

English Language Learner Participation Practices:  
The Social Purpose of Classroom Discourse in an Arizona English Language  
Development Summer Program Middle School Classroom

by

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## ABSTRACT

This thesis study describes English Language Learner (ELL) participation practices in a summer English language development (ELD) middle school classroom in a public school district in Arizona. The purpose of the study was to document Mexican immigrant and Mexican American English learners' language experiences in a prescriptive ELD program in relation to the social, historical and cultural context. The study utilizes a sociocultural framework and critical language awareness concepts as well as qualitative interpretive inquiry to answer the following research questions: What is the nature of ELL participation during language lessons? That is, what are the common participation practices in the classroom? What social or cultural values or norms are evident in the classroom talk during language lessons? That is, in what ways do participants use language for social purposes? And, what is the cultural model of ELD evident in the classroom language practices?

Data collection and analyses consisted of close examination of ELL participation within official language lessons as well as the social uses of language in the classroom. Analysis of classroom discourse practices revealed that ELL participation was heavily controlled within the common Initiation-Response-Evaluation pattern and that the students were limited to repetition and recitation responses. Further, analysis of discourse content demonstrated that classroom participants used language for social purposes in the classroom, most often using regulatory, decontextualized and resistance language. The findings

revealed a cultural model of constrained ELD language practices that can be considered a pedagogy of subtractive assimilation.

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## Chapter 1

### Introduction

English language learners (ELLs) are a growing population in schools in the United States and in Arizona, particularly Latino ELLs (Capps et al., 2005). According to the National Clearinghouse for English Language Acquisition, the ELL population in U.S. schools grew more than 53% between 1998 and 2008 to more than five million students (NCELA, 2010). While ethnic and linguistic diversity is a reality in U.S. public schools, there is no consensus about how best to educate English language learners. Rather policy makers, state legislators, educators and researchers debate how to educate ELLs (Hawkins, 2004). These discussions range from deliberations about academic standards and expectations for ELLs to debates about effective methods for second language acquisition (Crawford, 2000; Krashen, 1996).

Political movements have also molded the ELL educational landscape. English-only initiatives have been successful in three states: California (Prop 227), Arizona (Prop 203) and Massachusetts (Question 2), and other states are considering mandating similar school language policies (Wright, 2005). Wiley & Wright (2004) point out that national and state education policies have intersected in Arizona to narrow the range of programming available to English learners; funding allowances, for example allow state education administrators to:

select a single study, no matter how dubious or flawed, which supports English-only agendas. In Arizona, for example, the superintendent of public instruction touts the Guzman (2002) study—which experts in the

field have found flawed—as “scientific” evidence that bilingual education is ineffective. (Wiley & Wright, 2004, p. 157)

Structured English Immersion (SEI) was implemented as the official state-wide model for English language instruction in Arizona schools in the 2008-2009 school year after Prop 203 in 2000, which mandated English-only instruction (Lillie et al., 2010).

Valenzuela (1999) states that there are four folk assumptions behind the belief that minority English learners need to be schooled in classrooms that use *only* English:

1. There is no value in bilingualism, biculturalism, or fluency in a language or culture other than English.
2. Fluency in any language except English interferes with education, or at least does not contribute to education in any meaningful way.
3. Research on these issues is irrelevant.
4. Monolingual members of the general public are capable of deciding educational programming for non-Anglo language minority children and better able to make such decisions than bilingual education teachers or the children’s communities. (Valenzuela, 1999, p. xv).

The current paradigms of academic standards and English language proficiency policies (NCLB) intersect with politics (Wiley & Wright, 2004) to shape the schooling and language practices that create particular learning experiences for ELLs. This study is an attempt to explore one such ELD program – a site in which ideology becomes policy into practice – to document and

describe an example of English learners' experiences within the milieu of SEI and the larger Arizona Department of Education language climate. English language learners' *language experiences* in these school programs are an often marginalized element of the larger "language and schooling" debate, but they are central to this study.

*Being ELL in Arizona Schools in 2010*

"English language learners" in Arizona are K-12 students who do not speak English as their primary or first language and have not passed the AZELLA, the state's English language proficiency test. According to the National Clearinghouse for English Language Acquisition report on ELL growth, there were more than 166,000 ELLs enrolled in Arizona schools in 2007-2008, a growth of more than 48% from 1997-98 (NCELA, 2010). The National Center for Education Statistics reports that 76.8% of public schools in Arizona had Limited English Proficient (LEP) students in 2003-04 and that 16.2% of all enrolled students were LEP. The Pew Hispanic Center reported that about 170,000 of Arizona's 1 million K-12 students are children of immigrants and include both citizens and non-citizens and the majority of these are Latino (Pew Hispanic Center, 2009). These statistics reveal the immense ELL presence in Arizona K-12 schools, and the scale of the ELD programming that touches the lives of these mostly Latino learners each day. The following elements influence ELL education in Arizona, in large and small ways, and shape everyday experiences of being ELL in Arizona schools. The following background information on ELL education and issues that affect English learners in Arizona is an attempt to locate

the current social, cultural and historical contexts in which the study's classroom language practices are situated.

*Arizona Structured English Immersion (SEI)*<sup>1</sup>

The English-only policy to which this study refers has its basis in Proposition 203 (2000), a voter approved mandate for English-only instruction in public schools, and House Bill 2064 (2006), a large bill with many educational statutes, including §15-756.01, which established the Arizona English Language Learners Task Force. The Task Force is housed in the Arizona Department of Education (AZ DOE), and was charged with developing the Structured English Immersion program model: “separate models for the first year in which a pupil is classified as an English language learner that includes a minimum of four hours a day of English language development” – the English Language Development (ELD) four-hour instructional block (HB 2064, 2006, lines 34-6).

According to task force minutes the four-hour ELD block intended for newly classified ELLs was to be implemented in Arizona public and charter schools beginning in the 2008-2009 school year (AZDOE, 2007). The important distinction from non-ELL instruction is that it does not include subject matter content; ELD classroom content is limited to the English language with a focus on “phonology (pronunciation – the sound system of a language), morphology (the

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<sup>1</sup> This discussion about ELL programming only includes SEI because of its centrality to this thesis study; however, there are a plethora of instructional programs for non-English speaking children in schools in the U.S. Variation in quality and design is a key characteristic of ELL programming (Judd, 2000). The four main programs used for elementary school children are transitional and maintenance bilingual, ESL, and English-only (Faltis, 2006; Valdes, 2001).

internal structure and forms of words), syntax (English word order rules), lexicon (vocabulary), and semantics (how to use English in different situations and contexts)” (AZDOE, 2008, p. 1). The model prescribes three components that influence classroom activity: policy, structure and classroom practices. *Policy* refers to Arizona law that requires English instruction *in English* and the grouping of ELLs in a separate setting (AZ DOE, 2008, p. 1). *Structure* refers to how schools should operate the SEI model and includes elements such as content, program entry and exit, student grouping and class size, scheduling and time allocation, and teacher qualifications (2008, p. 3). Finally, *classroom practices* include a script for the organization of teaching and learning of ELD content including language use, objectives, materials and testing, instructional methods and teacher training (2008, p. 7). Schools and teachers do not decide the details of ELL instruction; the state prescribes it, through the Task Force.

Historically, the SEI model comes to the U.S. from Canada, where French immersion programs foster second language acquisition in a society that values bilingualism (Schmidt, 1998). Faltis (2006) points out that in Canada the goal is “high bilingualism and biliteracy” while in the U.S. “minority students who are limited English proficient are assigned to self-contained classrooms in which English is the only language of instruction” (2006, p. 68). Hernandez-Chavez (1984) unpacked the inadequacy of uncritically importing immersion language programs to the U.S. Unlike Canada, in the U.S. English replaces the ELL’s home language, subtracting rather than adding to the linguistic repertoire (Hernandez-Chavez, 1984).

The SEI model permeates ELLs' everyday experiences in Arizona. Recent scholarly work has found the statewide SEI model's effects on language learners dubious, with students neither effectively acquiring English language proficiency nor subject matter content (Rolstad, Mahoney & Glass, 2005). In fact, in their meta-analysis of language programs Rolstad, Mahoney & Glass (2005) reported that bilingual educational programs are more effective than English-only programs and that maintenance bilingual programming produces more gains than transitional programs, in terms of academic achievement for ELLs. Further, Arizona's statewide model provides English language development services in SEI *for one year*. Krashen (2000) cited several studies that "provide clear evidence that this amount of time is nowhere near enough to develop sufficient academic language" to be successful in school (p. 152). One direct result of the state's SEI model that has been documented is that ELL students are physically segregated from non-ELL peers, leading to social isolation (Lillie et al., 2010, p. 11).

#### *SB 1070*

Arizona Governor Jan Brewer signed Senate Bill 1070 into law on April 23, 2010. Arizona's new immigration legislation makes it a state crime to be in the country illegally: "It states that an officer engaged in a lawful stop, detention or arrest shall, when practicable, ask about a person's legal status when reasonable suspicion exists that the person is in the U.S. illegally" (*Arizona Republic*, 2010).

The law's *Intent, Section 1*, states:



The legislature finds that there is compelling interest in the cooperative enforcement of all immigration laws throughout all of Arizona. The legislature declares that the intent of this act is to make attrition through enforcement the public policy of all state and local government agencies in Arizona. The provisions of this act are intended to work together to discourage and deter the unlawful entry and presence of aliens and economic activity by persons unlawfully present in the United States. (SB 1070, Section 1, 2010)

The law passed in and took effect on July 29, 2010 (except for portions which are being disputed in federal court). Anecdotal reports suggest that SB 1070 has caused large numbers of Latino residents (citizens and non-citizens) to fear racial profiling, detention, and deportation (Madrid & Leung, 2010). The social and political impact of SB 1070 on ELL schooling experiences in Arizona has just begun and not yet been documented. However, many public school students have left the state with their families due to fear of deportation and further economic hardship. The *Arizona Republic* reported at least one school district in Maricopa County has found that its student enrollment has declined by almost 600 students and that some immigrant students reported being fearful while at school at the beginning of the 2010-11 school year (Fehr-Snyder, 2010). This climate of fear has the potential to deepen the isolation of ELLs in K-12 schools. Additionally, the anti-immigrant legislation could create a space in which some schools may intentionally or unintentionally operate in the spirit of SB 1070 and enact notions of cultural assimilation, further hindering ELLs' access to

adequate resources, appropriate instruction and peer support for immigrant and Latino children as has been found (Valenzuela, 1999).

*Arizona Department of Education*

*State superintendent Tom Horne.* Currently a 2010 candidate for Arizona Attorney General, Tom Horne has been vociferous in his support of the state-wide SEI model and the English-only approach to the education of student speakers of other languages. Additionally, Horne has used his office to publicly dismantle a long-time ethnic studies program in the Tucson Unified School District (TUSD) in southern Arizona, which is near the Arizona-Mexico border. In June 2007 Horne sent an “Open Letter to the Citizens of Tucson” that called for the “termination” of this program, in which he uses the power of his political office to attempt to de-politicize content and curriculum in schools. In the letter he admits that his goal is to “use my pulpit to bring out the facts” (p. 5), in which he characterized a student walk-out which was a response to his effort to end the ethnic studies program as rudeness and claimed:

Most of these students’ parents and grandparents came to this country, legally, because this is the land of opportunity. They trust the public schools with their children. Those students should be taught that this is the land of opportunity, and that if they work hard they can achieve their goals. They should not be taught that they are oppressed. (Horne, 2007, p. 2)

Horne was referring to *The Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, in which Freire (1970), a critical educator, argued that education is political and that students

should learn to identify and analyze injustices in the world as part of their educational consciousness. Horne's arguments make his assimilationist agenda clear. House Bill 2281 banned the ethnic studies program in 2010, but because the law does not take effect until January 2011 Horne recently sent out an AZDOE press release, calling on TUSD to videotape its ethnic studies courses to determine if they are in violation of 2281 (Horne, 2010). Horne, as leader of Arizona's public school system, used ideology to ban topics he viewed as unacceptable from classrooms, directly attacking programs that involve immigrant and ethnic minority students and creating a climate of fear around ELL education in the state.

### *OELAS*

The AZDOE Office of English Language Acquisition Services (OELAS) also directly influences policies that intersect with English learners' lives in Arizona public schools. Two of the ways in which OELAS controls the production of ELD classroom activities are explained next.

*Teacher accent reduction.* In an article in the *Arizona Republic*, Karina Bland described a class of Phoenix-based public school educators engaged in accent-reduction exercises during the 2010 summer due to AZDOE regulation:

The Arizona Department of Education for years has been monitoring English fluency of teachers who instruct English learners, but in April began telling school districts that teachers whose spoken English is heavily accented or ungrammatical must be removed from classes for students still learning English. (Bland, 2010)

Bland reported that though teachers' pronunciation of words varied, it was not difficult to understand what they were saying. The office's role in regulating teachers' accents demonstrates that it promotes a *subtractive* approach to English language acquisition, a monolingual perspective in which bilingualism and biculturalism are suppressed through enactment of policy.

*HISEP model.* The OELAS brings the same subtractive approach to the education of English learners in its "quick-fix" ELD summer program. The program that serves as the setting for this study has as its origins the ADE 2009 High Intensity Summer ELD Program (HISEP) model. This model belongs to the SEI, English-only paradigm. According to personal communication with OELAS staff, in 2009 they partnered with six Arizona elementary public school districts, including the focal district, to implement an intensive twenty-day English language development program that the office described as "a new concept in addressing the specific language needs of ELLs who are "stuck" at the Intermediate level of English language proficiency" (OELAS, 2009a). ELLs labeled "Intermediate," according to the Arizona English Language Learner Assessment (AZELLA), the ADE language proficiency assessment, were chosen as the participants. At the end of the first intensive summer program, the students took the AZELLA again. According to the AZDOE, 44% of participating students across the six districts achieved Proficient status and were "re-classified," which merits becoming a mainstream student (OELAS, 2009a).

The content of the HISEP program stems from OELAS' definition of language: "Language is comprised of five discrete elements that are inter-

dependent and that must be taught overtly. The elements of phonology, morphology, syntax, lexicon, and semantics (the Language Star) are foundational for proficiency in reading, writing, listening and speaking” (OELAS, 2009b). The document also states that English language development is “distinguished from other types of instruction, e.g., math, science, or social science in that the content of ELD is the English language itself” (2009b, p. 2). Program methods and curriculum were aimed at teaching students the discrete language skills associated with the Language Star according to the AZDOE’s “Super SEI Strategies,” which require teachers to:

Always establish the language objective, always use the 50/50 Rule (teacher speaks 50%, students speak 50%), always push students to their productive discomfort level, always have students respond in complete sentences; always remember the teacher does nothing the students can do for themselves. (2009b, p. 4)

Finally, the OELAS has prescribed specific “Principles for Accelerating Language Learning,” including “error correction, English-only in the classroom, complete sentences, and the 50/50 rule” (2009b, p. 8). As I will document, the discrete skills approach to ELD creates a language acquisition climate in which authentic conversation and meaning making are absent. The result is a highly controlled classroom environment, which acutely restricts teacher and student language activity.

The HISEP model and SEI are ideologically and methodologically congruent. The policies and programs described above have created a context in

which the state controls the production of both the teacher and students' labor in the classroom, which can be viewed as a contested space: "Spaces are contested precisely because they concretize the fundamental and recurring, but otherwise unexamined, ideological, and social frameworks that structure practice" (Low & Lawrence-Zuniga, 2003, p. 18). Low and Lawrence-Zuniga (2003) further define *contested space* as "geographic locations where conflicts in the form of opposition, confrontation, subversion, and/or resistance engage actors whose social positions are defined by differential control of resources and access to power" (2003, p. 18). As described above, people in positions of authority and institutions use English-only and assimilationist ideologies to directly influence instructional practice. The ELD classroom is one such contested space; the ideological power has its basis in the higher status of English speakers compared to ELLs and control of classroom resources. Language is one such resource. The prescriptive state model of English language development defines the parameters that affect English learners' moment-by-moment language experiences in the classroom. In effect, ELL classroom language practices are *social practices*, which are investigated in this study.

### *Personal Origins*

On a personal level, the origins of this project were shaped by an incident involving language that occurred on the first day of my second year as a high school English teacher several years ago. I remember the event as follows: I introduced myself to the ninth grade Language Arts class, and explained that I had high expectations for our work together during the coming year. Partway through

my introduction, Reina, sitting in the back of the class to my right, raised her hand and said (something like), “We’re *not* going to be or talk like *you*, if *that’s* what you think.” Her comment surprised and confounded me; without much experience or a critical perspective from which to deconstruct her comment, I was left speechless.

I had intended to make the class, and the students, the central focus of my talk. Instead, Reina seemed to turn my talk on its head, making *me* the focus and positioning her and her classmates as separate. What I had meant to express with my talk, an example of a classroom discourse event, had not been received in the way I had intended, at least not by Reina. What I had wanted to “do” with my talk was build the idea (Gee, 2005) that I anticipated a productive and fulfilling academic year and that I hoped that students would too. But Reina apparently heard that students would be expected to learn, to talk and to *be* like me – whom she saw as different in some fundamental way. At some level, our *ways of being* were made explicit through language and conflict was the result. I could have asked Reina exactly what she meant or why she made this rather explicit comment, but I did not.

Over the last few years I have gone back to that incident as a springboard to make sense of some of the complexities of communication in the classroom – classroom discourse – from my experiences in the classroom. Primarily, I have attempted to examine such examples of communicative mismatch from the assumption that context matters. I taught in a school with students who are socially, ethnically and economically different than me. I was from Arizona, of

mixed ethnicity (Euro American and Latina) and the daughter of college educated parents. I was educated in a Catholic primary school for nine years, attended public high school, and continued my education in state universities. My students were residents of Miami, African and Haitian American, for the most part first and second-generation immigrants, and poor. School did not function in their lives in the way that it had in mine. Although our social, cultural and historical differences were part of the contexts we all brought to the communication, so was language itself – talk as it occurred in this specific classroom. This encounter was an example of language-based miscommunication – a difference in social practices of making meaning delivered and expressed through language.

In this episode, a certain kind of “discussion” took place, and my class and Reina could have benefitted from my being more conscious of the ways in which classroom discourse practices – the form and function of talk – socialized students to the practices of the classroom. I wish I would have asked: Who had the speaking rights during this discourse? What was my role as the teacher? What cultural models of schooling and students were salient? What was the status or position of the speakers and listeners? This episode and these questions led me to my current concerns about ELL language experiences and they helped to frame my current inquiry within a general concern for classroom talk. The specific research questions and approach to ELL participation in classroom discourse will be explained in the following sections.

### *Problem Statement*



Mexican immigrant and Mexican Americans underachieve in U.S. schools (Valenzuela, 1999). However, this phenomenon requires a complex explanation. Valenzuela (1999) explained that immigrants who have literacy and mathematics skills in their first language perform better than U.S. born Mexican American youth (p. 11). Garcia (2000) pointed out:

For many of these [linguistically and culturally diverse] children, U.S. education has not been and continues not to be a successful experience. While one-tenth of non-Hispanic/Latino White students leave school without a diploma, one-fourth of African Americans, one-third of Hispanic Americans, one-half of Native Americans, and two-thirds of immigrant students drop out of school. (Garcia, 2000, p. 90)

Lower academic achievement and higher drop-out rates offer a partial picture of the problems of ELL education. Wiley and Wright (2004) pointed out that historically, federal educational policy has developed into official support of *monolingualism* (2004, p. 154). They traced the trajectory of these policies and argued that one result is that language learners have become *language minorities* in schools who are seen as “deficient in English-language skills” and placed in remedial educational programs (2004, p. 153). In Arizona, the academic and linguistic consequences of these programs for ELLs have been documented (Lillie et al., 2010). Lillie et al. (2010) caution against the linguistic isolation and segregation imposed on ELLs in Arizona schools; their recent study finds that ELLs in Arizona who are enrolled in an SEI program:

are physically, socially, and educationally isolated from their non-ELL peers; they are not exiting the program in one year, raising serious questions about the time these students must remain in these segregated settings; reclassification rates are a poor indicator of success in mainstream classrooms; and the four-hour model places ELLs at a severe disadvantage for high school graduation. (Lillie et al., 2010, p. 34)

Additionally, recent research on the distribution of ELLs in Arizona schools found that educational outcomes are lower for ELLs “when concentrations of English language learner students are high, especially in middle and high schools; when there are many socioeconomically disadvantaged students; and when the school is located in an urban or rural (as opposed to suburban) area” (Hass & Huang, 2010, p. 1).

Valdes (2001) stated that the argument of Bowles and Gintis (1977) – that schools serve to reproduce the existing social structure – is not widely known and that “[m]any believe that immigrant students fail in school in spite of the best efforts of their schools and their teachers” (2001, p. 4). The actual experiences of English language learners based in the social practices of these language programs present a more complicated picture of their success versus failure (Lillie et al., 2010; Toohey, 2001; Valdes, 2001; Valenzuela, 1999). Many scholars argue that these programs offer an ideological rather than research-based approach to language instruction (Rolstad, Mahoney & Glass, 2005; Wright, 2004).

These factors create particular language practices that impact and shape ELL educational experiences. The language practices have both intended and unintended consequences for students which deserve close exploration. Some of these are equity issues related to classroom discourse. Classroom communication may be structured in such a way that ELLs are socialized to avoid expressing their ways of knowing. Without adequate descriptions of their daily language experiences, we are limited as educators, educational researchers, policy makers, and citizens, to understand and evaluate the educational decisions that frame English learners' classroom learning experiences. Analyzing how ELLs participate and what they say within the ELD classroom is a way to include them in the debates about their education. In this study I analyze examples of participant interaction and classroom talk to build a picture of how these phenomena are related to the context of the ELD classroom and the schooling of ELL children that occurs within it and within the larger social structure of Arizona schools.

There are many competing theories about second language acquisition and language education. My inquiry is situated within these macro-level debates, but I do not address them directly. Rather, I am driven by a desire to understand how the particular classroom talk – the participation practices used with and by ELLs – impacts students in one ELD classroom.

#### *Research Questions and the Present Study*

In this study I examined the English language development practices in a summer ELD program in an Arizona public middle school classroom. The

language experiences of the 14 “Intermediate” Level 4 student participants enrolled in the three-week intensive program in June 2010 are its central focus. In this study I use qualitative interpretive inquiry and discourse analysis methods to closely examine the learners’ language experiences in two ways: 1) *I analyze ELL participation practices during eight formal language lessons*; and 2) *I analyze the social purpose of the talk that occurs across these language practices*.

My larger goal in undertaking this study was to document and analyze particular, situated language experiences of ELLs in school in Arizona at a time when immigration and the related issue of linguistic diversity is a developing and pressing social issue. The purpose of the study is to understand more about how ELL educators and schools can think about the ELL participant, ways of participation, and content of talk as important and key social factors of what is happening in the classroom and their roles in ELL education.

My examination of language practices is an attempt to understand how ELLs use language (together with their teacher) as a community involved in social practices (Gee, 1992). I carried out the present study to answer the following specific research questions:

1. What is the nature of ELL participation during language lessons? That is, what are the common participation practices in the classroom?
2. What social or cultural values and norms are evident in the classroom talk during language lessons? That is, in what ways do participants use language for social purposes?

3. What is the particular cultural model of ELD evident in classroom language practices?

### *Theoretical Framework*

As a researcher, I aimed to understand the contextual complexities of classroom talk and their social, cultural and historical connections to the students in the ELD classroom. I borrowed the theoretical framework for this study from SLA researchers involved in *sociocultural theory* (SCT), including Hawkins (2004) and Toohey (2000). Toohey (2000) explained that “the traditional SLA notion of language learning as individual internal processing of second language input and production of second language output has not sufficiently examined the practices, activities and social contexts in which learners engage” (Toohey, 2000, p. 134). My aim is to describe and examine the language learning activities in the ELD summer program as a social practice and the language used within these activities as examples of social interaction that serve a social purpose and create the social context (Gee, in press).

I also borrow concepts from educational theorists who bring a *critical language awareness* approach to classroom language issues (Reagan, 2002). These lines of inquiry are helpful because they offer concepts for the analysis of what counts as “English language development” for student participants in this particular ELD classroom through a lens that focuses on the *experience* of language learning and how students act and react (Bloome et al., 2005) to the social practices of the classroom that have political and ideological implications. The work of scholars concerned with the effects of recent English-only

educational policies in California and Arizona (Gutierrez et al., 2002) also influences this study. Like them, my work strives to attend “to English Language Learners; to the heterogeneity among learners; to the social organization of learning and instruction; and to social class, poverty, and schooling” (2002, p. 329). These critical approaches will be described further in the next chapter.

### *Methodology*

This study uses ethnographic tools to inquire into classroom discourse in an English Language Development (ELD) classroom. I used Erickson’s (1985) tools of interpretive research methodology and borrowed from Cazden (1988) and Gee (2005; in press) to analyze: (a) students’ participation in the language practices of the classroom and (b) the content of the talk within these practices. In order to contextualize the data, I also present and analyze artifacts from the program and the Arizona Department of Education that influence the ELD classroom language practices. *I describe the classroom participation practices in the language samples collected and analyze how participants use discourse for social purposes in the classroom.*

## Chapter Two

### Literature Review and Key Concepts

This chapter is organized into three sections: an overview of the theoretical background and conceptual framework that informed the study, a description of key concepts used in the study, and review of educational research that suggests the promise of sociocultural approaches in second language acquisition (SLA) classrooms.

#### *Theoretical Framework*

This study is anchored in a view of classroom language learning as a dynamic event in which individuals intersect with social processes. This perspective is largely based on work by Lev Vygotsky, “who asserted that learning and problem solving initially emerge on a social or interpersonal plane and subsequently on an internal or intrapersonal level” (Rex, Steadman & Graciano, p. 740). The theoretical framework adapted for this study draws on *sociocultural theory* (SCT), especially as it has been used in second language acquisition (SLA) research.

#### *Sociocultural Theory in SLA Research*

Toohey (2000) stated that SLA research in the last two decades has been concerned with “the cognitive processes of language acquisition and the effects of learners’ characteristics on these processes” (2000, p. 5). In contrast, SCT research that analyzes “classroom events and practices, and the ways in which particular children participate in these, as situated in larger, concentric circles of context” reveals a more complex picture of language acquisition events (Toohey, 2000, p. 10). Hawkins (2004) also suggested a SCT research agenda for studies in SLA classrooms, saying that the language acquisition literature lacks “studies looking at just what it is that occurs with ELLs in their schooling, and of ways to theorize about socialization into the language and literacy practices of school” (Hawkins, 2004, p. 14). While the traditional treatment of language learners is centered on “language rules and learner characteristics,” Hawkins advocated for a sociocultural “view of language development and classroom participation for learners as part of a socialization process; that is, learners are apprenticing to the requisite linguistic, academic, and social practices of schools” (p. 14). I borrow the following key sociocultural concepts from Toohey (2000) and Hawkins (2004) because they helped me frame an expansive investigation into language practices with an eye toward their social (and political, cultural, historical, and educational) contexts.

### *Conceptual Framework*

*Communities of practice.* Rogoff (2003) argued that to understand learning we have to understand how humans participate in communities (Rogoff, 2003, p. 26). Similarly, Hawkins (2004) argued that learning is “an on-going process of



co-constructing meanings and understandings through interaction” in specific learning communities (2004, p. 15). She explained that classrooms should be understood “as sites of specific situated cultural and language practices, with learners coming together to negotiate meanings and understanding” (p. 16). Thus, different classroom communities judge “learning” at least in part through students’ successful participation in the classroom’s unique practices. Toohey (2000) also uses *communities of practice* and suggested that “membership in these communities shifts” and newer and older members participate in different ways. In my analysis I examine closely the participation patterns of students in classroom interactions; I frame my analysis in a view of the English learners as social participants in a particular classroom community whose practices define the learners and learning. Rogers and Fuller (2007) explained that “what is not included in many sociocultural accounts of communities of practice is that communities of practice consist of ideologically laden sets of beliefs, actions, and assumptions” (p. 79). Thus, in my analysis of the classroom’s community of practice includes an analysis of the community’s visible and hidden ideologies that socialize its learners.

*Legitimate peripheral participation.* One way in which to understand differential participation within communities of practice, such as the ELD classroom, is *legitimate peripheral participation* or LPP. According to Toohey (2000) Lave & Wenger (1991) used LPP to “describe the engagement in community practices of all participants who have varied degrees of familiarity with the practices of the community” (Toohey, 2000, p. 14). LPP conceptualizes

students' ability to partially and temporarily participate in the community's practices as a resource and also demonstrates that practices are fluid. Thus, students can alter the community's practices even while not fully integrated members. I focus on this notion of LPP in this study because it allows me to view students as participants in social and academic *negotiations* in the classroom (Hawkins, 2004; Rogoff, 2002; Lave & Wenger, 1991). The notion of LPP recognizes that not all participants are on equal ground. In this study, I look for the ways in which ELL participants are invited into and excluded from classroom practices.

*Mediating devices.* Finally, participation is *mediated* by the material and social design of the individual classroom. Hawkins (2004) offers this perspective on mediation: "All the texts, materials, resources, curricula, instructional and program designs, and interactions-the mediating devices in the environment-are encoded with messages about who and what count, for what, and how. And this deeply constrains as well as directs the possibilities and forms of negotiations and understandings that form the knowledge construction work of the classroom" (Hawkins, 2004, p. 20). I see language as a mediating device in the ELD classroom and analyze language practices and other mediating devices – such as the curriculum, classroom artifacts, among other things – in the ELD program in this study as a way to theorize about the relationship that ELLs have to these devices.

In the ELD classroom in which I conducted this thesis study, I viewed student and teacher participants as a community of practice, involved in social

activities known as *language lessons*, with particular characteristics of participation through mediating devices. Toohey (2000) reminds us:

...things could always be otherwise: what an adult chooses to teach a child in a particular situation, or what a school system deems important to learn, or what a nation decides must be taught its citizens, or what a textbook writer considers essential aspects of a second language, have no necessary or 'natural' inevitability, if they are all socially constructed. (Toohey, 2000, p. 11)

These choices have profound implications for ELLs; they are associated with belief systems and ideologies, which are discussed further in the chapter where I define language ideology as it is used in this study, following the key language concepts described next.

### *Language Practices in Second Language Acquisition Programs*

The following section provides background on the conceptualizations and terms used to describe and analyze classroom language practices in this study.

Language is a primary tool in all schooling, as Cazden stated, "the basic purpose of school is achieved through communication" (1988, p. 2). Reagan (2002) stated, "Whether recognized or not, language has in fact continued to be the central element that not only makes education possible but plays a key role in the construction of knowledge for both the student and the teacher" (Reagan, 2002, p. 149). Of course, language is especially central in second language acquisition classrooms. An essential reason to hone in on language in the classroom is its link to knowledge and meaning making. Schleppegrell (2004)

stated that “knowledge is construed in the language of schooling” (p. 1).

Importantly, language is used differently in school than in social interaction outside of school. In this study the Level 4 ELL participants make meaning based on the language practices constructed in the ELD classrooms.

Next, I describe characteristics of language practices and classroom talk in U.S. mainstream and SLA classrooms that guide my study. These concepts are important because in this study I describe the experiences of ELLs in an Arizona ELD program through the lens of participation practices and the content of classroom talk during language lessons.

*Classroom talk.* van Lier (1996) suggested that social interaction includes face-to-face talk, but in a broader sense it is “being ‘busy with’ the language in one’s dealings with the world, with other people and human artifacts, and with everything, real or imagined, that links self and world” (1996, p. 147). This suggests a viewpoint that talk is more than an act of speech; in the classroom it links people to institutions and belief systems. In this study I use classroom talk to refer to the discourse (made of individual utterances) that occurs between the social participants in the classroom during language lessons.

In terms of what we know about how talk generally operates in classrooms, Faltis (2006) cited a study by Sirotnik (1983) of talk in all-English elementary school classrooms that found that students spent about 70% of their time in class listening to the teacher, who taught mostly to the class as a whole group and that students mostly answer “known information, factual questions”;

Faltis asserted that “students talk quantitatively and qualitatively less” than teachers (2006, p. 91).

Research has pointed out that most of this talk is highly structured in a common pattern: *Initiation* (teacher), *Response* (student), and *Evaluation/Feedback* (teacher) known as IRE or IRF (van Lier, 1996; Cazden, 1988; Mehan, 1979). Researchers have called this pattern a unit of interaction, exchange, participation structure, and sequence (van Lier, 1996, p. 149). In this study, I use the term *participation structure* to analyze the patterns of student participation in classroom talk during formal language lessons (The lessons themselves are described in the Data Display chapter.). van Lier (1996) provides a useful description of the main features of IRE:

1. It is three turns long.
2. The first and third turn are produced by the teacher, and the second one by the student.
3. The exchange is started and ended by the teacher.
4. As a result of (2) and (3) the student’s turn is sandwiched between two teacher’s turns.
5. The first teacher’s turn is designed to elicit some kind of verbal response from a student. The teacher often already knows the answer (is ‘primary knower’), or at least has a specific idea ‘in mind’ of what will count as a proper answer.
6. The second teacher’s turn (the third turn in the exchange) is some kind of comment on the second turn, or on the ‘fit’ between the second and the

first. Here the student finds out if the answer corresponds with whatever the teacher has ‘in mind’.

7. It is often clear from the third turn whether or not the teacher was interested in the information contained in the response, or merely in the form of the answer, or in seeing if the student knew the answer or not.
8. If the exchange is part of a series, as is often the case, there is behind the series a plan and a direction determined by the teacher. The teacher ‘leads’, the students ‘follow’. (van Lier, 1996, p. 150)

Clearly, discourse in this pattern is specific to the classroom. Faltis (2006) concurred that IRE is omnipresent in classrooms, but suggested that when teachers evaluate English learners’ responses “it should be an extension of the student’s contribution in the response slot, such as agreeing or disagreeing, asking for more information, and giving credit for thinking out loud” (Faltis, 2006, p. 126). Other scholars have also suggested that IRE efficacy depends on how it is used in practice (Schelppegrell, 2004, p. 154). Thus, IRE is not an unproblematic tool; its effects depend on its particular use within the classroom. In this study I analyze the ways in which the pattern is used within the Level 4 ELD *community of practice*.

*Participation.* Ramirez and Merino (1990) observed 103 bilingual and structured English immersion classrooms and found similarly limited patterns of interaction. Faltis (2006) cited their findings:

1. Instruction was conducted mainly in large groups, typically in a whole-class setting.

2. Teachers generated two to three times more talk than students.
3. More than 75% of student-initiated utterances were made in response to teacher initiations.
4. Student interactions with teachers were mainly for the purpose of providing expected responses.
5. Less than 10% of student-initiated language was in the form of a free response or a free comment, not controlled by the teacher. (as cited in Faltis, 2006, p. 94)

In this study, “participation structure” refers to formal lesson sequences that can be interpreted to have a beginning and end (both by the researcher and the participants). I use the term “participation structure” because this more general term connects to the fact that these lessons are social practices that members create and re-create through (linguistic) action. Bloome et al. (2005) defined participation structure as “shared expectations among participants regarding the patterns of turn-taking protocols for a particular type of situation or event” (p. 28). IRE is an example of a routine participation structure that researchers have found to be prolific in classrooms.<sup>2</sup>

Other participation patterns in classrooms may provide the space for more student participation and dialogue. O’Connor & Michaels (2007) argued that classroom discourse can be defined on a continuum of *monologic* (authoritative utterances based in social transmission of information) to *dialogic* (negotiable

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<sup>2</sup> Some researchers (Sinclair and Coulthard, 1975; Mehan, 1979) have shown that more than half of all classroom utterances are within the IRE structure.

utterances designed to generate new meaning) (2007, p. 276). In this case, an analysis of IRE, or a particular monologue or dialogue, depends on *how* the format is *used* and *by whom* and *for what* purposes; O'Connor and Michaels argued that it is a *dialogic stance* that promotes learning and thinking in the classroom as “academically productive reasoning” (2007, p. 281). These scholars call these patterns of participation and communication *dialogic discursive spaces* (Michaels, O'Connor & Resnick, 2007). They discuss the importance of this participation structure in terms of its ability to provide students opportunities for exploratory thinking, an exercise in democracy (Michaels et al., 2007). Other scholars refer to these lesson sequences as “discussions” and also argue that “real discussions” improve learning and outcomes for all students (Cazden, 1988). I use the term “discussion” in this study based on the following definition which is relative to the most common discourse lesson sequence – IRE. Cazden (1988) argued that in contrast to IRE, a “real discussion” in the classroom is one that is outside of this common lesson structure as demonstrated by changes in the following discourse features: speaking rights, the teacher’s role, and speech style (Cazden, 1988, p. 54).

I include the concept of participation in classrooms known as “discussions” in this study in order to construct a spectrum of possibilities for classroom participation and communication patterns and to acknowledge the a priori perspective I bring to my analysis of classroom talk in this particular ELD classroom. From the perspective of a *dialogic stance*, acquiring English proficiency is not an adequate educational goal. Further, classroom participation



and the content of talk has a role in English learners' development of other crucial skills: "the ability to deal with the unexpected, to make informed choices, to develop sharp observational skills, and to construct useful knowledge in one's interactions with the world, while guided by internal values, convictions, and reasons" (van Lier, 1996, p. 91). The development of these skills should not be overlooked in studies on ELL discourse participation.

Participation structures in the ELD classroom are also described in order to understand patterns of participants' language use, and the ways in which language lessons include a process of socialization into a community of practitioners (Rogoff, 2002). The ELD program model described above has been in effect since the 2008-2009 school year. Currently, we do not know enough about how individual teachers are carrying out the mandated program or the outcomes that will result for ELLs. My study frames such investigation around actual classroom talk. Since communication is central in and to all classrooms, but to language acquisition classrooms in particular, the analysis of discourse in this study may lead to a more complex understanding of how ELLs engage in social practices within the current context.

### *Language Ideology in the Classroom*

Schools are situated in the larger society that operates according to a "standard language ideology" and, as Lippi-Green (2004, p. 289) argued, discriminates among language practices based on the value assigned to different languages in society. However, educators are often unaware of the social and political nature of language and language education, and as Valdes (2001) points

out view language only as “a formal system for study rather than as something that is located in social action” (2001, p. 156). Valdes (2001) also states that some professionals in the field of the teaching of English “have argued that the key presumption of the discourse of ESL teaching—that it is possible to just teach language—is untenable because it is impossible to separate English from its many contexts” (2001, p. 155). These educators offer a framework of *critical pedagogy* and *critical language awareness* that I adopt for this study. Pennycook (1994) stated that as a “broad and loosely linked area of educational theory and practice, critical pedagogy can be described as education grounded in a desire for social change” (1994, p. 297). Some of the major critical concepts that I draw on in this study of classroom language use are described in the following section.

*English in the world.* The history of the proliferation of English in the world helps contextualize its use in ELL classrooms in the U.S. Pennycook traced the historical trajectory of English’s spread into a global language: There were four million speakers of English in 1500 compared to today’s figures of between 700 million and one billion (1994, p. 6-7). Pennycook (1994) described how the spread and status of English in the world has been portrayed as “natural, neutral and beneficial” (p. 6) because of “inevitable global forces” (p. 9), but that in reality these forces are tied to political and economic events, such as colonialism and global markets, that led to English language dominance. Pennycook described the ways in which this phenomenon has impacted the language classroom: “The dominance of the Western academy in defining concepts and practices of language teaching is leading to the ever greater incursion of such views into

language teaching theory and practice around the world,” which he said can lead to “inappropriate teaching approaches in diverse settings” (p. 13). This is as true within the U.S. as in sites to which English is exported. He argued that language teaching is ideological: “teaching practices themselves represent particular visions of the world and thus make the English language classroom a site of cultural politics, a place where different versions of how the world is and should be are struggled over” (1994, p. 146). These versions of the world, or belief systems, are part of a “society marked by significant inequities in wealth, power and privilege” (Giroux, 1983, p. 170).

How English is taught to speakers of other languages is not politically neutral. English language lessons are a cultural practice embedded in larger social histories and structures; when viewing the language practices that occur in the focal classroom for this study, the concept of *language ideology* serves to deepen an understanding of the complexities of participation and classroom talk in this classroom.

*The language ideology of English-only.* Stating that *multilingualism* is the reality in most of the world’s nations, Paulston (1994) stated “The major language problems which face the policy makers of such nation states are choice of national or official languages(s), choice of alphabet, and choice of medium of instruction” (p. 3). English-only educational policies are a manifestation of a language ideology that obscures these choices and instead frames the exclusive use of English in the classroom as “natural, neutral and beneficial” (Pennycook, 1994, p. 6).

Pennycook (1994) said that arguments about English concern not its central place on the world stage but the question of standardization: whether there should be one standardized or multiple standards (p. 10). Similarly, Villanueva (2000) problematized the notion of *English-only* by asking: “Which white middle-class U.S. English will it be?” He asked, “Will it be Jimmy Carter’s or Bill Clinton’s or John F. Kennedy’s English?” (p. 335). Lippi-Green (1997) also argued that “The primary educational goal in our schools brings together the acquisition of literacy with the acceptance and acknowledgement of a *Standard US English*” (1997, p. 104, emphasis in original) and that “ideology focuses and sometimes directs decision making” (p. 106).

Thus, language ideology in U.S. schools is not only framed by English-only notions but by notions of standardized English. Further, Duenas Gonzalez (2000) argued that the Official English movement is driven by an anti-immigrant climate: “The social ideologies promulgated by this movement have tapped into the nativist ideal of a homogenous, unified U.S. culture, drawing symbolic dividing lines between those who do and those who do not belong in this country” (2000, p. xxx). This contrasts with the reality of ethnic and linguistic diversity in the nation and in our schools: “By the year 2015, one in 10 new students in U.S. schools will be of immigrant background, while in states such as Texas, California, New York, Florida, and Arizona, one in five new students will be immigrants” (Garcia, 2000, p. 90).

Cummins (2000, p. ix) suggested that in response to diversity growth language ideologies “are articulated as an expression of discursive power by

dominant groups with the intent of eradicating, or at least curtailing, manifestations of linguistic diversity” in response to the increasing diversity of the U.S. and diversity of our schools (see also Crawford, 2000). In the same vein, Schmid (2000) pointed out that “high levels of immigration in the United States have typically led to two trends: an increase in various strains of xenophobia and a crusade to “Americanize” the new immigrants” (p. 62). Thus, *English-only language ideology* in the U.S. has an anti-immigrant social and political history that currently manifests itself in Arizona schools.

The English-only ideological discourse described above obscures attention to the diversity of approaches available for English language instruction. The research suggests that English-only approaches to ELL instruction are less effective (Rolstad, Mahoney, & Glass, 2005; Auerbach, 1993). In fact, they probably do more harm than good. Valdes (2001) cited Auerbach (1993) who asserted that some consequences of English-only instruction include: “nonparticipation by students, language shock, dropping out, frustration, and inability to build on L1 literacy skills” (Valdes, p. 157). The irony that a large body of research suggests that in general students actually acquire less proficiency in English in English-only language programs suggests that questions regarding instruction are larger than a standard, grammatical, applied linguistic perspective would suggest; language educators should be aware of the political and historical origins of English in the classroom.

In Arizona, ideology has positioned English as the “official” language. The question in this study, then, is what impact English-only ideology has on

everyday instructional practices in the ELD classroom. In this study, the findings suggest that *critical language awareness* might assist educators in counteracting this pervasive ideology in the classroom.

### *Cultural Models in ELL Education*

Finally, this study is concerned with the complex ways in which ELD classroom practices in an Arizona school district shape ELL's participation and discourse. State and national language education policies intersect with local "English-only" practices in the classroom; these practices can be understood as belonging to *cultural models*. Scholars in different fields use various terms that relate conceptually to the idea of a cultural model as the simplified theories that groups of people share about words and concepts in order to function in the world (Gee, 1992). While meanings are situated, and mean different things for different people, social processes and norms often regulate these "typical stories"<sup>3</sup> (Gee, in press) to a large extent. Thus, notions of concepts like English-only, ELLs, and ELD models, are not static concepts; rather, people socially construct what counts as normal and appropriate for these terms as members of communities (and these communities value some things and not others). Also, cultural models are learned and not natural (D'Andrade & Strauss, 1992; Gee, 1992). These models were present in the social practices of the ELD classroom. I use the concept in this study in order to theorize how participants' language as it is used in the classroom

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<sup>3</sup> In *How To Do Discourse Analysis: A Toolkit* Gee (in press) uses the term "figured worlds" as I use "cultural model" and says that these "typical stories" have also been termed: "folk theories", "frames", "scenarios", "scripts", "mental models", "cultural models", "Discourse models" (p. 309).

may represent the cultural models at work there. In the section below, I describe the dominant cultural model that frames ELLs and English language development practices in U.S. schools.

*Deficit approach.* English-only policies are a part of the dominant cultural model that devalues and disallows linguistic diversity in the classroom. This deficit-based perspective treats learners who are not proficient in English as illiterate (Huerta-Macias, 1998, p. 39). The “deficit lens assumes that certain groups of students (often those labeled by ethnicity, first language, socioeconomic status, and approach to learning tasks) are seen as “missing” certain skills or lacking background knowledge” (Brown & Souto-Manning, 2008, p. 27). Rogoff (2003) pointed out that this deficit model of minority groups is built on historical precedent, becoming unquestioned “as if part of nature,” (Rogoff, 2003, p. 20), which is true of all cultural models. Children bring their language resources with them to school from their home environment (Heath, 1983); language and literacy operate differently in different cultural communities. Some homes match the language and literacy environment of schools much more so than others (Heath, 1983). Research has shown that minority and non-standard language is likely to be penalized in such “mismatch” classrooms, starting in early elementary and creating a “late start” (Gee, 2005) learning gap for language minority students that is likely to widen within the broad scope of the deficit model. In this study I assess the particular cultural model of ELD that the HISEP model promotes. As will be evident in the discussion of the study’s findings, the deficit model shows

up as much in a lack of attention to participants' resources and experiences as it does in specific attempts to regulate students' speech and behavior.

In summary, cultural models can be almost invisible, and an awareness of their influence on the ELD classroom is useful and applied in this study since they help people to operate and act in the world (and in specific settings like ELD classrooms) in certain ways and not others; the program's cultural models will be discussed further in the discussion of the study's findings.

### *The Promise of Sociocultural Approaches in SLA Classrooms*

Children who are acquiring a new language bring culture, identity and language resources with them into the ELD classroom. The final section in this chapter outlines current research that identifies and describes some of the successful *sociocultural* approaches to second language instruction in U.S. classrooms.

### *Review of Relevant Sociocultural Research on ELLs*

I review relevant literature to discuss some of the ways classrooms use English learners' linguistic resources as either resources or constraints in the classroom because of the value I place on their language resources and funds of knowledge (Moll et al., 1992). However, since I found few analyses specific to the narrower topic of learners' resources used in English-only classrooms, the search was broadened to include studies of English learners' linguistic resources in the language learning classroom. I used two ASU online library databases, including JSTOR and Academic Search Premier. Of the 34 articles that fit my search, I include 21 studies, which met the following criteria for inclusion in the



review: a) empirical studies, b) in the U.S, c) K-12 educational settings, d) ELL students; e) conducted in the last ten years.

Some of the studies noted that children acquire language outside of school in social contexts as well as in SLA classrooms. My review of the literature unearthed several studies that took into account learning that utilized learners' linguistic repertoires outside of formal schooling, which included religious settings (Ek, 2009), after school programs (Gutiérrez, Baquedano López, Alvarez & Chiu, 1999) and home communities (Gonzalez, Moll & Amanti, 2005). Informal learning in community sites affords ELLs with access to rich language and literacy learning (Gutierrez et al., 1999). Yet there is often a severe contrast between the home and school contexts for these learners (Heath, 1983), a phenomenon that is explored in this literature.

A distinction can be made in the literature between those studies that conceptualized English learners' resources as purely linguistic (the majority) and more generally *sociocultural* in that resources were conceptualized as inherent social and cultural capital. These may be arbitrary distinctions from a *sociocultural* perspective, but they allowed me attend to salient themes in the literature.

*Language resources.* Ten studies treated English learners' resources as primarily linguistic. All were conducted in the last five years. Language as a learner's resource is a wide category: Various studies defined *language as resource* as bilingualism, codeswitching ability, and use of Spanglish or the vernacular in the classroom. In a study using classroom observations, interviews

and student writing samples, Serna (2009) found that students in a fourth grade bilingual classroom were able to access linguistic resources from the L1 to inform and improve their writing. Bauer (2009) demonstrated the value of linguistic diversity as an asset in the classroom. He cited several studies that found that a multilingual approach expanded students' learning opportunities (Guerrero & Sloan, 2001; Stritikus, 2006). Bilingual programs allowed students to use Spanish to make meaning in English during a reading activity (Stritikus, 2006), a writing activity (Moll, Saez & Dorwin, 2001), and as a mediational tool in a second grade English literature circle (Martinez-Roldan, 2005). Iddings, Risko and Rampulla (2009) interpreted successful use of both languages, as well as the use of codeswitching, as evidence that learners use "a wide repertoire of forms and codes with which to deepen reading comprehension" (2009, p. 53). Studies of the additive nature of bilingual programs build on Moll and Dorwin's (1996) study, in which they organized a reading group so that Mexican American students learning English could discuss their English texts in Spanish. Doing so enabled these students to achieve a much higher level of understanding of the texts than during a similar English-only activity. In these studies, success was defined as the students' freedom to use both languages to expand literacy skills and make meaning.

Other studies defined success as the acquisition of English. Cárdenas-Hagan, Carlson and Pollard-Durodola (2007) position the first language as a learning resource in so far as it accelerates learning in English: "Cross-linguistic transfer occurs when students learning another language have access to and use

linguistic resources from their L1” (p. 250). Cardenas-Hagen et al. argue that too few language acquisition studies have focused on how L1 and L2 skills lead to L2 skills and instead focus on the transfer of skills in the L1. Their quantitative study, a multi-site, longitudinal study of language and literacy development of K-2 Spanish speaking children, created language programs in 39 schools: 15 English-immersion, 14 transitional bilingual and 10 dual language programs. Researchers administered oral and literacy pre- and post- assessments to measure phonological awareness, rapid naming and phonological memory (2007, p. 253). Results indicated that “L1 (Spanish) competence mediates the acquisition of L2 (English) at the time that a child begins to acquire L2 (English). Specifically, for all three skills examined in this study, early Spanish skills predicted English outcomes at the end of kindergarten after controlling for early English skills” (p. 253). Although there was some variance in level of skills transfer depending on the phonemic skill tested and language of instruction used, this quantitative study found that skills in L1 supported the acquisition of skills in L2.

Miller et al. (2006) also conducted a quantitative study that addressed the connection between bilingualism and reading skills. They collected oral narratives in both English and Spanish from 1,500 Spanish-English bilingual kindergarten-third graders and measured the students’ comprehension and reading efficiency. They found that oral skills in both languages contributed to reading skill across languages (Miller et al., 2006).

Additionally, two studies specifically defined the use of the L1 and L2 *vernaculars* as tools for students in language programs. As above, with a focus on

English learners' resources in relation to the acquisition of English, Aukerman (2007) suggested educators and researchers re-consider the distinction between BICS (Basic Interpersonal Communication Skills), or conversational English, and CALP (Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency), or academic English, as originally formulated by language acquisition and bilingual researcher Jim Cummins (1979). In her case study of Joaquin, a Mexican kindergarten student, Aukerman found that the resources Joaquin brought to the classroom were unidentifiable based on the CALP framework: "His strengths in a number of linguistic areas—for example, his ability to talk about stories in Spanish or to segment sounds in English words—often went unrecognized, perhaps partly because they did not mesh with his teacher's view of his assessed CALP" (2007, p. 629). Aukerman (2007) also deconstructed the perspective that BICS is simplistic, suggesting that children's use of BICS to socially interact, such as during an argument, is complex, and that language is cognitively challenging for children in different ways. She argued that language be seen in the "here and now" within context, since in her view children's language use is always in context to them. Therefore, Aukerman argued that "proficiency in decontextualized CALPS" is a misnomer for acceptable school participation" (2007, p. 632). Joaquin did have linguistic resources in English, but they were of the vernacular, and she argued that classrooms should "recontextualize" the vernacular as a resource.

Sayer (2008) also suggested that educators valorize and use the vernacular. Sayer (2008) used reading events as a unit of analysis with third grade

Mexican American students in Phoenix who had been classified limited-English proficient but were now classified as proficient. When discussing the book with the researcher, they used *Spanglish* (a systematic mixture of English and Spanish) extensively as a linguistic resource, improving their communicative abilities and comprehension. Sayer suggested being more aware of the linguistic resources already in operation in the classroom.

I include the following two studies as an acknowledgement that what happens in schools affects the home and vice versa. Perry, Kay and Brown (2008) went outside of the school, to study ways in which Latino parents fit school-based literacy activities into the home. In line with the research on bilingualism as a resource, during this case study Perry et al. found that 9 of 13 parents intentionally created bilingual literacy events to “activate linguistic resources,” and they suggested that schools and teachers should identify how school programs can adapt this home-based literacy repertoire to create a home-school match (2008, p. 111). Another study focusing on a family’s use of school-concepts found the opposite: the family internalized a societal notion of English as superior and discriminated against the use of Spanish, the home language, in the home (Brown, 2008). In this case, the ideology that Spanish is not a resource is picked up by parents and children and the latter will bring this inferior notion of Spanish back into the school, further threatening the status of students’ resources at school.

In contrast, the following study found that affording the home language a higher status, in this case Spanish, supported immigrant youth’s learning at one

high school. Michael, Andrade and Bartlett (2007) conducted an ethnographic study of the social interactions of students, teachers and staff at a bilingual high school for new Spanish-speaking immigrants. Michael et al. found a locally constructed model of success based on students' language and cultural resources. "Success" was constructed specifically through granting Spanish high status, developing positive teacher–student relationships, and using cultural artifacts. In this study, linguistic and social resources are intertwined, as they are in the following section.

*Sociocultural resources.* The following eight studies conceptualized English learners' resources as *sociocultural* capital. This capital is construed in various ways within the studies—as collaborative social practices between students and social practices between students and teachers, as teacher agency, and broadly as cultural-historical resources.

Peer to peer interactions provide a context for the use of *social practice as resource*. Iddings, Risko and Rampulla (2009) used micro-analysis of one literacy event in which a monolingual English speaking third grade teacher encouraged three beginning ELLs to serve as "intellectual, linguistic and social resources" to one another during book talk, allowing the students to become conversant about the English text (2009, p. 52). Ranker (2009) also conceptualized social practice as a resource. In a case study of a genre unit in a first grade ESL class, the study compared ELL learning during "overt instruction," in which the English-speaking teacher guided and scaffolded literacy learning, and "situated practice," in which students collaborated (p. 581). The students worked together to create a book

about sharks, after the teacher provided an example. Ranker (2009) found that students used a combination of overt instruction and *collaborative social practice* as tools for learning, arguing that both are necessary in purposeful and meaningful learning situations and pointed out that both the peers and teacher served as social resources. Another case study of an English-speaking preschool teacher of Latino children suggested that teachers can create supportive environments for ELLs by using the children's first language, in this case Spanish, and by encouraging their play and interaction with English-speaking children (Gillanders, 2007). In this (mostly) monolingual classroom the teacher purposefully encouraged the use of Spanish because of a sociocultural perspective, in which second language acquisition was seen as a process of "becoming a member of a sociocultural group" (Gillanders, 2007, p. 52). The author also recommended positive teacher-child and peer relationships as a learning resource.

Hawkins (2004) posited that expert scaffolding of social and verbal interactions can be a social resource. In a case study she followed one Hmong kindergartener to examine her learning practices. Hawkins used a *sociocultural* framework to demonstrate ways in which this learner both participated in and remained on the periphery of English language activities and suggested that the teacher could have better scaffolded the student's inclusion into social activities.

Another case study discovered that "language from below" is sometimes used by teachers who encourage bilingualism in order to counter-act hegemonic language policies (Lapayese, 2007). This case study argued that teachers can

appropriate *agency* in order to adequately teach ELLs while using the child's first language as a resource.

A cultural-historical perspective is another way to conceptualize English learners' resources in the classroom as do Franquiz and del Carmen (2004). They conducted a five year study in Colorado with Chicano/Mexicano high school students, grounded in the belief that schools should both teach English and also "attend to and strengthen cultural awareness and identity" (2004, p. 37). Franquiz and del Carmen analyzed how the students' cultures and histories were represented in the HILT program (High Intensity Language Training). They examined the status of Spanish in the classroom, class materials, and the teacher-student interactions. They found that the general "English-only" mindset in operation at the school was resisted by a set of teachers, who allowed the use of oral and print Spanish in the classroom against formal institutional rules. Other teachers used the students' "history," historical events involving Mexican Americans, and the concepts of *consejos* and *respeto*, which they said improved students' experiences. They argue that students bring their languages, histories and cultures into the classroom and that teachers can adopt an "ethics of care" or *humanizing pedagogy* to contextualize learning for students.

The final study that applied *sociocultural* concepts to English language learning took a transnational perspective. Ek (2009) conducted an 11-year longitudinal study of a Guatemalan-American second-generation immigrant, Amalia, whose affiliation with a Pentecostal church as well as visits to Guatemala served as *sociocultural* resources. The study also explored how *transnationalism*,



the flow of people and resources across borders, impacts the language, religion and identity of a second-generation Central American immigrant. Though beyond her K-12 years by the end of the study, Amalia was anchored in a positive identity through visits to Guatemala and extensive use of Spanish in the Pentecostal church. Ek recommended that schools “recognize, validate and leverage the knowledge and experiences” of other transnational students like Amalia (2009, p. 80).

Finally, there is an extensive body of research on the connection between language and identity and a connection to learning. I analyzed two studies that considered identity as a valuable resource in the context of the ELL classroom. Ajayi (2006) conducted a study with 209 Hispanic English learners in three Los Angeles middle schools using a 31 item questionnaire that focused on learning and identity practices. Participants also wrote an essay on their “life and future”. Ajayi’s analysis suggested that the learners viewed their multilingual and multicultural backgrounds as an asset rather than a liability. Ajayi recommended that educators and schools better understand how students construct their identities and how this affects their English language learning. More than eighty-five percent of respondents either agreed or strongly agreed that students with little or no English are as intelligent as English-only students, for example (Ajayi, 2006). Their written comments portray a complicated relationship with English and English language learning and demonstrate that many felt badly when their inability to speak well was demoralized, but they also took pride in their first

language and enjoyed speaking English (2006, p. 474). Thus, a *positive language identity* can be seen as a critical resource in language learning.

In summary, many of these studies considered ELL resources within a bilingual instructional setting while a few of them took place in monolingual English classrooms. Based on my review of the literature researchers need to better understand the ways in which English learners' resources are either used or discounted *in practice* in highly restrictive, English-only settings such as the SEI four-hour block and affiliated ELD classrooms in Arizona. For example, in Valdes' (2001) ethnographic study of four Latino students over a period of two years, she examined the challenges of learning English, or not learning English, for ELL students. Valdes argued that in the English-only environment, often Latino students' resources are not used and that too often students are placed in the "ESL ghetto" isolated from English-speaking students. My study draws on Valdes' work and examines the participatory practices used in an ELD classroom with middle school students. Likewise, few studies address the *social languages* used with and by ELLs (Hawkins, 2004); thus there is a need for more research into how *language practices* engage learners' resources and constraints by analyzing the content of the language used in this setting.

The research reviewed above informs my study. I analyze the participation practices and the content of classroom talk from a critical sociocultural perspective to document and understand the ways of participation and social purpose of talk with ELLs in one ELD classroom in Arizona, described further in the next chapter.

## Chapter Three

### Methodology

In this classroom study, I viewed the classroom as a site of action for social practices. I used an ethnographic approach to aid me in field observations, research procedures and data analysis. Sanz (2005) noted that ethnography in second language acquisition research is generally used “to present an account that is as complete and accurate as possible of human behaviors, interactions, or learning in the research context” (2005, p. 77). Since the purpose of the study is to present a description and analysis of the participation practices and social use of language during language-learning activities of a specific English language development summer program, ethnography is an appropriate SLA research method because it “can provide a holistic characterization of language learning and use in a specific population or setting” (Sanz, 2005, p. 77). My interests in this study are to analyze the “real school practices” of language learning events (Hawkins, 2004, p. 15) that took place in a summer ELD program middle school classroom in order to better understand the experiences of English language learners in schools at this time.

### *Unit of Study*

The foci of the study were the discourse practices in a middle school classroom during a three-week intensive English language development (ELD) summer program in a public school district in southwest Phoenix, Arizona in June 2010. While my investigation is specifically concerned with ELL participation during the official language learning activities in the ELD program, referred to as *language lessons* in program materials, I borrow from Hawkins' (2004) sociocultural framework that connects this concern with a view of the classroom as a system. While I concentrate my analysis on participation practices and the social use of language, specifically during planned language lessons, I also take the rest of the context into account; the "mediating devices" (Hawkins, 2004) in this study include other classrooms in the ELD program, program materials and rationale, classroom artifacts including language objectives, texts, posters, grammar formulas, student work, and exams.

### *Research Site and Participants*

The district was purposefully chosen as a site of entry into the investigation into English language development practices because of: 1) its history as a 2009 pilot summer ELD program of the Arizona Department of Education, Office of English Language Acquisition Services, which partnered with six Arizona school districts to implement the High Intensity Summer ELD Program (HISEP) model in 2009; and 2) the district's decision to implement a similar program based on the HISEP model during the summer of 2010. After gaining approval for the study from the Institutional Review Board and the

District, I met with the Director for English Language Development and then the two middle school teachers for the summer program in order to learn more about the ELD summer program, its purpose and history in the district. On the first day of the program I met with the ELD classroom students, explained the purpose of the study and obtained the participant assent forms; parental consent forms were sent home with the students and subsequently returned.

### *District*

As mentioned, I chose to implement my field study into ELD practices in this public Arizona school district because of its relationship with the ADE's HISEP language program. The K-8 district's characteristics also fit with my concern for linguistic minority students: 90% of the district's students are eligible for free or reduced-price lunch, indicating poverty, and 50% of the students are labeled ELL, indicating linguistic diversity, according to 2007-2008 data from the Arizona Department of Education. Of these ELLs, 93% speak Spanish as their home language (ADE, 2007-2008). According to the school district's website, the district covers 6.8 miles and has 13 schools and one family literacy center, serving approximately 9,000 students. According to the district, the student population's racial/ethnic demographics are 94% Hispanic and just less than 6% of the remaining students are White and African American.<sup>4</sup>

The district is situated near a major highway in the southwestern region of metropolitan Phoenix. Following Erickson's (1985) suggestion to gain a sense of the "lived experience" of the focal participants, I drove around the school district

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<sup>4</sup> Less than 1% of remaining students are Asian and Native American.

and the neighborhood surrounding the school site during the study and visited local stores. The school sits next to another district school and is less than a half mile from a large urban high school. A residential neighborhood of single-family homes considered lower-middle and working-class sits across from the school. Some of these older homes are well-maintained, while others appear less cared for or abandoned. They are painted colorfully and have small, mostly desert-landscaped front yards. Industrial areas surround the school in several directions, and include factories, agricultural land and car malls. Other commercial establishments in the vicinity comprise mostly strip malls. Many of the stores that I entered played Spanish language music and were operated by Spanish monolingual as well as bilingual English/Spanish speakers.

#### *2010 ELD Summer Program at the School Site*

According to informal conversations between myself and the “lead teachers” known as “coaches” at the school, the ADE did not partner with the district to offer the HISEP program as it had in 2009 due to budget cuts; however, the district’s 2010 ELD summer program was modeled on the 2009 HISEP program. After analyzing the ADE OELAS’ HISEP materials and observing the 2010 program, it was evident that the 2009 program did indeed serve as a model for the 2010 program. The content of the language learning activities centered on those prescribed by the OELAS’ “Language Star”: phonology (speech, sounds), morphology (parts of words, verb tenses), syntax (grammar, sentence structure, language rules), lexicon (knowledge of words), and semantics (meaning of words or sentences). This discrete approach to English language development was

specifically designed to improve “Intermediate” level ELLs’ reading, writing, listening and speaking skills during the intensive program. Additionally, the program’s content, according to the focal teacher and district personnel, was designed to prepare ELLs to score “proficient” on the AZELLA. According to a program coach during informal discussions, one primary difference between the district’s implementation of the 2009 and 2010 ELD programs, was the replacement of the AZELLA at the end of the program with a post-test.

The 2010 summer ELD program consisted of three, four-day weeks of English instruction, for four hours Monday through Thursday. The program served approximately 100 K-8 grade students. Classrooms were organized according to ELL levels; students were split by grade into Level I (one kindergarten class), Level II (two first grade and one second grade), Level III (one third grade, one combined 3<sup>rd</sup>/4<sup>th</sup> grade, and one 4<sup>th</sup>/5<sup>th</sup> grade) and Level IV (one 6<sup>th</sup>/7<sup>th</sup> grade) classrooms, eight in total. All classrooms followed the same daily schedule that prescribed specific start and end times for each language lesson. Additionally, all classrooms involved in the program used the same ELD methods and curriculum, including materials and texts, across all ELL levels and grade levels. Student participants were administered a pre- and post-test designed to measure English language proficiency in four areas: reading, writing, speaking and listening.

The District ELD staff (the director, coaches, and lead teachers), developed and implemented a teacher training program for participating teachers that occurred for two days before the program began and for two hours after

school during the program. The ELD staff also visited the classrooms several times each day, “modeled” teaching according to the program’s methods during class time, and pulled teachers out of the classroom during the program day to discuss teaching practices or accompany them to observe other teachers. Students in each classroom ate lunch together with their teacher at the end of the day; the focal middle school classroom had a pizza party on the last day of the program after the post-test. Otherwise, each day’s activities followed either the Day 1 or Day 2 schedule of language lessons without deviation. The daily schedule and language lessons will be described in further detail in the next chapter.

### *Participants*

The district pulled “Intermediate” level ELL students from throughout the district to attend the program. Student participants were the 14 “Level 4” ELLs placed in the combined rising 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> grade middle school classroom; I refer to the participants as a class as “Level 4” in this study. There were nine male and five female students enrolled in the class, although not all students were present every day. Twelve students took the post-test on the final day. At the beginning of the study there were two teacher participants since the district’s intention was that two teachers “co-teach” in the Level 4 ELD classroom. However, after the second program day one of the teachers was moved out of the classroom, so the remaining teacher became the focal teacher participant although both teachers were occasionally in the classroom together, which some of the data reflects.

Since I view the classroom as a community of practice (Toohey, 2000) or “a set of relations among a group of people who engaged together in common



practices or activities” (Toohey, p. 15) the language practices under study involved the interactions between the participant teacher and all of the classroom’s 14 students during whole-group instructional activities. Although individual students were unique in their participation and language use in the classroom, my study does not account for these intricate differences. As Toohey (2000) pointed out, communities are made of “overlapping communities” (p. 15), and the children in the Level 4 ELD classroom had a variety of schooling and language background and participation experiences.

*Student participants.* It is notable that I did not interview the student participants, nor did I collect extensive background information on their demographics, characteristics or schooling experiences. The information I have to describe individual student participants is based on formal and informal conversations with the teacher participant and background information shared by the students via a form made for that purpose. All participant names have been replaced with pseudonyms. Table 1 depicts a summary of some of these individual background characteristics of the student participants below. Missing data is indicated by blank boxes.

Table 1

*Background Characteristics of 14 Student Participants*

Student Participants	Student Information					
	Age	Grade Entering	Country of Origin	Birthplace	Time in the U.S.	Written response to: "One thing you like and/or dislike about learning English"
Kevin	12	7 <sup>th</sup>				
Mario	11	7 <sup>th</sup>	United States	California	Born in U.S.	Had problems speaking English.
Jorge	13	8 <sup>th</sup>	El Salvador	San Salvador	1.5 years	I like learn English.
Jesus	13	7 <sup>th</sup>	Mexico		Unknown	Learning English was fun.
Enrique	13	7 <sup>th</sup>	Mexico		6 years	Learn more about cultures. I dislike grammar.
Rodrigo	12	7 <sup>th</sup>	Mexico		Approximately 10 years	I dislike to say English.
Bryan	13	7 <sup>th</sup>	United States	Phoenix, AZ	Born in U.S.	I like Spanish.
Jonathon	13	7 <sup>th</sup>	Mexico		7 years	Learning English was fun because you learn new words.
Brian						
Perla	12	7 <sup>th</sup>	United States	Utah	Born in U.S.	Is speaking it and mess it up.
Sandra	12	7 <sup>th</sup>	United States	Utah	Born in U.S.	
Karla	11	7 <sup>th</sup>	United States		Born in U.S.	I like spiking English.
Carmen	12	8 <sup>th</sup>	Mexico	Sinaloa	4 years	Is a little confused.
Karmen						

*Ms. Ruiz.* At the beginning of the study Ms. Ruiz had been teaching for fifteen years, 11 of which had been with the focal district. She also taught adult ESL and GED courses for migrant workers for two years in the Phoenix area before beginning as an elementary school Language Arts teacher. Ms. Ruiz was

born in Venezuela and has lived in the United States for 30 years. Her language experiences were diverse in Venezuela as a youth; because her family had emigrated from Europe, she spoke conversational French and Italian and understood Portuguese. She says that she also used English as a child. Her father taught school for 30 years in Venezuela. Ms. Ruiz moved to the United States at age 20 to attend the American Language Academy in Kansas. She received a bachelor's degree in economics and worked in that field until she had children. Ms. Ruiz attained a master's degree in secondary education at Arizona State University. She has been teaching English language learners for almost 14 years.

#### *Data Collection*

The timeline for data collection was the three weeks of the ELD program during June 2010. Data collection occurred on several levels during the study. My initial interest in classroom language practices led me to concentrate my data collection efforts on recording each day's classroom activity via an audio-recorder. Maxwell (1996) suggested that researchers concerned with validity should engage in triangulation of data, "collecting information from a diverse range of individuals and settings, using a variety of methods" (p. 75). Thus, I employed multiple data collection methods in order to contextualize the classroom discourse including classroom and school-site observations, formal and informal teacher interviews, and the collection of classroom and program artifacts.

#### *Observations*

I observed nine complete days (four hours each) out of the 12 day ELD program in the Level 4 classroom during June 2010. These classroom observations took place on three of the four days during each of the three-week program. I arrived in the classroom before the students in the morning and often accompanied the class to the cafeteria for lunch at the end of the day. Although ethnographic fieldwork methodology requires a researcher's presence long-term, my presence was consistent and spanned the entirety of the relatively short summer program.

*Field notes.* I took field notes while observing the classroom and other program settings. While recording the social practices of the classroom as they occurred, I filled two notebooks with hand-written notes. I used a form to guide my collection of field notes according to categories useful for my investigation and research questions; these categories included the organization of the classroom, the name of the language learning activity, goal of activity, artifacts used and present and notes about teacher and student participation. Since my initial interest involved classroom discourse and interaction during language lessons, I paid particular attention to "talk" during language lessons and took notes about the interactions and talk that occurred between different participants, including students, teachers and lead teachers or coaches.

*Audio-recording of language lessons.* I used a digital audio-recorder to record classroom events during observations. I recorded more than 26 hours of classroom discourse and interaction. I placed the digital recorder in a variety of

places around the classroom, noting which student(s) were in closest proximity to the recorder at that time.

*Observation of other ELD program contexts.* According to Erickson (1985) a researcher should gain a sense of the entire school community in order to contextualize the data. I wanted to understand the nature of the language program in order to provide context for the classroom events and ELD activities. On the first day of the program I observed each of the eight ELD classrooms for approximately 10-15 minutes, recording classroom discourse via audio-recorder and taking field notes. This experience helped me to contextualize the Level 4 classroom observations as part of a larger picture of language practices in the program. Also, on Day 4 of my observations the lead coach asked me to leave the class to observe other classrooms. She accompanied me and the teacher participant on a “walk” into two other ELD classrooms. I observed these settings without a recorder but recorded notes after returning to the Level 4 classroom. These classroom observations provided me with valuable insight about the nature of the ELD program and how the activities that occurred in the Level 4 classroom related to the macrostructure of the school district program. Also, I spent time in the cafeteria with the Level 4 classroom in order to observe the student participants outside of the classroom context. I had informal conversations with the participants at this time as well as occasionally before the school day began and during a pizza party on the final day. These conversations helped me to understand student participants’ use of language, both English and Spanish, more thoroughly. Finally, I attended the end-of-program teacher celebration hosted at

the district office during the final week of the program. This event provided background on the ELD program as well as insight into teacher perceptions about teaching in the ELD program.

### *Teacher Interviews*

I interviewed the teacher participant in order to understand the classroom discourse data on a different level as a way to assess some of my ideas about patterns and themes that seemed to be emerging during observations. Although Ms. Ruiz was very busy while I was present, I conversed with her as much as possible before and after school about classroom events, her past experiences and perceptions to check my notes, analyses and further contextualize the data.

*Formal interviews.* I interviewed Ms. Ruiz twice during the three-week program – once during the second week and once during the third week. Each interview lasted approximately 20 minutes; both had to be cut a little short so that she could attend to her classroom duties. These interviews were semi-structured and open-ended and gathered background and personal information as well as her perceptions about English language learners, the ELD program and second language acquisition. I recorded the interviews using a digital audio-recorder and transcribed them according to conventions from Ochs (1996) as used by Toohey (2000). See Appendix C for specific transcription conventions.

*Informal interviews.* I conversed with Ms. Ruiz often before and after school as well as in the cafeteria during the three-week program. These conversations helped us to get to know one another and become more comfortable with one another. I was also able to learn more about her background and diverse

linguistic experiences, which helped me to analyze the classroom data from a different perspective.

I also spoke informally with two of the “coach” instructors in the program on several occasions, including during class, while observing other classes and before school. The coaches provided me with a copy of the pre- and post-test and student test scores. These discussions provided me with insight about the organization of the ELD program and the district.

### *Artifact Collection*

During the study I collected program and classroom artifacts in order to analyze the ELD model in use. Program artifacts included all of the mediating devices (Hawkins, 2004) in the classroom environment: program design materials (program rationale, definitions of language and ADE HISEP materials), classroom and instructional materials (language objectives, posters, formulas, language frames, texts, and tests), and student work samples.

### *Data Analysis Procedures*

The purpose of the ethnography of the ELD program is to describe and analyze the language interactions within the formal language lessons of the program. The data depicts the teacher and student participants’ discourse interactions during targeted ELD activities. I organized these language samples to answer the research questions: What is the nature of ELL participation during these language lessons? In what ways do participants use language for social purposes? What is the cultural model of ELD used in this program and what is the effect on the learning environment? I used a systematic approach to analyzing the

data corpus following Erickson's (1985) analytic induction methods combined with Strauss and Corbin's (1990) approach to grounded theory: "a general methodology for developing theory that is grounded in data systematically gathered and analyzed" (1990, p. 273). I specifically followed Maxwell's (1996) suggestion that once collected, data should be considered from three perspectives: memo writing, categorizing and contextualizing. I used these methods to search for patterns, reflecting on the data in this order: field notes, teacher interviews, selected audio-recorded language samples, and artifacts. Viewing and reviewing the data in this way allowed me to see patterns and themes emerge, and based on evidence in the data, these themes became my central assertions used to answer the research questions. As described next I used coding and transcription as tools to analyze the data corpus above.

### *Coding*

Initial coding categories were borrowed from the literature and concepts related to the framework discussed in the previous chapter (Hawkins, 2004; Toohey, 2000; Duff, 2007; Gee, 2005; Cazden, 1988; 2002; O'Connor & Michaels, 2007; Reagan, 2002). While these notions fit into my initial framework, I remained open to discover themes that emerged during and after data collection. I included additional categories as they emerged (Strauss & Corbin, 1998) to analyze the data as situated examples of discursive practices. I initially looked to the data for emergent themes about the relationship between discourse participation in the classroom and the socialization of ELLs.



First, I created a set of codes based on emerging patterns and themes from memo-writing, categorizing and contextualization of field notes. Then, I transcribed interview data and created codes and then code families by which to organize that data set. I then listened several times to selected audio-recorded discourse samples collected during observations and re-read field notes to confirm patterns and emerging categories. I created a set of codes and code families based on these discourse samples, selected salient samples and transcribed them. Finally, I analyzed program and classroom artifacts and created codes and then code families from these. (See Appendices A and B for the lists of Codes and Code Families used in the analysis.) These sets of code families supported the generation of assertions, together with the discourse analysis, that I developed through a thematic analysis of ELD discourse in this study.

### *Transcription*

From the corpus of recorded classroom discourse, I selected several language samples for close analysis. I transcribed these language samples as well as the teacher interviews using a transcription system based on Ochs (1996) as used by Toohey (2000) in her ethnographic study of learning English at school<sup>5</sup>. Gee (in press) explains that discourse analysis “is based on the details of speech (and gaze and gesture and action) that are arguably deemed relevant in the context where the speech was used and that are relevant to the arguments the analysis is attempting to make” and notes that speech data can be transcribed from very detailed (narrow) to less detailed (broad) (Gee, in press, p. 7). In converting data

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<sup>5</sup> See Appendix C for the transcription system and specific symbols used.

from audiotape recordings into transcripts I employed broad transcription of speech which included the linguistic features that occurred along with spoken words during the speech event, such as pausing or laughing, in so far as they may have aided in conveying meaning for those involved in the interaction when it took place as best I could tell (Gumperz and Berenz, 1993; Bloome et al., 2005).

### *Thematic Analysis*

Using Erickson (1985) as a guide I developed a method for displaying the data set using primarily discourse samples as well as narratives, tables and figures of artifacts, and interpretive and theoretical commentary. I begin the analysis of the discourse data using Cazden (1988) as a model for my display of the participation patterns as they occurred during language lessons. I describe the characteristics of ELL participation and use these participation patterns and codes based on field notes to make a thematic assertion about these practices.

Next, using themes that emerged through the analysis of participation patterns and practices, I selected classroom discourse samples to transcribe and analyze further in order to answer the second research question regarding the social purposes for language used in the classroom. I adapted questions from Gee (2005; in press) and his approach to discourse analysis to analyze these language samples. I used field notes and interviews to contextualize my analysis and check the assertions.

## Chapter Four

### Data Display

This chapter is intended to provide a context for the daily experience of language in the Level 4 ELD classroom during the summer program. I provide background descriptions on the following program and classroom artifacts: program model and rationale, principles of language development, daily schedule, program curriculum and content and student work. The data provided in this chapter provides context for the findings and analyses that follow in the next two chapters.

#### *Program Artifacts and Mediating Devices*

##### *M.O.D.E.L.S.*

The ELD summer program teachers received a binder with the definitions, examples and program materials that would guide their instruction during the program. There was a note on the materials that stated that they were “adapted from ADE OELAS and HISEP materials.” The program acronym M.O.D.E.L.S. stood for “methodologies for optimizing the development of English language skills.”

##### *Definition of Language*

One of the documents from the ADE Office of English Language Acquisition Services titled “Definition of Language” stated: “Language is comprised of five discrete elements that are interdependent and that must be taught overtly. The elements of phonology, morphology, syntax, lexicon, and

semantics are foundational for proficiency in reading, writing, speaking and listening.”

### *Program Rationale*

According to the teacher participant and instructional coaches the teachers in the ELD summer program attended teacher training two days before the program as well as for two hours after school during the three-week summer program to learn to implement the program’s specific methods and approach to English language development. Teachers and coaches referred to these as the program’s “methodologies” that were approved by the ADE, according to informal discussions with the lead instructional coach. The published rationale for the methods used stated:

For most LEP (limited English proficient) students, English is a foreign language and must be taught as such. These methods are not isolated activities but comprised together. They create situations for students to be involved in the **creation, analysis, and application** of language conversation. (M.O.D.E.L.S., Teacher Handbook, 2010, bold in original)

These methods were based on the district’s stated “five basic principles of language development” as listed in Figure 1.

### Five Basic Principles of Language Development

1. Students produce their way to higher levels of proficiency, and must therefore produce correctly at least half of the language during a language lesson.
2. Students must use complete, grammatically correct sentences at all times.
3. A clear language objective that students know they are learning must guide each language lesson.
4. Students must be grouped for language instruction by their language level.
5. Students must be pushed out of their linguistic comfort zone.

*Figure 1.* ELD program’s “Five Basic Principles of Language Development”.

#### *Daily Schedule*

The curriculum of the ELD program consisted of eight discrete language lessons. There are nine activities listed on the schedule, but I never observed “Ticket Out” take place during the program. Implementation of these activities followed a prescribed daily schedule that rotated every other day. Figure 2 displays the classroom’s Daily Schedule as mandated by the program.

Daily Schedule Monday and Wednesday	Daily Schedule Tuesday and Thursday
8:30 – 8:45 Warm Up	8:30 – 8:45 Warm Up
8:46 – 9:30 Collaborative Story Retell	8:46 – 9:30 Collaborative Story Retell
9:31 – 10:00 Syntax Surgery	9:31 – 10:00 Syntax Surgery
10:00 – 10:55 Verb Tense	10:00 – 10:55 Verb Tense
10:56 – 11:20 This or That	10:56 – 11:20 Function Junction
11:20 – 11:55 Vertical Sentence	11:20 – 11:55 Morph House
11:55 – 12:00 Ticket Out	11:55 – 12:00 Ticket Out
12:00 – 12:30 Lunch	12:00 – 12:30 Lunch

*Figure 2.* ELD Summer Program Daily Schedule, Day 1 and Day 2.

Ms. Ruiz followed this schedule closely, only occasionally spending more time on an activity than the time allotted or switching lessons out of order. On more than one occasion, when Ms. Ruiz did not follow the Daily Schedule as

prescribed a lead teacher or coach reminded Ms. Ruiz of the schedule and asked her to stick to it. The following text is the verbatim transcription of a note given to Ms. Ruiz by one of the program coaches that reminded her to adhere to the program schedule:

Ms. Ruiz, I think that you got confused with your schedule because at 8:52 you were working on S.S. (Syntax Surgery) and it is CSR (Collaborative Story Retell). What happened? It's o.k. We all make mistakes. (Note to Teacher Participant during ELD Program, 2010)

### *Content*

Along with the mandatory schedule, the program prescribed U.S. historical fiction as the “content” of the curriculum along with the primary focus on English Language Development, which the district defined in accordance with the ADE HISEP model as “distinguished from other types of instruction, e.g., math, science, or social science, in that the content of ELD emphasizes the English language itself” (OELAS, 2009b, p. 2).

*Texts.* The topic of U.S. historical fiction was introduced through the use of picture books about past American presidents during *Collaborative Story Retell* as well as through the topics and examples generated to support instruction during each of the other ELD language lessons. Figure 3 includes a list of the texts used during the program.

### Classroom Texts

Brown, D. (2007). *Dolley Madison Saves George Washington*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company.

Keating, F. & Wimmer, M. (2006). *Theodore*. Simon & Schuster Books for Young Readers. Ages 6-9.

Rappaport, D. (2008). *Abe's Honest Words: The Life of Abe Lincoln*. New York: Hyperion Books. Ages 8 and up.

Smith, L. (2006). *John, Paul, George and Ben*. New York: Hyperion Books for Children. Ages 5 and up.

Turney, A. (2001). *Abe Lincoln Remembers*. Harper Collins. Ages 6-9.

*Figure 3.* Historical fiction children's books used as instructional resource during ELD program.

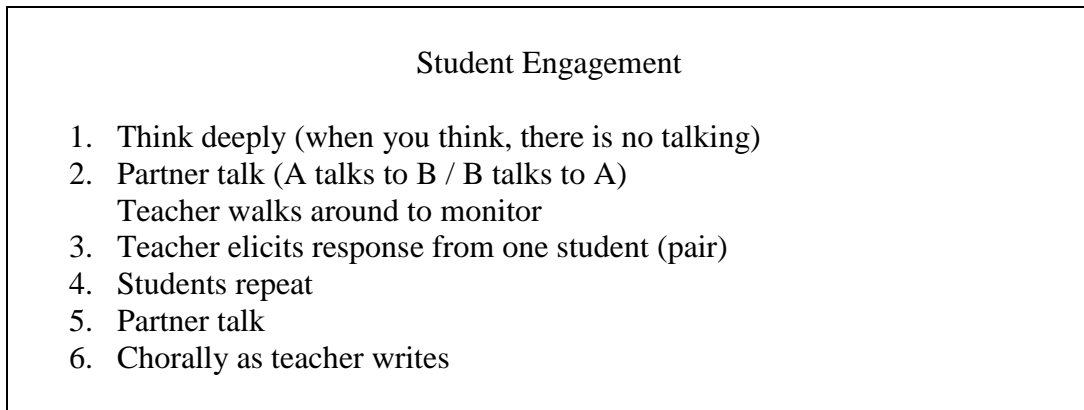
Additional historical content beyond the content of the text itself was not explicitly introduced during instructional activities in the Level 4 classroom.

Rather, the stories were used topically during other language lessons. The following list provides the typical ways in which the historical fiction topics were extended into other activities:

1. To generate lists of subjects and verbs during Verb Tense Study (For example, subjects = Abraham, lawyer, store owner, president; verbs = to learn, to engage, to love, to stuff);
2. To create the questions for framed student responses during *This or That* (For example: "Would you rather fight for the north or the south?");
3. As vocabulary for synonym study during *Vertical Sentence* (For example: "Lincoln grew sadder and sadder as more Americans died.")

*Student Engagement*

One of the many posters on the wall tailor-made for the ELD summer program was a poster titled “Student Engagement.” I include representation of this poster in Figure 4 because it illustrates the program’s official expectations for student oral participation in the program.



*Figure 4.* Guidelines for student engagement from poster in ELD Level 4 classroom.

#### *A Glance at Student Work*

Students used workbooks to record example sentences and formulas as written on the board as well as to generate “declarative, negative, and interrogative” sentences during and after *Verb Tense Study*. Students also completed worksheets twice to practice verb tense formulas. Students did not write at any other time during the study. Figure 5 displays a page from a student’s notebook in which he recorded future progressive sentences. Sentences such as these make up a majority of the work completed in the notebooks.



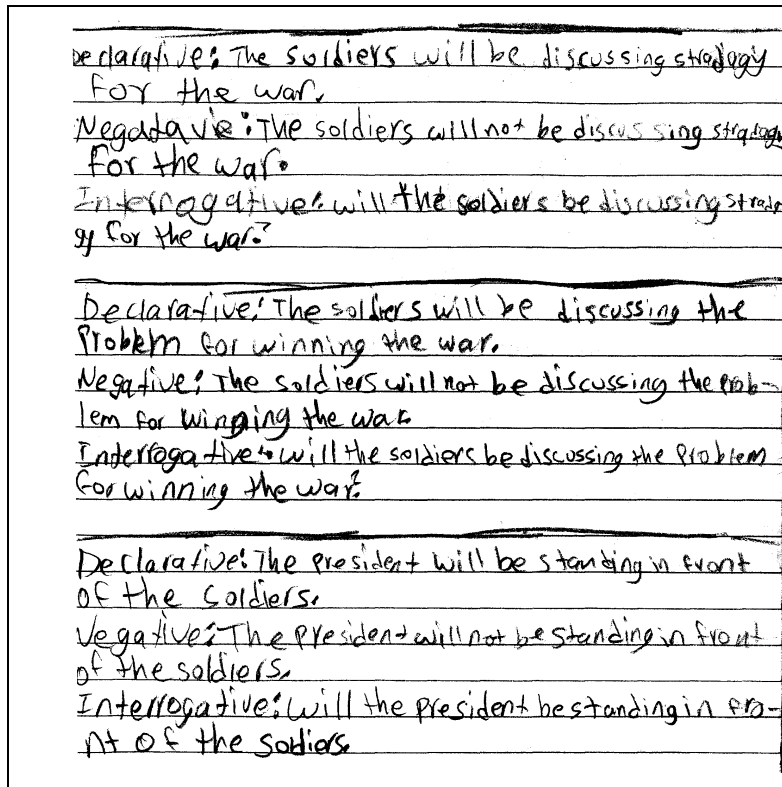


Figure 5. Future progressive sentences from student notebook.

## Chapter Five

### Findings, Part One

This chapter provides a detailed description of daily language experiences in the Level 4 classroom via an analysis of samples of typical language lessons. This chapter contains transcript samples for each of eight language lessons that occurred in the program. For each language lesson, I also include the official language objective that was posted on the classroom wall as well as background descriptions on the excerpts and the students' participation based on field notes. I present the extensive language lesson discourse data for two reasons: 1) to provide context for the findings in the next chapter, which are organized thematically rather than per language lesson as in this chapter, and 2) to answer the first research question: *What is the nature of ELL participation during language lessons? That is, what are the common participation practices in the classroom?*

After a brief description of the language lessons I answer this first research question in the form of an assertion about participation patterns in the Level 4 classroom.

#### *Language Lessons*

When I entered the Level 4 classroom on Day 1 I immediately noticed two features of the classroom environment. First, butcher block paper covered the book shelves that lined one wall. Second, the remaining classroom walls were covered in hand-written posters that displayed the names of program activities or *language lessons*, as well as language objectives and language formulas for each

activity. Ms. Ruiz used these posters on which to write during activities rather than on the chalk board or white board. Accordingly, each language lesson had a consistent “area” of the classroom during the program, and Ms. Ruiz would move around the room to each poster in order to accomplish the lessons. Students generally remained seated around a C-shaped set of tables and turned to face Ms. Ruiz as she moved to a new area. Students were also occasionally asked to move to the front of the room and sit in a group on the floor or in chairs (in front of the *Verb Tense Study* and *Function Junction* lesson posters). Figure 6 shows the Level 4 ELD classroom arrangement and student seating with labels for the language lesson “areas”.

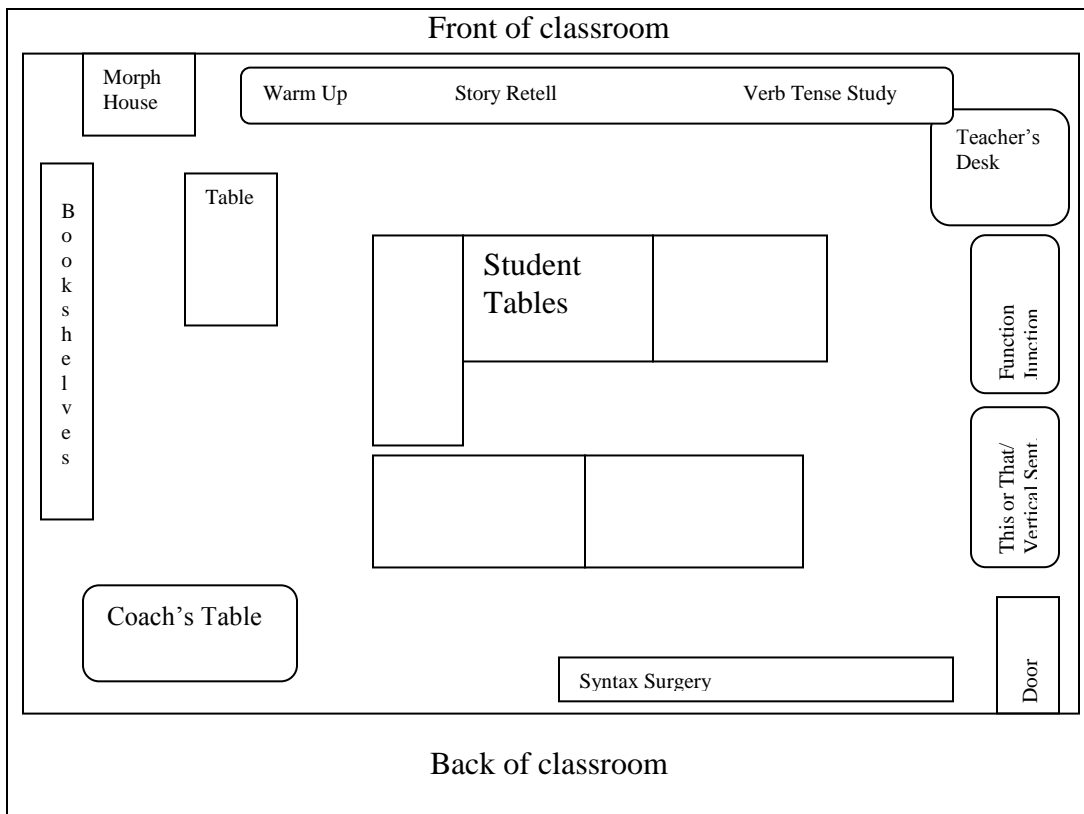


Figure 6. Level 4 ELD classroom and student seating arrangement.

### *Collaborative Teaching during Language Lessons*

According to the program’s instructional coaches, the ELD summer program was intended to be a “collaborative teaching” environment that was referred to as a “laboratory,” in which coaches, lead teachers and classroom teachers would teach interchangeably throughout the program. Originally, two teachers had planned to co-teach in the Level 4 classroom: Ms. Ruiz and Mr. Wool. On the second day of the program Mr. Wool was removed from the classroom but occasionally visited to observe; some of the data reported here reflects his presence. On a tour of the program’s classrooms on Day 1 the lead coach informed me that I would see “a number” of coaches enter the Level 4 classroom, and that they would either observe the lesson to provide feedback “at the moment of instruction” or may even take over as classroom instructor to model the program’s methods. She also mentioned that Ms. Ruiz and other teachers would occasionally leave the classroom in order to observe other classrooms. In total, I observed four coaches come into the Level 4 classroom and instruct students as well as provide feedback to Ms. Ruiz.

### *Official Description of Language Lessons*

Language lessons typically lasted from approximately 15 minutes to 1.5 hours. Table 2 illustrates the official descriptions of each of the ELD language lessons that the district adapted from the ADE OELAS HISEP materials. In addition to the official descriptions listed in Table 2, I provide the official “language objective” as stated on classroom posters, a description of student participation, representations of other classroom posters and artifacts as well as

language samples from audio-recordings taken during observations. The language samples are representative of discursive patterns that occurred during the official language lessons and are intended to serve as a general description of the typical flow of participation during individual language lessons. The intention is to provide a discourse sample from each language lesson to illustrate the typical nature of participation and illuminate patterns across lessons.

Table 2

*Official Description of ELD Language Lessons*

“High-Powered Methods to Connect English Learners to Advanced English Language Competencies”	
Language Lesson	Official Description
Warm Up	This is a compendium of receptive and productive language tasks, including repeat after me, minimal pairs, phoneme identification, rhythm drills, oral error detection, numbers pronunciation, and intonation exercises.
Collaborative Story Re-tell	Students apply and synthesize their discrete grammar skill knowledge as they describe processes using sequenced pictures, as well as re-tell complex narrative structures using focused language skill objectives.
Syntax Surgery	Students study advanced grammar structures by cutting apart and re-assembling sentences. Students complete many language transformation tasks as they study and apply new and known grammar rules.
Verb Tense Study	Students receive daily instruction and practice learning about, analyzing, conjugating, and using regular and irregular English verbs in a variety of tenses.
This or That	Students apply their developing knowledge of morphology and syntax in this highly interactive and lively method.
Function Junction	Students gain new insights about how language structures affect accent, mood and tone by interacting with real-life scenarios that require carefully constructed questions.
Vertical Sentence	Students learn to generate synonyms and link them to syntax structures.
Morph House	Affixes are studied through the development of linguistically based word families, i.e., democracy, democratic, democratically, democrat, democratize.

The remainder of the chapter, organized into eight sections according to these language lessons, presents the findings that answer the first research

question. These sections are displayed in the following order: Warm Up, Story Retell, Syntax Surgery, Verb Tense Study, This or That, Function Junction, Vertical Sentence, and Morph House.

*Findings: Participation Structures during Language Lessons*

The transcripts below enable me to answer the first research question(s): *What is the nature of ELL participation during language lessons? That is, what are the common participation patterns in the classroom?* I provide transcripts as evidence for the assertion about participation below; where relevant I also include a close examination of the participation patterns to illustrate the findings. In short, in the analysis that follows, I demonstrate how in this ELD classroom, *ELL participation is limited due to exposure to a narrow repertoire of language practices*. More specifically, my examination of prevalent discursive practices in the ELD classroom revealed the following about the classroom's *participation patterns: First, students participated during language lessons within the common Initiation-Response-Evaluation (IRE) structure*. In terms of 'response functions' (type of *response* elicited from students by the teacher) within IRE, *ELL responses can be characterized as repetition responses (repeat verbatim) with some instances of recitation responses (produce previously learned material)*; but there were no examples of cognition responses (i.e., instances where students were allowed to think about the material and then verbalize their thoughts) or expression responses (instances where students were asked to express ideas more clearly or precisely) (van Lier, 1996). Finally, *students' recitation responses are limited to known answers about formal language structures, such as parts of*

speech and verb tense formulas, rather than responses that access students' knowledge during authentic conversation.

*Warm Up: Repetition in IRE*

*Language objective.* A paper affixed to the wall under the title "Warm Up" read: "I will clearly articulate letter names, sounds and numbers."

*Student participation.* During this language lesson Ms. Ruiz would typically name the letters of the alphabet followed by a group of numbers as listed on a poster. Students would then orally repeat the letters, numbers and sounds together as a whole group. On a couple of occasions, Ms. Ruiz asked a student to come to the front to "be the teacher" and lead the class during Warm Up. During the following lesson students repeated as requested, but on several occasions starting during the second week of the program students laughingly "sang" the alphabet as if singing the children's "ABCs" song.

*Language sample.* The following language sample is from a classroom observation on Tuesday, June 8<sup>th</sup>, 2010 at 8:35AM. During this *Warm Up* lesson there were 12 students present, 4 females and 8 males. In this excerpt Ms. Ruiz named the letters of the alphabet, read a list of numbers from 60-80 from a poster and then pronounced the following list of 'sight' words: sight, thing, sank, thank, sink, think, sump, thump, mass, math. The class then repeated chorally and then the teacher repeated this pattern. The participation structure followed the pattern known as IRE (Initiation-Response-Evaluation) (Mehan, 1979; Cazden, 1988; van Lier, 1996). The pattern in excerpt one is as follows:



1. *Initiation* (by the teacher): In turn three the teacher initiated the oral recitation by checking if the students know the expected format for responses during *Warm-Up*.
2. *Response*: In turn four students provided the correct response: “three”.
3. *Evaluation/Follow-Up*: In line five the teacher affirmed the students’ response – “Three times. Okay.” – and then initiated the pattern that will continue to repeat itself in this language lesson when she began the alphabet.

Excerpt (1)

[T= Teacher; Group=Whole group; S=Sandra; St= individual student; SS= more than one student but fewer than whole class]

- 1 **T:** *(to student)* Could you please move over here because we’re going to do first the letters. You two, move over here please. Um guys, turn around, or sit over here, so you can pay attention. Ok, let’s start out. Le::t’s do that *(pause)* kindergarten one more time.<sup>6</sup>
- 2 **G:** *(laughter)*
- 3 **T:** It’s not my choice. Okay. I say it one time and how many times do you say it?
- 4 **G:** Three.
- 5 **T:** Three times. Okay. ‘A’  
*Teacher names each letter of the alphabet.*
- 6 **G:** A, a, a  
*Group repeats each letter of the alphabet.*
- 7 **T:** I need a teacher to do the numbers *(pause)* because I forgot to take attendance. Who wants to be the teacher?  
*She looks around.*  
Sandra?  
*Sandra goes to the front of the room.*  
Okay, 60. Okay, so listen to the teacher.
- 8 **S:** *(quietly)* All right, sixty-one

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<sup>6</sup> The transcriptions presented in this study follow a system similar to Ochs (1996) as used by Toohey (2000) in her study of English language practices in an elementary school. See Appendix for a list of symbols used.

- 9 **T:** Ok, everyone, sixty
- 10 **G:** Sixty, sixty, sixty
- 11 **S:** Sixty-one
- 12 **G:** Sixty-one, sixty-one, sixty-one
- 13 **St:** I could do that better. (*laughter*)
- 14 **T:** Shh. Okay. You'll do it later, so let's (*pause*) repeat it.
- 15 **S:** Sixty-two  
*Sandra says numbers 62 through 64.*
- 16 **G:** *Repeats these numbers.*
- 17 **S:** Sixty-five
- 18 **St:** Sixty-five
- 19 **St:** Seventy
- 20 **St:** [Sixty-seven
- 21 **St:** [Sixty-five (*laughter*)
- 22 **T:** Ok, guys you need to repeat it then. See: (*rising intonation*) that's what they are talking about. Let's do it and let's finish it. (*louder*)  
Sixty
- 23 **G:** Sixty, sixty, sixty  
*Teacher says numbers through eighty and group repeats.*
- 24 **T:** Okay, now what you're going to see with this is (*pause*) you see how they rhyme? Like sight, thing  
*She points to poster with list of 'sight' words.*
- 25 **T:** But you're not going to be able to see it during the test. This is part of the AZELLA. Okay, so sight, thing.
- 26 **St:** Sight, thing
- 27 **T:** Everyone
- 28 **G:** Sight, thing
- 29 **T:** Okay, so sight is what?
- 30 **St:** Sight
- 31 **T:** 'K', and thing
- 32 **St:** Thing
- 33 **T:** 'K', so si::ght, thing
- 34 **St:** Sight, thing
- 35 **T:** Everyone
- 36 **G:** Sight, thing
- 37 **T:** The difference is when you say si::ght (*rising intonation*) you just it's the 's', sight. And when you say thi::ng (*rising intonation*) you put your tongue here.  
*Teacher shows her tongue under her top front teeth.*  
Thing. Everyone. Si::ght. (*rising intonation*) (*pause 2 seconds*)  
Thing. Sight.
- 38 **G:** Si:ght
- 39 **T:** Thing
- 40 **G:** Thing
- 41 **T:** Sank

- 42 **G:** Sank  
43 **T:** Thank  
44 **G:** Thank  
45 **T:** Sink  
46 **G:** Sink  
47 **T:** Sump  
48 **G:** Sump  
49 **T:** Thump  
50 **G:** Thump  
51 **T:** Mass  
52 **G:** Mass  
53 **T:** Math  
54 **G:** Math  
*Teacher repeats the list of words again and group repeats again.*  
55 **T:** Okay, so we are just (pause) on time.

Close evaluation of the remainder of the lesson demonstrates that the initiation of the next response is often embedded within the teacher's evaluation turn. In this way, she can be seen to evaluate the oral repetition as acceptable by initiating the next response. This pattern is also evident in turn seven when she asked a student to "be the teacher" and sets up the IRE pattern for the student: "Okay, 60. Okay, so listen to the teacher." Sandra follows her lead in turn eight: "All right, sixty-one"; however, the teacher re-initiates the IRE pattern in turn nine since the students have not yet repeated "sixty" as expected.

Sandra attempts to follow this participation pattern in lines 11 through 21. In line 22 the teacher re-initiates the pattern starting with "sixty" once again since the students have not responded as required, which serves as an initiation and at the same time evaluation of the class' incorrect patterning. In line 23 the class responds and the teacher demonstrates acceptable repetition by eliciting the next number. The teacher's use of the participation structure suggests that the

pronunciation exercise, the stated objective of the lesson, is less important than providing the response in the expected format.

*Collaborative Story Re-Tell (CSR): Recitation in IRE*

*Language objective.* The poster for CSR displayed this objective: “I will organize my ideas and orally go over the main points in the story in the order in which they happened.”

*Student participation.* During CSR Ms. Ruiz read to the whole class from one of the five program texts, which were the historical fiction picture books listed in Figure 3 above. On the first day Ms. Ruiz gave photocopies of *Abe Lincoln Remembers* to the students, and she asked them to follow along as she read. However, one of the coaches entered the classroom during this lesson and was clearly not pleased that the student had copies of the text. The coach interrupted the lesson and told Ms. Ruiz that the class should not be reading or writing, but that the interaction should be based on oral comprehension. On subsequent days, Ms. Ruiz did not give students copies of the text. Rather, Ms. Ruiz read to them and stopped periodically to ask comprehension questions. Students listened orally and answered these questions, generally with some assistance. The class also spent time during CSR working in groups and as a whole class to create sentences that re-told events from the story. The teacher often used these sentences during the following activity, *Verb Tense Study*.

*Language sample.* The following excerpt was recorded during a classroom observation on Thursday, June 17<sup>th</sup>, 2010, at 9:10AM. There were thirteen students present, nine male and four female. Ms. Ruiz read *Dolley Madison Saves*

*George Washington* and periodically paused to show the class pictures in the book and ask students questions about story events. Ms. Ruiz had the only copy of the text. Some students looked in her direction as she reads; others had their heads down or drew in their notebooks. In this sample I do not include the passages from the story as she read it; instead, the language sample displays the questions and interaction that occurred between her oral readings of the story.

Excerpt two follows the same IRE participation structure pattern as excerpt one. However, rather than an emphasizing *repetition* response functions in this language lesson, the teacher used the IRE format to elicit answers to comprehension questions about the story. Thus, the teacher elicited a pattern of *recitation of known answers* (Cazden, 1988) as a check to see if students were listening and following the oral material.

The three-part exchange in turns 8-10 demonstrates this pattern: In turn 8 the teacher asks a question about what she has just read: “K, so was she all the time the charmer?” In turn nine a student responds: “Yeah”. In turn 10 the teacher corrects the student: “No, she started from a humble beginning” and then continues to read. This pattern is evident again in turns 13-15 and turns 28-31, in which students did recite the correct response.

Excerpt (2)

[T= Teacher; Group= whole group; St= individual student; MSt= male student; E= Enrique]

- 1 **T:** Ok, let’s start. And this is (*pause*) Dolley Madison.
- 2 **St:** (*asks inaudible question about George Washington*)
- 3 **T:** Yes, that’s the first name of Washington and we’re going to know about those two and how do they relate. (*She begins to read from*

- the text.*) “Everybody talks about Dolley Madison. They talk about her charm and grace.” Charm is (*pause 2 seconds*) when they say you’re charming, is a perfect state. (*Reads*) So, she used to dress pretty nicely. (*Reads*) So, why does everybody love her?
- 4 **St:** She’s fancy.
- 5 **T:** Because she does what?
- 6 **MSt:** [charmer
- 7 **MSt:** [dresses well
- 8 **T:** She’s a char:mer (*rising intonation*). She is a charmer. She lo:ves everyone. (*Reads from the text*) (*Students have side conversations.*) Hectic means very busy. K, so was she all the time the charmer?
- 9 **St:** Yeah
- 10 **T:** No, she started from a humble beginning. She was a farm girl. (*Reads*) So, what was her work? What did she need to do? (*pause 4 seconds*) Listen one more time. (*Reads*) So, she was the wife of the secretary of state. (*Reads*) So, because Jefferson didn’t have a wife and his secretary of state had one he asked her to become the entertainer to organize the parties for him. For the political leaders. (*Reads*) You know when you go to a restaurant and there is a person that is in front and says, “I’ll take you to your table.” That’s a hostess. And when you have a party at your house, and somebody comes, you do the same. And say “Hi, how are you, I’m glad that you’re in the party. These are my friends.” That’s the job of the hostess. It is to introduce people, to ask them, so. In all the parties it’s like she’s doing the *transito*, the train. (*Ms. Ruiz does a little dance and class laughs.*) (*Reads*) So, she used to dress really well. Sometimes she had feathers. And she used turbans to cover her head. And she had jewelry (*pause*) her gold. (*Reads*) So, she had her live portrait of Washington. She was re-decorating. And she was friends with everyone. But there was a feeling that war was coming. (*pause 3 seconds*) So this represents England and this represents the United States (*points to two sides of the room*). And they say, England used to say (*in strong male voice*), “Your side is our enemy (*pause*), your side is our enemy.” Which translated to today’s words would be, “You, United States, you are our enemy.” And the United States used to say to them, “You kidnap our sailors.” Americans roar (*deep voice*) like a lion. Lion’s roar (*deeper voice*), “You kidnap our sailors.” (*Reads*) (*pauses four seconds and then walks over to two male students*) Why am I stopping?
- 11 **St:** We’re talking.
- 12 **G:** (*laughter*)
- 13 **T:** (*quietly to two males*) Okay, I’m stopping because I don’t see your eyes. You’re not following the reading. So I’d like for everyone to follow the reading. Get rid of distractions. Face me. Face the book.

So you can understand. So: (*rising intonation*) because of the animosity, because of the fight between the two countries, she found herself one day with the spying glass. (*Reads*) They didn't stay in Washington because who was coming?

- 14 **St:** The English.
- 15 **T:** The English. (*Reads*) So she is watching and she is seeing the army go from one side to the other. Which is, I guess a natural feeling. When people are in war what may happen to them?
- 16 **E:** Die
- 17 **T:** They might die, so they avoid going into direct confrontation. So that is what she is seeing. (*Reads*) So, what is she warning them?
- 18 **St:** The British
- 19 **T:** The British are there so they have to (*pause*) get out. So how many people were guarding the mansion?
- 20 **MSt:** One hundred
- 21 **T:** A hundred. How many stayed?
- 22 **St:** [one hundred
- 23 **St:** [none
- 24 **T:** Zero. (*Reads*) (*Two students are tapping, two have their heads down, two are talking and seven are looking towards the teacher.*) So, everyone was going out of Washington but she stayed and she recovers some important papers and some things that were valuable and she remembers George Washington's what?
- 25 **St:** Painting
- 26 **T:** Painting. The portrait. That's another way (*pause*) to say painting. So she remembered this. (*Reads*) So they couldn't take it because it was fixed to the wall. So she ordered the frame. That part to be broken. See they couldn't take it out because it was fixed (*pause*) with screws. They couldn't take out the portrait. So (*pause*) they couldn't take it out so she ordered the frame that's this part (*points to picture*) to be broken. So, what did the men do? What's the sentence? The men did what?
- 27 **St:** The men
- 28 **T:** The men shattered the wood, with the hatchet. Here are the hatchets. And freed the painting. (*Reads*) So what, after what, what was the last thing she did before she went out? She rescued what?
- 29 **St:** The picture
- 30 **St:** [The portrait
- 31 **T:** [She rescued the portrait the picture.

In CSR the teacher used IRE to elicit recitations of the material. The participation pattern makes it clear that students are not being asked to think about the story events or relate to it; rather, the teacher elicited known answer responses

to check for comprehension. The teacher addressed the whole class with her questions, demonstrating that students must *display* (van Lier, 1996 p. 154) knowledge to known answers. That is, the teacher did not ask these questions because she wanted to find out information, as in during authentic conversation, but to check the students' understanding. The teacher asked students questions, but this was not a dialogue or "real discussion" as Cazden (1988) defines it. First, the teacher's role was to control participation. Second, students only had speaking rights when asked a specific comprehension "retell" question. Finally, the students' responses cannot be considered "exploratory talk" in which "ideas are thought out in the course of their expression" (1988, p. 61).

*Syntax Surgery: Recitation in IRE and the Importance of Language Objectives and Complete Sentences*

*Language objective.* The objective displayed for Syntax Surgery read: "I will construct a sentence using the words given and identify all the parts of speech. I will arrange those words to generate new sentences."

*Student participation.* During this activity students were given a Ziploc bag with a sentence strip – sentences that are cut into individual words – that had to be re-assembled into a sentence based on the current *CSR* story. Students were usually told to work in groups during this activity.

*Language sample.* The excerpt that follows is from the observation on Monday, June 14<sup>th</sup>, 2010 at 9:37AM. Ms. Ruiz had just re-entered the classroom and took over the lesson from a coach. The students were seated around the C-



shaped desk Ms. Ruiz began *Syntax Surgery* with a sentence from *Theodore*:  
“Roosevelt said that success comes from great effort and big dreams.”

Turns one through 38 in the following excerpt display a participation pattern similar to that in excerpt two. Students were asked to *recite* the part of speech for each word in the sentence; the teacher checked their memorized knowledge about parts of speech as well as their ability to access the information listed on the wall. In turn five the teacher asked, “Do you know what big is?” (*Initiation*) In turn six a student responded, incorrectly, “verb,” (*Response*) which showed that the student knew she was being asked about its part of speech and not to engage in a conversation. In turn eight the teacher evaluated or followed up on the student’s response by providing the correct response and then initiated the next exchange: “Great.” (*Evaluation*).

### Excerpt (3)

[T= Teacher; G=whole group; St= individual student; MSt= male student; FSt= female student; C= Carmen; R= Rodrigo; E= Enrique]

- 1 **T:** Ok, let’s do (*pause*) so what are we going to do? We’re going to put the sentence in what?
- 2 **St:** In a sentence.
- 3 **T:** Or
- 4 **St:** (*inaudible*)
- 5 **T:** So, don’t open it until I tell ask you to do so please (*pause*). Let’s go over the words that we are using (*rising intonation*) (*pause 3 seconds*). So we’re going to construct a sentence given a word given and identify the part of speech.  
(*Coaches talking in the back of class.*)  
So when I when I after we review the word you need to think about what part of speech are they. So (*pause*) big. Do you know what big is?
- 6 **St:** Verb
- 7 **St:** Verb
- 8 **T:** Adjective because it describes the describes the noun. Great.

- 9 **St:** (*quietly*) Adjective.  
 10 **T:** Adjective. Everyone great is an adjective.  
 11 **SS:** (*quietly*) Great is an adjective.  
 12 **T:** Everyone  
 13 **G:** (*louder*) Great is an adjective.  
 14 **T:** This one is the easiest one I like this one. And. What is and?  
 15 **St:** [Preposition  
 16 **St:** [Conjunction  
 17 **T:** Conjunction. Dreams. [This is a tricky one.  
 18 **St:** [Pronoun  
 19 **T:** No because it could be (pause) something that you do or something that you have.  
 20 **E:** Verb.  
 21 **T:** It could be a verb. But it also could be a noun. So it depends on how you use it (*pause 2 seconds*). Success. Who (*pause*) remembers what is this? When you have success, what is that?  
 22 **St:** (*quietly*) Verb  
 23 **T:** A verb. (*pause*) Effort.  
 24 **C:** A verb.  
 25 **St:** Verb.  
 26 **T:** Roosevelt.  
 27 **R:** Noun.  
 28 **T:** Noun. The. This is a tricky one. It is what?  
 29 **FSt:** Pronoun.  
 30 **T:** Pronoun. Comes. It has an 's'.  
 31 **FSt:** Verb.  
 32 **T:** Verb. From (*pause*) is indicating what?  
 33 **FSt:** Preposition.  
 34 **T:** It's a preposition. I'm glad that you (*pause*) remember that. And said. Said is what?  
 35 **St:** A verb.  
 36 **T:** Ok, now get yo:ur uh strips out (*pause*) and try your (*pause 5 seconds*). What's the first word, what's the last word. Everyone should have identified what's the first what's the last. (*pause 3 seconds*) How do you identify what's the last one?  
 37 **St:** Has a period.  
 38 **T:** Has a period.

Students spent the next several minutes arranging the words into sentences while Ms. Ruiz walked around to check the sentences. Then Ms. Ruiz led the whole class to identify the parts of speech in the given sentence as a group. Students placed the word on the wall beneath the name of the part of speech

written on an index card. Another coach entered the room and teacher addressed the class. The IRE pattern is indicated:

*Initiation*

39 **T:** Good morning (*to coach*). So what are we doing guys?

*Response*

40 **G:** Syntax surgery.

*Evaluation/Initiation*

41 **T:** Syntax surgery. You are constructing a sentence using (*pause*) what?

*Response*

42 **C:** Using all the parts of speech.

*Evaluation/Initiation*

43 **T:** Ok, let's read it all together. I will construct a sentence

*Response*

44 **G:** I will construct a sentence [using the words given and

45 **T:** [using the words given and identify all parts of speech

*Evaluation*

46 **T:** Ok, we have some people who were very close.

*Response/Initiation*

47 **MSt:** I was very close

*Response/Evaluation*

48 **St:** No, you weren't even close  
(*pause 20 seconds*)

Lines 39-48 demonstrate that the teacher also used the IRE pattern to control students' responses in an effort to display adherence to the program schedule (*Syntax Surgery*) and requirements (students state the lesson objectives) for the coaches' benefit. In the excerpt above students repeated the *language objective* mid-lesson for the sake of the coaches. The interaction in turns 47 and 48 is interesting because in turn 47 the student seems to respond to the teacher's evaluation in turn 46; however, the turn can also be seen as an initiation into a pattern that diverges from the usual pattern by taking up the next initiation. The student's response in turn 48 demonstrates participation in the student's initiative, but it is also a "teacher-like" evaluative comment: "No you weren't even close."

From a sociocultural perspective, one could argue that in this exchange students exhibited competence in the social practice of patterned responses that defined participation in this community of practice while at the same time attempting to negotiate it by “taking the teacher’s turn” .

The lesson continued as the teacher worked with individual students to arrange the sentence. Then she continued in whole group as follows:

- 49 **T:** Good job. Ok. If your partner doesn’t have it right just tell them what the right word is. Ok because I believe that now everybody has it (*pause 2 seconds*). So let’s read it. Everyone.
- 50 **G:** (*slowly and exaggeratedly*) Roosevelt said that success comes from great effort and big dreams.
- 51 **T:** Who can tell me what the proper noun is?
- 52 **St:** Proper noun.
- 53 **T:** Ok, think about it. Think deeply what’s the proper noun?  
Remember proper noun (*pause*) noun of a (*pause 2 seconds*) person. Identifies how many people?
- 54 **R:** One.
- 55 **T:** Okay, think. You have it (*to student*).
- 56 **St:** Yeah.
- 57 **T:** Tell your partner. (*to individual students*) You have it? What’s the name of the person? Ok. Show me with your finger. Okay. Because Brian was the first one so Brian, put it on the wall. Brian. Tell them what’s the proper noun.
- 58 **B:** The proper noun is (*pause*) Roosevelt.
- 59 **T:** Okay, I like the way he said it in complete sentence. Can you repeat that so everyone you can say it?
- 60 **B:** The proper noun (*pause*) I forgot.
- 61 **T:** The proper noun is
- 62 **B:** The proper noun is Roosevelt.
- 63 **T:** Everyone.
- 64 **G:** The proper noun is Roosevelt.
- 65 **T:** Now, choose one action. One action word and put your finger on it so I know (*rising intonation*) what the action is.

In turns 50-66 the teachers and students engaged in the IRE response pattern to identify parts of speech. In turn 58 the teacher used *specific elicitation* (van Lier, p. 153) for the first time in this lesson to ask an individual student to

recite the answer. The teacher evaluated the student's response as not only correct in turn 60, but recognized the form of the answer as acceptable: "Okay, I like the way he said it in a complete sentence." Rather than providing the answer, "Roosevelt," the student displayed that he is aware that a truly correct answer in the ELD classroom requires a formal structure, what is often called in the classroom a "complete sentence". The SS language lesson continued in a similar manner for approximately 15 minutes.

*Verb Tense Study: Reciting and Repeating in IRE, Complete Sentences and Volume in Participation*

*Language objective.* The objective posted for this language lesson read: "I will use the verb tense study formula to accurately create and share (declarative, negative and interrogative) sentences orally and in writing."

*Student participation.* Students generally sat at their desks in the C-shaped arrangement or directly in front of the Verb Tense posters on chairs or on the floor during *Verb Tense Study* lessons, which was the only lesson that occurred every day of the program. These lessons were conducted in the front of the room and each day a poster displayed the formula for the verb tense being studied and a formula and example sentences for a declarative, negative and interrogative sentences using that verb tense. A representation of one such poster is shown in Figure 7.

### Future Progressive

Application and use: to describe actions ongoing in the future after the act of speaking

#### Formula

Declarative: Subject + will be + verb + ing + ROS (rest of sentence)

Negative: subject + will NOT be + verb + ing + ROS

Interrogative: Will + subject + be + verb + ing + ROS

Examples: He will be smelling hotdogs.  
              He will not be smelling hotdogs.  
              Will he be smelling hotdogs?

*Figure 7.* A representation of a poster used to guide instruction during a *Verb Tense Study* language lesson.

As a whole class the teacher asked students to generate a list of four subjects and four verbs from the story read or discussed earlier during *CSR*. Ms. Ruiz would write these lists on a poster and then lead the class in constructing sentences with these lists in the verb tense chosen for study on that day.

*Language sample.* The following excerpt is from a language sample recorded during the observation on Monday, June 14<sup>th</sup>, 2010 that began just after 10:00 AM. There were 12 students present; they were seated on the floor in front of the *Verb Tense* posters.

In turns one through seven the teacher used the IRE pattern so students would state and repeat the language objective. Then, in turn 10 the teacher dismissed the students' complaints in turns eight and nine and initiated the pattern again so that students would read and repeat the formula for the past progressive tense (turns 10-15) and again used the IRE pattern so that students would read and

repeat sample sentences (turns 16-40). Students' responses defined participation in this structure; that is, they orally repeated the requested response. But the students' participation is *monologic*: the teacher used IRE to control oral participation rather than to promote interaction or inquiry.

Excerpt (4)

[T= Teacher; G=Whole group; St= individual student; Co= Coach; MSt= male student; MSS= male students E= Enrique; C= Carmen; R= Rodrigo; B= Brian]

- 1 **T:** I will use the verb tense (*students talking*) (*pause*) one, two, three
- 2 **G:** Eyes on you.
- 3 **T:** Thank you. I will use the verb tense study formula to accurately create and share sentences orally and in writing. Everybody.
- 4 **G:** I will use the verb tense study formula (*laughter*) to accurately create and share (*laughter*) sentences orally and in writing.
- 5 **T:** Okay, gentleman up and read it.  
(*Boys stand.*)
- 6 **MSS:** (*standing*) I will use the verb tense study formula to accurately create and share declarative, negative and interrogative sentences orally and in writing.
- 7 **T:** Okay, so the [verbs
- 8 **MSt:** What about the ladies?  
(*pause 4 seconds*)
- 9 **St:** My head hurts
- 10 **T:** Guys, I don't want to call anyone here so please don't make me do it. Don't make me do it. So (*rising intonation*) past progressive (*pause*) application and use describes ongoing action in the past. So, tell me describes actions ongoing in the past. Everyone (*rising intonation*).
- 11 **MSS:** Describes actions ongoing in the past
- 12 **T:** So, we have the formula. Jesus move over here (*laughter*) please. Move over here or I need to call them. (*Students talking.*)  
The formula is the subject to be because it's in the past would be was were you have the verb plus ING plus the rest of the sentences. The negative formula would be everyone (*reading from poster*) [subject plus was were plus not plus verb plus i-n-g plus rest of the sentence
- 13 **G:** (*reading from poster*) [subject plus was were plus not plus verb plus i-n-g plus rest of the sentence
- 14 **T:** Interrogative (*reading from poster*) [was were plus subject plus verb plus i-n-g plus rest of the sentence

- 15 **G:** [was were plus subject plus verb plus i-n-g plus rest of the sentence  
 16 **T:** Here are some examples and everyone has to say. She was smelling hotdogs.  
 17 **G:** She was smelling hotdogs.  
 18 **T:** They [were smelling hotdogs.  
 19 **G:** [were smelling hotdogs.  
 20 **T:** Everyone.  
 21 **G:** He was smelling hotdogs.  
 22 **T:** They were not [smelling hotdogs.  
 23 **G:** [They were not smelling hotdogs.  
 24 **T:** She was not smelling hotdogs.  
 25 **G:** She was not smelling hotdogs. (*laughter*)  
 26 **T:** We were not smelling hotdogs.  
 27 **G:** We were not smelling hotdogs.  
 28 **T:** Now let's make it interrogative and what do we change?  
 29 **G:** Was.  
 30 **T:** Was she  
 31 **St:** smelling  
 32 **St:** Was she smelling hotdogs?  
 33 **St:** She was smelling (*inaudible*) (*laughter*)  
 34 **T:** Okay everyone was she smelling hotdogs?  
 35 **G:** Was she smelling hotdogs?  
 36 **T:** Were they smelling hotdogs?  
 37 **G:** Were they smelling hotdogs?  
 38 **T:** Were we smelling hotdogs?  
 39 **G:** Were we smelling hotdogs?  
 40 **T:** Okay, we're going to do the same we're going to have first we're going to have the declarative and we're going to work in the declaratives. Then we're going to work with the negative the interrogative (*pause*) with the singular. Singular means that it's only one subject. (*pause 2 seconds*) So think about the subject that you see in the picture (*She points to poster with a picture from the story*).  
 41 **St:** (*inaudible*) (*laughter*)  
 42 **R:** The subject that I see is Abraham Lincoln.  
 43 **St:** The subject that I see is a president.  
 44 **T:** The president  
 (*Teacher writes sentences on poster.*)  
 45 **T:** I need another subject think think. K Brian.  
 46 **B:** He's famous  
 47 **T:** No but the person the subject  
 48 **B:** The subject that I see is lawyer  
 49 **T:** Lawyer (*rising intonation*) good. Now everyone. President, [Abraham Lincoln, lawyer.  
 50 **G:** [The president, Abraham Lincoln, lawyer.



- 51 **T:** Everyone [president, Abraham Lincoln, lawyer  
 52 **G:** [president, Abraham Lincoln, lawyer  
 53 **T:** Now think about the actions. (*pause 3 seconds*) Ok, Brian tell it to  
 the person that is next to you  
 54 **St:** next to you  
 55 **T:** on your left  
 (*Teacher puts students in pairs and asks them to talk about the*  
*“answer”; students talk and laugh.*)  
 56 **T:** Okay the verb has to be with a to (*pause*). To  
 57 **St:** Read.  
 58 **T:** Read.  
 59 **St:** To see  
 60 **St:** To stand  
 (*Teacher writes on poster.*)  
 61 **T:** There is a better word for what he is doing (*pause*) a better a better  
 word let’s look for a better word.  
 (*Students shout out words.*)  
 62 **K:** To be a gentleman (*laughter*)  
 63 **T:** Okay, now I need you to think deeply about the how do we put the  
 sentence together we put the subject the president uh then we put  
 was (*pause*) because it’s just one person then we put the verb plus  
 i-n-g plus the rest of the sentence. Think about one sentence first  
 and then let me know when you have thought about that sentence  
 (*pause*). Give me a signal. Okay Jesus tell me your sentence.  
 (*laughter*)  
 64 **T:** Okay then why did you say that you were ready?  
 (*Teacher takes Jesus out of the classroom and they return 30*  
*seconds later and moves students to new seats to separate them.*)  
 65 **T:** Okay tell your partner the sentence you have made.

The lesson continued for more than forty minutes. Students were asked to choose subjects and verbs from the lists to make declarative, negative and then interrogative sentences. The teacher often asked students to “use the formula” and repeat each other’s sentences. Students have said and repeated several declarative and negative sentences when a coach entered the interaction to instruct the lesson as follows:

- 66 **Co:** Yeah that is good. You know what this is a privilege to have Ms. Ruiz in here teaching you and all of you know me from [middle school]. So we’re in here helping all of you because we want you

- all to score proficient on the AZELLA (*pause*) right? So that next year in seventh and eighth grade you move on. Let's (*rising intonation*) look at the did you do the singular subject?
- 67 **T:** (*quietly*) Yes
- 68 **Co:** Oh you I missed that one so you did do singular subject (*pause*) right? Today? [For past progressive
- 69 **T:** [Yes
- 70 **Co:** Okay, so great so now you've chosen so you came up with some great pronouns and that's really important. Instead of saying if I kept saying Ms. Ruiz is a great educator, Ms. Ruiz is a great cook, Ms. Ruiz is a great mom, you'd say [coach's name] stop saying that just sa::y [she
- 71 **G:** [She
- 72 **Co:** Right so we do the same thing with the pronoun. You're not going to keep saying the soldiers the soldiers the soldiers. You changed it to they, that's perfect. So now as a class we agree that we're going to use the subject the soldiers and battle is a great verb. So we're going to say the soldiers were battling and you go (*writing on poster*) b-a-t-t-l-i-n-g. You drop the 'e'. In a war (*rising intonation*) who do you fight? What's the subject name for who you fight? (*pause*) Think think. Take a second and think. Don't raise your hand. [Don't speak out. You know my rules. Now (*rising intonation*)
- 73 **St:** [Civil War
- 74 **St:** [The enemies
- 75 **Co:** (*to student*) Say your name again.
- 76 **R:** Rodrigo.
- 77 **Co:** Rodrigo. I knew that. I knew it was Rodrigo and I remembered. What's the name that we call who do we fight? Say in a war. Say that in a war
- 78 **R:** In a war
- 79 **Co:** We fight the
- 80 **R:** We fight the enemies.
- 81 **Co:** Perfect that's just the word I was looking for (*writing*). The soldiers were battling the enemy (*pause*) during (*pause*) now see if you can remember this. We're going to make it a really educated sentence. What was the name of this war? Partner A tell Partner B. Right now.
- 82 **St:** The Civil War.
- 83 **Co:** Okay (*to student*) what's your name?
- 84 **C:** Carmen
- 85 **Co:** Carmen, say that war is
- 86 **C:** The war is the Civil War
- 87 **Co:** The Civil War very good during the Civil War. Perfect now we take this same sentence this great sentence that as a class you

- wrote. Let's read it together on three. One two three. [The soldiers were battling the enemy during the Civil War.
- 88 **G:** [The soldiers were battling the enemy during the Civil War.
- 89 **Co:** Now we're going to negate it. We're going to make it a negative sentence. To make it a negative sentence Brian how do I say it? Say it. To make it a negative sentence
- 90 **B:** To say
- 91 **Co:** To make
- 92 **B:** To make a negative sentence
- 93 **Co:** We say
- 94 **B:** We say the soldiers were not battling were battling
- 95 **Co:** We're not uh huh very good (*writing*)
- 96 **B:** The enemy during the Civil War
- 97 **Co:** That was perfect (*pause*) perfect. Thank you so much.

In turn 72 in the excerpt above, the coach initiated an IRE exchange when she asked, "In a war who do you fight? What's the subject name for who you fight?" In this turn she was not only asking a question but also offered a sort of "pre-evaluation" that refers back to earlier in the lesson when students were asked to use complete sentences to name subjects from the story for their sentences. In turn 74 Rodrigo provided the expected response, "the enemies," though not in a complete sentence. The coach followed up on this response by requiring Rodrigo to *repeat her full sentence verbatim*, in turns 77-81. In turn 81 she displays the importance of *known answer responses* in this class: "Perfect that was just the word I was looking for." The same pattern occurs in lines 82-87 with another student and again with another student in turns 89-97. Again, IRE is used to *control student participation*. Clearly, the students are being taught that the only acceptable responses are part of a monologic discourse based on teacher authority and pre-existing knowledge (O'Connor & Michaels, 2007).

The teacher re-entered and lead the class to make the same sentence an interrogative sentence in the past progressive tense as follows:

- 98 **T:** How do make it an interrogative? What do we change?  
(*Group talks and laughs.*)
- 99 **T:** Okay, Kevin should know it I'm sure that Kevin knows it. So Kevin?
- 100 **K:** (*quietly*) Were the soldiers battling during the Civil War?
- 101 **T:** What we're they doing?
- 102 **G:** Battling.
- 103 **T:** And everyone read the sentence.  
**G:** (*two or three read slowly and quietly*) Were the soldiers battling during the Civil War.
- 104 **T:** K (*pause*) I didn't hear everyone so one more time.  
**G:** (*more loudly, 5-6 reading*) Were the soldiers battling during the Civil War.  
**T:** Okay (*to a group of students*) everyone one of you up you up and you're going to read it.  
(*Six male students stand up; some sigh.*)
- 105 **MSS:** (*slowly*) Were the soldiers battling during the Civil War.
- 106 **T:** Okay, one two three, go.
- 107 **MSS:** Were the soldiers battling during the Civil War.
- 108 **T:** Okay now because it's almost time for you to start getting your journal and writing the formula (*pause*) I want to make sure that you know. So the declarative form. What do I have there?

Close analysis of the above excerpt demonstrates that the instructors also used the IRE format to control the *quality* of the students' response participation, in terms of audibility or volume. It is clear from the observation that students provided the correct response as well as the expected oral pronunciation; however, not all students *participated or repeated* the sentence as requested. Students were asked to provide an interrogative sentence, which Kevin did correctly in turn 100. In turns 101-108 the teacher lead the class through an IRE exchange in which they repeated the expected answer *five additional times*. This

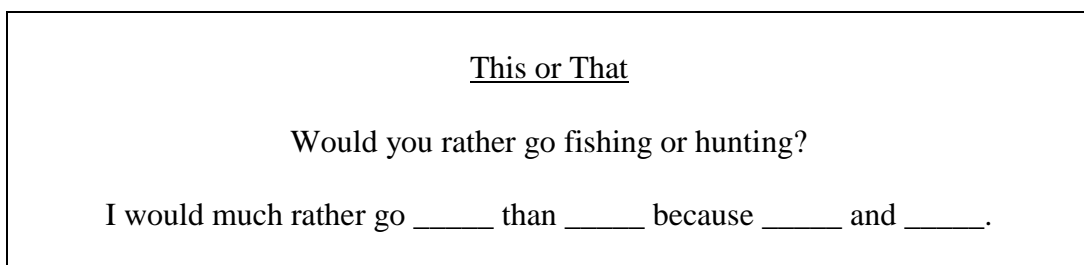
sequence demonstrates acute control of ELL participation in the Level 4 classroom.

*This or That: Repeating Objectives and Facing Forward in IRE or 'Preference within the Sentence Frame'*

*Language objective.* The objective posted on the wall for this activity read: "I will explain why I would prefer to do one thing rather than another by using a sentence frame."

*Student participation.* The official description of this language lesson is that it is "a highly interactive and lively method." I observed the lesson take place three times during the three week program. Students sat in chairs in front of the *This or That* poster and were asked to choose one thing over another and explain their choice using lists of reasons that they generated together. Then, students used a sentence frame to orally express their choice.

*Artifacts.* Figure 8 is a copy of the poster used during the following lesson sequence.



*Figure 8.* Poster of a sentence frame used to guide student participation.

*Language sample.* The excerpt that follows is from a classroom observation on Monday, June 14<sup>th</sup> at about 11:00AM. Earlier in the day the class had used a sentence about Theodore Roosevelt during *Syntax Surgery* and then

used the *Abe Remembers* story to make sentences during *Verb Tense Study*. The topic introduced here, hunting and fishing, does not relate to any other classroom material or content. The following language interaction lasted approximately 30 minutes.

In turns 1-16 the teacher used the IRE format to elicit the repetition of the language objective by the whole class. In turn six the teacher both evaluated the repetition response as unacceptable and initiated another cycle of it when she asked the students to stand and repeat the objective. In turns 17-20 the teacher elicited the next response by asking students to decide their *preference* – hunting or fishing. On the surface this response function does not necessarily conform to the previous formats used – repetition or recitation of known answers – but rather appeared to be an individual, personal choice that could be viewed as a response based in *expression* through conversation (van Lier, p. 154). This analysis continues after the following excerpt:

Excerpt (5)

[T= Teacher; Group=Whole group; St= individual student; MSt= male student; Ss= students; ASt= A group; E= Enrique]

- 1 **T:** Okay guys we need to work with This o::r That. (*pause 2 seconds*) Okay le::t's what are we doing? (*She points to the language objective posted on the wall.*) I will explain why I would prefer to do one thing rather than another by using a sentence frame. So what are we doing? Uh everyone (*pause*) move over here. (*points to front*) Everyone move over here. Leave your pencils your notebook. Leave everything and move over here. (*Students move to front.*)
- 2 **T:** K so what are we doing? [I will explain why I would prefer to do one thing rather than another by using a sentence frame.
- 3 **G:** I will [explain why I would prefer to do one thing rather than another by using a sentence frame.

- 4 **T:** Everyone I will [explain why I would prefer to do one thing rather than another by using a sentence frame.
- 5 **G:** [I will explain why I would prefer to do one thing rather than another by using a sentence frame.
- 6 **T:** Maybe we need all to get up (*pause*) and say it because there are some people that are (*pause*) k.  
(*Students stand.*)
- 7 **T:** I will explain
- 8 **G:** I will explain
- 9 **T:** why I would prefer
- 10 **G:** why I would prefer
- 11 **T:** to do one thing do one thing rather than another by using a sentence frame.
- 12 **G:** to do one thing
- 13 **T:** rather than another
- 14 **G:** rather than another
- 15 **T:** by using a sentence frame.
- 16 **G:** by using a sentence frame.
- 17 **T:** So these are the choices (*points to poster*). Hunting or fishing. Okay, make your preference. What's your preference. And show me when you're ready. Think deeply. (*pause 3 seconds*) So everyone what's the question?
- 18 **G:** Would you rather go fishing or hunting?
- 19 **T:** Okay think about where you would rather be rather go and do. So (*pause*) and give me the reasons. Think about the reasons. (*pause 30 seconds*) Now talk to your partner what's your preference. (*A handful of students talk while teacher walks around.*)
- 20 **T:** (*to individual students*) Why? Are you finished? Okay you need to convince these that like to go fishing or these that like to go hunting. What are the reasons that you give? Think about good reasons. You need to convince the other group. (*Students talk to one another while teacher walks around.*)

At this point a new coach entered and “took over” instruction of the language lesson. The following is the transcript as the lesson continued:

- 21 **Co:** Okay boys and girls we're going to rewind a little bit and we're going to look at our frame again. Would you rather go fishing or hunting? That is yo:ur (*pause*) frame. You are going to think what you're going to do. If you'd rather go fishing you're going to say I'd rather go fishing. If you'd rather go hunting you would say I would rather go hunting. You are just picking one (*pause*) or the other. (*pause*) So I'm going to give you thirty minutes thirty seconds to think what you would rather do. And when you answer

you're going to answer in that frame. I would rather (*rising intonation*) and then just say what your preference is. Ready? Think. Thinking means

- 22 **R:** No [talking]
- 23 **Co:** No talking (*pause 2 seconds*). When you have a preference you can show me by putting your thumb up. (*pause 3 seconds*) Okay A's raise your hand.  
(*Coach divides the students into "A's" and "B's" by pointing to them.*)
- 24 **Co:** Now A's tell your partner what you would rather do and you are going to answer like this (*pause*) I would rather (*pause*) go  
(*Some students start talking using the frame.*)
- 25 **Co:** Let's do this again. Rewind rewind. Eyes on me. Eyes on me (*pause*). When you share with your partner you look at their face. That's how we show each other that we are listening to what we are saying. (*pointing*) So you are A you are B you are A you will share. Let's begin. And this should only take one second. I would [rather go hunting]
- 26 **ASt:** [I would rather go hunting]
- 27 **Co:** Cut. You're not going to say the frame. You're just going to say what you would rather do. Would you rather go hunting or would you rather go fishing? I'm telling Ms. Ruiz I would rather go fishing. Ms. Ruiz is going to answer me (*pause*) I would rather go hunting. It's just back and forth. What's your preference? Ready A tell B.
- 28 **ASt:** I would rather go hunting.
- 29 **Co:** B tell A (*rising intonation*).
- 30 **BSt:** I would rather go hunting.
- 31 **BSt:** I would rather go fishing. (*Students talking.*)
- 32 **Co:** Okay, give me five. Give me five. Now that you know what you'd rather do what your preference is we're going to go to the T-chart. T-chart.

I mentioned that the initial response requested had the potential to be based in *expression* or "a request to express themselves clearly or precisely" (van Lier, p. 154). However, in turn 21 when the coach took over the lesson it is clear that she expected the students to use the frame: "And when you answer you're going to answer in that frame. I would rather (*rising intonation*) and then just say what your preference is." Students were expected to engage in a kind of



ventriloquism, that is they had to use a pre-determined sentence yet were told they were responding by expressing their preference. Turns 27-32 provide evidence that student responses were limited to the *monologic* frame.

As the lesson continued the coach asked the class to generate a list of reasons that they would choose hunting and a list of reasons that they would go fishing. They use these lists to finish the sentence frame and then repeat each other's sentences. The following represents the end of the lesson:

- 33 **Co:** Okay A tell B what Kevin would rather do. A tell B.  
34 **Ss:** Kevin would much rather go fishing than hunting because he can visit the ocean and stay at the beach house.  
35 **Co:** Okay when A tells B who is A looking at? Is A looking at me or is A looking at B?  
36 **St:** A B.  
37 **Co:** A is looking at B and when B tells A B is looking at (*pause*) A. So you need to turn your heads and turn your bodies and repeat what we just said. Okay everybody ready go.  
38 **St:** Kevin would much rather go fishing than hunting because he can visit the ocean and stay at the beach house.

It could be argued that in turns 33-38 above the coach used the IRE structure to build participation. Van Lier (1996) called use of IRE in such manner *participation oriented*: “in which the teacher is concerned primarily with engaging and maintaining the students’ attention, and drawing them into the discussion actively” (p. 154). For example, when she asked the “A” students to tell “B” students to state Kevin’s preference for fishing or hunting the coach actively engaged several students in oral participation at once. Oral participation is one of the stated goals of the English acquisition classroom. But for what purpose? The interaction that continued as presented in turns 39-43 suggests that once again IRE is used to *control student participation* as she repeatedly asked

students to explain why they looked forward while using the sentence frame, more interested in correct posture and use of the frame than students' oral participation:

- 39 **Co:** That was much better. Much better Enrique. (*pause*) Okay one question do you guys look forward cause you're kind of guiding yourselves with the the frame? Is that why you look forward? And not look at your partners? Why don't you look at your partners when I ask you to do that.
- 40 **C:** Because we need to read that
- 41 **Co:** Because you're guiding yourself with the frame? Okay. Brian why do you look forward? Because instead of looking at your partner?
- 42 **B:** [*inaudible*]
- 43 **Co:** Because you're guiding yourself with the frame? Okay that's fine. If you guys need to guide yourselves with the frame that's okay but we do need to practice sometimes just looking at each other. Not using that as support. And I know that it's going to get easier as you do it. And that's fine (*pause*) but thank you. (*to teacher, whispering*) Thank you.

*Function Junction: Objectives, Parts of Speech, Using English, Acceptable*

*Questions and Repetition in IRE*

*Language objective.* The objective for this lesson said: "I will ask permission in a variety of ways using different parts of speech to begin my sentences."

*Student participation.* I observed this lesson four times during the summer program. Students sat in chairs in front the *FJ* poster without any materials (pen, paper, etc.).

*Artifacts.* The questions that students were asked to construct were based on the following prompts as written on butcher paper: "You love to go camping. How would you ask your father to take you and your family camping?" The

following phrases were taped to the wall above the poster on separate strips of paper: “*Would you, Will you, May I, How can you, Do you, and Are you.*”

*Language sample.* The following excerpt is taken from audio-recording made during a classroom observation on Tuesday, June 15<sup>th</sup>, 2010. This lesson began about 11:10 AM. At the end of the previous lesson, *Morph House*, Ms. Ruiz glanced at the schedule. The transcript begins at this point below:

Excerpt (6)

[T= Teacher; Group=Whole group; St= individual student; MS= male student; E= Enrique]

- 1 **T:** We need to start with Function Junction (*pause 2 seconds*). And these are the different ways in which you can make it a question (*pause*). So everyone repeat after me. I will ask permission
- 2 **St:** I will ask permission
- 3 **T:** Everyone. I will ask permission
- 4 **G:** I will ask permission
- 5 **T:** in a variety of ways
- 6 **G:** in a variety of ways
- 7 **T:** using different parts of speech
- 8 **G:** using different parts of speech
- 9 **T:** to begin my sentence
- 10 **G:** to begin my sentence
- 11 **T:** Everyone (*rising intonation*) I will ask permission in a variety of ways
- 12 **G:** I will ask permission in a variety of ways
- 13 **T:** using different parts of speech
- 14 **G:** using different parts of speech
- 15 **T:** to begin my sentence.
- 16 **G:** to begin my sentence.

IRE is used to elicit repetition of the language objective in turns 1-16. In turns 17-28 IRE is used to elicit student recitation and repetition of the definitions of several parts of speech:

- 17 **T:** And the different parts of speech remember that they are the adjective that they use to describe (*pause*) the nouns that (*pause*)

adjectives are used to describe nouns and pronouns (*pause*) telling what kind, which ones, and how many. (*pause*) Nouns.

- 18 **R:** Person, place or thing.
- 19 **T:** Everyone. Nouns a word that means person, place, thing or idea
- 20 **G:** Person, place thing or idea
- 21 **T:** Pronoun. A word that is used in place of a noun.
- 22 **G:** A word that is used in place of a noun.
- 23 **T:** Verb.
- 24 **G:** Verb.
- 25 **T:** A word that shows physical or mental action
- 26 **G:** A word that shows physical or mental action
- 27 **T:** being or a state of being.
- 28 **G:** being or a state of being.

The teacher led the students in repeating the definitions of the parts of speech that are written on the wall for the next five minutes and then continued with *FJ*:

- 29 **T:** Okay, now that we remember what the different parts of speech are we need to use the different parts of speech to begin our sentence. Okay this is the scenario. (*reading from poster*) You love to go camping. How do you ask your father (*pause*) or mother to take you camping? Think about it. How would you ask your mother or father to take you camping? When you have a question I need to see your signal and I'll be (*pause*) checking. (*Students talking; laughing.*)
- 30 **T:** Okay papi what kind of word is papi?
- 31 **E:** Father
- 32 **T:** Father (*pause*) but what kind of word? According to the (*She points to the parts of speech posted on the wall.*)
- 33 **St:** noun
- 34 **St:** pronoun
- 35 **E:** Father
- 36 **T:** Is what kind of word is that?
- 37 **E:** noun
- 38 **T:** noun. Okay now start it with an interrogative pronoun such as would. Can we start with would?
- 39 **E:** Father can you take me to camp?
- 40 **T:** Okay but this doesn't start with would. How would that be?
- 41 **E:** Would you take me
- 42 **T:** camping. Would you take me camping?

Turns 30-38 demonstrate an IRE sequence that ended when a student provided the expected, known answer “noun” in turn 37 and the teacher replied “noun” to express acceptance. The teacher initiated the next sequence in the same turn when she asks students to start *their* question with “an interrogative pronoun such as would;” again, student responses follow a pattern of *ventriloquism*, speaking others’ words.

The lesson continued and then ended with this interaction, in which the teacher defined acceptable responses as the use of English (turn 47) and the privileging of formal language. In turn 49 the teacher evaluated and initiated Jorge’s response by leading him in the direction of using “May we” in his question format:

- 43 **T:** Jorge yours. Starting with father or mother.
- 44 **St:** Daddy.
- 45 **St:** Papa.
- 46 **St:** Papi (*laughter*)
- 47 **T:** No start with father or use (*pause*) English. Father.
- 48 **J:** Daddy (*laughter*) can we go to camping.  
(*Teacher writes on the poster.*)
- 49 **T:** May we or can we
- 50 **St:** May we go camping  
(*pause 10 seconds*)

Turns 51-65 are used to require students to *repeat* the acceptable question formats:

- 51 **T:** Now let’s read the different ways that we can start the question.  
Everyone.  
I love to go camping.
- 52 **G:** I love to go camping.
- 53 **T:** Could you take me camping next weekend?
- 54 **G:** Could you take me camping next weekend?
- 55 **T:** My goodness! We have not been camping for a long time.
- 56 **G:** My goodness! We have not been camping for a long time.

- 57 **T:** Shall we go next weekend?  
58 **G:** Shall we go next weekend?  
59 **T:** Okay, daddy may we go camping?  
60 **G:** (2 students) Daddy may we go camping?  
61 **T:** Everyone. May we go camping?  
62 **G:** May we go camping.  
63 **T:** Everyone. I need to hear you. Daddy [may we go camping?  
64 **G:** (*louder*) [Daddy, may we go camping?  
65 **T:** (*to a group of four boys*) I didn't hear all of you so can you stand up and read the sentences all of them.

The boys went to the front of the room and the teacher read the sentences again. The boys repeated them. Then the teacher remarked that they still did not do well and asked the whole class to repeat the sentences again. The district's "Five Basic Principles of Language Development" require that students "produce correctly" at least half of the language interaction during a lesson, which explains the teacher's emphasis on asking students to repeat her "correct" question forms: the goal is "correct" oral participation. Yet this prescriptive approach does not actually extend production of discourse and is at the expense of any form of true student participation in dialogue or discourse.

*Vertical Sentence: Responses in IRE and Repeating Synonyms Given to You*

*Language objective.* The objective for this language lesson read: "I will consider synonyms for words in a sentence and compose new sentences using those synonyms."

*Student participation.* Students were asked to read the underlined words in a sentence written on the VS poster. The teacher and/or coaches named synonyms for these words and then students were asked to repeat the synonyms.

*Language sample.* I observed this language lesson twice during the program. The following transcription is from a lesson on Monday, June 14<sup>th</sup>, 2010. The sentence written on the poster said, “The president wanted to veto a bill that the congress tried to pass.” The underlined words are the ones that teacher asked the class to provide synonyms for. The teacher asked the class to come sit in front of the VS poster in the back of the room. This lesson occurred at the end of the day.

Excerpt (7)

[T= Teacher; G=Whole group; St= individual student; Co= coach; SS= two or three students; E= Enrique; C= Carmen; ASt= A group students; BSt= B group students]

- 1 **T:** Now we're going to do Vertical Sentence and I know I'm tired too.  
*(Students talking while moving to the back.)*
- 2 **T:** I know you're dead tired. I'm dead tired.  
*(Students talking.)*
- 3 **T:** Okay Vertical Sentence is when we use what? Synonyms
- 4 **E:** That [means the same
- 5 **T:** Synonyms [are words that uh mean the same when we use synonyms to make another sentence. *(pause)* And this one is difficult. And it is just one synonym and I will give it to you. So first. Let's read the objective. I will consider synonyms for words in a sentence
- 6 **G:** I will consider synonyms for words in a sentence
- 7 **T:** Okay everyone. And compose new sentences using those synonyms
- 8 **G:** And compose new sentences using those synonyms
- 9 **T:** Now everyone together
- 10 **St:** I will
- 11 **T:** One two three
- 12 **G:** I will consider synonyms for words in a sentence and compose new sentences using those synonyms.

In turn 13 the teacher initiated an exchange where she led the students to select a pre-identified synonym:

13 **T:** So (*reading from poster*) the president wanted to veto a bill that the congress wanted to pass. Who has an idea what is to veto? What is to veto? What is that? For example when you are doing something wrong. But this is used more when people vote. But I will veto your decision. What am I doing? When I don't agree with that decision? (*pause 2 seconds*) So what is a good synonym? You don't know veto do you? It's when you don't like what the person is doing (*pause*). When I don't want what someone is doing something to happen what's the word that I use?

Students attempt responses in turns 14 and 15:

14 **St:** nothing  
15 **St:** something  
16 **T:** Uh an action (*pause*) reject  
17 **St:** reject  
18 **St:** rejected

In turn 16 the teacher rejected the students' responses above, started to elicit another response, paused and then provided the known answer that she expected. In lines 17 and 18 two students quickly repeat this response, demonstrating an awareness of the repetitive participation structure that students have been socialized to demonstrate in this classroom.

Turns 19-59 demonstrate how a coach used the same participation structure to elicit students' repetition of instructor-determined synonyms by asking students to repeat the synonym she provided several times. Students followed this pattern as requested, demonstrating that the *participation structure* influenced participation (Bloome et al., 2005):

(*Two coaches enter the classroom.*)  
19 **T:** Reject. Another way to say veto is reject. Another way to say reject is for example when you cannot go to a place. It is pro (*pause*)  
20 **St:** privacy  
21 **T:** Pro starts with pro  
22 **St:** Property  
23 **Co:** Pro:hi:



- 24 **St:** Prohibition
- 25 **St:** Prohibit
- 26 **St:** Prohibition
- 27 **T:** Prohibit. Not prohibition. So prohibit (*pause*) reject are other words that we can use. And what are we doing? We're using words (*points to objective*)
- 28 **St:** Synonyms
- 29 **T:** And we're going to (*pointing to objective*) compose a
- 30 **St:** sentence [using
- 31 **T:** [a new sentence.  
(*Coach I walks to the front and begins to address the class.*)
- 32 **Co:** Think about your parents. If your parents don't let you go to the movies what are they what are they doing? They're going to de:  
de:
- 33 **St:** Decide
- 34 **Co:** Okay so think think. Shh shh. Think about it.
- 35 **T:** It's very difficult.
- 36 **St:** Forbid.
- 37 **Co:** I think he said it. So (*pause*) a synonym for the word veto is forbid.
- 38 **St:** forbid.
- 39 **Co:** Forbid. With a 'd' with a 'd'. So are you guys ready? Let me say it again. A synonym for the word veto is forbid. You guys say it by yourselves.
- 40 **SS:** A synonym for the word veto is forbid.
- 41 **T:** Okay let's read all the synonyms.
- 42 **Co:** Turn to your partner and say it.
- 43 **E:** Reject, [prohibit, forbid
- 44 **G:** [Reject, prohibit, forbid
- 45 **T:** Okay one more time. We see it and everyone reject
- 46 **G:** reject
- 47 **T:** prohibit
- 48 **G:** prohibit
- 49 **T:** forbid
- 50 **G:** forbid
- 51 **Co:** I want you to think really quick. I'm going to say them. A synonym for the word veto is reject. Are you guys ready?
- 52 **St:** Another word [for veto is reject
- 53 **G:** [is reject
- 54 **Co:** Okay you guys said it that way. Another word for veto is reject. Say it again.
- 55 **G:** Another word for veto is reject.
- 56 **Co:** Turn to your partners please. Partner A says it first.
- 57 **ASt:** Another word for veto is reject.
- 58 **Co:** Partner B.

59 **BSt:** Another word for veto is reject.

The lesson continued in the same repetitive fashion for the other synonyms. The teacher and coach then ask the students to repeat synonyms for ‘congress’. They continued to use IRE to require repetition responses with an emphasis on pronunciation and physical posture in turns 60-70 below:

- 60 **Co:** Can you please say this word?  
61 **C:** Another word for congress is le:gis:la:tor.  
62 **Co:** Let’s try it again.  
63 **G:** Another word for congress is le:gis:la:tor.  
64 **Co:** Partner A tell partner B.  
65 **ASt:** Another word for congress is le:gis:la:tor.  
66 **Co:** Partners B say it.  
67 **BSt:** Another word for congress is le:gis:la:tor.  
68 **Co:** Very good so listen. The president tried to veto a bill that the congress tried to pass. Okay. We’re going to put the new words in there. Ms. Ruiz put reject and of course we’re going to leave legislature up there and it’s a tough word to say so let’s see how reject sounds. Are you guys ready? All together say it with me. [The legislature  
69 **G:** [The president wanted to reject a bill that the legislature tried to pass.  
70 **Co:** Let’s try it a little bit better because I know that guys can actually say (*rising intonation*) it much (*pause*) better than what you’re doing. So everyone turn forward. Sitting up straight. In your best posture (*pause*) because you guys can do mu::ch better than that. Right? Are you ready? Yeah? Okay let’s try it.  
*The students sit up and repeat the sentence again. Then the coach asks them to repeat it again, only the girls to say it and then individual students to say it. Then she asks them to “popcorn” up and alternate repetition one by one while standing.*

The above sequence demonstrates that the teacher and coaches used IRE to not only to control students’ responses in terms of *function* (repetition) and *quality* (pronunciation) but also their *physical orientation* through the requests for “correct” posture and requirements to stand during repetition. The acutely controlled participation is on the far monologic end of the spectrum of

participation practices, which represents a *monologic ideological stance* toward ELLs as participants in the classroom (O'Connor & Michaels, 2007).

*Morph House: 'We Are Powerless' and Repeating Student Sentences*

*Language objective.* The *MH* objective stated: "I will orally create new words from the given base word by adding suffixes and creating sentences using those words."

*Student participation.* Students were asked to add suffixes to the chosen word to find new words. The teacher wrote on a poster; the students had no materials (pens, paper, dictionaries, etc.) to use as support during this activity.

*Language sample.* I observed this type of language lesson five times during the three-week program. This particular excerpt is taken from a classroom observation conducted on Tuesday, June 15<sup>th</sup>, 2010. The poster has the shape of the top of a house drawn on it and under the "roof" of the house is written: "power (n) the capacity to influence other people or course of events".

Excerpt (8)

[T= Teacher; G=Whole group; St= individual student; FSt= female student; J= Jesus; C= Carmen; R= Rodrigo]

- 1 **T:** Now we're going to do this one. Morph House. Power. Now (*pause*) the word is power. And when you have power you have the capacity to influence others or the course of events. Remember when we morph the word we change the endings. So does the president have power?
- 2 **St:** No
- 3 **St:** Yes
- 4 **T:** Yes so you can put power as a noun. The president has power. So everyone the president [has powers
- 5 **G:** [has power
- 6 **T:** If we add 's' we have what? We make it what?
- 7 **St:** plural

- 8 **J:** Si se puede (*yes you can in Spanish*)
- 9 **T:** (*to Jesus*) Shhh. (*writing*) And because it's the president of the United States this one needs to be capitalized. The president we're going to say has many powers because he can influence the legislature he can pass laws. (*pause 5 seconds*) Now (*pause*) what other word can we make? Take the base you can take the suffix. Which suffix would you add to the base word to complete a sentence that's how the question will be.
- 10 **C:** Powerful
- 11 **T:** Powerful. You add the suffix 'ful'. Can you make me a sentence with powerful?
- 12 **C:** The president of the United States is very powerful.
- 13 **T:** Okay. (*She writes Carmen's sentence on the poster and then writes Carmen's name next to the sentence.*) This is Carmen's. (*to Carmen*) Okay so please say the sentence one more time.
- 14 **C:** The president of the United States is very powerful.
- 15 **T:** Everyone read the sentence.
- 16 **St:** The president of the United States is very powerful.
- 17 **T:** Everyone
- 18 **G:** The president of the United States is very powerful.
- 19 **T:** Is there another suffix that we can add to the word power?
- 20 **R:** Powerless  
(*pause 2 seconds*)
- 21 **T:** Powerless can you make a sentence with the word powerless.
- 22 **R:** We are all powerless.
- 23 **T:** Okay (*pause*) I'm sorry you feel that way but sometimes we all feel that way.  
(*Teacher writes the sentence and Rodrigo's name next to it.*)  
Read the sentence.
- 24 **G:** We are powerless.
- 25 **T:** Please write those down. The president is powerful and we are powerless.

In turn 13 above the teacher affirms Carmen's answer from turn 12 by requesting the class to repeat her response; they do so twice (turns 14 and 16). Then, when Rodrigo provides the response "We are all powerless" in turn 22, in a rare example, the teacher addresses the content of his response directly at the start of her evaluation in turn 23: "Okay (*pause*) I'm sorry you feel that way but sometimes we all feel that way." In this instance the teacher's evaluation starts out

as a sort of response of her own, which would suggest that Rodrigo's response alters the IRE structure, at least temporarily. However, turns 23-25 demonstrate that she returns to the IRE structure to close the sequence when she asks the class to read his sentence in turn 23 (*Initiation*), they do in turn 24 (*Response*) and she asks them to write down the sentences and reads them again in turn 25 (*Evaluation*).

### *Summary*

In summary, the language samples provided in this chapter demonstrate that as is true in most mainstream and SLA classrooms, the often cited participation structure in the literature, *IRE*, shapes ELL participation practices in this ELD classroom. The language samples in this chapter focus on exchanges during formal language lessons between two or more classroom participants during whole-group instruction. These language samples provide evidence of the following specific characteristics of ELL participation within these discursive practices: a) Repetition was the most common response function required of ELL student participants in the classroom; b) ELL responses that required recitation of material were limited to known answers of formal language structures that are evident on posters or have been provided by the instructors; c) the teacher and coaches often used the IRE format to control students' responses in other ways as well, including participants' pronunciation, volume, physical posture, and use of Spanish. Overall, participation in the ELD classroom is *display oriented* (students are required to show the expected response) rather than *participation oriented* (van Lier, 1996, p. 154). The result is a highly controlled, acutely monologic

participation structure, in which students are socialized to obey the authority of the teacher and the authority based in formal language structures and use.

### *Discussion*

The final section of this chapter is a discussion of the findings reported above. I will assess the evidence outlined above through the lens provided by the literature on classroom talk and ELL participation. The eight language samples provided in this chapter provide a vivid demonstration of how language was used in the Level 4 classroom in this particular ELD program. In short, English learners' participation is limited due to the narrow repertoire of language practices used during language lessons.

In a study of the multidiscursive practices of a dual-language English/Spanish school where the discursive practices differed greatly from the ELD classroom in this study, Gonzalez (2005) discussed the benefit of a broad repertoire of language socialization that affords students "ideological spaces" to practice different language styles (2005, p. 170). In contrast, the ELD language lessons in this program limited students' access to language and language styles. These were *closed ideological spaces*, into which students were forced to assimilate. The disadvantageous effects on ELL participation in this classroom due to the prolific and highly restrictive use of IRE are discussed next.

*Dangers of IRE.* IRE is used so often that it functions as an almost invisible participation structure in this classroom. Cazden (1988) asserted that IRE (Initiation-Response-Evaluation) is the non-verbalized "default" lesson sequence, within which students demonstrate communicative competence or

“learn[ed] to speak within the structure...for their purposes as well as the teacher’s” (1988, p. 46-47). According to Cazden (1988), IRE “comes naturally” to teachers but not necessarily to students, especially students of different cultures (p. 53). Thus, IRE is part of a “hidden” cultural model of schooling -- an unconscious theory about where knowledge resides and how it is learned.

However, van Lier (1996) suggested that IRF [or IRE] can be used “on a continuum from less to greater demand on students’ mental processing powers, and from less to greater depth of processing” and that this demand and depth increases from repetition to recitation, cognition and expression (p. 154). As is evident in the language samples in this ELD classroom students were not required to use the latter two response functions, thus IRE was used to limit student participation and in the process, likely limited their second language acquisition. As van Lier noted: “If we believe that linguistic processing relates to cognitive processing, then we may want to encourage more elaborate forms of expression. Further, if we believe that practicing using language is important in language learning, then we must conclude that these IRF structures may not encourage sufficient practicing” (1996, p. 156).

IRE limited students’ participation and language practice in this classroom -- it produced only one type of participation structure: monologic. Within this frame “both the rationale and the value of the student’s utterance are determined by the teacher’s agenda rather than by the unfolding talk itself and the student cannot control this (except, perhaps, by figuring out what will trigger a positive reaction, and strategically manipulating this knowledge)” (van Lier, 1996, p. 156).

This was a common occurrence in the Level 4 community of practice. In the transcripts provided above there were many instances where the students often began to repeat the teacher's utterance even before the teacher or coach had finished an utterance. This type of instruction led to a type of *unconscious participation* on the part of students. On many occasions they were able to repeat the expected response without even glancing up from their desks or appearing to address any person in particular. Schleppegrell (2004) referred to such school-based discourse interactions as *recitation education* and cited Kliebard (1989) to assert that such participation serves to maintain social order.

Van Lier (1996) suggested that teachers can use IRE as a resource in the language classroom in order to lead students in a "logical progression" of thought, to quickly inform students about the correctness of a response and even to maintain order while encouraging critical thinking or providing students with space to articulate answers (p. 150). However, in the practices of this particular ELD classroom, the effects of IRE are the reduction of "student's initiative, independent thinking, clarity of expression, the development of conversational skills (including turn taking, planning ahead, negotiating and arguing), and self-determination" (1996, p. 156). Discursive practices in this particular ELD classroom limit ELL participation under the direction of both the teacher and coaches; the fact that IRE does not have to be used in this way demonstrates a particular, narrow approach to language acquisition and language practices in this classroom.



*Parroting as participation and reciting formulas.* The majority of student responses expected in the language samples from the ELD classroom involved students' whole group repetition of a language objective, grammar formula or formal language structure, such as a "complete sentence." Thus, these language samples provide evidence that there is a connection between limited participation structures and a limited content. This is consistent with the ADE's definition of language, which states that language is comprised of five discrete elements that require overt instruction. However, as I described in Chapter 4 the stated rationale of the program's methods is that the activities "create situations for students to be involved in the **creation, analysis, and application** of language conversation" (M.O.D.E.L.S., Teacher Handbook, 2010, bold in original). The evidence presented here instead suggests that the teacher and coaches utilized the audiolingual method of instruction (ALM) almost exclusively and students were in no way involved in creation, analysis or application of authentic conversation. According to Valdes (2001) ALM "views language as a set of structures that can be described at different levels (phonemic, morphemic, syntactic, etc.)" and that:

Focusing primarily on oral language, its theory of language learning is behaviorist. Stimulus, response, and reinforcement are important. The syllabus is organized around key phonological, morphological, and syntactic elements. Contrastive analysis is used for selection of elements and grammar is taught inductively. Dialogues and drills are used extensively as students respond to stimuli, memorize, repeat, and imitate.

Teachers are seen as models of language who conduct drills, teach dialogues, and direct choral response. (Valdes, 2001, p. 23-4)

Similarly, Reagan (2002) stated that “the audiolingual method (ALM) which characterized a good deal of foreign language education in the United States during much of the latter half of the twentieth century was based upon and grounded in behaviorist psychology and epistemology” (Reagan, 2002, p. 31). In the language samples provided in this chapter it is quite evident that the teacher and coaches utilized ALM to provide ELD instruction in this program; reliance on the audiolingual method (ALM) influences ELL participation and discursive practices in the Level 4 classroom, which evidently contradicts its own goals to involve students in active production of language.

Instead, ALM limited ELL participation to repetition and imitation in the classroom, which begs the question of whether or not this highly restrictive form of instruction provides appropriate social interaction (van Lier, 1996, p. 72) for language learning. The problem with this promotion of *mim-mem* interaction (mimicry-memorization; see Valdes, 2001; van Lier, 1996) from a *sociocultural* perspective is that it does not provide “increasing responsibility and autonomy to the student” (van Lier, p. 72). As a member of the classroom’s community of practice, the students were always outsiders to legitimate peripheral participation (LPP) because in this setting, the ELL students were never truly participants.

To counteract this effect, van Lier recommended that language students acquire “language and learning awareness” (p. 74). This awareness would help educators and ELLs to re-frame participation in more meaningful ways such as

those classroom discourse scholars propose as *real discussions* and *dialogic* (Cazden, 1988; O'Connor & Michaels, 2007) in that they give more authority to students to negotiate meaning by thinking aloud. Participation in such *talk as thinking device* and a sociocultural resource are examples of constructivist approaches to learning that acknowledges that there is no absolute "It" out in the universe somewhere that constitutes "Spanish" or "German" or "Russian." Instead, there are different dialects as each speaker uses language differently (Gee, in press). English is not just one language, but a variety (Gee, 1996). In this ELD classroom the participatory practices standardized English and the ways students were expected to use English; their only choices were to participate as directed, and assimilate into deficit-based classroom practices, or remain silent.

*Lack of authenticity and meaning.* The ELD program's exclusive focus on formal language structures and discrete grammar skills structured participation in a way that precluded authentic conversational practices that allow students to construct meaning. Valdes (2001) noted that meaningful communication is often absent from ESL classrooms (p. 150), and suggested that an exclusive focus on grammar and formal language structures rather than teaching students how to use language for the expression of meaning will not prepare students for content and academic rigor in mainstream classrooms; Valdes stated that this common practice is based on an inaccurate portrayal of L2 acquisition as linear: "Learners do not begin with "simple" structures and proceed to "complex" ones. Instead, they attempt to communicate and, in so doing, they incorporate elements of the first and the second languages as well as elements that are not a part of L1 or L2

to create a series of overlapping or approximative systems or interlanguages” (2001, p. 19). These languages are used for *communication*.

The idea of *interlanguages* or *multidiscursive spaces* can be connected to Cazden’s conceptualization of a “real discussion” as a “shift” from IRE. According to Cazden, the difference between IRE and a real discussion are changes in three discourse features: a) speaking rights, b) the teacher’s role, and c) speech style (1988, p. 54). A “real discussion” may allow more room for students to use their language and learning resources and “even small changes can have considerable cognitive or social significance” (Cazden, 1988, p. 53). Cazden (1988) suggested that during a “real discussion” students have more control over speech turn taking rather than being “nominated” by the teacher. The teacher’s role shifts from asking known answer questions to creating space for students to ask questions and respond to one another as during authentic conversation. Speech style becomes more “exploratory” and students are allowed to think out loud during a discussion (see Cazden, 1988). The analyses of language use in the above descriptions of IRE sequences reveal that *dialogic* discussion sequences do not occur in this ELD classroom.

### *Conclusion*

If classroom participation practices do not provide the spaces in which ELLs can structure cognitive or expressive responses or engage in exploratory talk, English learners will be unprepared for academic work in mainstream classrooms. Consequently, the practices limit their potential as future participants in content-rich practices and exclude them from participation in democratic

exercises. The language samples presented in this chapter represent *situated participatory practices* (Toohey, 2000, p. 72). ELL participation can be characterized as monologic -- classroom discursive practices are predominantly inauthentic communicative practices in this ELD classroom. This is an *ideological rather than research-based approach to language and English language development*. Lippi-Green (1997) would argue that these language samples represent a process of language standardization (p. 109) and language subordination in the classroom and that teachers (and educational systems) enact this process: “by developing authority structures around language – written and spoken – which are projected as absolute and inviolate. We trust their intuitions and whims above all others. This authority is sometimes abused” (1997, p. 131). Lippi-Green (1997) goes on to suggest that “this gesture of denial and symbolic subordination is projected as a first and necessary step to becoming a good student and a good citizen” (p. 132). Thus, she suggests that language, via standardization and subordination, socializes students into acceptable subjectivities or roles both within and outside of the classroom. This idea will be discussed more in the next chapter, in which closer examination of the social role that language plays in this program will provide a more complete picture of the English learners’ *experiences* of language practices in this program.

This chapter provided a comprehensive display of the language interactions that took place in each type of ELD language lesson during the three-week summer program. While this chapter provided an analysis of the *structure* of talk; the next chapter provides an analysis of the *content* of the talk during

language lessons to address the following question: *What are the social purposes of language in this classroom?* This question will be answered by analyzing the language samples thematically beginning with questions borrowed from Gee (in press) to support the findings on the social purposes of language used in the classroom.

## Chapter Six

### Findings, Part Two

In this chapter I present the findings that answer the following research question: *What social norms and behaviors are evident in these language samples? That is, how is language used for social purposes in the classroom and for whose purposes?*

I present the study's findings concerning language used in the ELD program in the form of this assertion about the *social purposes* of the language practices used in the program:

*The ELD summer program participants used language to take social action during language lessons, resulting in the use of three prevalent language types: Regulatory Language, Decontextualized Language, and Resistance Language.*

The findings that support this assertion are presented following these three categories of the major languages types used in the Level 4 classroom discourse. In this chapter I analyze these discourse samples and provide a summative discussion. The language samples provided below demonstrate patterns in which ELL students and instructors use language to “do” social things. Gee (in press) recommends a set of questions as tools to analyze the content of communicative exchanges; His “Tool #7: The Doing and Not Just Saying Tool” suggests: “For any communication, ask not just what the speaker is saying, but what he or she is trying to do, keeping in mind that he or she may be trying to do more than one thing” (in press, p. 348).

Close analysis of classroom discourse in this study suggested that one thing that speakers “do” with language is to demonstrate social and cultural values and norms, or *ways of being* by using language in certain ways. Gee (1996; in press) refers to this as use of *social languages*:

I will define social languages as styles or varieties of a language (or a mixture of languages) that enact and are associated with a particular social identity...Here are some examples of social languages: the language of medicine, literature, street gangs, sociology, law, rap, or informal dinner-time talk among friends. (Gee, in press, p. 282).

Not all members of these groups speak in the same way; smaller groups and individuals create sub-varieties of social languages (Gee, in press) and use language in unique ways. In this chapter I use the term *social language* to focus on the varieties of language that created patterns across the language lessons in the ELD classroom.

The data provided here are taken somewhat out of context, since the chapter is organized thematically according to social language codes developed in the study. I provide small samples of classroom discourse interactions in order to illuminate my findings. My purpose is to illustrate the argument that participants use language in connection with social norms. Further, the focus on the data in this chapter is what and how language is used and by whom. I include an analysis following each presentation of the three social language types coded. Finally, the end of the chapter includes a short theoretical discussion.

### *Social Language Findings*



### *Regulatory Language*

*During the three-week program there were many examples of interactions in which language was used to regulate the speech, behavior and activities of both students and the teacher.*

Faltis (2006) stated that language learners need practice with the various discourses associated with knowledge and content in the classroom that are “organized around recognizable practices” of academic communities of practice (2006, p. 122). Further, Faltis (2006) suggested that teachers “use language to regulate interaction” with students (Faltis, 2006, p. 124). He offered a list of *regulatory language* that English learners need to comprehend during class instruction: “turn-taking rules and procedures, procedural information, requests to pay attention, directives about appropriate behavior, statements about classroom norms of behaviors, reprimands for inappropriate behavior” (Wong Fillmore, 1982 as cited in Faltis, 2006, p. 125).

I observed and recorded several instances in which coaches used language to regulate the students and the teachers in the ELD classroom. In addition, the teacher regulated students and there were also cases in which the teacher and students regulated themselves. The following excerpts represent this *social language of regulation* in the classroom, though it is not an exhaustive list of such coded instances during the program. The language samples are organized to illustrate the practices regulated below:

*Regulation of time and class activities.* In this excerpt the teacher had been teaching *Collaborative Story Retell*, which should have continued until 9:30

according to the program schedule. At 9:29 Ms. Ruiz passed out pictures of events in the story in order to continue to discuss the events as per the *CSR* lesson format. The coach approached Ms. Ruiz and told her to move on in order to stay on the schedule:

Excerpt 1

- 1 Coach: You can pass out those pictures tomorrow. You need to be on the schedule.
- 2 Teacher: Okay.
- 3 Coach: You should go to Syntax Surgery then you need to (*inaudible*).
- 4 Teacher: Okay.
- 5 Teacher: (*to students*) She's going to have the Syntax Surgery with you.

In the next excerpt the teacher led the students in the oral *Warm Up* exercise. The students had just finished repeating the letters of the alphabet. The poster showed the numbers 100 – 120; students are required to repeat each number after the teacher said them.

Excerpt 2

[T= teacher; G= whole group; St= student]

- 1 G: (*teacher points to the number 100*) a hundred a hundred [a hundred
- 2 St: [one hundred
- 3 T: Everyone. A hundred [a hundred a hundred
- 4 G: [a hundred a hundred a hundred
- 5 T: hundred one
- 6 G: hundred one
- 7 T: one hundred and two
- 8 G: one hundred and two
- 9 T: Everyone (*pause*) let's start.
- 10 T: one hundred
- 11 G: one hundred
- 12 T: one hundred one hundred one hundred
- 13 G: one hundred one hundred one hundred

The teacher and students continue naming and repeating in this way through number 106. Then, the coach approaches the teacher and they talk quietly. The transcript continues:

- 14 T: Okay we need to re-start. We need to (*pause*) say it different. Uh (*pause*) we'll say (*pause*) one hundred one.  
15 St: one hundred one  
16 T: one hundred two  
17 G: one hundred two  
18 T: one hundred three  
19 G: one hundred three

The class continued repeating in this way until they reached 120. Then, the teacher asked individual students to say the numbers in this regulated format.

In excerpt 3 the teacher had been instructing *Morph House* for several minutes. The class then created two sentences using the word “elect”: “Ms. Ruiz elects the governor. Ms. Ruiz elected the governor.” At this point, a coach entered the classroom and the teacher said:

### Excerpt 3

[T= teacher; G= whole group; St= student; Co= coach]

- 1 T: What are we doing? (*points to objective and reads*) I will orally create new words from the given base by adding suffixes and creating sentences using those words.  
2 G: (*reading*) I will orally create new words from the given base by adding suffixes and creating sentences using those words.  
3 T: Listen. (*reads*) Ms. Ruiz elects the governor. Ms. Ruiz elected the governor.  
4 G: Ms. Ruiz elects the governor. Ms. Ruiz elected the governor.  
5 Co: (*to teacher*) The district plan is *This or That* right now. But go ahead with what you're doing.

The teacher went to speak with the coach in the back of the classroom:

- 6 T: (*quietly*) We did do This or That. They were fast.

- 7 C: According to the plan Verb Tense Study is until 10:55 and *This or That* lasts until 11:25.

The teacher walked back to the front of the room. It was 11:15. The coach left the room and the teacher began *This or That*. She pulled out a poster from a lesson that took place two days before. Students were asked to decide and explain whether they would rather be an entomologist or an ornithologist. The class worked on this activity for about ten minutes and then the teacher returned to *Morph House*.

*Regulation of language, behavior and posture.* In excerpt 4 the teacher had finished reading *Abe Remembers*. Mr. Wool, a teacher who began as a co-teacher on Day 1, entered the class. Ms. Ruiz asked the class to get their notebooks in order to write down two sentences that described pictures of the story. Some male students went to sharpen their pencils; others were talking:

Excerpt 4

[Mr. W= Mr. Wool; G= whole group; St= student]

- 1 St: I need a pencil.  
2 St: I need a pencil.  
3 St: Hey dude look for my pencil.  
(*Students talking; pencil sharpening*)  
4 St: (*to Mr. Wool*) I don't got a pencil.  
5 Mr. W: Okay sit down.  
6 Mr. W: You what? I don't got? (*inaudible*) How do you say that sentence? Make it an interrogative sentence too. (*laughter*) Yeah make it an interrogative sentence.  
7 St: I don't have a pencil.  
8 Mr. W: An interrogative sentence? (*pause*) Ends with a what?  
9 St: Question mark. May I have a pencil?  
10 St: May I have a pencil?  
11 Mr. W: Okay.

Excerpt 5 took place during a *Syntax Surgery* lesson in which students identified the parts of speech for each word in the sentence: “He learned sorrow at age nine when his mama died.”

#### Excerpt 5

[T= teacher; Mr. W= Mr. Wool; G= whole group; St= student; Co= coach]

- 1 T: Okay (*pause*) last one. Sorrow. (*Students talking.*) It is a feeling. It (*pause; students talking*) It is a feeling. What kind of word is that? Write it down. (*Students continue to talk.*)
- 2 Mr. W: Some of you guys are being really really rude.
- 3 T: (*to individual student*) Write it down.
- 4 Co: (*She walks to front of room*) I’m going to interrupt really quick. Look (*pause*) if I have to make another phone call home. Or [coach’s name] has to make another phone call home. You get one choice. You either stay or change your behavior but if the behavior arises you’re out. That means you don’t come back. Bu::t if you choose to stay (*pause*) and your behavior is good you get to stay here. We’re going to be giving prizes at the end of the day on Thursday. If you have good behavior. If you’re ready to go. If everything is in its place. I know that Ms. Ruiz and Mr. Wool would have a great time in handing out those prizes, but if you’re not going to be following those rules (*pause*) what for? You’re interrupting the day for everyone else. And everyone else is learning and I even told that to Jonathon. That he either a, chooses to be here or b, chooses to go home. That’s all you get. Okay so no interrupting. You must be listening and you must be on top of it. I don’t think you got up today to come and listen to ev everybody else whine complain and disrupt disrupt class. I think you got up here because you wanted to learn and I think you need (*pause*) you owe it to everybody else around you. Okay? Sorry Ms. Ruiz thank you.

In this next excerpt the class had been working on *Story Retell*. Two coaches entered and one approached the teacher to discuss her implementation of program methods. The two exited the class and another coach took over instruction:

## Excerpt 6

[T= teacher; G= whole group; St= student; Co= coach]

- 1 Co: All right. I want everyone to sit on the floor. I want you as close as my (*pause*) feet are. No chairs. Criss cross apple sauce. Pockets on the floor. Criss cross apple sauce pockets on the floor. You're not that cool. Come on you're not that cool. Right? Come on Brian.  
(*Coach organizes students.*)  
Okay you guys ready? One two
- 2 St: eyes on you
- 3 Co: You should know that by now. One two
- 4 G: Eyes on you.
- 5 Co: (*to student*) That means criss cross apple sauce, sir. That thing (*pause*) goes behind you. Eyes on me. Backs away from the wall. Turn around sir. How are you going to see the board if you can't see me. (*pause*) Okay. Are you ready? I want to see thumbs up. Mouth should be shut.

In excerpt 7 a coach taught the class in the teacher's absence. They had just finished reading declarative sentences in the present progressive tense about events from *Abe Remembers*. Students participated in the style of "popcorn", in which they were asked to stand up and repeat each word's part of speech. At the end of turn 3 the coach related the students' "inappropriate behavior" in the class setting to behavior outside of the classroom, stating that after the age of 10 they can be put in jail because they know "what good and bad is" (turn 5).

## Excerpt 7

[T= teacher; G= whole group; St= student; Co= coach]

- 1 Co: So please (*pause*) you need to remember and these verbs, nouns and adjectives are the most important ones. Okay? And then it says (*reading objective*) I will arrange those words to generate new sentences. Let's repeat [I will
- 2 G: I will [arrange those words to generate new sentences.
- 3 Co: What does generate mean? That's a nice word right there. To make. Make make make is the (*pause*) weak word. So that's another thing that we need to start using strong words in your

writing. Okay? Generate instead of make. We need to start using strong words in English. Cause guess what? You look more important when you're using those words. Instead of saying like I'm going to generate your your whatever in your house. Instead of saying I'm gonna make. Make is a *(pause)* regular person. Generate is more important. K you look it makes you look more important and then you know you're smart *(rising intonation)*. Every single person in this class is a ve:ry smart person. You can think. You can talk. You can see. You can walk. If sometimes you pretend and you're wasting time and you're making her *(points to student)* waste time. So ignore him. Everybody's smart the only thi:ng is your already making decisions. Once you're ten years old *(pause 2 seconds)* if you do something wrong they would they send you to jail?

- 4 St: Yeah  
5 Co: Yes they will because they know that once you're ten years old or older *(pause)* you know what good and bad is. You know when you're making good choices you know when you're making bad choices. And you pay attention otherwise you're going to spend a whole day with me. And I'll take you home. Okay *(rising intonation)* we are going to generate what? What are we going to generate?

In this next excerpt the coach explained to the teacher that some of the students did very well in her absence, particularly Carmen and Rodrigo. In turn six the teacher linked good behavior with being an excellent student:

#### Excerpt 8

[T= teacher; G= whole group; St= student; Co= coach]

- 1 Co: *(to students)* Stand up if you did an excellent job during Syntax Surgery. *(Most of the class stands.)* Okay now the superstars stay standing. The superstars. The winners today. *(Carmen and Rodrigo remain standing.)* That's Carmen and Rodrigo.  
2 St: *(smiling)* Carmen and Rodri:go.  
3 Co: Carmen and Rodrigo, Ms. Ruiz, did an excellent job. *(She claps.)*  
4 T: You know Carmen is my superstar. She already passed the AZELLA.  
5 St: Woo hoo. *(The group claps.)*  
6 T: Now we'll we'll do something for her but *(pause)* she is very quick. She learns very quick. She's very she behaves well and she's an excellent student.

The final example of classroom language used to regulate student behavior is included as an example of one of several instances in the data in which language is also used to control students' physicality; that is, the instructors regulated their bodies and body movement as part of the language activity as they were told to sit and stand in conjunction with their language participation, as in the following activity. This example is from *Syntax Surgery*; the instructors required students to name synonyms and antonyms for words in the sentence:

“Roosevelt said that success comes from great effort and big dreams.”

Excerpt 9

[T= teacher; G= whole group; St= student; Co= coach; J= Jonathon; C= Carmen; R= Rodrigo; B= Brian]

- 1 Co: Let's move on cause I want to get through all of the:se before our time's up. This is only 'til ten. Now let's take out put the word in front of us (*pause*). Big. Let's put big in front of us. Big.
- 2 St: I'm a big boy. (*laughter*)
- 3 Co: Big so put success back. And let's (*pause*) put big in front of us. Now. We are going to work on a::ntonyms. A tell B what an antonym is (*pause*) in a complete sentence. An antonym is (*Students talk. Laughter.*)
- 4 St: Shrinking.
- 5 Co: (*to student*) Tell her. An antonym is (*Students continue talking while coach walks around the room.*)
- 6 Co: All (*rising intonation*) right. Now that we know what an antonym is we're going to
- 7 St: Think
- 8 Co: Think about the words that we have already in our vocabulary (*pause 2 seconds*). Let's think of those words. I'm going to give you guys about twenty seconds. I want you to think of mu::ltiple words more than just one (*pause*) antonym for big. So don't tell me just one and that's it (*falling intonation*) think of multiple more than one antonym for the word big. So now you're just thinking you're not giggling to your neighbors and you're not speaking you're just thinking (*pause 17 seconds*). When you have multiple



- antonyms for the word big please stand up. (*quieter*) Get you out of your chairs for a (*inaudible*).  
*(Eight students stand. Students laugh and talk.)*
- 9 Co: Jonathon. Please give us one (*rising intonation*) of your words that is an antonym for big (*pause*) in a complete sentence. An antonym for big i:::s. Go ahead.
- 10 J: An antonym for big is tiny. (*He sits down.*)
- 11 Co: An antonym for big is tiny. (*to class*) Thumbs up?
- 12 St: No she said you said an antonym. That's a synonym.
- 13 Co: (*to student above*) Tiny would be the opposite of big sweetie.
- 14 St: Oh yeah
- 15 Co: All right great job. Sit down. Carmen.
- 16 C: An antonym for the word big is small. (*She sits down.*)
- 17 Co: Great. Have a seat. (*to students who are sitting*) No just her. The rest of you stay standing. Rodrigo.
- 18 R: Tiny
- 19 Co: An antonym
- 20 R: An antonym for the word big is tee:ny
- 21 Co: Did you say tiny? Can you think of another one?
- 22 R: (*pause 3 seconds*) Little.
- 23 Co: Okay great little have a seat. Does anyone have another antonym besides small, tiny and little? (*pause*) Yes Brian.
- 24 B: Mini
- 25 Co: (*pause*) I'll accept that. (*laughter*) (*pause 2 seconds*) Hands up if you're ready.
- 26 R: For what?
- 27 Co: For the next (*pause*) activity.

*Regulation of use of Spanish.* The three short excerpts that follow are examples of explicit reminders to students to speak only English in the ELD classroom. They are not the only instances of such regulation of the use of Spanish in this classroom during the program, but they are typical examples of the English-only approach to language learning found in the program and instructors use of *regulatory language* to control behavior and language, specifically Spanish.

Excerpt 10

In this excerpt students are labeled the parts of speech during *Syntax Surgery*. In turn eight the coach regulated Brian's use of Spanish, rather than responding to his answer.

[T= teacher; B= Brian; Co= coach]

- 1 T: Okay (*pause*) what is it?
- 2 B: Preposition.
- 3 T: Preposition. Why::?
- 4 B: Porque me (*inaudible*) (*because*)
- 5 T: It shows what? A preposition because it shows
- 6 B: No se. Le ponga aqui. (*I don't know. You put it here.*)
- 7 T: Okay come here (*She points to wall for Brian to tape the word under the index card labeled 'preposition'.*)
- 8 Co: Tell her in English (*rising intonation*) Brian.

Excerpt 11

In this excerpt the class created sentences in the future progressive tense during *Verb Tense Study*. In turn six the coach regulated the use of Spanish and at the same time regulated the student's behavior.

[Co= coach; St1= first student; St2= second student]

- 1 Co: Where is here it is. Let's look at the objective (*pause*) fo:r (*rising intonation*) the verb. Actually I need you to come just a little closer. Young lady in the uh peach
- 2 St1: Peach
- 3 St2: Tu novia. (*your girlfriend*)
- 4 C: (*to St2*) Young man (*pause*) come sit right here (*pointing to seat in front of her*).  
(*Students laugh.*)
- 5 St2: Por que? (*why?*)
- 6 Co: Right here. Remember we're speaking English here.

Excerpt 12

Again in this excerpt the coach regulated the students' use of Spanish in the classroom. In turn two she told them to only speak English after two students

spoke with one another in Spanish; it is unclear whether she is also regulating their behavior (talking during instruction).

[Co= coach; St= student]

- 1 Co: Today we're going to generate new sentences. In order to do that put the existing sentence together the way it's supposed to be. When you're finished you won't have to tell me you're finished. I'll know because your sentence will be put together correctly. *(Brian and Perla talk and laugh. Brian speaks in Spanish.)*
- 2 Co: Please remember that you're only (*pause*) supposed to be speaking English in here.
- 3 St: *(to coach)* Why, you know Spanish?
- 4 Co: Yes sir.

*Self-regulation.* The final two examples in which participants used *regulatory language* that I present in this section can be considered instances of self-regulation. There were many examples of the teacher regulating her own behavior according to the program's constraints, which I do not include here. For example, many times during the program the teacher stated the posted "language objective" that correlated with the language lesson only after a coach or set of coaches walked into the classroom; one of the coaches had expressed to both the teacher and I that the district required that students read the language objective before each lesson. The teacher would stop the instruction, read the objective from the wall, and then ask the class to repeat it. Often, she asked students to repeat the same objective more than once at this time. In the first excerpt that follows, the teacher had initiated *Syntax Surgery*. It was 9:07; according to the program schedule, SS should begin at 9:31 after *Story Retell*.

Excerpt 13

- 1 T: You know what? We started Syntax Surgery and we should have (*pause 3 seconds*). You know what? Guys put that in the (*pause*) I forgot that we uh I went out of schedule. I went off the schedule so (*pause*) put that aside and let's (*pause*) read the book.

Excerpt 14

The second example of self-regulation is taken from the last day of the program. The class was reviewing synonyms that were used throughout the program to review for the test. There were many examples in which instructors required students to stand and repeat sentences and answers during the program; generally, students' laughter, sighs and informal talk suggested that they did so grudgingly. They also often made jokes and spoke in Spanish when asked to stand and repeat. However, in this excerpt, the students repeated with louder voices and seemed more energetic and engaged in the lesson than usual. Students repeated lists of synonyms that had been covered during *Morph House*:

[T= teacher; G= whole group; St= student]

- 1 T: Okay (*pause*) guys we need to review this. We don't know which ones are on the test. Okay (*pointing to sentence written on poster and reading*) President Obama [gave the commencement speech at the United States military academy at the West Point this year  
2 G: [gave the commencement speech at the United States military academy at the West Point this year  
3 St: this year  
4 T: Okay now with (*pointing to poster*) provided and convocation  
5 G: President Obama provided the convocation at the United States military academy at the West Point this year  
6 T: Now one more time with graduation [and  
7 St: [The president provided graduation speech at the United States  
8 St: [The president gave the  
9 T: (*Teacher hits the desk three times with a ruler*) And delivered. (*pause*)  
Everyone.  
10 G: President Obama delivered  
11 T: Provided

- 12 St: Provided the convocation speech at the United States military academy at the West Point this year.
- 13 T: Okay let's try one more time. Everyone at the time. One [two three
- 14 St: [two three
- 15 G: President Obama [gave
- 16 St: [provided (students laugh)
- 17 St: provided
- 18 St: gave the provided
- 19 St: We should stand up.

In summary, the data above demonstrate that participants used regulatory language as a variety of social language used in the classroom. Most often, the program coaches used the language variety to regulate the time and activities of the program and the behavior and speech of both students and the teacher. However, the teacher also used regulatory language to control student behavior; both the teacher and students used language to *regulate their own behavior* in the program.

Faltis' (2006) definition of regulatory language emphasized the *support* that acquisition of this type of language affords English learners in the classroom. Faltis (2006) explained that ELLs need to comprehend language used to regulate behavior in order to participate effectively in classroom activities. Thus, from this perspective competence in *regulatory language* could be seen as a *resource* for ELLs; however, van Lier (1996) delineated a key distinction between resources and constraints in the classroom:

Just like the chess game the educational 'game' must also be a dynamic interplay between constraints and resources. If there is excessive control, and we are told exactly what to do and when to do it, then education ceases to be education. If, on the other hand, we reject all constraints, then

education will likewise be impossible, since it will degenerate into chaos.  
(Van Lier, 1996, p. 8)

In the Level 4 ELD classroom in this study, *regulatory language* was the most prevalent social language used by the instructors; and, rather than providing access to discourse practices, regulatory language served to *constrain* (van Lier, 1996) access to language practice and *control* students as evident in the language samples above.

#### *Decontextualized Language*

*Language used during formal language lessons demonstrated an explicit focus on formal language structures and grammatical formulas.*

Schleppegrell (2004) stated that the concept of *decontextualization* in the language of schooling comes from Olson's (1977) distinction between oral language and the rise of "text," which is "more conventionalized and explicit" than oral language because the speaker and reader do not share a context as explicit as during oral language exchanges (2004, p. 7). Schleppegrell (2004) cited Snow's (1983) definition of *decontextualized language* as that used "without the support of conversational context" characterized by a distance between the speaker/writer and listener/reader (1983, p. 186 as cited in Schleppegrell, 2004, p. 8). Based on this definition, a majority of discourse interactions in the Level 4 ELD classroom can be characterized as *decontextualized*. Language lessons focused exclusively on formal language structures (verb tense formulas and sentence "types," such as declarative, negative and interrogative) and isolated vocabulary (through the generation of synonyms for given words) that created a

contextual distance between the speaker/teacher and listener/student. Instructors used “drill and kill” instruction to deliver this traditional grammar focus through students’ rehearsing and repeating of correct forms (Valdes, 2001).

In this section I provide only one example of *decontextualized language* as used in the classroom since the majority of language samples already displayed demonstrate a similar distance between the speakers and listeners. The excerpt that follows is an example of the prolific use of language in the Level 4 classroom that I coded as decontextualized. There are numerous similar examples in the data. I include this example because it represents the concomitant use of repetition within the participation structure while the content focus is on grammar rules, a simultaneous occurrence often in this classroom. An additional anecdote to support the assertion about *decontextualized language* is based on a student’s reflection: When students were asked what they learned at the end of class on the second day, Brian responded, “I learned how to make negative sentences.” This response, though grammatically correct, demonstrates that the program did not encourage students to use language for authentic communication but rather to learn discrete rules and then repeat and recite them. Additionally, much of the evidence for the other social languages provide examples of *decontextualized language*: the participation structure requires extreme repetition, students are required to use ‘complete sentences’ within their responses, and students and the class as a whole spend a great deal of class time identifying and defining parts of speech and verb tense formulas. All of these characteristics create a distance

between the speakers and listeners in terms of creating a shared context for conversation in the class.

In this excerpt the class had been identifying the parts of speech for each word in the following sentence: “Dolley refused to surrender the cherished painting to the sure destruction by the English soldiers.” Students had been working with a partner and then the teacher checked students’ responses as a whole group:

#### Excerpt 1

[T= teacher; St= student; SS= two or three students; Co= coach; R= Rodrigo]

- 1 T: Okay some of you know that painting is a verb. And in this case painting is what?
- 2 St: A noun
- 3 T: Why:?
- 4 St: Because it’s a thing
- 5 St: A thing
- 6 T: It’s because it’s referring to the portrait. Very good. So everyone should have that let’s look for the nouns. Okay. Pick out the nouns. The first noun is
- 7 St: Dolley
- 8 T: Because
- 9 St: It’s a person
- 10 T: Everyone complete sentence
- 11 SS: Dolley is a noun because [it’s a person
- 12 T: [because it is a person
- 13 T: (*to girls*) I want to hear this side of the room because I heard these ones but I didn’t hear you. So (*pause*) Dolley is what?
- 14 G: Dolley is a noun because Dolley is a person.
- 15 T: A person. Let’s let’s look for the second noun. So what is the object that she doesn’t want to surrender?
- 16 St: Painting
- 17 T: So everyone [painting is a noun
- 18 G: [it’s a noun because it’s describing a thing
- 19 T: Another noun. What’s the thing that they are going to do? What’s the thing
- 20 St: (*holding up word strip*) Got it
- 21 T: Okay I see two good ones but what’s the thing that they (*pause*)



- destruction. Everyone. [Everyone show destruction.
- 22 St: [Destruction is a noun because
- 23 T: Everyone destruction is a noun because it finishes in ‘ion’.  
Everyone.
- 24 G: Destruction is a noun because it ends in ‘ion’. Everyone.

The class continued to identify and repeat each part of speech and read the definitions from the wall. They had done this for each word in the sentence except ‘by’, at which point the coach entered and continued:

- 25 Co: Okay guys so when Ms. Ruiz poses a question and she says what is by in relationship to so you’re thinking. Don’t put your hand up right away you’re thinking. And once you’re thinking then I’m going to have you share with your partners. I know that Enrique said the word right? He knows what it is. But do the rest of us know what it is? So I want you to think. What is the word by? If we look at our grammar log adjective noun pronoun adverb verb preposition conjunction and interjection. She said it shows relationship to something. Put your hand down please Brian. *(pause)* So think. *(Pause)* Now tell your partner. *(Students talk.)*
- 26 T: So what is it? What is by?
- 27 St: Preposition
- 28 T: Okay
- 29 Co: Okay times up. My hands gone up that means I need your attention *(pause 3 seconds)*. Thank you. Thank you. All right if you know the answer raise your hand. *(Most students raise a hand.)*
- 30 Co: *(to Rodrigo)* You. What is the word by?
- 31 R: *(laughing)* Preposition
- 32 Co: A preposition? Why?
- 33 R: Because *(pause)* it’s a relationship between *(pause)* sure and destruction.
- 34 Co: Okay I’m going to go back to the definition I need you guys to be quiet. Look up here *(pointing to definitions of parts of speech)* eyes up here. One two hello? Turn around. It says *(pause)* it shows relationship of a noun to another word. So if I said by *(rising intonation)* what is by? He said a preposition. By is a preposition because it shows relationship. I need your attention. By is a preposition because it shows relationship to *(pause)* a *(pause)* noun. All right? And what is the noun that it shows relationship to?
- 35 St: Destruction

- 36 Co: To destruction. Are you guys ready? Let's go ahead and say the whole thing to listen (*rising intonation*) first. By is a preposition because it shows relationship to the word (*pause*) destruction. Sa:y it.
- 37 G: By is a preposition because it shows relationship to the word destruction.
- 38 Co: Listen. By is a preposition because it shows relationship to the word (*pause*) destruction. Say it.
- 39 G: By is a preposition because it shows relationship to the word (*pause*) destruction.
- 40 Co: Much better. Girls only.
- 41 Girls: By is a preposition
- 42 Co: I'm sorry girls boys were interrupting can you say it again?
- 43 Girls: By is a preposition
- 44 Girl: because it shows relationship to the word destruction
- 45 Co: Ooh you guys need to be listening. Listen again wait. By is a preposition because it shows relationship to the word (*pause*) destruction. Say it. Everybody.
- 46 G: By is a preposition
- 47 Co: Let me try it again (*pause*) everybody try it together. Go.
- 48 G: By is a preposition because it shows relationship to the word (*pause*) destruction.
- 49 Co: Much better but when I say to the word that's what I expect you to say (*pause*). Good job (*rising intonation*).

Within this lesson sequence the definition of a preposition was repeated nine times. This excerpt also demonstrated a connection between the focus on a discrete grammatical skill – the definition of a part of speech – and the repetitive participation pattern. Although this was more extreme than some repetition-oriented exchanges in this classroom it represented the common IRE pattern of participation as discussed in the previous chapter. Although not included here, another example of *decontextualized language* often used in the program was the elicitation and word-for-word repetition of grammatical formulas as written on classroom posters and handouts.

Valdes (2001) cautioned that classroom activity that focuses on the basics “that is, pronunciation of isolated forms, memorization of vocabulary items, and practice of grammatical structures,” as in this ELD classroom “will not help students to develop academic language proficiency” (Valdes, 2001, p. 148). Gee (in press) noted that speakers use social languages from “specific, socially-situated identities” and that “listeners need to know not only who is talking but what they are seeking to accomplish. So speakers always use social languages to enact specific actions or activities as well” (in press, p. 284). In the Level 4 classroom teachers and coaches used *decontextualized language* as language “experts” in the role of transmitters of the standardization of language in what has been referred to as the *banking concept* of education (Freire, 1970), in which the teacher transmits knowledge into students’ minds much like a banking deposit. As is evident in the excerpt above, this restricted students’ talk and engagement with the material as conscious actors involved in their own knowledge construction. Decontextualized language created a monologic classroom space, in which language was transmitted in one direction and students were not encouraged to use their linguistic and sociocultural resources to participate.

### *Resistance Language*

*Resistance* is a concept that has been used in various ways in educational literature. Gonzalez (2005), based on work in bilingual educational studies, explained that “as implicit ideologies become explicit discourse,” as in the Level 4 classroom, “children found ways to talk back” and that “children can and do

construct their own spaces for the discursive productions of identities and ideologies” (2005, p. 168-9). McKay and Wong (1996) used the concept of resistance in the second language acquisition setting to represent “the strategies that subvert or oppose the language performance expectations of the situation rather than fulfill them” (1996, p. 578). In their ethnographic study of Chinese adolescent immigrant students’ appropriation of multiple discourses and identities they cite Peirce (1995) to define a useful definition of human agency as “both positioned by relations of power and resistant to that positioning, and may even set up a *counterdiscourse* which positions [him/her] in a powerful rather than marginalized subject position” (Peirce, 1995, p. 16 as cited in McKay & Wong, 1996, p. 579). The language samples provided thus far demonstrate that Level 4 ELD practices limited student participation. Instead of promoting legitimate peripheral participation, the practices generally socialized ELLs into a role of less powerful social agents than both the standard language practices themselves and the teacher expert whose role it is to mediate them. However, I discovered a thematic pattern within the ELL students’ language used in the classroom that suggested student *agency* even within the constrained language lessons.

I coded the following excerpts as examples of student *resistance language*. English learners used language (and often laughter, sighs or exhalations) to “subvert” the expected language practices, though in subtle and small ways within the language lessons. I include the examples below because they were typical examples of the ways in which students appeared to resist both the *repetitive participation structure* of the language lessons and the frequency of

*regulatory* and *decontextualized language* used within this highly controlled format. There were several other instances in the data that I observed as *resistance language* as well that are not included here due to limitations in space.

*Laughter and joking.* Students seemed to use laughter and joking in response to the controlling practices and language learning environment. Laughter occurred most consistently during the *Warm Up* language lesson. As students were required to repeat the alphabet they often laughed, which served to stall the lesson; on several occasions they also sang it in the style of the “ABC’s” song, which occurred the first time at the end of the second week. Students also laughed very often during sequences when they were asked to repeat words and phrases repeatedly, especially when their physical movement was regulated at the same time, as in the following typical examples of *laughter as resistance*. In this sequence students stated sentences in the past progressive tense to retell events from the story using pictures from the book as an aid. I include this as the first example of *laughter as student resistance* because the coach, as instructor, addressed the laughter in this exchange and also because it persisted through the entire exchange. The coach organized the class on the floor:

Excerpt 1

[Co= coach; G= group; St= student; SS= students; B= Brian]

- 1 Co: Say that sentence again. He
- 2 G: He ran for president.
- 3 Co: Okay he ran for president let’s say it all together. [He ran for president
- 4 G: [He ran for president
- 5 Co: All by yourself say it (*points to group of boys*)
- 6 G: He ran for president

- 7 St: *(laughs)*
- 8 Co: *(pause 2 seconds)* I don't like joking around. *(pause)* That doesn't fly by me. You understand me?
- 9 St: *(quietly)* Yes
- 10 Co: Again *(pause)* I hope *(pause)* that you understand. All right *(rising intonation)* partner B to tell partner A please popcorn up. Quickly. *(Students stand. Many speak in Spanish. Some laugh.)*
- 11 Co: I can't hear you guys. What did he say?
- 12 G: *(standing)* He ran for president. *(laughter)*
- 13 Co: Your turn *(points to male student)*.
- 14 SS: *(laughter)*
- 15 Co: You don't know what you're doing because you're too busy doing other things. The rest of you sit down. *(to student)* You stand up. Say that sentence for me please.
- 16 St: He ran for president.
- 17 B: *laughs*
- 18 C: Say it again.
- 19 St: *(quickly)* He ran for president.
- 20 Co: Look he ran for pre:si:dent. Say it again.
- 21 St: He ran for pre:sident.
- 22 Co: Very good do you see the difference? Very good give yourself a pat on the back because you did very good on that one. *(Students laugh.)*
- 23 Co: He lau::ghs. You did very well.
- 24 G: *(laughter)*

#### Excerpt 2

In the following excerpt the class had just begun *Verb Tense Study*. The teacher read the posted language objective; she then made the boys stand and repeat it and then the girls stand and repeat the objective. The students seemed less responsive and to “participate” less than usual. Many of them were quieter than usual until this sequence begins. Then there was laughter throughout the repetition sequence as follows:

[T= teacher; G= group; St= student; R= Rodrigo]

- 1 T: *(reading)* I will use the verb tense study formula to accurately create and share sentences orally and in writing. Everyone.

- 2 G: I will use the verb tense study formula to accurately create  
(*laughter*) and share (*laughter*) sentence orally and in writing.  
(*Students continue to laugh.*)
- 3 T: Okay gentleman up and ready.  
(*Boys stand and read again.*)
- 4 St: How about the ladies?
- 5 St: My head hurts

The class went on to repeat the formulas as written on a poster for declarative, negative and interrogative sentences. The lesson continued:

- 6 T: Think about the subject that you see in the picture.
- 7 St: I see the picture. He's so (*inaudible*) (*laughter*)
- 8 R: The subject that I see is Abraham Lincoln.
- 9 St: The subject that I see is (*inaudible*) (*Students laugh.*)
- 10 T: Okay (*pause*) so
- 11 St: The subject that I see is the president.
- 12 T: The president (*writes on board*) Rodrigo we're you the one who said the subject
- 13 R: Yeah
- 14 T: I need another subject think think. Brian.
- 15 T: Now everyone [the president, Abraham Lincoln, lawyer
- 16 G: [president, Abraham Lincoln, lawyer
- 17 T: Now tell the person on your left  
(*Laughter.*)
- 18 T: Okay the verb has to be with a 'to'
- 19 St: Read
- 20 St: To see
- 21 St: To stand
- 22 T: A better word a better word  
(*Laughter.*)  
Okay there is a very good word of what he's doing
- 23 St: To write
- 24 St: To read
- 25 St: To shout
- 26 St: To convince
- 27 St: To be a coward
- 28 M: To be a ge::ntleman  
(*The class laughs loudly.*)
- 29 St: Conversation (*laughter*)

The two excerpts above demonstrated that the coach and teacher also seemed to react to the students' *laughter as resistance* by further using *regulatory*

*language* to control their behavior. In excerpt one in turn ten the coach asked the students to “popcorn up” and repeat sentences immediately after addressing their laughter as “inappropriate;” in excerpt two the students began to laugh while reading the language objective and then in turn three the teacher appeared to respond by asking the male students to stand and repeat it.

*Spanish as resistance.* The language sample in the next excerpt is taken from a *Verb Tense Study* lesson during the last week of the program. The class had just completed reviewing verb tense formulas in preparation for the final test. During this time students were extremely disengaged and quiet. The teacher read the formulas and asked them to repeat it. The class then transitioned into this next activity and students talked loudly with one another for several minutes.

### Excerpt 3

[T= teacher; St= student]

- 1 T: Okay now everyone is going to write what I write
- 2 St: But no tengo nothing.
- 3 T: Go sit down.
- 4 St: I don't have a pencil
- 5 St: I need a pencil
- 6 T: Okay let's everyone repeat what are we doing
- 7 St: We are writing sentences (*talking and laughter*)
- 8 T: Okay everyone just a second  
(*Students sharpen pencils.*)  
I will use the verb tense
- 9 G: I will use the verb tense study formula
- 10 T: to accurately create and share
- 11 G: to accurately create and share
- 12 T: sentences
- 13 G: sentences
- 14 T: orally and in writing.
- 15 G: orally and in writing.
- 16 T: K now what were the subjects that we chose?
- 17 St: The subjects that we



- 18 T: Everyone  
19 St: No tiene general (*not the general*)  
20 T: In English.  
21 St: I don't speak English.

The student's statement in turn 21 above that "I don't speak English" could be seen as an example of using Spanish and refusing English as resistance to the English-only environment as well as resistance to the regulatory and decontextualized languages that forced students to repeat objectives over and over as in the excerpt above. There were many other instances in which English learners used Spanish in the classroom; however, I code this one as an example of overt resistance language based in the statement that followed the use of Spanish that "I don't speak English."

*Social bonding as resistance.* There were several examples in the data in which the teacher and students used language for the purpose of social bonding in the ELD classroom. This could be seen as a separate social language; however, I coded them as examples of resistance because within the bonding event the participants often subtly critiqued the program and language practices. Also, these acts of social bonding only occurred when the teacher was alone with students, which demonstrated that the bonding was defined in part in its opposition to the program and the coaches who regulated its activities.

I coded the following examples of overt lack of enthusiasm toward program materials as a type of social bonding between the students and teacher as well as an example of collaborative resistance. In the first episode the teacher read *Abe Remembers* and stopped periodically to ask comprehension questions. Many

students were disengaged. Twenty minutes into this lesson one of the students exhaled loudly in an apparent demonstration of disengagement:

Excerpt 4

- 1 Rodrigo:       *(exhales loudly while teacher reads to them)*
- 2 T:               *(She stops reading.)* I know *(pause 2 seconds)* I'm tired too.

In the second episode the class was just about to begin the *Warm Up* language lesson. The teacher acknowledged their objection to it, a rare example of an awareness of the students' lack of connection to the program's practices:

Excerpt 5

- 1 T:       And we always start with the language warm up *(rising intonation)* that *(pause 2 seconds)* I know that you don't like but that's what we have to do. Mario I took a shower so you can get closer *(inaudible)*. So *(students move)*. And really the things that you need to know is this *(points to letters)* because they are going to test you this way so let's start.

In the following example the teacher had begun *Syntax Surgery* and then realized she was off schedule and changed to *Story Retell*. Then she transitioned the class back into *SS* during its scheduled time:

Excerpt 6

- 1 Teacher:       Take out the sentences again.
- 2 Student:       Again?
- 3 Teacher:       I know it's a pain *(pause)* but we have to do

*Attempts at meaningful language.* I coded the following excerpts as examples of students' attempts to engage in more meaningful, authentic conversational exchanges than those afforded by the practices of the classroom. From a sociocultural perspective, I viewed them as attempts to negotiate the terms

of participation in the classroom. There were many examples of such attempts in the data. I display only a handful to support the assertion that students were not totally invisible participants in the program but were social actors who made attempts (though generally not taken up) to help shape the classroom talk.

*Relating to the material.* This excerpt occurred during *Morph House*. The students were supposed to use the root word ‘govern’ to produce new words. I present this as an example of a missed opportunity for an authentic conversation. When the topic of Arizona Senate Bill 1070 arose, the students became very excited. Many were talking at once, perhaps because it is a topic that was relevant to their lives. The topic presented an opportunity for dialogue, which was not taken up by the teacher. This example is included because it was typical of students’ attempts in the classroom to change the structure of participation – to legitimate their own participation *from* the periphery in essence – and make the conversation more authentic.

#### Excerpt 7

[T= teacher; St= student; J= Jesus]

- 1 T: What do governors do?
- 2 St: They make la::ws and rules and things
- 3 St: It’s like a president but
- 4 T: Think about Arizona remember about Arizona [what did she do?
- 5 St: [SB 1070
- 6 T: Shh  
*(Many students talking loudly at once.)*
- 7 St: O::h I hate that rule. I hate [that law.
- 8 St: Mexicanos que no tienen papeles (Mexicans who don’t have legal papers)  
*(Students are talking loudly.)*
- 9 T: Okay what did she do?
- 10 St: Signed she signed the law

- 11 St: She signed  
 12 T: Okay  
 (*There is a lot of talking in both English and Spanish.*)  
 13 St: Ranch Market this is (*inaudible*) a Mexican (*inaudible*)  
 14 T: Everyone. [The governor  
 15 St: [She's a racist  
 16 T: [Signed the SB 1070  
 (*pause*)  
 Okay so that's what you use for governing (*pause*) is when you are  
 17 St: the governor  
 18 T: Okay so what's the name who remembers the name of the  
 governor  
 19 St: Uh Ja:hn Borer something like that  
 20 St: Jan Brewer  
 21 St: It's a girl  
 22 T: Okay  
 (*Students talking.*)  
 23 St: She's a racist.  
 24 T: Okay what's her name?  
 25 St: La racista. (*the racist*)  
 26 T: Okay Jan is governing what state?  
 27 St: Arizona.  
 28 T: Okay everyone. Jan is governing Arizona. Jesus what was the  
 sentence?  
 29 J: The governor. I don't know.  
 30 T: Okay the president is doing what? Let's change the subject. The  
 president is governing  
 31 St: the United States.  
 32 St: Ms. Ruiz, estaba la marcha? (*Were you at the march?*)  
 33 T: That's another subject. That's another subject let's stay on topic uh  
 ask me at noon okay?  
 34 St: Okay  
 35 T: Ask me at noon.

The following excerpt occurred during *Story Retell* in week three. The teacher read from *Abe Lincoln Remembers* and paused to ask comprehension questions – the typical participation pattern during this language lesson. Normally students were quiet at this time; a few answered her questions. However, students did not pose their own questions about the material. This excerpt demonstrated an

unusual event in which two students asked questions during the language lesson  
in an attempt to relate more fully to the material:

Excerpt 8

- 1 T: (*explaining about the story*) People in the east used to go to the Mississippi River
- 2 St: (*inaudible*)
- 3 T: I'm sorry
- 4 St: nothing
- 5 T: Make the question one more time. I just couldn't hear you.
- 6 St: Can't the wood boats (*pause*) sink?
- 7 T: Yeah they can and sometimes they do
- 8 St2: (*inaudible in Spanish*)
- 9 T: Yeah they are wrestling (*pause*) so you don't imagine that a president is going to be a wrestler do you?
- 10 St: Ye:ah
- 11 St: Who's wrestling?
- 12 T: Abraham (*Teacher continues to read.*)
- 13 St: Were they fighting like for real?
- 14 T: Yeah for real because they (*pause*) it's a wrestling match. And when someone's down it ends not killed until another person is killed. They have some time my son was a wrestler in high school. So they have matches and it's like two minutes or three minutes.
- 15 St: Three
- 16 T: Okay (*continues to read story*)
- 17 R: (*smiling*) Was Abraham Lincoln ever a basketball player?
- 18 T: Uh he probably could have been because he was very tall (*pause*) but he wasn't. He was studying. Especially when we're learning a language (*pause*) when we go to the store. What do you do in your mind?
- 19 R: I think what I'm gonna get.
- 20 T: You think what you are going to get and you think what you are going to say. At the beginning you practice. I remember going to the store wanting to have a coke or a soda and I asked for where were the drinks. And the person heard where were the rings. So he told me the jeweler so (*pause*) from that day on I practiced 'drink' 'ring' drink ring. So I could make it I could enunciate it correctly. So he is practicing his what?
- 21 R: His words
- 22 T: Because he can lead people. If you go to church there are some people who are very powerful speakers that is what he practiced. (*She continues to read the story.*)

During the remainder of the lesson the teacher returned to the usual structure of reading, asking comprehension questions and requiring students to repeat answers. Students did not ask any more questions about the story. When Rodrigo made a joke, the teacher began to regulate their behavior. Further, she asked them to sit properly as they repeated answers. This excerpt was also unusual in that it is the only time when the teacher spoke about her own English language learning experiences with the class. The two excerpts above were examples coded as *attempts at meaningful language* as a sub-category of *resistance language* used in the classroom. Reagan (2002) suggested that in classrooms “discourse is in fact negotiated between and among students and teachers” (Reagan, 2002, p. 150). Reagan speaks of this as a process of empowerment, but the examples above can be seen only as students’ *attempts* to negotiate and change the legitimate peripheral participatory practices in the ELD classroom; the excerpts demonstrate that the teacher’s role, speaking rights, and style of speech (Cazden, 1988) do not change and thus, students are not successful in their attempts at “real discussion.” Rather, the regulatory and decontextualized language, together with the participation practices, created closed monologic spaces that constrain the English learners’ resources.

Discourse and power are intertwined in the SLA classroom. The excerpts provided above serve to illustrate that English learners are not passive recipients of *regulatory* and *decontextualized language*; though they are subtle examples, laughter, social bonding and attempts to re-negotiate language practices demonstrate that ELLs and sometimes the teacher and students collaborated to use

*resistance language*. These language patterns signal that this was a social language used to enact specific social action in the classroom: to “subvert” and “oppose” the subtractive (Valenzuela, 1999) language performance practices used in abundance in this ELD classroom.

*Discrepant Data: Spanish for Social Bonding*

I include the following language sample as example of divergent data that do not fit into the framework of language types as discussed thus far. These were examples in which a coach and the teacher used Spanish freely with students;

*Spanish as social bonding*. In this excerpt the coach instructed *Vertical Sentence*. The coach used the usual strategy of asking students to repeat synonyms. Then students had to stand and repeat or “popcorn up”. However, this lesson was different than others. Students were louder and more “energetic” than usual. They did not talk informally to one another. One student, Brian, requested to stand and repeat the sentence by himself and then others followed him. The interaction seemed to be an example of the students demonstrating that they had “learned” how to be successful participants within the context of this particular classroom ecology, in essence becoming successfully socialized to the language practices of the classroom. The coach rewarded this behavior with Spanish; this is the only time I observed her use Spanish in the classroom; during all other times she reminded students *not* to use Spanish.

Excerpt 1

[Co= coach; C= Carmen; St= student]

- 1 Co: Excellent. Give yourselves a round of applause. I'm really happy with how you guys did that. Excellent job. See what it takes it takes for you guys to be really committed. I'm glad to see that.
- 2 Co: (to teacher) All right it's all yours. I'm sorry. (Students are eating cookies and offer her some.) Oh:: no. I'm trying to watch the (pats stomach) (Students laugh.) look how gordita I'm getting. Gordita gordita (rising intonation). Don't give me any more food I'm getting gordi:ta. (Students laugh.)
- 3 Co: (to teacher) Thank you Ms. Ruiz.
- 4 C: (to coach) by::e
- 5 St: bye

I coded this excerpt as an example of using Spanish for social bonding outside of the resistance paradigm. In turn two in the excerpt below, the coach used Spanish to refer to herself as “gordita,” or overweight. Through this bonding language – using the students’ first language in a moment of relationship building – the coach enacted a *pedagogy of caring* and related to students for the first time that I observed in the program (Noddings, 1992).

After the episode above ended the teacher resumed instruction and also used Spanish with the class, which was rare. The class began to review. The teacher told them they could continue to eat the cookies. She spoke in Spanish with them, which I only observed her do a handful of times. The class repeated the numbers from *Warm Up*; most of the class repeated loudly. The teacher seemed to reward this participation with use of Spanish.

Another episode in which participants use Spanish to socially bond occurred when Carmen, the only students who had passed the AZELLA, asked the teacher questions in Spanish on the last day right before the class took the final



test. The teacher responded in Spanish – a special privilege that was not extended to the other students. In this instance Spanish again seemed to be used as a reward for her higher status as a student who had passed the AZELLA. Thus, instructors rarely used Spanish in the classroom--even though most of them spoke it fluently;--in the rare cases in which they did speak Spanish it seemed to be used to bond but also to reward acceptable behavior.

### *Discussion*

The final section of this chapter is a discussion based on the findings that I offered above as evidence for the assertion that language is used for social purposes in this ELD classroom. I included language samples that demonstrated patterns for three different *language types* or *social languages* used during language practices: *regulatory language*, *decontextualized language* and *resistance language*.

I began this chapter with a question about which social and cultural values and norms were apparent in the classroom language practices. Through the social languages analyzed above, participants took social action in the classroom: instructors regulated student behavior and standardized language and language use and distanced students from participation; students resisted these controlling and limiting practices and attempted to negotiate new practices. One result was that the normative rules and behaviors valued and promoted by the instructors were primarily aimed at controlling and subordinating of English language learners; ELLs' values and norms appeared to include a need for agency and authentic communication.

I also asked whose purposes are achieved through this situated language use. Gee (in press) argued that language practices can produce, reproduce, and transform these salient norms, demonstrating further social action; Gee poses the following: “Is what the speaker is saying and how he or she is saying it just, more or less, replicating (repeating) contexts like this one or, in any respect, transforming or changing them?” (in press, p. 150). In the following section, I discuss the ways in which Level 4 classroom participants used social languages to reproduce a context in which immigrant and Mexican American English learner students were socialized into assimilative practices in U.S. schooling.

#### *Situated Socialization in the ELD Classroom*

The teacher and especially coaches often used *regulatory language* to reproduce a social hierarchy that has been found in schools to constrain and control students, especially immigrant and Mexican American English learners (Valenzuela, 1999; Zentella, 2005). Valdes (2001) pointed out that schools often use the rhetoric of educational opportunity to veil practices that actually fail immigrant students:

school programs aimed at immigrant students, as we saw in the case of four youngsters, are seldom based on an ethical understanding of how education is related to broader social and cultural relations, even though they make use of a rhetoric of equality and opportunity and claim to prepare students for academic success. (Valdes, 2001, p. 155).

This rhetoric was apparent in the Level 4 classroom, in which instructors often defined “successful” and “good” students as those whose behavior was

well-regulated, including how they used and spoke English. Using regulatory language instructors would also mention that appropriate behavior is expected because “we are here for an education,” and this use of rhetoric was particularly aimed at an immigrant population that is situated at the bottom of the social hierarchy, where “Spanish-speakers are often stereotyped as non-white, and weak English-speakers are viewed as inferior” (Suarez-Orozco & Paez, 2002).

The ELD program instructors also used *decontextualized language*, through the program’s official methods, to transmit a standard language ideology that restricted students’ language resources. When learners cannot access inherent language resources this pedagogy maintains this social order, therefore also reproducing it (Lippi-Green, 1997). Pennycook (1994) stated that language standardization means:

The English language classroom, as idealized in the discourses of Western ELT theory, is not a place in which languages can be freely used and exchanged but rather has come to reflect a dogmatic belief in a monolingualist approach to language learning. (Pennycook, p. 169).

This approach to language learning further reproduces the discriminatory social norms and values that led to these practices in the first place:

The teacher’s goal is to cover the material, not to uncover what students want to say or what is important to them. Problems are seen as residing in students, not in text materials or in the decision made by the teacher to focus on rehearsing correct forms as opposed to generating new meaning and sharing information, opinions, and experiences. Much classroom

activity is limited to a focus on the basics, that is, pronunciation of isolated forms, memorization of vocabulary items, and practices of grammatical structures. The mastery of basics is seen as a prerequisite to creative communication, and there is no acknowledgement that forms and expressions rehearsed in class actually inculcate norms and social relations. (Valdes, 2001, p. 157)

Thus, *regulatory* and *decontextualized language* used in the Level 4 classroom reproduced *both* the social hierarchy and the English-only language ideology that influenced these very practices. This creates a revolving paradox. Valdes (2001) cited Auerbach (1995) who argued that “despite the fact that use or prohibition of the L1 is often framed in purely pedagogical terms, clearly it is also an ideological issue...Insistence on English in the classroom may result in slower acquisition of English, a focus on childlike and disempowering approaches to language instruction, and ultimately a replication of relations of inequality outside the classroom, reproducing a stratum of people who can do only the least skilled and least language/literacy dependent jobs” (1995, p. 27). Unfortunately, the regulatory and decontextualized social languages used in the classroom in this study helped to reproduce this harmful contradiction for the English learners schooled in this classroom.

Finally, in this classroom, the ELLs used *resistance language* in an attempt to defy the role of invisible participant and the “irrelevant, uncaring, and controlling aspects of schooling” (Valenzuela, 1999, p. 94). Students laughed; they spoke Spanish in an English-only environment and attempted to bond with

other participants and instructors. Students also asked questions and related to the materials in attempts, which were largely unsuccessful due to the extreme environment of control, to change the nature of communication and participation. The English learners' resistance language can be seen as attempts by social actors to counteract or *transform* the social norms that positioned them as controlled subjects and at the same time re-negotiate language practices. The argument that students used language as acts of resistance in the ELD classroom is not meant to suggest a comprehensive portrayal of students' internal motivations. Valenzuela (1999) suggested that "meaning may be severed from representation" and further that "what counts as youthful rebelliousness may be nothing more than youth exploring and finding ways to negotiate their lived experience as ethnic, bicultural human beings" (Valenzuela, 1999, p. 84). In this classroom acts of resistance language did not appear to alter the practices of this particular language community; practices were not transformed and the social order remained clear.

The findings presented in this study about the prevalent social languages that teachers and students used to take social action in the classroom are synchronous with the literature that suggests that schools act as agents of social and cultural reproduction (Giroux, 1983). The three social languages analyzed in these findings – *regulatory*, *decontextualized* and *resistance language* – suggest that language in the ELD classroom *socialized ELLs into particular ways of being a limited-English proficient student in public school in Arizona in 2010*. That is, the ELLs *learned that their role in this particular community of practice of ELD schooling was one at the bottom of this social hierarchy*.

Schleppegrell (2002) stated that “school can also be conceptualized broadly as the institutional framework in which children are socialized into ways of formal learning in our society” (2002, p. 5), and this is the meaning of socialization that I refer to in this section. As many scholars have argued, language plays a key role in the process of socialization into schooling practices. Ochs (1996) argued that language is used to socialize newcomers to a community’s practices at the same time that new users are socialized through practices into language use. Thus, English learners acquired more than language proficiency within the program; through normative practices over time they learned about their role, or status, in relationship to it. The data on language practices in the Level 4 ELD classroom suggest that social, cultural and historical factors influenced ELL participation and the social use of language in the classroom.

Language practices in all classrooms have their own rules and procedures, according to the rules, cultural models, ideologies, and social languages of each community of practice, and definitions of “language learning,” “acquisition,” “communicative competence;” in essence, ELL “success” vary accordingly. This means that a Level 4 student in this particular ELD program could master the language practices of the classroom, reciting and repeating formal language structures in ways that program instructors deem ‘successful’ (on cue, at a high volume, while sitting up straight or standing as the data suggest); yet, in another ELD classroom in which these social norms are not tantamount, the same student may be considered incompetent.

Close examination of the findings in this study caused me to wonder more about the values and norms students were socialized into in this program and at what expense. The findings and the context surrounding the findings in this study suggest that socialization in this ELD classroom enacted a process of cultural assimilation, which Valenzuela (1999) explained as “the schooling process—as a powerful, state-sanctioned instrument of cultural de-identification, or de-Mexicanization” (1999, p. 161) for English learners. The concept of *schooling for assimilation* will be discussed further in the next chapter, which concludes this thesis study.

## Chapter Seven

### Conclusion

#### *Conclusions of the Study*

This thesis study used qualitative methods to observe, describe and analyze the *ELL participation patterns* and *social use of language* during language lessons in a public middle school ELD summer program in Arizona. The study's broad foundation is an examination of ELL school experiences based in language; that is, to examine the structure and content of classroom talk with English learners since it is central to their education in a state in which language policies intersect with ideology (Wright, 2005).

My study was framed by sociocultural theory and critical language awareness concepts used often in SLA research. The questions that guided my inquiry were:

1. What is the nature of ELL participation during language lessons? That is, what are the prevalent participation practices in the classroom?
2. What social or cultural values or norms are evident in the classroom talk during language lessons? That is, in what ways do participants take social action (produce, reproduce, or transform the social setting) through social languages?
3. What is the particular cultural model of ELD evident through these practices?

In order to answer the research questions I observed, recorded, transcribed, coded and analyzed the eight official language lessons that occurred



regularly within the three-week ELD program. I performed close examination of classroom discourse during language lessons, narrowing my focus to 1) *ELL participation patterns*, and 2) *social purposes for language use*.

In the previous two chapters, I answered the first two research questions with the following assertions:

1. *ELL participation is limited due to exposure to a narrow repertoire of language practices*. Participation practices can be characterized as: a) within the well-documented Initiation-Response-Evaluation pattern; b) repetition is the response function most often expected; c) recitation to known answers is another common response function.
2. *ELD summer program participants used language to take social action during language lessons, resulting in the use of three prevalent social languages: Regulatory Language, Decontextualized Language, and Resistance Language*. Participants took the following social action, revealing social values and norms such that: a) instructors used regulatory language to control students' behavior and language, reproducing the social hierarchy that devalues diversity; b) instructors used decontextualized language to standardize English language use, producing and reproducing the social hierarchy that dismisses students' linguistic and sociocultural resources; c) English learners used resistance language in an attempt to defy and re-negotiate the above practices.

Taken together, the findings allow me to answer the final research question: *What is the particular cultural model of ELD evident in the practices in*

*this classroom?* The findings in the previous two chapters reveal that language practices in the ELD classroom create a *constrained language learning environment* (see van Lier, 1996) that rejects the resources that students bring with them into the classroom. This *constraining model of English language development* is situated in the social, cultural and historical contexts that intersect with the classroom's practices as discussed in this study. Close examination of ELL participation and the use of language for social purposes in the Level 4 classroom led me to theorize that the nature of instructor-student, curricular and ideological interaction led to a deficit-based, constraining cultural model of ELD – which can be called *pedagogy for subtractive assimilation* (Valenzuela, 1999).

#### *Summary*

Language socialization in the ELD classroom was a mediating device that served to re-produce a dominant English-only ideology at the expense of opportunities for authentic language participation practices that could promote conversation, content exploration, cognitive and expressive response or “real discussion.” The language socialization practices in this classroom were situated in the cultural-deficit model that positions immigrant and minority youth's linguistic and cultural backgrounds not as resources but as problematic and in need of correction. Gee (in press) defined cultural models<sup>7</sup> as “narratives and images different social and cultural groups of people use to make sense of the world” and said that:

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<sup>7</sup> Gee uses the term figured world in the same way that I am using cultural model.

They function as simplified models of how things work when they are “normal” and “natural” from the perspective of a particular social and cultural group. They are meant to help people get on with the business of living and communicating without having to explicitly reflect in everything before acting. (Gee, in press, p. 273)

This definition may help to explain the instructors’ consistent use of regulatory and decontextualized language; they had the task of “developing” the English skills of limited-English proficient (LEP) students whose “lacking” in language skills symbolized “lacking” a mainstream, American identity. Thus, their role within this simplistic model – enacted through language – was to transfer English skills while also “Americanizing” the students. Gutierrez et al. (2002) referred to this as *backlash pedagogy* wherein labels are used, such as limited-English proficient and Level 4, which mark these learners as different and warranting change. Thus, while this deficit model enabled instructors to act in this program, Valenzuela (1999) suggested that such practices are “neither neutral nor benign”; rather, assimilative practices that strive to erase racial and ethnic differences in the classroom “are dynamically linked to a larger historic process of subtractive cultural assimilation, more commonly known as Americanization” (Hernandez-Chavez, 1988; Bartolome, 1994 as cited in Valenzuela, 1999, p. 162). Similarly, Judd (2000) argued that “English only legislation is not based on sound rationales for learning English because its proponents are not actually motivated by a desire to help non-English speakers learn English,” but rather they are

motivated by the “strong anti-immigrant underpinning to these bills” (2000, p. 173).

The *pedagogy of subtractive assimilation* (Valenzuela, 1999) used in this ELD classroom utilized participation and social language practices to veil the marginalization of students. The program’s “one-size fits all” approach to ELD assimilates but fails students. Garcia (2000) argued that adjustments in methods, curricula and funding will not change the educational reality of ELL education unless “we begin to think differently about these students” and begin “viewing these students in new ways that may contradict conventional notions and may lead to a new set of realizations” (2000, p. 91). In this study, I analyzed ELL participation and the content of classroom talk with ELLs in an English-only program in an attempt to *re-view* these students. The experiential reality that I found – that participants were made to repeat formulaic responses to such an extent that it could be described as *parroting education* and that instructors’ talk positioned students as problematic and their resources as invisible – makes it difficult to frame such findings to re-conceptualize ELL students in more complex and positive ways. The evidence of resistance language and specifically students’ attempts to engage their instructors and peers in more meaningful classroom discussions and exploratory talk related to subjects that mattered to them is encouraging and is supported in the literature (Zentella, 2005; Valenzuela, 1999; Gutierrez et al., 1999). Future research should explore these complex practices to a greater extent and the ways in which students’ resources can improve participation and minimize the subtractive assimilative practices that deplete them

in such programs. Further implications and recommendations based on these findings are discussed in the next sections.

### *Implications of the Study*

One conclusive result of these findings is that ELLs lack access to a range of discourse practices in English in programs such as this one (see Lillie et al., 2010). Further, artificial *language constraints* in the classroom limit English learners' future educational prospects and power and status as democratic participants within and outside of school. The lack of access to English, content, academic registers, English speakers, dialogue, and democratic exercises has been called an *impoverished curriculum* (Gutierrez et al., 2002); in this classroom it is hidden within a model of known answers to a standardized English language – a veil over an ideology that uses language as a tool of assimilation for social control. It may be that programs such as this one are more harmful for children than no language program at all; while the hidden consequences are clearly severe, the benefits are not evident. On the one hand, students may drop out of school if continually faced with such irrelevant and controlling school experiences (Lillie et al., 2010). Students may also face the “revolving door” phenomenon that has been found in many ESL programs, in which ELLs never really exit ELL courses into mainstream classrooms (See Valdes, 2001, p. 154 for an analysis of a demonstrated confusion between language limitations, reading skill development, content knowledge and test scores in schools that educate ELLs). This phenomenon was evident with at least one student in the Level 4 classroom. Carmen, who had already passed the AZELLA, nonetheless found herself in this

ELD summer intensive program, intended to prepare students for proficiency on the AZELLA. Also, Carmen passed the summer program's final test; yet, in informal conversation the teacher mentioned that for students this had no consequence. They would not be mainstreamed as a result, but would return to the SEI classroom in the fall. Lillie et al. (2010) found similar implications in the implementation practices of Arizona's SEI programs and stated that ELL participants are at a disadvantage when it comes to high school graduation. Other scholars have found problems with "quick fix" English-only ELD programs that prematurely exit students into mainstream classrooms. Judd (2000) explained that this leads to both deficiencies in English and subject matter knowledge: "Rather than having developed the cognitive and academic skills necessary for successful academic performance, the vast majority of these students, having been prematurely exited from bilingual and other specially designed programs and lacking the basics of English, will encounter failure and either receive a substandard education or drop out of the system entirely" (Judd, 2000, p. 171).

There is also the matter of gaining a second language at the expense of the first. Language loss is a reality for many linguistically diverse children; programs such as the HISEP model add to the factors that created it: "By the third generation, almost all U.S. Latinos/as speak primarily or exclusively English" (Zentella, 1997). The ELD summer program is a subtractive language program based on the intersection of macro and micro level English-only policies in the classroom: "There are many factors that influence language shift and language loss among Latino/as including lack of bilingual education programs, xenophobic

societal attitudes toward Spanish and its speakers, low status of Spanish, and few resources for heritage language maintenance” (Zentella, 2005). The participation practices and social use of language in the ELD classroom leads me to argue that the HISEP program, an affiliate of Arizona’s state-wide SEI model, is unsound educational policy that could be creating a permanent underclass of English learner students.

However, this does not have to be the case. Lippi-Green (1997) argues this point: “The foreign language classroom can either reinforce negative language attitudes and prejudices, or it can be used to empower students to better understand the social roles of language in society” (Lippi-Green, 1997). In this classroom, students seemed to be conversant in English *despite* the program. That is, students spoke and were able to converse in English without difficulty, which struck me as odd since the sole purpose was English language development. Reagan (2002) suggested that “We must be alert to the possibility that learners are making effective use of learning opportunities in non-classroom contexts” (2002, p. 149). The importance of viewing students in schools in contexts outside of the school setting as well as a critical language awareness perspective are discussed further in the recommendations that follow a list of limitations of the study below.

#### *Limitations of the Study*

This research study is limited by the perspective that I brought to it as the sole researcher. I brought my experiences, biases and particular situated approach to educational research and English language learner education to the study; I attempted to remain aware of my own *situated cultural practice* (Arzubiaga,

2008) as a novice researcher throughout the data collection and analysis phases of the project. Rex, Steadman and Graciano (2006) suggested that the paradigm in which the researcher is submerged defines the “particular point of view and methodology that frame particular questions, study particular sites, and produce particular kinds of results for certain purposes” (Rex, Steadman & Graciano, p. 728). Thus, the interpretations of this study’s findings are limited by the literature that I read and subsequently the constructs that I brought to it. Three specific limitations of the study that involved the student participants that I wish to mention include the following elements: interviews, discourse, and lack of observation across various contexts.

First, I did not interview student participants in this study. This limited my analysis of the findings in several ways. Interviews would have served to deepen the level of analysis and helped me to better understand individual students’ experiences in the classroom. Additionally, student interviews could have allowed me to better triangulate the classroom discourse data (Maxwell, 1996). Also, I make an assertion about the social languages that participants used in the classroom; namely, that student participants used resistance language to counteract the regulatory and decontextualized languages that controlled and limited their discursive practices. In student interviews I could have asked students if my analysis was accurate and for their own perspective. Gee (in press) refers to building valid analyses in this way as *agreement* and says that research assertions are “more convincing the more ‘native speakers’ of the social languages in the data and members of the Discourses implicated in the data agree



that the analysis reflects how such social languages actually can function in such settings” (Gee, in press, p. 333).

Second, the classroom discourse that I analyzed represented the talk that occurred between students and the teacher and students and the program coaches during formal instructional time within official language lessons. I made the decision to narrow my analysis to these formal interactions in order to determine the participation patterns and ways in which participants use language socially during official language lessons. However, this meant that I did not investigate the informal conversational data that occurred between students during class activities, which could have helped me to contextualize the data and consider alternative explanations in greater depth.

Finally, I did not document students’ use of language outside of the classroom context. Although I did accompany them to lunch on several occasions and observe their interactions there, I did not take notes nor record the discourse, which would have afforded me a data set for comparison with the classroom data. Also, since I make an argument that the ELD classroom socializes student participants, my analysis may be more revealing if I had been able to observe and document student language practices outside of school. In this way, I could build a more complex argument about immigrant and English learners’ hybrid language practices (Gutierrez et al., 1999) and contact with contradictions as they crossed cultural borders.

### *Recommendations of the Study*

This chapter and this thesis conclude with general recommendations for ELD language policies and practices and further research in the area that are based in the present study's findings. I agree with Villenas and Deyhle (1999) that in the case of language minority education the onus should be on schools to recognize students' cultures and languages as powerful strengths and create more expansive learning environments for language minority children that utilize rather than deny these resources. To do so, educators and educational institutions would need to challenge and address the practices such as those found in this classroom (Freire, 1979). Judd (2000) explained that "in many cases, people "consent" to preserving the status quo and to maintaining existing power relationships simply by accepting established practices without question" (2000, p. 155). In this classroom the instructors' participation in the community's practices suggested acceptance of the state's prescribed model of ELD. A critical language awareness approach to English language education could enable instructors in similar programs to question these practices and to make this process visible to students. Based on the study's findings and the implications of these findings, a *critical language awareness approach* to ELL education is recommended and described below.

*Recommendations for Critical language awareness approaches to ELD*

To address the English-only ideology that defines ELL education in Arizona and other states Judd (2000) proposes, among other ideas that educators:

Acknowledge that non-English languages and cultures have always been part of the rich heritage of the United States and that new immigrant

groups are part of the American mosaic; encourage programs that honestly discuss the contributions made by immigrants to our society. At the same time, disavow those who demean or slander newer immigrants with false accusations that they are disloyal or un-American. Educate monolingual Americans about the fact that it is possible for individuals to speak a language other than English and yet also speak English. (Judd, 2000, p. 174)

In a similar vein, (Valdes, 2001) argued that school language policies formed with input from all stakeholders can help to eradicate state-imposed policies shaped by language ideology and make language acquisition practices more local (p. 149). She stated that ESL programs are often resource, content and context poor, which is true of the ELD program in this study, saying that in contrast “the most effective ESL classes are those that integrate both language and content...and also teach reading skills, vocabulary in context, [and] academic listening skills on the topics covered” (Valdes, 2001, p. 149). Other specific recommendations from Valdes (2001) with regard to the improvement of ELL education in schools include recommendations that educators:

1. End language isolation from native speakers of English (p. 150).
2. Be strategy-based rather than test-based (p. 152).
3. Differentiate for experience and academic background to “support or remediate the academic background of these students” (p. 153).
4. Place it in its social and political context that is “located in social action” and “part of the cultural and political moments of the day” (p. 156).

The last recommendation is especially significant in Arizona, since the state's educational and legislative leaders have enacted anti-immigrant policies that influence the ELL experience as discussed in the Introduction to this study.

To address general improvement needed with regard to participation practices in the SLA classroom I agree with the following scholars' proposals:

1. Van Lier (1996) suggested that classroom teachers need to "find the appropriate social interaction that will allow learning to take place" (p. 72);
2. Faltis (2006), among other recommendations, suggested that active participation is key in the ESL classroom (see chapter 4, 2006);
3. Schleppegrell (2004) argued that language learners need exposure to academic registers and that grammar should be addressed not as a discrete skill but as a tool that enables students to foreground meaning as participants in academic domains (p. 159), and stated, "learning content means learning the language that construes that content as students participate in new contexts of learning" (2004, p. 18);
4. Pennycook (1994) suggested that educators "need to ensure that students have access to those standard forms of the language that are of significance within the context in which one teaches; and, second, that students are encouraged to use English in their own way, to appropriate English for their own ends" (p. 315-16).

Many of the recommendations made above can be characterized as framed in a *critical language awareness* approach to ELL education. Van Lier (1996)

defined language awareness as “consciousness for language classrooms” (p. 79). Pennycook (1994) suggested that *critical* English language educators should increase “listening to our students, listening to other teachers, listening to other cultural and political workers; listening” (Pennycook, p. 305). But it is not enough for English language educators to absorb and demonstrate critical language awareness; educators need to make a discourse of critical language awareness visible and accessible to their students.

*A discourse of critical language awareness.* The role of English and other languages in the school context should be central to educators’ pedagogies. Issues of power and inequality cannot be ignored in classrooms; these dynamics are even more central since language learners have already been framed in a deficit perspective. A learner’s status as an ELL positions her as *lacking*, which creates a lop-sided relationship between the student-teacher and student-classroom (materials, curriculum, instruction, etc.). A “funds of knowledge” (Moll et al., 1992) approach to ELLs can help balance the power differences inherent in such classrooms; importantly, it may improve their learning outcomes. Fairclough (1992) defined such awareness as “an urgently needed element in language education [and] ... coming to be a prerequisite for effective democratic citizenship, and should therefore be seen as an entitlement for citizens, especially children developing towards citizenship in the educational system” (1992, p. 3). Similarly, Reagan (2002) argued that “language awareness is critical when one is concerned with the social, political, economic, historical, and ideological contexts in which language is used, and in which language must be metalinguistically and

metacognitively understood” (2002, p. 149) and that the language classroom itself is the site in which to foster this discourse where it should be part of the content:

Beyond encouraging such sociolinguistic understanding, the foreign language classroom is also an ideal place to help students begin to develop what can be called critical language awareness. In other words, the study of language needs to include not only the communicative and cultural aspects of language but also the often implicit political and ideological issues related to language” (Reagan, 2002, p. 77).

Key critical language awareness concepts to include in ELL educational settings include:

1. People have the power to shape the conventions that underlie discourse, just as much as any other social practices.
2. Although we tend to accept the way language is, and the way discourses operate, they are changing all the time.
3. Forms of discourse receive their value according to positions of their users in systems of power relations.
4. Struggles over the control of discourse are the main ways in which power is obtained and exercised in modern societies. (Reagan, 2002, p. 143).

In classrooms with English learners I suggest that educators adapt their own versions of approaches to critical language awareness within what scholars have called a *visible pedagogy*, which Schleppegrell (2004) defined as a pedagogy that “provides teachers with expertise and makes the criteria for success explicit to students” (p. 156). However, I use the term somewhat differently, to suggest

that issues of language and its situated place within social, cultural, and historical contexts should be addressed and made visible in both the content and practices in ELD classrooms. Language learners should become aware of broader issues of language, including language ideology and its history in U.S. schools, as part of a process of conscious awareness of language use and acquisition in classrooms. To educators who wonder at the necessity for critical language awareness in the context of ELL education, I quote Reagan (2002), who stated succinctly: “It is a powerful way to promote social justice and the formation of a just, human and democratic society. It is also a way of helping individual children better understand the society in which they live, and better negotiate that society” (2002, p. 151). Thus, critical language awareness approaches discussed in this section and sociocultural approaches as demonstrated in the literature review can promote additive language and literacy practices that utilize students’ resources and make explicit issues of power and inequality in the English acquisition classroom.

#### *Recommendations for Further Research*

Gutierrez and Arzubiaga (in press) recommended that researchers examine participants within social activity in more than one site or *activity system*. English language acquisition practices in the classroom can be better understood as a linked event in which language and literacy practices are connected from one setting to another. My study would benefit from a comparison to ELL participation in language activity events in non-formal, though relevant settings since participation in various forms of language events across settings might reveal the complex, dynamic ways in which these learners communicate. Thus,

studies that observe ELL participation in language events across contexts could build on this study's findings and might help educators understand how to better support and scaffold students' use of resources in the classroom. Gutierrez and Arzubiaga (in press), using third generation activity theory, proposed that "we focus our analyses on what takes hold as youth move within and across tasks, contexts, and spatial, linguistic, and sociocultural borders. Such an analysis would also encourage us to attend to successful pathways and contextual supports that promote youth's literacy learning" (p. 30).

Other plausible next steps based on this study's findings include:

1. Intervention programs and studies with language educators who enact critical language awareness approaches in their pedagogical practices;
2. ELL educational advocacy networks and studies of their efficacy.

The current study presented a representation of *situated* participation and social language practices in one ELD middle school classroom that is situated in Arizona in the summer of 2010: ten years after Arizona's Prop 203, "English for the Children", mandated English-only instruction for ELLs; two years into the state-wide implementation of the state's SEI model; served by a department of education whose superintendent has dismantled an entire city's cultural studies program and the OELAS, which promotes the subtractive methodologies of the HISEP program – "the language star" – as the one best way for ELD. These are the socially, culturally, historically situated contexts that shape ELL language experiences from outside of the classroom. Future research can look more closely



at the intersection of the micro language events in the classroom and the macro structures and policies that shape English learners' experiences of them across contexts.

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## APPENDIX A

### CODES USED TO ANALYZE CLASSROOM DISCOURSE DATA

Bonding  
Coach regulation  
Complete sentence  
Contradictory  
Cultural/personal mismatch  
Decontextualized  
Defining excellence  
Defining language acquisition  
Drill conducting  
English-only  
Expert control  
Formulaic  
Framed talk  
Grammar-centered  
Humor as resistance  
Inauthentic  
Joking as social bonding  
Kill and drill  
Lack of enthusiasm as social bonding  
Language control for behavior management  
Laughter as resistance  
Missed conversation  
Monologic  
Negotiation  
Program critique as social bonding  
Repetition  
Self regulation  
Spanish as resistance  
Spanish as reward  
Spanish as social bonding  
Spanish ignored  
Stand and repeat  
Teacher sarcasm  
Teacher/coach collaboration  
Test prep

## APPENDIX B

### CODES AND CODE FAMILIES TO ANALYZE TEACHER INTERVIEWS

ELD summer program:

- AZELLA
- Definitions
- Description of structure
- Desired changes
- Critique of components/structure
- Perception of overall program
- Purpose/goal
- Time constraints

Language learning and use (formal):

- Program critique
- English language proficiency
- Definition of ELP levels
- Difference between oral language and literacy development
- Discussing language in class
- Displaying English language development in class
- Four-hour block
- Language learning in class
- Language use in class
- Monolingual speakers
- Movement to proficiency
- Spanish as a tool
- SEI
- Writing in L2

Language learning and use (informal):

- ELP categories
- Language learning outside of class
- Language use outside of class
- Language maintenance
- Spanish use

Personal experience:

- Integrating personal experience into the program
- Other life experience
- Other teaching experience
- Teacher background
- Teacher experience learning English
- Using Spanish in L2 teaching
- Teaching assignments

English language learners:

- Teaching “them”
- Participation and resistance
- Comparison to non-ELL
- Attitude toward students
- Student effort
- Prior educational experience

APPENDIX C  
TRANSCRIPTION NOTATION SYSTEM

Transcription Notation Symbols (Ochs, 1996 as used in Toohey, 2000)

Speaker identity/turn start	:
Onset of simultaneous or overlapping utterances	[
Extension of sounds within words le:gi:sla:tor)	one or more colons (e.g.
Emphasis	underline (e.g. <u>big</u> )
Loudness	capitalization
Inaudible or incomprehensible	( <i>inaudible</i> )

Pauses, details of the conversational scene, vocal noises such as laughter, and researcher's comments are all indicated parenthetically, in italics.

Pauses were timed to the nearest second and are indicated parenthetically in italics.



APPENDIX D

INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD LETTER OF APPROVAL





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Office of Research Integrity and Assurance

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**To:** Jeanne Powers  
ED

**From:**  Mark Roosa, Chair  
Soc Beh IRB

**Date:**  05/10/2010

**Committee Action:** **Exemption Granted**

**IRB Action Date:** 05/10/2010

**IRB Protocol #:** 1005005124

**Study Title:** Examining ELL Participation Structures in Context: A Discourse Analysis of ELL Language Socializ  
Classroom

The above-referenced protocol is considered exempt after review by the Institutional Review Board pursuant to Federal regulations, 45 CFR Part 46.101(b)(1).

This part of the federal regulations requires that the information be recorded by investigators in such a manner that subjects cannot be identified, directly or through identifiers linked to the subjects. It is necessary that the information obtained not be such that if disclosed outside the research, it could reasonably place the subjects at risk of criminal or civil liability, or be damaging to the subjects' financial standing, employability, or reputation.

You should retain a copy of this letter for your records.

