rarely checked the writer's intended meaning. From the manner of restructuring and reconstructing the entire sentence, the readers in the less well-functioning group did not seem concerned with preserving the original sentence that the L2 writer produced but instead imposed their preconceived ideas about what a well-written sentence should look like and how the text should be revised. In contrast, the feedback given in the Phrasing form was rarely mentioned in the well-functioning group (1.8%). Feedback on vocabulary commented on the incorrect vocabulary usage and

spelling errors: for example, "Karma: There were typographical errors and spelling errors

like 켕리포니아→캘리포니아 얼여워요→어려워요 숙세→숙제 택식→택시

건생님→선생님 안이다→아니다." The raw numbers of comments relating to this area of

writing were similar between the two groups, but the percentage was lower for the well-

functioning group (11.2%) because the readers in this group focused on more diverse and

global areas of the writing over many comments.

The dyadic relationship also seemed related to the extent to which students

attended to issues of coherence. Feedback relating to coherence and transition between

sentences (Intra-paragraph Coherence) took up 14.5% of the entire main task comments

in the well-functioning group, compared to 2.3% in the other group. For example, the

reader, Isabella, in the second well-functioning pair (WF2) commented on sentence

grouping as one of the main revision areas:

> Isabella: but i would like to suggest that u should group sentence together
> …
> Isabella: for the first paragraph
> Kyungae: yeah
> Isabella: United States is a highly influential country because it leads the world's
> economy, culture, politics, and education.

After giving the overall comment about sentence coherence, the reader provided an

example of grouping or making a nice transition between sentences from the first

paragraph. The writer's, Kyungae, original sentences in the draft were: "US is an

influential country in the world. US leads the world's economy, culture, politics and

education." The reader tried to preserve the L2 writer's original sentences by combining

them with a subordinate conjunction and a pronoun. When they exchanged roles, the

reader, Kyungae, referred to between-sentence coherence in a similar manner:

> Kyungae: 한국 학생들은 수업시간에 암기를 많이 하고 암기로 인해 시험을 잘 본다. [*Korean students focus on memorizing knowledge, thus because of that, they do well on tests*]
> Kyungae: 이렇게 쓰면 세 문장을 연결해서 자연스럽게 쓸 수 있을 것 같아 [*in this way, I think you can combine three sentences into one and make it more natural*]

The writer's original sentences were: "한국 학생들은 시험을 잘 본다. 암기를 많이 한다.

수업시간에 암기한다." This reader similarly preserved the three original L2 sentences but

only combined them with two subordinate conjunctions. These examples stood in

contrast to the less well-functioning group's feedback given in the Phrasing form that

showed a rather strong imposition of native-speaker version sentences that were quite

different from the original ones.

The percentage for commenting on inter-paragraph coherence was also much

higher in the well-functioning group (13.2%) than the other group (3.1%). The first well-

functioning group's (WF1: Seungah and Ethan) interaction exhibited good examples for

this feedback content:

> Seungah: 논리적인 구조에서 [*in terms of flow in structure*]
> Seungah: intro와 conclusion이 약한거같아 [*I think your intro and conclusion are weak*]
> Ethan: hmm.. okk
> Ethan: how can i make it better?
> Ethan: conclusion 없는거는 아라 ㅋㅋ [*I know there is no conclusion in my essay*]
> Seungah: 왜냐면 너가 3문단을 썼는데 첫번째 문단과 두번째 문단에서는 초등학교 교육에 대해 이야기하는데 [*because you wrote three paragraphs, and you talked about elementary education in the first and second paragraphs, but*]
> Seungah: 응 ㅋㅋㅋㅋㅋㅋㅋ [*right*]

Seungah: 마지막에 SAT 얘기하고 끝이나버려서.. [*at the end, you talked about SAT, and then, that was it*]
Ethan: yeah haha
Seungah: also
Ethan: 그럼 짧은 intro and conclusion 쓸게 [*then, I will write a brief intro and a conclusion*]

This feedback referred to the relationship between paragraphs, focusing on a fairly global level of the language aspects in the writing. These findings indicated that the well-functioning pairs made more explicit feedback concerning discourse-level issues and also attended to more diverse areas of the writing encompassing vocabulary, grammar, and coherence.

Feedback Incorporation

Table 6.3 shows results about the types and occurrence of feedback incorporation for each participant. The table also provides the total numbers of occurrences in the well-functioning group and the less well-functioning group as well as their proportions calculated from the total within the group.

Table 6.3. *Feedback Incorporation Results*

Type			Exactly Incorporated	Partially Incorporated	No Change	Substitution	Total
Well-Functioning	WF1	Seungah	2	0	0	0	2
		Ethan	11	0	2	0	13
	WF2	Kyung	6	0	0	0	6
		Isabella	12	2	1	0	13
		Total	29	2	3	0	34
		%	85.3	5.9	8.8	0	100
Less Well-Functioning	LWF1	Heejoo	0	0	5	1	6
		Tyler	0	0	3	0	3
	LWF2	Karam	5	5	1	1	12
		Madison	0	0	22	0	22
		Total	5	5	31	2	43
		%	11.6	11.6	72.1	4.7	100

These results indicated that the two groups showed interesting differences in the ways that they made use of the peer feedback when they revised their essays. The total number of feedback units was lower in the well-functioning group (34 vs. 43). This was partly because the first well-functioning pair exchanged feedback and edits via e-mail and they elaborated on selected pieces of feedback during the feedback chat session, and the total number included only the feedback that was discussed in the chat. The difference in the total numbers is also explained by the interaction patterns: the well-functioning group had more in-depth discussions around fewer feedback points, whereas the less well-functioning group simply focused on listing feedback points. The Exactly Incorporated category referred to when the writer incorporated feedback exactly per the reader's marking. The well-functioning group showed a much higher percentage of this type (85.3%) than the less well-functioning group (11.6%). An example showing the exact incorporation of one feedback unit is given in the excerpt below. The original sentences from Kyungae's essay that the reader, Isabella, was commented on were: "In contrast, there are much more differences between them. First of all, the teaching method and an atmosphere of the class are different." Regarding these sentences, the reader first provided a general comment that each paragraph needs a thesis sentence and then provided an exemplary revision:

> Isabella: 그리고 그 한 paragraph 마다 [*And, in each paragraph*]
> Kyungae: 응응 [*yes, yes*]
> Isabella: 주제가 필요한데 "There are myriad differences between Korea and
> United States, such as teaching method and class atmosphere."(세번째
> paragraph) [*you need a thesis sentence … in the third paragraph*]

The reader demonstrated placing a thesis sentence at the beginning of the paragraph by combining two sentences and presenting the paragraph's thesis more directly in one sentence. The writer incorporated this feedback exactly as suggested by the reader in her revised essay.

The No Change category was applied when the writer did not reflect the feedback into the revision. This revision type, characterized as the opposite type of feedback incorporation from the Exactly Incorporated type, was found much more frequently in the less well-functioning group (72.1%) than the well-functioning group (8.8%). This is largely because the two U.S. writers, Tyler and Madison, did not make any revisions and submitted their first drafts as their revised essays. The assessment on a participation basis on the U.S. class side may partly explain their ignoring of peer feedback, but this alone does not fully explain the finding. The other two U.S. students in the well-functioning group, Ethan and Isabella, revised their essays by taking the feedback, even though their essays were graded on the same assessment basis. In order to identify behaviors of response to feedback during the feedback exchange interaction, I went back to the transcript data. This textual analysis revealed that the first less well-functioning pair (LWF1) did not produce a single comment that showed acceptance of the feedback or the learning of new knowledge (i.e., the Accept code from the language function coding results in Table 6.1). The other less well-functioning pair's (LWF2) transcript contained three Accept comments, but they were all produced by the U.S. student, Madison: for example, "알아서! 고마워 ^^" [*I understand it now. Thank you*]; "응, 몰랐다! 고칠게!" [*okay, I did not know that! I will fix it*]; and "고맙다!!!! 정말 도와졌어 :)" [*Thank you!*

Your feedback was really helpful]. Although Madison made these explicit signs of accepting the feedback during the interaction, she in fact did not incorporate any of the feedback into her revision.

Ignoring the peer feedback also occurred in the two Korean students' revisions in the less well-functioning pair. In the case of Heejoo from the first less well-functioning pair (LWF1), she ignored most of the feedback. However, she made a change to one area that the reader mentioned, but she did not take the feedback as it was, but substituted it with her own correction. The following excerpt shows the reader's feedback on the area:

> Tyler: "Also he had the experience of distraction when he was freshman which I had the same."
> Tyler: 이쪽에는 "when he was freshman which I had the same." 보다 "when he was a freshman which I also went through" [*in this part, rather than "when he was a freshman which I also went through," "when he was freshman which I had the same*"]
> Tyler: he 가 한분 이니깐 freshman 보다 a freshman 이 맞습니다 [*"he" is one person, so "a freshman" is correct rather than "freshman"*]

The writer revised the sentence, copied in Tyler's first comment, into: "Also he had the experience of distraction when he was freshman like what I had on that period." In the revision of the sentence, she ignored his suggestion on the article use (i.e., a freshman), and did not take the suggestion about the relative clause as it was (i.e., "a freshman which I also went through"), but instead replaced it with her own revision: "like what I had on that period."

In the other less well-functioning group (LWF2), the Korean writer, Karam, showed similar behaviors in feedback incorporation. The following excerpt is the reader's feedback for one paragraph in the essay:

Madison: "As many people know, there are many differences between Korea and the United States in their various system" -> "As many people know, there are many differences between the American and Korean education systems.

Madison: That way, you don't need the second sentence

Madison: Then, you could rephrase your third sentence to: "In this essay, I will examine some of the differences between the two countries' systems.

This reader suggested combining the first two sentences in the paragraph and revising the second half of the first sentence. Then, she provided a rephrased version of the third sentence. The following is the revised paragraph in the writer's (Karam) second draft: "As many people know, there are many differences between Korea and America in their various system. One of them is education system. In this essay, I will examine some of the differences in education system between two countries." The writer partially incorporated the feedback by accepting the suggestion on using "America" instead of United States. However, the writer kept the original order of "Korea and America," although the reader switched the order to "American and Korean." The writer did not accept the rephrasing of the remaining words, either. As for the reader's recommendation to delete the second sentence, the writer did not accept it. As for the suggestion for the third sentence, with its original version being "some of the differences in education system between Korean and the United States," the writer substituted the suggestion with her own revision, "between two countries." Interestingly, this type of feedback incorporation, Substitution, was made by the two Korean writers in the less well-functioning group, but not found in the well-functioning group. Although it is difficult to determine motivational and psychological issues that led to ignoring of the feedback, the

different percentages in accepting and ignoring feedback between the two groups are particularly interesting.

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

Analyzing the interactions for feedback exchanges indicated interesting differences between well-functioning and less well-functioning pairs in language function usage and feedback content categories. These differences revealed that certain characteristics set the well-functioning group and the less well-functioning group apart from each other.

As shown in the performance of language functions, first, the readers in the well-functioning group undertook a collaborative role, whereas the readers in the less well-functioning group played a role of directing the talk and revision. This was indicated by the distribution of the three functions relating to providing specific feedback across the two groups. The readers in the well-functioning group produced many more comments elaborating on their feedback (Give Suggestion: Elaboration) and provided indirect feedback (Give Suggestion: Indirect). These readers helped the writers reflect on their intentions and facilitated the writers to take ownership of their own essays. In contrast, the readers in the less well-functioning group provided already revised phrases or sentences in a linear fashion in which they listed their feedback comments (Pointing; Direct Give Suggestion). These writers seemed to operate on the perception that peer feedback is about transmission of knowledge, thus taking a position of being more knowledgeable.

Second, the writers' roles also seemed different between the two groups. The writers in the well-functioning group actively participated in receiving feedback and organizing the talk (Ask Suggestion Elaboration; Discuss Revising; Elicit Questions from Writer). These three language functions were not used by the less well-functioning group at all. Third, the function of providing an overall evaluation of the essay was also used differently. Readers in the well-functioning group gave overall evaluation comments as a prelude to providing more specific feedback, whereas readers in the less well-functioning group tended to use an overall evaluation as a way to end their feedback sessions. Lastly, the well-functioning group displayed a higher percentage of showing acceptance of peer feedback, whereas the less well-functioning group showed instances of simply not accepting the feedback or justifying the original versions of the writing.

In terms of the feedback areas of the writing, three categories largely differentiated the feedback content between the two groups. The well-functioning group attended to discourse level issues such as coherence within and across paragraphs more frequently (Intra-paragraph Coherence; Inter-paragraph Coherence). In contrast, the readers in the less well-functioning group focused on sentence-level rephrasing (Phrasing) more frequently. While providing this type of feedback, these readers as native speakers of the language tended to impose their ideas about what well-written sentences should be like rather than to preserve the original sentences written by L2 learners.

The two groups also showed differences in the ways that the writers incorporated peer feedback into their revisions. The writers in the well-functioning group incorporated over 85% of the peer feedback exactly as suggested into their revisions. In contrast, the

writers in the less well-functioning group ignored or substituted their own revisions for the feedback in about 77% of the entire feedback.

Thus, the dyadic relationship seemed associated with the ways that students exchanged peer feedback in terms of language functions and topics of feedback. The dyadic relationship also seemed to explain the revision process: how much students accepted and incorporated their peer's feedback into their revisions. The differences indicated by the quantitative data were consistent with the characteristics of the interaction discovered through the qualitative analysis. These findings suggested that the dyadic relationship may be of greater significance than other issues such as L2 proficiency and institutional differences such as types of assessment.

Chapter Seven

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I discuss the findings of the study, specifically how they relate to the three research questions, and how they contribute to the body of research that has examined interaction and learning in foreign language education contexts. Next, as a conclusion of the study, I discuss several insights that encompass the findings across the three research questions. Following the conclusion, I present an overview of the limitations of the study, suggesting implications for future scholarship in the area, and I end with pedagogical implications for teaching and learning in a telecommunicative context.

DISCUSSION OF THE FINDINGS

Culturally Different Frames and Expectations

The findings demonstrated the ways that students from different cultures may approach the same task and the same communication context in different ways, thus experiencing the same telecommunicative project in different ways. First, cultural and institutional conceptualizations of academic learning explained the two class's relatively different experiences. Korean students' expectations were oriented toward foreign language learning, thus valuing the L2 learning-focused tasks such as essay writing and peer feedback exchanges and the opportunities to receive form-focused feedback from partners during the chatting communication. In contrast, U.S. students appreciated

meaning-focused conversations relatively more and thus had more positive experiences with such conversations. This finding regarding task-specific expectations that clashed between the two classes contributes to the literature about L2 telecollaboration in that previous research has usually focused on contrasting learning objectives between two cultures in contexts where a telecollaborative project was a class assignment on one side and not on the other side (e.g., Basharina, 2007; Belz, 2001; Ware, 2005). The task-specific expectations found in the current study, however, were only partly explained by institutional-level differences such as class objectives, student majors, and grading and assessment. The students seemed to operate on different definitions of learning, a cultural script that seemed inscribed more deeply in their larger cultural contexts than imposed by the immediate institutional settings. The evidence came from student responses to the same question asking about perceived "learning" from project participation; Korean students tended to focus on L2 learning and their partners as native-speaking tutors providing corrective feedback, whereas U.S. students' reflections touched on what they had learned about their peer-age partners and the target culture.

The findings also highlighted culturally different frames of computer-mediated communication. Stemming from their fast-paced lifestyle, Korean students valued highly prompt responses in communication, and considered such behavior as a sign of their partner's engagement and interest. Thus, U.S. partners' delayed responses did not meet this expectation. In turn, U.S. students showed a somewhat contrasting expectation that deliberate delays in responding may be considered as appropriate whereas prompt and continuous messaging may affront one's interlocutors. Differing levels of accessibility

and experience with technologies were not any more an issue in the current study,

problems found among telecollaborative partnerships about a decade ago (Basharina,

2007; Belz, 2001; Ware & Kramsch, 2005). The clashes in communication style between

cultures were a less prominent issue in the current study than previous studies that

discovered differing genres of communication (Basharina, 2009; Kramsch & Thorne,

2002) or differing "cultures-of-use" of communication tools (Thorne, 2003). Instead, the

current study's finding highlighted a different facet of communication: that is,

synchronicity. In particular, the issue was less about synchronicity of mode, that is,

preference for a synchronous mode over asynchronous mode for peer-age learner

interactions (Basharina, 2007; Chun, 2011; Thorne, 2003). It was rather about a clash in

culturally different expectations about the degree of synchronicity, which Herring (2001)

terms *synchronicity of use*. The culturally different expectations about synchronicity were

complicated by the use of various communication tools (i.e., e-mail exchanges, mobile

text-messages, and the chatting conversations). For example, several Korean students

became disappointed with their unmet expectations about a fast-moving conversation

during the chatting interaction, involving presumably the highest degree of synchronicity,

and one student even reflected that her U.S. partner's slow postings of comments gave

her the initial impression that her partner did not seem interested in communicating with

her. This finding provided evidence for the culturally defined nature of synchronicity,

supporting Herring's (2011) argument that social practices are a driving force of language

use within the same digital communication mode. In light of the finding, I suggest an

approach to synchronicity as a situational and cultural variable to consider in an

intercultural communicative context. I also suggest a revision of the concepts about cultural communication genres and cultures of use to include the notion of synchronicity of use.

In addition, different valuations of the foreign languages were also at work influencing participants' perceptions of their experiences. English as a foreign language is a necessity for Korean students for their academic and social success, whereas Korean as a heritage language is not as generally valued in U.S. society. Both groups perceived that Korean students generally had a higher level of L2 proficiency, and U.S. students' typing skills in Korean were much slower. These issues relating to proficiency imbalance, termed *the English as a lingua franca effect*, has been well documented in previous studies about English-other European language exchanges in which EFL learners similarly showed a higher L2 proficiency than U.S. or British students learning a foreign language (Belz, 2001; Bower & Kawaguchi, 2011; Kötter, 2003; O'Rourke, 2005; Pasfield-Neofitou, 2007; Schwienhorst, 2004b). These previous studies identified imbalanced language productions in the user's two languages, more frequent instances of communication breakdown in the use of a foreign language other than English, and difficulty in typing non-alphabetic foreign languages. Of more interest in the findings of the current study was that this mismatch in L2 proficiencies may result in frustration and negative experiences for both classes.

In sum, what happened in the study were not cases of linguistic or ideological (mis)understanding, but rather cases showing a (mis)match of native frames of reference (Ensink, 2003; Goffman, 2001; Moscovici, 2000/1984; Sharifian, 2007). The ways that

students understood the context were a semiotic open-ended process of constructing and sharing meaning about the affordances and constraints confronting them (Kramsch, 2009; van Lier, 2004). The findings are more connected with the poststructuralist notion about culture as discourse that offers "various ways of making meaning through various systems" than with a modernist notion of culture as rooted in the nation state, institutions, or speech communities (Kramsch, 2011, p. 356). What this notion of culture as discourse implies is that the clash of discourse-level frames may be less readily discernible, a situation that can be exacerbated by the lack of interactional cues and blurred genre categories afforded by the networked communication medium (Kramsch, 2009). The current study showed that these types of intercultural problems can cause no less serious intercultural problems than critical incidents experiencing culture shock about manifest differences in cultural practices and products. Because intercultural misunderstanding tended to remain unnoticed and unresolved (Basharina, 2007; O'Dowd, 2005), the resulting tensions arising in several pairs in the study went further than problems in maintaining sustained involvement in the interaction and project tasks. In the worst cases, students blamed their partners as "problematic" students or the entire partner class as problematically set up with less motivated students. The condemnation focused on the individual as the locus of problems, with a potential to create unhelpful prejudice and stereotypes about the partner students. What may be needed for L2 learners in today's world goes beyond L2 communicative competence to encompass intercultural awareness and deep reflection about how individuals in native and target cultures conceptualize and experience meanings.

Dyadic Relationship and Partnering Perceptions

Members of a cultural group do not exhibit a homogenous culture, but they share cultural expectations to varying degrees (Kramsch, 1993; Trompenaars & Hampden-Turner, 2012). The ways in which native frames of reference played out on the micro-level of pairing generated differing dynamics in dyadic relationships. The dyadic functioning was evidenced through students' perceptions about their experience and partner abroad. The findings showed that degrees of the dyadic functioning, measured by outward tensions and problems, student participation and task completion, and student reflection on participation, seemed closely related to the degrees of alignment in partnering students' perceptions. Among well-functioning intercultural pairings, partnering students demonstrated relatively similar and aligned perceptions about their experiences. Partnering students' perceptions of each other were also aligned in that they perceived the partner's personal characteristics as relatively less different from the self. That is, their partnering perceptions corroborated each other's perceptions.

In contrast, relatively more misaligned perceptions between partnering students were found among less well-functioning pairs. For example, in one case, partnering students recounted different narratives while reflecting on the same context. The Korean student complained about her partner's delayed responses and task-oriented attitudes, and her perceptions of her experience were fairly negative compared to other Korean students. Her U.S. partner, however, reflected on the entire project very positively, while commenting on her partner's outward textual expression of frustration as the only moment of her negative experience. The dissonance in these perceptions was also found

in their partner ratings. They perceived each other to be relatively more different from the self than well-functioning partnerships. In another case, partnering students accused each other of being responsible for their communication problems and negative experiences. In terms of partner perceptions, both students rated each other to be less nervous, less meticulous, and less punctual than the self.

One interesting finding is that alignment in perceptions is not simply about whether partnering students have the same direction of perceptions (e.g., both students had positive experiences). The same direction of perceptions can happen among less well-functioning partnerships as in the case in which both students' perceptions of their experiences were negative. The feature that set apart well-functioning cases from less well-functioning cases was related to the extent partnering perceptions demonstrated an aligned structure of perception. In the first less well-functioning case I introduced in the preceding paragraph, the different stories retelling the same learning context touched on different aspects of the same communication. Expectations about a high degree of synchronicity constructed the Korean student's experience, whereas expectations about avoidance of expressing frustrations constructed the U.S. student's experience. The partnering students in the other less well-functioning case disapproved of each other's behavior and attributed their problems to the individuals. This was evidenced in the way that they rated the partner's characteristics relative to the self toward in the same direction. This finding is particularly interesting in that their relative perceptions of each other did not match, providing evidence to show their misaligned understandings of each other.

The findings about students' perceptions of their experiences in relation to a dyadic relationship add new knowledge to the literature about L2 telecollaborative exchanges. There have been several studies that investigated group dynamics and relationship building (e.g., Belz, 2001; O'Dowd, 2003; Ware & Kramsch, 2005). By focusing on interaction and participation patterns, however, none of these studies explored the ways that group dynamics played out on partnering perceptions. In particular, the finding about differing degrees of alignment was of importance in the study. As alignment refers to coordinated interaction among various interactional and motivational affordances, including communication tools and individuals (Atkinson et al., 2007; Du Bois, 2007), the establishment and negotiation of a shared understanding of the context between partners is theoretically conceivable. However, previous research has mostly focused on identifying discursive signs and patterns showing coordinated interaction (Atkinson et al., 2007), and the phenomenon of alignment in perception has rarely been explored in L2 learning contexts.

In addition, the findings revealed that alignment contained the structure of resemblance and parallels, whereas misalignment was characterized by dissonance and differences between partnering perceptions. This parallelism in perception seems to correspond to the dialogic resonance between parallel linguistic and discourse elements found in interactional research (e.g., Du Bois & Kärkkäinen, 2012; Norrick, 2000). The current study may support the idea that resonating perceptions between partners can also be a sign for aligned interaction and well-functioning relationship in L2 telecollaboration. In sum, all these findings provided empirical evidence about aligned perceptions,

showing how learners co-constructed the context for their participation, and highlighted

the rich complexity involved in intercultural communication and relationship building.

Computer-Mediated Intercultural Communication

The interpersonal dynamics revealed in the perception analysis were also manifest

in the actual interactional discourse of the computer-mediated intercultural

communication. First, the well-functioning pairs' interactions demonstrated a greater

degree of mutual adaptation between two partners with an *interlocutor orientation,* thus

signaling a higher level of psychological and motivational alignment between partners.

The well-functioning pairs performed a wider range of discourse functions, including

language use for social cohesion and aligned mutual understanding of the context. The

construction of a common ground for intercultural understanding was evidenced in the

ways that students exchanged their understandings of tasks and class requirements and

attempted to achieve a common footing before transitioning to a new cultural topic. The

use of diverse social functions, such as small talk and humor, seemed to facilitate social

cohesion. For example, considerate greetings and leave-taking along with small talk

functioned to lubricate changes in discourse frames and topics. Deeper affective

involvement was found in the more frequent use of text emoticons, laughter, and explicit

sharing of emotions. Students also tried to align themselves with each other in terms of

shared L2 learner identities by openly sharing their past L2 experiences, cognitive and

emotional difficulties in L2 learning, and task experiences with the current project. Lastly,

students with a high degree of the dyadic functioning built an informal relationship with

their partners abroad beyond the academic realm by digitally connecting with each other through other forms of SNSs.

In contrast, the less well-functioning pairs' interactions were characterized by a *task orientation*. The students produced a higher proportion of comments directly pertinent to the required main tasks, but they tried to a lesser degree to construct a common understanding about the tasks and requirements. The relatively higher focus on main tasks left less room for social cohesion; the students performed fewer social functions in their discourse such as phatic and emotive expressions, sharing of L2 learning experiences, and small talk, features containing less invitation to interaction. Several disruptive communication behaviors, such as tardiness, abrupt or short leave-taking turns, and even disappearance from the chatting without signals, made the interaction "broken, lost, or withheld" (van Lier, 2004, p. 154).

However, with the findings about these relatively different orientations, I by no means argue that the less well-functioning pairs focused on main tasks, but the well-functioning pairs did not. The situation was rather the opposite because the well-functioning group produced twice as many main task comments as that of the other group. It should be noted that my comparative analysis was based on the proportions of language functions produced within each conversation. The two contrasting orientations to interaction were demonstrated in the two woman-woman pairs' interactions. The well-functioning pair (Kyungae and Isabella) produced a fairly high proportion of comments highlighting their shared status as L2 learners, and they easily found commonalities between themselves and the topics of discussion by latching each new topic onto a

previous topic in adjacent comments. This pair showed construction of alignment between partners on both psychological and discourse dimensions. In contrast, the less well-functioning pair (Karam and Madison) produced a formal interview-like genre of written communication, seemingly more task oriented. Their conversations were repetitions of a simple question-response pattern in which many questions were asked but were not fully expanded.

Another discourse feature identified in the study is related to a traditional genre notion about orality and literacy. That is, differing degrees of orality in the written computer-mediated discourse seemed related to differing degrees of the dyadic functioning in telecollaboration. Previous research on computer-medicated discourse (CMD) has attended to the in-betweenness of orality and literacy afforded by the online mediums, and mostly found that asynchronous communication shows a greater degree of literacy, whereas synchronous communication is closer to face-to-face oral communication (e.g., Chun, 2011; Sotillo, 2000). In the current study, the two man-man partnerships showed contrasting orality degrees. The well-functioning pair's (Seungah and Ethan) interactions showed some features that are shared with oral communication such as short and frequent turns, phatic expressions showing the listener's social presence and a coordinated sequential organization of adjacent comments, and interactional markers supplementing the lack of temporal and paralinguistic cues in the online medium. The use of diverse pragmatic resources made the interaction transition smoothly across diverse discourse functions, interactional frames, and topics, a feature closely related to the more interactive nature of orality (Koike, 2012). In contrast, the less well-functioning

pair's (Heejoo and Tyler) conversations lacked two-way interactional features and contained more features of written discourse. The students produced fewer turns, and their comments had the appearance of monologues. They wrote multiple sentences within each comment, and the sentences were long and syntactically complex. In addition, each student posted several consecutive comments at a time while the other person did not post any comment for a long time, and they also showed a few cases of disappearance and abrupt leave-taking. The lack of direct communicative transactions between partners was closer to the textual writer-reader relation that does not require co-presence in a temporal sense. I conclude that this pair's interactions were relatively more prose-like, showing a higher degree of literacy.

According to the findings about language functions, it was not merely the particular topics and linguistic choices to which the intercultural dyadic relationship contributed. Common discursive patterns and practices were identified across partnerships depending on degrees of the dyadic functioning in telecollaboration, and thus, I argue that the interpersonal dynamics can also play a role in producing a discourse style. The discourse styles produced in the written CMD were an interlocutor orientation and orality in well-functioning pairs' interactions versus a text orientation and literacy in less well-functioning pairs' interactions. A handful of studies have understood intercultural understanding and misunderstanding in terms of discourse genre differences between two cultures (e.g., Belz, 2003; Blyth, 2012; Kramsch & Thorne, 2002; Ware, 2005), but the current study provided evidence to show the relationship between interpersonal dynamics and the text types of the discourse produced by interlocutors.

The findings about language functions contribute to the literature about how group dynamics were related to interactional features in L2 telecollaborative contexts explored by a few studies: for example, the frequency and length of language production and discussion topics (Belz, 2001). In particular, Darhower's (2007) study about a Spanish-English telecollaboration through chatting revealed similar findings as the current study. A group that reached a high level of online community development demonstrated more social affordances such as humor, emotional expressions, exchanges of personal histories and information, and elaborated closings. A contrasting group that reached a lower level of community development produced interactional patterns showing difficulty in maintaining membership such as a high absence rate, tardiness, shorter lengths of discussion, unpreparedness for the discussion, and short and abstract closings. The current study confirmed these findings, and contributed with new findings in that my coding schemes were more comprehensive and the coding-and-counting approach yielded information about prevalence of target features over the discourse and made possible comparisons across partnerships for each feature and function.

In addition, another important finding in the study is the exploratory investigation of stancetaking features indexing speaker attitude and appraisal as a locus of partnership dynamics. Stance, integral to aligned interaction, is an essentially relational concept (Du Bois, 2007). Although previous research has examined stance in relation to discourse genres or text types, the current study identified the ways that attitudinal stancetaking corresponded to differing degrees of aligned interaction. That is, well-functioning pairs actively exchanged affective stancetaking, evidence that I interpret as signaling intimacy

between partners, because an affective attitude is concerned with the "most subjective reactions and personal feelings" among various stance types (Berman, 2004, p. 108). Less well-functioning pairs relatively more frequently displayed appreciative stancetaking when evaluating entities or situations, showing a relatively greater distance between interlocutors but a higher orientation toward tasks. Interestingly, partnering students showed similar stancetaking behaviors. Attitudinal meanings seemed to "radiate out" to influence the larger discourse (Hood, 2006), highlighting the dialogic nature of stancetaking.

The analysis of engagement in cultural knowledge revealed that students with a high degree of the dyadic functioning tended to rely on diverse sources of cultural knowledge. In particular, one well-functioning pair's (Seungah and Ethan) conversation exhibited a greater degree of heteroglossic engagement with cultural knowledge in representing and understanding cultural alternatives in perspectives and practices. Their sharing of personal experiences functioned to help them discover cultural diversity and complexity. In contrast, students with a lower degree of the dyadic functioning relied more on personal opinions not based on empirical evidence and consulted additional sources less frequently. Their conversations tended to demonstrate monoglossic engagement with cultural knowledge, with the sharing of cultural knowledge and personal experience working to confirm stereotypical knowledge about culture. One interesting finding about epistemic stancetaking was that one student from the well-functioning group used lexical absolutes as a strong epistemic commitment to the knowledge in order to downgrade his own native culture and discount his partner's myths

about the target culture, whereas another student from the less well-functioning group used lexical absolutes to express her surprise (or even culture shock) at learning about the target culture and people. It seems that the same linguistic devices for epistemic stance functioned to create intimacy between partners in the former well-functioning cases but to create a distance between partners in the less well-functioning cases.

However, it should be noted that the comment-level coding results about heteroglossic engagement and epistemic stance with cultural knowledge did not yield a meaningful pattern to set apart the well-functioning and less well-functioning groups. The coding results rather corresponded with students' L2 proficiencies. This finding may tell us that these types of stancetaking are more closely linked to linguistic resources and thus require a certain level of L2 proficiency.

Foreign Language Learning

L2 researchers agree that aligned interaction among interactional affordances leads to engagement and learning, whereas misaligned and dissonant interaction leads to misunderstanding, disengagement, and failure in learning (Anton & DiCamilla, 1998; Atkinson et al., 2007). The analysis of the peer feedback exchanges and the revision process identified evidence to support the influence of alignment on L2 learning in a telecollaborative context.

The findings about language functions used during the feedback exchange sessions highlighted the readers' different choices of roles depending on dyadic relationships. The readers in well-functioning pairs provided multi-level scaffolding by eliciting questions from the writer, providing indirect feedback, and elaborating on their

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corrective feedback. They took a collaborative role by helping the writer to reflect on the originally intended meanings and to take ownership of the writing and revision process. Thus, the interaction exhibited more interactional and circular features that were constructed contingent on learner needs. In contrast, the readers in less well-functioning pairs tended to impose their own ideas about the writing by providing direct feedback in the form of already made corrections or revisions. They also tended to organize the talk by listing feedback in a linear fashion through the draft. They seemed to operate on the perception that peer feedback is about transmission of knowledge from a native speaker as more knowledgeable to an L2 learner. The readers in well-functioning partnerships demonstrated similar feedback-providing behaviors and language usage found among collaborative readers who showed open and reflective styles of providing feedback in Lockhart and Ng's (1995) study of feedback dyads among ESL learners. The readers in less well-functioning pairs in my study seemed to resemble authoritative readers who were mainly concerned with telling the writer what to do, using a restricted style of giving feedback found in the Lockhart and Ng study. In addition, the ways that readers provided an overall evaluation of the essay differed between the two types of readers. Those in well-functioning pairs provided an overall evaluation as a prelude to suggesting more specific feedback, whereas those in less well-functioning pairs tended to use overall evaluations as a way to end their feedback. The overall evaluation in the latter type of readers was backward in nature, compared to the forward-oriented overall evaluation made by the collaborative readers. This finding seems to point to the readers' engagement with planning before providing feedback.

Dyadic relationships also seemed associated with the writers' roles. The writers in well-functioning pairs actively sought feedback, participated in the organization of talk, and discussed how to revise their essays with the readers. Interestingly, the writers in less well-functioning pairs performed none of these discourse functions and took a less active learner role. The differing degrees of learner participation in the interactions did not seem attributable solely to individual motivation because these writer functions were collaborated with and encouraged by the readers. This finding highlights learner participation and agency as collaboratively constructed, a finding contributing to the literature that has generally emphasized the importance of learner agency in L2 telecollaboration (Basharina, 2009; Belz, 2001; Thorne, 2003). In addition, the writers in well-functioning pairs displayed a higher percentage of showing acceptance of peer feedback, whereas those in less well-functioning pairs showed instances of simply not accepting the feedback or justifying the original versions of the writing. In sum, the well-functioning pairs' feedback exchanges showed a greater extent of collaboration and reciprocity between reader and writer, a finding corroborating previous L2 studies (e.g., Zheng, 2012).

In terms of focus for the feedback, well-functioning pairs talked about a wider range of content in the feedback and attended to discourse-level issues such as coherence within and across paragraphs more frequently. In contrast, the readers in less well-functioning pairs focused on sentence-level rephrasing more frequently. While providing sentence-level revisions, these readers as native speakers of the language tended to impose their ideas about what well-written sentences should be like rather than to

preserve the original sentences written by L2 learners. Previous studies have focused mostly on corrective feedback that occurred during meaning-focused telecollaborative interactions, discovering low attention to linguistic affordances, and if so, mostly to lexical and syntactic linguistic features (e.g., Bower & Kawaguchi, 2011; Lina Lee, 2009; Tudini, 2007). The findings in my study demonstrated that the design of tasks that facilitate L2 learning and writing can provide an opportunity for telecollaborative learners to attend to diverse language areas. More importantly, the findings highlighted the association between peer relationships and feedback content. It may be that learners in well-functioning pairs exhibited a higher level of trait-level engagement, facilitating a deep level of cognitive processing and/or that the interpersonal dynamics influenced the levels of cognitive processing.

In sum, two main characteristics were evident in well-functioning pairs' feedback exchanges: first, two important scaffolding conditions (maintenance of intersubjectivity and contingent help tailored toward learners' needs and reactions) and fuller participation by both reader and writer (van Lier, 2004). The aligned and contingent feedback translated into the ways that students incorporated the feedback into their revisions. The writers in well-functioning pairs incorporated over 85% of the peer feedback exactly as suggested into their revisions. In contrast, the writers in less well-functioning pairs ignored or substituted the peer feedback with their own revisions in about 77% of the peer feedback. Misalignment led to missed learning opportunities. This finding could also be interpreted as evidence demonstrating mutual trust building afforded by the establishment of personal level and meaningful peer relationships and interaction.

Seen from a perspective that understands writing and reading as similar meaning-making processes (Fairclough, 2003; Tierney & Pearson, 1983), the feedback exchange interaction can also be understood as the process of making meanings or making texts. Among the processes of writing and reading that Tierney and Pearson proposed, planning and drafting were achieved in the independent writing or reading phase, whereas aligning, revising, and monitoring were manifested during the peer feedback interaction. That is, active engagement with alignment, revision, and monitoring were evidenced in well-functioning pairs' interactions. The findings in the current study revealed that an alignment between writer and reader depends on close collaboration and "effective" meaning making, and thus involves a form of alignment (Tierney & Pearson, 1983). In addition, frequent negotiations and revisions in meaning occurred during well-functioning pairs' interactions in which the writers had opportunities to reflect on and revise their intended meanings and the readers worked with the writer open and reflective of the original meanings. Indeed, revisiting the peer feedback and more active revising of the essay were found in well-functioning pairs' revisions.

The findings about the feedback exchange and revision suggested that the dyadic relationship may be of greater significance than other issues such as L2 proficiency and institutional differences such as assessment, at least in the data coming from the four focal pairs. Previous research has agreed on the importance of intersubjectivity in providing L2 peer feedback in numerous studies about peer responses among L2 learners in non-telecollaborative contexts (e.g., Liang, 2010; Zheng, 2012) and in a limited number of studies about L2 feedback during meaning-focused telecollaborative

exchanges (Darhower, 2008; Jin, 2013). This current study contributes to the literature specifically with findings about how the dyadic relationship influenced language functions and feedback content when peer feedback and essay writing were a required part of telecollaboration.

CONCLUSION

Although previous research about telecollaboration has shed light on genre clashes between cultures, the current study was an attempt to explore the ways that genre differences played out on the dynamics in the formation and development of an international partnership. That is, the study was not so much about identifying cultural differences involved in L2 learner participation in telecollaborative exchanges as about the ways that the dyadic relationship was related to intercultural interaction, L2 learning, and perceptions about the experiences. I must emphasize that in the study, I did not intend to explore causal relations between the dyadic relationship and intercultural communication, but rather my epistemological stance taken from a semiotic-ecological stance would support the notion about continual and cyclical interaction among various learning affordances: the dyadic relationship, interactions, and learning.

Based on the findings, I conclude with the following claims: (a) that the dyadic relationship building was a social semiotic activity that individual learners collaboratively constructed depending on how they understood the learning context, whereby native frames of reference functioned as one important variable in the process of context configuration; (b) that differing degrees of the dyadic relationship and participation in the

project were associated with the ways L2 learners engaged in computer-mediated intercultural communication and L2 learning; (c) that alignment between partners played a crucial role of constructing and displaying social cohesion, as evidenced in degrees of two-way interaction, meaning negotiation to construct a common ground between partners, and awareness of the partner and partner's perceptions; (d) that dialogic resonance as a process of alignment between partners was evident in their perceptions, interactions, and learning; and (e) that the intercultural communication and learning process became more complex due to the online communication mediums that innately implied blurred categories in terms of synchronicity, orality, and interactivity.

In particular, the study explored intercultural communication between L2 learners and heritage learners of the partner's native language, both sharing heritage connections and possessing certain familiarity with each other's culture, and found that this partnership can also create serious intercultural tensions and result in a fairly wide range of success in peer relationship building and the outcome of the project. In particular, the findings about interactions and L2 learning were related to differing degrees of the dyadic functioning more so than gender and L2 proficiency variables. Triangulation in data sources representing diverse aspects of the learning process confirmed the ecological validity that any analysis should be consistent with the participants' definition and perceptions of the situation (Cole et al., 1997). Lastly, the study was unusual in that it included several analytical frameworks that had not been attempted in previous research about telecollaboration, such as language functions, stancetaking, and relative perceptions about the partner's characteristics.

One of the two major insights from the study is that intercultural communication in an L2 context is not only about speaking the language correctly, but rather about understanding language as discourse and culture as discourse. That is to say, there will always be differences in expectations about activity and tools, motives, institutional and cultural structures conceptualizing learning, as well as individuals' personal histories and learning goals, all due to differences in the individual, cultural, institutional, global, and material conditions in different cultural contexts. In brief, culture is nothing but meaning, and intercultural communication is an open-ended process of meaning negotiation. Another insight is that engagement is based on perception and learning is an affect-laden process that is guided by motivational and sociocognitive communication among various learning affordances, including partner relationships (Kramsch, 2009). SLA theory and pedagogy need to encompass all learning affordances in the learning context such as the learner, language, technology, institution, and cultural and global contexts, as well as how interpersonal relations intersect with these factors in ways that are beyond the control of the teacher as well as the researcher.

LIMITATIONS

Data Collection Procedures

One area of the study limitations relates to the data collection from the telecollaborative project that was innately intercultural and sensitive to continuously emerging and changing contexts. A few students who experienced noticeable frustration, tensions, and problems with their partners during the project chose not to participate in

the study, and even when they had agreed initially to participate in the study, some did not continue further to complete the post-project questionnaire and have an interview with me: a problem in data imbalance. For example, I could not hear the voice of one student in a pair or I could not use the data of a student who agreed to participate when the partner did not participate in the study in the case analysis. In addition, the telecommunication between the two classes was an idiosyncratic intercultural coupling and interaction. Thus, I realize that an analysis of a different pairing with different classes, with different student dynamics, under the guidance of different instructors, and at different institutions, could certainly result in different dynamics in intercultural relationship and communication.

Several factors that I could not control were involved in the process of implementing the project according to the local conditions and constraints. Participants in the two classes used their native and target languages to differing proportions when completing the required tasks. The English composition class on the Korean side institutionally required instruction to be given entirely in English and students to use English only, whereas U.S. students used their more proficient language, English, to write their reflections in the journal entries and to conduct a class discussion about the news articles and documentary films. In addition, the assessment was on a letter-grade basis for the Korean class and on a completion basis for the U.S. class. The different class expectations influenced students' participation and experience on both sides. In addition, although Korean students' L2 proficiencies were fairly advanced, their L2 language use could be seen as a limiting factor in exploring their reflections shown in the reflection

data. There were some other factors that I could not control: students' diversity in backgrounds and language proficiency.

Research Design and Analysis

Although I theoretically took a semiotic-ecological stance to understanding L2 telecommunication, this study offered a methodological approach on how to bridge the open (ecological) and structured (drawing boundaries, assigning codes, Likert-scale questions) conceptualizations of interaction and learning. I acknowledge that this analytical approach generated several limitations in the study. First, my predetermined focus on the intercultural aspects of the data may have influenced my bias toward cultural differences rather than other variables at work. Although drawing boundaries is an essential first step of any social scientific research, including discourse analysis (Johnstone, 2008), I simultaneously realize that the resulting categories, codes, and unit of analysis can be somewhat arbitrary and that the coding results can be innately subjective. Therefore, the results and findings in the study should be interpreted always with an understanding of the category definitions and relevant qualitative analysis within the study. In a few cases, I assigned interpretations to only a few comments that received a code because the other comparative group did not receive the same code at all. From a positivist perspective, the difference can be seen as insignificant, but even one instance can provide a meaningful insight from a poststructuralist perspective. I thus acknowledge that the findings about those few instances should be explored and confirmed in other participant data within the study and in other various telecollaborative contexts.

It is important to note that the study was based on a relatively small number of participants. In particular, the case analysis depended on only four pairs with eight participants because I had to compromise the number of focal students for a closer study and also control for gender and L2 proficiency. In addition, the four pairs were purposefully selected as extreme cases. Thus, I realize that the analysis cannot capture the broader array of experiences of the other students who participated in the project and of various L2 learners in other telecollaborative contexts.

The last aspect of limitations relate to the nature of intercultural communication involved in my analysis. I note that participants from different cultures can interpret the same question, including the Likert-scale type question, differently, thus making it more difficult to arrive at a sound conclusion in a comparative analysis, an inherent problem for any intercultural and interactional research. In particular, participants' responses to quantitative questions in the study should be interpreted with caution because they do not represent absolute realities. In addition, although my study did not focus on a cross-linguistic comparison, the findings about the interactions still need to be carefully interpreted because of the nonequivalence of apparently different linguistic systems. For example, the Korean expression corresponding to an English expression of "I think" is a relatively more habitual practice, but I gave it an equal weight in the epistemic stance coding with the English expression. I realize that this can be a limiting factor to the generalizability of the study, although I tried to focus more on language functions and meanings than on forms and did not take into consideration which language was used in each comment.

IMPLICATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

The findings and limitations of the current study suggest several directions for future research. First, the present findings are in need of confirmation by analyzing the remaining data in the larger research project. I need to explore how interactions and L2 learning would look among those pairs who were categorized in the middle of the well-functioning and less well-functioning spectrum. If the data exhibit in-between degrees of frequencies in using language functions, stancetaking, and feedback incorporation, I could conclude that degrees of the dyadic functioning may be correlated with frequencies in the interactional and learning features. I also need to explore other variables such as language choice, codeswitching, L2 proficiency, and gender in relation to the dyadic relationships.

Further research is needed to explore how the findings about interpersonal dynamics in the present study would apply to similar and dissimilar contexts of L2 telecollaboration: for example, with different classes learning the same foreign languages (e.g., an English class for non-English majors in Korea, a Korean class for advanced learners at a U.S. university); with different learner populations (e.g., non-heritage learners of Korean); with students learning different foreign languages (e.g., learners of non-alphabetic languages for both sides); with different technological tools affording differing synchronicity and prosodic and nonlinguistic cues (e.g., voice or video conferencing, mobile communication tools); or in a more open learning environment (e.g., a learning environment open to the public; topics chosen by learners).

Among the findings, the features showing dialogic resonance emerged as an important aspect of alignment in the data. The phenomenon needs to be further explored in other telecollaborative contexts in order to see if dialogic resonance is a universal feature found in any well-functioning partnerships regardless of languages and nationalities involved. Lastly, the analysis of the interactions was limited to exploring several language functions, stance taking, and engagement with cultural knowledge, and L2 learning was operationalized in terms of feedback incorporation. As language and learning comprise a constellation of many different linguistic, cognitive, affective, and discourse aspects, future studies need to investigate how other aspects of interaction and learning are associated with intercultural relationship building.

IMPLICATIONS FOR PRACTICE

The findings of the study suggest implications for foreign language teaching practice, for teachers who plan and include telecollaborative exchanges in their classes, and for teacher education programs. The implications are suggested in light of alignment and relationship building in telecollaboration.

L2 learners need to develop intercultural competence that goes beyond learning language as a cognitive linguistic system to learning a foreign language and culture as discourse and meaning. In light of Lankshear et al.'s (2000) definition of technology-infused literacy education as comprised of operational, cultural, and critical dimensions, L2 learners need to strive to construct and maintain alignment with their telecollaborative partners in all three dimensions. First, in order to achieve alignment with the partner in

the operational dimension, L2 learners need certain levels of capabilities and knowledge to operate on the target language and on the technology. Second, L2 learners need the capabilities and knowledge about how social and discursive practices are performed in socially and culturally authentic situations, in order to maintain aligned understanding of the learning context. Third, as intercultural communication always implies limited access to the operational and cultural dimensions of the target discourse and culture, of more importance is the critical dimension. It is important for L2 learners to employ critical awareness of language and culture; critical reflection on the partner relationship, the learning process, and the technology; and attitudes of openness and curiosity, to reach a position "between languages" and between cultures (Byram, 1997; Kramsch, 2009). The core of the critical dimension, thus, is awareness about intercultural communication as an open-ended process of meaning making. As the study demonstrated, critical awareness about available affordances can be more important than changing their actual behavior or possessing a higher level of L2 proficiency.

The classroom becomes a place where learning and critical reflection are developed and prepared under guided instruction. Contingent scaffolding before, during, and after telecollaborative exchanges include teaching language and culture as discourse, helping L2 students understand the multifaceted nature of learning, leading follow-up discussions facilitating critical reflection, utilizing the records of CMC for further discussion and learning, and modeling attitudes of openness and curiosity (Helm & Guth, 2010; Kramsch & Thorne, 2002). No less important is extensive teacher preparation and aligned collaboration between the instructors involved in a telecollaborative project.

However, collaboration between instructors is not easy as several researchers have already offered candid accounts of the tensions and the difficulties that they experienced or observed through such projects (Basharina, Guardado, & Morgan, 2008; Belz & Muller-Hartmann, 2003; O'Dowd & Ware, 2009).

Therefore, the development of teachers' intercultural and telecollaborative competence must become an important component of teacher education and training (O'Dowd, 2015; Ware & Kramsch, 2005), considering the global situation in which all communication using L2 is essentially intercultural, whether it involves interaction between people or with information and artifacts accessible through media or the Internet. The educational field has increasingly argued for more vital roles of educators as technology has become an integral part of education, rather than for their roles giving way to technology (Lankshear et al., 2000). Educators' roles seem more critical for telecollaboration as it is considered as one of the most complex pedagogical contexts incorporating both technology and intercultural communication.

Appendices

Appendix 3.A: Introduction to the Telecommunication Project

Please discuss each of the following.

♡ Norms about Internet behaviors are different across cultures! Do you have any specific experience related to culturally different netiquette?

♡ Always assume good intentions from your partner. For example, some people might prefer a brief e-mail message, but other people write a long and careful message to show their excitement and engagement. If necessary, you can explicitly express your expectations and discuss them in class or with your partner.

♡ In all cases of online chatting including both training and telecommunication sessions, aim for half of the communication to be in Korean and half in English so that both parties can benefit from this project.

♡ During online chatting, it is okay to make errors because it is more important to communicate with your partners than to produce correct sentences.

Appendix 3.B: Instruction for the Training Chatting

Instruction for Login

1. Go to *Drupal* (http://www.edb.utexas.edu/online-chat/) and log in.
If you want, you can change your password: go to My Account → Edit.

2. Click "Online Communication Between US and Korean Student"

3. Click "Korean Class in U.S. – March 7 Fri"

4. Enter your group (e.g., Group 1, Group 2 …)

Chat name	Message count	Last message	Manage chat
Group 1	0	No messages.	Archive Delete
Group 2	0	No messages.	Archive Delete
Group 3	0	No messages.	Archive Delete
Group 4	0	No messages.	Archive Delete
Group 5	0	No messages.	Archive Delete
Group 6	0	No messages.	Archive Delete

Prompt Questions Given for the Training Chatting

Through this project, you are going to communicate with college students learning English as a foreign language in Korea. Please describe what your expectations are in regards to each of the following. Use English for half and Korean for half of the time.

- What do you think your partner coming from Korea will be like? What kind of characteristics do you think the most desirable in your partner? What do you expect your partner to help you with?

- What do you think about using text-based chatting as a way of communicating with your partner from Korea?

- What do you think about using your native language to communicate with your partner? Do you see it as a waste of time in a foreign language class?

- What do you expect to be the challenges of this project?

Appendix 3.C: Instructions for Three Telecommunication Sessions and Journal Entries

3 Telecommunication Sessions

1. Schedule an appointment for online chatting with your partner via e-mail. At the minimum, two 30-minute sessions or one 1-hour session is required per week. You are welcome to chat online more than that!

The time difference between Korea and the U.S. will be an issue. The U.S. town is 14 hours behind Korean time: for example,

Korea	US
10 PM (Mar 17)	8 AM (Mar 17)
10 AM (Mar 18)	8 PM (Mar 17)

You can use the following online tool to look at the two time zones simultaneously:

> http://www.worldtimebuddy.com/
> (add United States and South Korea)

It is a good idea to e-mail each other one hour before the scheduled appointment to confirm. ☺

2. Prepare questions and issues you would like to ask and discuss with your partner.

3. At your scheduled time,
  i.   go to *Drupal* (http://www.edb.utexas.edu/online-chat/)
  ii.   click "Online Communication Between US and Korean Student"
  iii. enter your chatting room that shows your name

4. Use each language for half the time. That is, you will talk in English for about 30 minutes and in Korean for about 30 minutes per week. Which language to begin with is up to you and your partner.

5. Enjoy your communication.

<div align="center">Journal Entry After Each Telecommunication Session</div>

How would you describe your overall feelings about today's online communication in terms of:

   a. the degree of enjoyment you experienced:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

   Not at all enjoyable   Medium   Very enjoyable

   b. the degree to which you felt the discussions were useful to your learning

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

   Not at all useful   Medium   Very useful

What have you learned from this session?
How did the communication go? How did you enjoy it?
Any thoughts or feelings that you had during or after this communication?

Appendix 3.D: Instruction for In-Class Writing After Learning about the Two Education Systems

Journal Entry 2.1: Before video-watching and reading

Please write down any knowledge or impression that you have about the education system or educational culture of Korea. You can compare it with U.S. culture (for example, compared to U.S. education, I heard that ….).

Journal Entry 2.2: After video-watching and reading
What have you learned about Korea's education system?
Do you think U.S. education system is well represented?
Are there any other thoughts or feelings that have arisen in you?

Appendix 3.E: Instruction for Main Essay (version given to Korean students)
Please describe what you have learned from this project by comparing and contrasting Korean education system and US education system in 3 paragraphs in English. Make sure to cite the sources (e.g., your partner's comments, Internet search, video clips, readings, in-class discussion, etc.). For example, as for citing, you can use such phrases as "my partner commented that," "according to the video clip about US education system that we saw in class," and "according to a website."

After your second telecommunication with your US partner, begin to work on this main essay. Once you are finished, upload your essay on the class management system and send it to your U.S. partner via e-mail. During your third telecommunication with your U.S. partner, you will help with your partner's essay written in Korean and your partner will help with your essay written in English. More instruction on the third telecommunication will be provided in class.

Appendix 3.F: Post-Project Questionnaire
The purpose of this questionnaire is to understand your experience with the telecommunication project and foreign language learning and to better prepare for future classes.

1. Name: 2. Birth year:

3. Have you been to the United States? When was it and how long did you stay?

4. In your daily life, how often do you do text-based chatting or text-messaging?
   ① Several times a day ② About once a day ③ 3-to-5 times a week ④ 1-to-2 times a week ⑤ Once or twice a month ⑥ Rarely

        About Your Experience with Intercultural Communication Project
Please respond to the following questions as honestly and self-reflexively as you can. There is no right or wrong answer to these questions.

1. What kind of device did you use to do the actual chatting (class requirement) with your Korean partner?

        ① Computer ② Smart phone ③ Tablet or iPad ④ Other device _____ .

2. How would you describe your overall feelings about this project in terms of:
a. the degree of involvement (defined as psychological engrossment or deep attention) you generally felt:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not at all involved			medium			Fully involved

b. the degree of enjoyment you experienced:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not at all enjoyable			medium			Very enjoyable

c. How much did your understanding of the Korean culture change after this project?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not at all			medium			Very much changed

3. How useful was each component of the project with regard to learning about the Korean language and culture? Write down your answers out in the table below using the following scale.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not at all useful			medium			Very useful

	For Korean language learning	For Korean culture learning
Example answers	4	5
a. Chats with your Korean partner		
b. Writing journal		
c. Watching the videos		
d. Reading the articles		
e. Class discussions		
f. Discussions with your US friends		
g. Individual Internet search, if you did		
h. Overall project		

About Your Experience with Partner

Relative to yourself, how would you describe your telecommunication partner from Korea in terms of:

a. the degree of your partner's nervousness:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
much less nervous			myself			much more nervous

훨씬 덜 초조해하는/걱정 하는   훨씬 더 초조해하는/걱정하는

b. the degree of your partner's friendliness:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

much less friendly   myself   much more friendly

훨씬 덜 친절한   훨씬 더 친절한

c. the degree to which your partner is hardworking:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

much less hardworking   myself   much more hardworking

훨씬 덜 열심히 하는   훨씬 더 열심히 하는

d. the degree of your partner's being prepared, organized, and meticulous:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

much less meticulous   myself   much more meticulous

훨씬 덜 준비돼 있고 꼼꼼한   훨씬 더 준비돼 있고 꼼꼼한

e. the degree of your partner's patience:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

much less patient   myself   much more patient

훨씬 덜 참을성 있는   훨씬 더 참을성 있는

f. the degree of your partner's being reliable and punctual:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

much less reliable and punctual   myself   much more reliable and punctual

훨씬 덜 믿을만하고 시간 안 지키는   훨씬 더 믿을만하고 시간 잘 지키는

g. the degree of interest in the project:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Much less interested   myself   much more interested

전혀 관심없는   훨씬 더 관심많은

Appendix 3.G: Interview General Questions
How did your email communication go? How often? Which language did you use?

Did you also use other communication channels such as FB and KakaoTalk with your partner? If so, how did it go? How often did you communicate outside the project?

Did you have any moments when you felt any cultural differences while communicating with her?

How do you feel about your relationship with your partner; how did it develop over time or remained the same? Did your enjoyment of the chats change over time?
Did the fact that your partner was the same gender help with your comm. and relationship w her?

What did you think about using both Korean and English? How did you like it?

Text-based chat vs. other modes (e.g., voice chat, video chat, SNS) when used in projects?

What did you like most and what did you dislike most from this project? What was the most helpful? What was the most difficult?

Did you learn new things about the Korean education system from this project or from chatting with her? How much did you incorporate her comments into your essay? What were the challenges that you had while trying to understand other cultures?

Did your understanding of the Korean education system change after this project? How?

Did your understanding of the Korean people change after this project? How?

Has your language proficiency grown through these activities? If so, how? If not, why not?

How much time did you spend for each task, for example, each journal entry, the first and second drafts of essay? Did you get editing from someone else for journal entries or essays?

Appendix 3.H: Information about Two Documentary Films

"Kenia Loyola"

The film clip showing an American high school student is called "Kenia Loyola." This clip is 3 minutes and 39 seconds long and a part of a larger documentary film: *Go Public: A Day in the Life of an American School District* (O'Keefe & O'Keefe, 2012). According to the film's website, on May 8, 2012, 50 camera crews followed individuals including students, teachers, principals, and volunteers in the Pasadena Unified School District in Southern California to produce a 90-minute documentary of one typical, full day in public schools. "Kenia Loyola" is one of the 50 short films. This film was directed by a student director, Adam Washington. A brief introduction about the film that the website provides is:

Sixteen-year-old Kenia is an outstanding student who attends Muir High School's Engineering and Environmental Science Academy, where she has the chance to work on a student-run farm and learn about growing crops and running a business. She is also involved in many campus clubs and leadership program.

The film can be viewed at the following link:
http://gopublicproject.org/2012/08/kenia-loyola/

A Documentary Film on Korean High School

The film was directed by a young American filmmaker, Kelly Katzenmeyer (Katzenmeyer, n.d.). The film similarly aims to show Korean students' life, and its website provides a glimpse into the content of the film:

What's life like for a Korean student? In one of the most competitive societies in the world, how does one find their place? … The film will show the students during the most stressful time of their lives—their last year of high school. After studying for roughly sixteen hours each day, their futures boil down to one last exam. On November 20th, 2011, thousands of high school seniors will take a nine hour test that for many, will determine their economic and social status for the rest of their lives.

This documentary film has not been released as of yet, but you can watch its fundraising video. Please watch the first 3 minutes, although you are welcome to watch the entire 19 minute-long video.

The film can be viewed at the following link:
http://www.koreanhighschool.com/

Appendix 3.I: Three News Articles

News Article 1: Published by Korea Herald on 2012-11-30
Study: Supportive culture is critical to country's education
British education company Pearson said Korea ranked second in global education rankings, which were based on international test results and evaluation of each country's education system. Finland ranked No. 1.

Pearson's chief education advisor Michael Barber said the secret of the high-ranking countries is that they have an "educational culture." Not just the spending on education but the atmosphere of putting high value on education led to excellent results, the report said. Barber explained Finland and Korea shared a high value put on education, even though they showed a lot of differences on each education factor.

The study also reported the high enthusiasm for education among parents in Asian countries, pointing out the surprising situation of Korean families' migration for children's education and Korean mothers praying for their children's test results.

영국 교육관련 회사 피어슨(Pearson)이 전세계 선진국들의 학업 성과 순위를 발표했다. 이는 국제학력시험 결과와 교육시스템을 동시에 평가한 것으로, 한국은 핀란드에 이어 2 위를 차지했다.

피어슨의 최고 교육고문으로 있는 마이클 바버(Michael Barber)는 상위권 국가들이 모두 사회 전체의 교육 열기가 뜨거운 "교육 문화"를 가지고 있다고 평가했다. 단순히 교육에 대한 지출이 높은 것이 아니라, 교육에 높은 가치를 두는 사회적 분위기가 가장 중요하다고 연구진은 밝혔다. 바버는 핀란드와 한국은 교육에 있어서 시스템 등 많은 요소들이 상이하지만 교육에 대한 관심이 뜨거운 것이 공통점이라고 전했다.

연구진은 또한 아시아 국가들의 부모들이 교육에 헌신적인 점을 언급했다. 연구는 한국의 가족 전체가 자녀의 교육을 위해 이사를 하고, 한국의 어머니들이 자녀의 시험 결과를 위해 열성적으로 기도하는 모습을 실었다.

News Article 2: Published by The Korea Times on 2012-01-26

Obama says S. Koreas education, Internet outperforming US

U.S. President Barack Obama on Tuesday lauded South Korea's education system again. "Let's also remember that after parents, the biggest impact on a child's success comes from the man or woman at the front of the classroom," he said. "In South Korea, teachers are known as 'nation builders.' Here in America, it's time we treated the people who educate our children with the same level of respect," according to the Yonhap News Agency.

Since his visit to Seoul in 2009, Obama has often talked about the education fervor that contributed to South Korea's rapid economic development in recent decades, and has deplored the underperformance of American students, especially in math and science. Obama has called for the U.S. to look to South Korea in adopting longer school days and after-school programs for American children to help them survive keen global competition.

He called for reform in U.S. education and stressed the need to rebuild infrastructure to catch up with South Korea and other outperforming countries.

버락 오바마 미국대통령이 지난 화요일 또 다시 한국의 교육제도를 극찬 했다.

"부모 다음으로 아이들의 성공에 가장 영향을 미치는 존재가 교사다. 한국에서는 교사가 국가건설자 (nation builder)로 불린다"면서 "이곳 미국에서도 우리 아이들을 교육하는 사람들을 그와 같은 수준의 존경심으로 대해야 할 때"라고 말했다고 연합뉴스가 전했다.

2009 년 방한 이래 오바마 대통령은 빠른 경제 성장에 기여한 한국의 교육열을 자주 거론해 오면서 미국학생들의 특히 수학과 과학과목에서의 부진을 질책해왔다.

오바마 대통령은 또한 미국학생들이 치열한 세계경쟁에서 살아 남으려면 미국이 한국의 수업일수가 많은 점과 방과 후 수업 등을 연구해야 할 것이라고 촉구해 왔다.

오바마 대통령은 미국 교육개혁을 촉구하면서 한국 등 국가들을 따라 잡을 수 있는 인프라 구축 필요성을 강조 했다.

News Article 3: Published by Los Angeles Times on 2013-12-11
Are America's students falling behind?
The results of the standardized tests known as the Program for International Student Assessment were released last week. American students ranked above the median in reading and science but below it in math. The leaders of the nation's teachers unions immediately fired off news releases asserting that the mediocre PISA scores of American students showed that more than a decade of testing-based reform had failed our schools. Prominent reform leaders, by contrast, concluded from the test results that the U.S. was failing to change schools radically enough to aid its most disadvantaged students. Still others predicted that the U.S. economy would crash and burn because of our students' unimpressive math scores on the PISA exams compared with other countries' students. The results on the PISA, administered every three years to 15-year-olds in 65 countries, tell us as much about cultural differences as about differences between school systems. In the Asian countries that took the top spots — including Singapore, South Korea and areas of China — families spend heavily on private tutoring to prepare their children for college entrance examinations that closely resemble the PISA tests. So the high PISA results don't necessarily reflect on their schools.
The reasons that some countries do well (or poorly) are complicated. Finland, for instance, has historically been successful on the PISA tests — so much so that governments, including California's, have sent delegations there to figure out the educational magic. And Finland has been successful despite the fact that, unlike in Asia, testing is de-emphasized and recesses during the school day are long. But Finland also is a country with relatively few disadvantaged children, largely because of the nation's social welfare network. And disadvantaged children, no matter what the country, fare worse on the PISA tests than students from more educated and affluent families. A Stanford study last year found that non-school factors such as the number of books in students' homes accounted for more than two-thirds of the variation in scores on high-profile international tests like PISA. A different study published this year found that much of the difference between U.S. scores and those of high-ranking nations is because the United States has a higher proportion of disadvantaged students. But the study found that the scores of the most disadvantaged U.S. students have been improving markedly over the years, while scores for their counterparts in many top-ranked nations have fallen precipitously.

미국 학생들은 뒤처지고 있는가?
PISA 라고 표준평가시험의 최근 결과가 지난 주 발표됐다. 미국학생은 읽기와 과학에서 중간 등수를 넘었지만, 수학에서는 그러지 못했다. 미국의 전국 교사 노조 대표는 미국 학생들의 썩 뛰어나지 않은 성적은 십년 동안 추진해왔던 시험 중심의 교육 개혁이

실패했음을 증명한다고 보도자료를 내보냈다. 저명한 개혁 대표자들은 반대로 미국은 불우한 환경에 처해 있는 학생들의 학업을 개선하도록 근본적으로 개혁하지 못했음을 시험결과에서 알 수 있다고 결론내렸다. 다른 나라에 비해서 인상적이지 못한 PISA 수학 성적을 놓고 미국 경제가 붕괴할 것이라고 예언하는 사람도 있다.

3년마다 65개국의 15세 학생들에게 치뤄지는 PISA 시험의 결과는 학교의 교육 시스템의 차이 뿐만 아니라 문화 차이를 보여주기도 한다. 싱가포르, 한국, 그리고 중국의 일부 지역처럼 최상위 결과를 차지한 아시아 국가에서는, PISA 시험과 유사한 대학 입학 시험을 준비하기 위해 아이들은 엄청난 사교육을 받는다. 따라서, PISA 시험의 높은 점수는 반드시 학교 교육의 결과는 아닌 것이다.

시험 결과가 나라마다 다른 이유는 복잡하다. 예를 들어, 핀란드는 PISA 시험에 역사에 길이 남을 정도의 성공을 거두었는데, 캘리포니아를 비롯한 여러 나라의 정부는 핀란드 교육의 특효약이 무엇인지 밝혀내기 위해 대표단을 보내기도 한다. 아시아 국가와는 다르게 핀란드는 시험을 중요시 하지 않고 학교 하루 일과 동안 휴식 시간도 긴데도 불구하고 시험 성적은 좋다. 그러나 핀란드는 사회보장 때문에 상대적으로 불우한 환경에 처한 학생들이 적다. 불우한 환경에 처해 학생들보다 학식있고 부유한 가정의 아이들이 일반적으로 PISA 시험에서 더 좋은 성적을 거둔다. 스탠포드 대학에서 작년에 있었던 연구에 의하면 가정이 보유한 도서 총수와 같은 학교 외의 변수가 PISA 처럼 세간의 이목을 쓰는 시험 점수의 3분의 2 정도를 설명할수 있다고 한다. 올해 발표된 또 다른 연구는 미국의 점수와 최상위 성적을 거둔 다른 나라의 성적이 차이 나는 이유는 미국에 불우 학생 수가 많이 때문이라고 밝혔다. 대신 미국의 불우학생들의 성적은 지난 몇 년 동안 현저하게 발전한 반면, 최상위 성적으로 거둔 나라의 불우학생들의 성적은 가파르게 떨어졌다고 밝혔다.

Appendix 5.A: Language Function Coding Scheme (Applied to All Three Chats)

(a) Main Task Related Comments
Chat 1: Get to know each other Chat 2: Discuss educational systems in Korea and United States Chat 3: Exchange peer feedback on each other's L2 essay

(b) Comments Indirectly Related to Main Tasks		
Code	Definition	Example
Conversation Management	1. Guiding the conversation or announcing a new topic 2. Managing the beginning or end of the conversation	1. "Aron (Korea): let's talk about the u.s education system first." "Kyungae (Korea): 나 항상 궁금했던게 있는데" [I always had a question, by the way] "Madison (US): Am I going too fast? just tell me ~" 2. "Aron (Korea): 응 ㅋㅋ 그럼 이제 너 학교가야겠다" [okay, then, you will have to go to school now]
Further Communication Management	1. Scheduling or discussing how to contact each other outside the required chats (e.g., email, googledoc, kakaotalk) 2. Suggesting or asking for further help outside the required chats 3. Discussing how to exchange feedback outside the third chat	1. "Aron (Korea): 다음 채팅 약속은 메일로 잡을까?" [shall we schedule our next meeting via email?"] 2. "Isabella (US): 만약 궁금한거 있으면 카톡해ㅎㅎ" [If you have any questions, kakao me haha] 3. "Ethan (US): i edited your paper and can email it back to you if you want" "Aron (Korea): 뒤에 revise 써놓은 부분만 봐" [look at the revised part at the end only (pointing to the revised paper sent via email)]
Task Issues	1. Commenting on issues related to the required tasks 2. Discussing different task requirements between the two classes	1. "Isabella (US): the topic is discuss the two cultures' education systems as represented in the videos and news articles that we watched and read in class" 2. "Aron (Korea): 웅 막 '내 파트너가 이렇게 말해줬습니다' 이렇게 쓰지말라구 ㅜㅜ" [right, my professor told us not to use those expressions like 'my partner said that']

Task Experience	Sharing experiences, views, and attitudes about the tasks or the entire project	1. "Aron: (Korea): "I am nervous a little" "Aron (Korea): 1 시간 동안 재미있었어!!!!! ^0^" [The one-hour chat was so fun!!!!!] "Aron (Korea): today topic is profound question" "Ethan (US): i got alot of help...[from others in writing the essay]"
Meaning Negotiation	Meaning-negotiation sequences; consisting of (1) signaling of non-understanding and (2) meaning-negotiation comments; can be related to either L2 or C2	"Karam (Korea): I didn't mean private school.. I meant supplementary educational institute." "Tyler (US): 음 기계치가 뭐인가요?" [what do you mean by 기계치]
Footing	1. Native speaker's setting up a common understanding about a cultural issue or checking if they are on the same page; can be related to either L2 or C2 2. Native speaker's explaining grammatical terms before giving feedback during the third chat	1. "Kyungae (Korea): 사범대가 뭔지 알아?" [do you know the Korean word meaning 'college of teacher education'?] "Ethan (US): have you heard of SAT?" "Aron (Korea): "야자" 알아?" [do you heard of something called 'late at night study at school'?] 2. "Aron (Korea): Do you know 띄어쓰기?" [do you know the Korean word meaning 'spacing']

(c) Social Comments Not Related to Main Tasks

Codes	Definition	Examples
Phatic Expression	Can be connected to main task comments or none main task comments. 1. No content but to show "I'm following" or echoic repetition 2. Prompts for further info such as "really", ambiguous as to agreeing or supplying a phatic expression 3. Short formulaic expressions showing politeness 4. Simple greetings, closings, etc. 5. Emotive expressions 6. Emoticon usages	1. "mm"; "uhhuh"; "I see" 2. "Tyler (US): I don't know American tv shows or dramas either" "Heejoo (Korea): Really" 3. "you're very welcome :)" 4. "hello"; "have a good day" 5. "impressive"; "amazing"; "so romantic!"; "oh wow... that's cool"; "Haha…"; "Cool" 6. "T_Tsad"

Status Check	1. Any comments showing that one partner is waiting for the partner to come or checking on partner status. 2. Commenting on technical issues that influence current conversation	1. "Heejoo (Korea): 늦어서 죄송합니다.^^" [I am sorry for late] "Tyler (US): hello? I've been sitting here for an hour.." 2. "Ethan (US): sorry, my internet connection is a little bad..."
L2 Learning	1. Asking for help or helping with L2 vocabulary or phrases indirectly related to main tasks. 2. Correcting L2 learner's misspelling	1. "Madison (US): how do you say: I really appreciate it!" 2. "Madison (US): 재일 조는 학교는 'Ivy League schools'라고 부르다" [the best schools are called 'Ivy League schools'] "Karam (Korea): 제일 좋은 학교!"
L2 Learning Experience	1. Sharing anxiety or difficulty about L2 learning in general or L2 writing 2. Comforting or agreeing with partner's L2 anxiety 3. Talking about L2 proficiency (code this as Main Task in chat 1) 4. Sharing difficulty in L2 typing 5. Sharing language learning experiences (coded this as Main Task in the first chat)	1. "Ethan (US): what the.... hahaha well... i don't think I will ever figure it ou" 2. "Aron (Korea): 근데 이거는 한국인들도 많이 헷갈려하는거야" [Even Koreans feel difficult about this grammar] 3. "Madison (US): 앓아서, 고맙다! 한국말 잘 못해서 미안하다 T_T" [I got it, thanks. I am sorry that my Korean is bad] 4. "Ethan (US):한글 타이핑이 느려서 미안...." [I am sorry for my slow Korean typing] 5. "Kyungae (Korea): 어렸을 때부터 다녔어" [I had had tutoring since very young]
Side Talk	Small talk	"Ethan (US): I did haha.. I just woke up" "Aron (Korea): 나도 미국에 간다면............ㅋㅋ" [If I visit US next time….] "Kyungae (Korea): This week I tried to do a first English presentationand it was so difficult haha"
Typo Correction	Correcting one's own misspellings or mistakes coming from fast typing, L2 vocabulary, or unfamiliarity with typing a writing system	27: Ethan (US): you can speak korean right now if you want 28: Ethan (US): type*

Appendix 5.B: Attitudinal Stance Coding Scheme (Applied to all Three Chats)

Code	Function and Rule	Example
Affect	Expressing feelings and emotions (including emoticons). Subcodes: positive, negative, other (mostly surprise)	"Aron (Korea): 아예 안오는줄 알았어 ㅠㅠ 다행이야!ㅋㅋ" [I thought you were not coming. I'm glad you've come] "Aron (Korea): oh my god.."
Appreciation	Valuing what is desirable/useful/important regarding entities or situations such as: 1. Partner's idea 2. Culture 3. Learning sources/tasks 4. Partner essay but not including comments stating facts. Subcodes: positive, negative	1. "Ethan (US): that was a great idea :)" 2. "Tyler (US): I think Korean system is very uptight" "Ethan (US): even though that is very bad, i think that is what made high school kinda entertaining" 3. "Ethan (US): yeah that movie was a very poor representation of U.S. school system..." 4. Aron (Korea): your essay is good
Judgment	Evaluating individual's behavior or characteristics. Subcodes: self, other	"Heejoo (Korea): Oh. you sounds so busy studying T_T" "Madison (US): Sorry if I take forever to respond; I'm terrible at reading/writing"
Agreement	Agreeing or showing alignment/sympathy toward partner's comment	"Aron (Korea): i have a dog to hoho" "Isabella (US): oh yes I heard that too"

Appendix 5.C: Cultural Knowledge Source Category (Applied to Chat 2 Main Task Comments)

Code	Definition	Example
Experience	Sharing personal experience.	"Ethan (US): I graduated 6th in my class"
General Statement	Producing generalized statement about simple facts about a culture, not based on specific sources or experience but given from a cultural informant.	"Heejoo (Korea): yes, the system is, and also students get to go more institutes for futher and intensive s tudy"
Opinion	Sharing personal opinion not based on evidence or facts	"Ethan (US): even though that is very bad, i think that is what made high school kinda entertaining" "Tyler (US): I think Korean system is very uptight"
Class Source	Talking about the sources given in class such as videos, news articles, and class discussions.	"Aron (Korea): i watched the video, i thought the students have experienced a variety of different opportunities"
Other Source	Learning from other sources, including indirect experience.	"Ethan (US): My cousin told me that Korean school-before-college is TERRIBLE, but once you get into college, it's not so bad"
Reaction	Reaction showing learner's new cultural knowledge building.	"Aron (Korea): i shocked...haha" "Aron (Korea) 생각보다 사람사는 건 비슷한거같아..ㅋㅋ" [It looks as if people's lives are similar across cultures.]
Novice Learner	Expressing curiosity or asking questions about the target culture, partner's experience or opinion.	"Aron (Korea): I want to know about the us education system and school life" "Kyungae (Korea): umm well i haven't taken the American class so i think i should ask you about that"

Appendix 5.D: Stance Toward Cultural Knowledge (Applied to Chat 2 Main Task Comments)

Stance Type	Code	Definition	Example
Stance Toward Cultural Alternation	Monoglossia	Comments which suppress or close down the space for cultural alternation, by treating the cultural content as a untestable fact or established knowledge represented in bare assertion	"Ethan (US): America is the complete opposite: middle school and high school is super easy.. then college is really hard"
	Heteroglossia	Comments which entertain or open up the space for cultural alternation, reflecting a plurality of cultural alternatives both complementary and contradictory	"Madison (US): Is the 16 hours/day thing really true? I think it really depends on the person - I think there are people who study 0 hours a day and then there's people who study for like 10."
Epistemic Stance	Intensification	Strong or intense forms of commitment to truth	Categorical assertion (e.g., you're right, I am sure that); lexical intensifiers (e.g., certainly, very, a lot of, so, so much, of course); lexical absolutes (e.g., no, at all, all, every, everywhere, all over, not very, very little, only); typographical stress (e.g., NORMAL)
	Mitigation	Mitigated forms of commitment to truth	Hedges/modal adjectives/modal adjectives (e.g., perhaps, kinda, probably, maybe, sometime, some, possible); mental process clauses showing mitigated epistemic stance (e.g., I think, it seems, I heard)
No Stance		1. Retelling experience without showing any stance toward knowledge 2. All "Novice Learner" and "Reaction" comments from the cultural knowledge source coding scheme	1. "Ethan (US): all throughout high school i had about 8 classes a day" 2. "Aron (Korea): I want to know about the us education system and school life"

Appendix 6.A: Coding Scheme for the Language Functions of Feedback Exchange Comments

Ask Suggestion	General or Direct: Writer asks for general or direct feedback on essay or suggestion for revision	Kyungae (Korea): which grammars were wrong? can you tell me?
	Elaboration: Writer asks for elaboration of reader's feedback or L2 rules after receiving feedback	Ethan (US): what is the general rule for spacing
Give Suggestion	Direct: Reader's direct suggestion as to revising or correction (usually by providing a correction)	Aron (Korea): 비교할때부터 알아볼수있읍니다 (x) Aron (Korea): 비교할 때부터 알아 볼 수 있습니다 (O) [showing a correct sentence in terms of spacing and spelling]
	Indirect: Reader helps writer to think about a correct expression or a revision	Aron (Korea): if you write intro about test systme, intro part will be too long.
	Elaboration: Reader explains a grammar rule or a reason behind feedback	Madison (US): adjectives tend to go first, not nouns
Ask Opinion	Writer asks for overall comments, evaluation, or help in general. Or writer elicits more feedback.	Heejoo (Korea): yeah do you have anything to say about mine?
Give Opinion	Reader gives overall opinion or evaluation about the essay	Isabella (US): your essay was good. your grammar. especially u uses the tenses very well!! Kyungae (Korea): 그리고 역시나 문장을 묶는 그룹핑이 조금 아쉬웠엉 [And, again, your essay needed an improvement in sentence grouping]
Self Feedback	Writer gives overall opinion on one's own essay	Aron (Korea): i have many many many errors..

Exchange Information	Asks for or gives more information, knowledge, examples, personal opinion about issues related to the essay content	Kyungae (Korea): 근데 한국에서는 대학교 이전에는 피피티 사용해서 앞에 나가서 발표하고 이런 것의 개념이 없어서 [but, in Korea, we don't practice ppt presentations before college]
Discuss Revising	Discuss or share plan of revising	Ethan (US): yeah i was gonna write an intro and make the rest of the 1st paragraph into a new paragraph
Elicit Questions from Writer	Reader elicits any questions from writer either before or after giving feedback	Ethan (US): ask me if there's anything you don't understand
Pointing	Reader points out which part of the essay is talked about or simply copies a sentence which is to be commented on	Isabella (US): for the first paragraph Tyler (US): The sentence that said "He expressed the college education as such big freedom that if they try hard to manage it wisely, then they might end up failing out."
Accept	Writer accepts the feedback or acknowledges that the original version is wrong; or shows learning of new L2 grammar rules or writing conventions	Ethan (US): i didn't know which one to use Kyungae (Korea): my essay is getting much better~
Disagree	Writer disagrees with reader's feedback; gives somewhat negative responses to the feedback; or provides a justification to the original version	Karam (Korea): But I want to say many different results unspecifically..?

Appendix 6.B: Coding Scheme for Feedback Content

Content	Definition	Example
Overall Comments	Overall evaluation of the essay	Ethan (US): just grammar Ethan (US): but your content was perfect :)
Vocabulary	Appropriate expressions or spelling errors (at the single-word level)	Aron (Korea): 단지 -합니다, 냅니다, 입니다, 습니다 를 쓸 때는 'ㅂ'을 써야해 [you have to use 'ㅂ' for the final consonant] Isabella (US): US is fine, but maybe it's better to say United States for first sentence
Local Grammar	Local grammatical issues such as articles, pronouns, spacing (involving more than a single word)	Tyler (US): "Looking at my high school life and partner's, we can compare how different atmosphere they are in, →" "Looking at my high school life and my partner's" Madison (US): usually, you want to use "Korean students" instead of "students of Korea"
Phrasing	Rephrasing at the sentence level or providing formulaic expressions for a desired meaning	Madison (US): "In contrast, it is hard to find private educational institute for school study or SAT in the United States. Instead of private educational institute, students of the United States go to prep classes after school. ->" Madison (US): "In contrast, it's not very common for an American student to go to private tutoring on top of their public education. If anything, high school students attend prep classes for the standardized college entrance exam, the SAT"
Formality or Register	Formality, register, or tone of language relating to the parts that are grammatically correct but need revision	Karam (Korea): "아 그리고 저널에 존댓말과 반말이 섞여있는데, 다 존댓말로 쓰는게 더 좋아" [oh, and, you used both the deferential and informal endings, but you would better to use the deferential ending for all]
Intra-paragraph Coherence	Coherence and transition between sentences; conjunction usage	Tyler (US): 그리고 절때로 And 로 sentence 시작하지 마세요 [Never use "And' at the beginning] Isabella (US): um....I think most struggle part was....group sentence Kyungae (Korea): 그리고 첫번째 문단에서 한국과

		미국의 공통점에 대해 말할 것이라는 내용의 문장을 넣고 공통점 나열을 시작해도 괜찮을 것 같아 [I think it will be good if you add a sentence saying that you are going to talk about similarities between Korean and U.S. in the first paragraph and then you list similarities]
Inter-paragraph Coherence	Coherence between paragraphs; introduction and conclusion	Aron (Korea): if you write intro about test systme, intro part will be too long.
Ideas	Topic of the overall essay or relevant knowledge/experience	Kyungae (Korea): 근데 한국에서는 대학교 이전에는 피피티 사용해서 앞에 나가서 발표하고 이런 것의 개념이 없어서 [but in Korea, we don't practice ppt presentations before college]
Feedback Exchange Management	Comments not indicating specific language areas	Kyungae (Korea): and anything else? Ethan (US): ask me if there's anything you don't understand Madison (US): so in your last paragraph first sentence:

Appendix 6.C: Feedback Incorporation Categories

Type	Description
Exactly Incorporated	Feedback incorporated exactly per reader's marking
Partially Incorporated	Feedback partially incorporated
No Change	No response to the feedback was apparent. Feedback was ignored.
Substitution	Writer made a change to the area that was mentioned by the reader, but did not take the feedback as it was.
Codes not used in my analysis: Incorrect Substitution, Deleted Text, Incorrect Change, Reader-Induced Error, Averted Erroneous Reader Marking	

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