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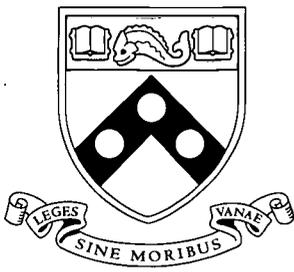
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ABSTRACT

This issue has four articles. Maria del Pilar Garcia Mayo and Teresa Pica in "Is the EFL Environment a Language Learning Environment?" address the question of whether the English-as-a-foreign-language (EFL) classroom is an environment that promotes input, feedback, and the production of output that is necessary for successful second language learning. Anne Pomerantz in "Interviews and Identity: A Critical Discourse Perspective," examines how participants in an interview use different linguistic and social resources in order to construct multiple, complex self-representations. Melisa Cahnmann in "Rhythm and Resource: Repetition as a Linguistic Style in an Urban Elementary Classroom" analyzes a Puerto Rican teacher who uses repetition and discourse styles that have African and African American roots to control classroom behavior and talk, better teach the curriculum, and critique the use of standard English in her classroom. Mollie Blackburn and Deborah Stern in "Analyzing the Role of the Vernacular in Student Writing: A Social Literacies Approach" utilize a social literacies perspective to analyze a rap written by a high school student, and suggest that teachers and researchers could better understand students' literacy practices by using insights that students have about different types of written work. Tables, diagrams and references appear as appropriate in each article. (KFT)



WORKING PAPERS IN EDUCATIONAL LINGUISTICS

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Dear WPEL readers,

We are proud to bring you the latest issue of the University of Pennsylvania's *Working Papers in Education Linguistics*. The work contained in this collection represents the diverse interests and research projects of the students and faculty associated with the Language in Education Division.

Our mission is to share the current and on-going work of our students and faculty with our worldwide readership. We also aim to work with our contributors to make their "working papers" into scholarly articles ready for publication.

In this issue:

María del Pilar García Mayo and Teresa Pica address the question of whether the EFL classroom is an environment that promotes input, feedback, and the production of output that is necessary for successful second language learning.

Anne Pomerantz examines how participants in an interview use different linguistic and social resources in order to construct multiple, complex self-representations.

Melisa Canhmann analyzes a Puerto Rican teacher who uses repetition and discourse styles that have African and African American origins in order to control classroom behavior and talk, better teach the curriculum, and critique the use of Standard English in her classroom.

Mollie Blackburn and Deborah Stern utilize a social literacies perspective to analyze a rap written by a high school student, and suggest that teachers and researchers could better understand students' literacy practices by using the insights that students have about different types of written work.

In addition to our advisor, Nancy Hornberger, we gratefully acknowledge the following individuals whose help and cooperation made this publication possible: Penny Creedon, Lorraine Hightower, and Suzanne Oh.

We hope that you find the following contributions as engaging and worthy of scholarly interest as we have.

The editors

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Is the EFL environment a language learning environment?¹

María del Pilar García Mayo

Universidad del País Vasco

Teresa Pica

University of Pennsylvania

The following study was undertaken to address questions and concerns about the English as a Foreign Language (EFL) classroom as an environment that promotes input, feedback, and the production of output for second language (L2) learning. Such questions have arisen within the context of a growing emphasis on communicative activities and student-to-student interaction in the EFL classroom, and concerns about limited access to input and feedback from native speaker (NS) teachers and to interaction with NSs outside the classroom. In order to address these concerns, the interaction of seven dyads of EFL learners was compared with that of seven dyads of EFL learners and English NSs on two communication tasks. Results of the comparison revealed that the learner-learner dyads were not significantly different from the learner-NS dyads with respect to their contributions of input, feedback and output as they participated in the communication tasks. In addition, observational data indicated that the learner-learner dyads used interactional strategies of scaffolding, completion and self correction, which further related to their input, feedback and output needs. Also observed, however, were learner imprecisions of lexis and morphosyntax that went unaddressed. Results of the study thus supported the EFL environment as a learning environment; however, linguistic inaccuracies on learners' parts suggested that in addition to communicative activities, more targeted, grammar-oriented approaches may be also in order.

¹ The names of the authors appear in alphabetical order. Financial support in the form of grant #103.130-HA087 /97 to García Mayo from the Universidad del País Vasco (Vicerrectorado de Investigación) is hereby gratefully acknowledged.

Introduction

Since the mid-seventies there has been a growing interest in communicative language teaching (CLT) both in second and in foreign language contexts (Breen and Candlin 1980; Canale and Swain 1980; Savignon 1991). This interest has brought about numerous methodological changes in the classroom environment, among them a shift from the use of teacher-fronted activities to the implementation of small-group or pair work. By definition, CLT puts the focus on the learner, who must have the opportunity to take part in meaningful communicative interaction in order to respond to genuine communicative needs. Interest in CLT in EFL settings has been especially noteworthy at tertiary level education. First, the large number of students typical to the EFL classroom draws teachers to view small-group and pair work, role plays, and debates as excellent ways to organize class time and provide management. In addition, learners at tertiary levels have experienced other, more traditional teaching methods. Thus, they tend to welcome the change of classroom format that CLT offers.

The present study was carried out in the Basque Country, Spain, with university students who are studying English not only as a foreign language, but for many, as their third language, as they are already bilingual in Basque and Spanish. There is a growing interest among language teachers at university levels in this setting, as well as other EFL contexts, to use communicative activities as a way to bolster input and encourage L2 production in the classroom, an interest that is clearly constrained by the large number of students per classroom and the limited access to both NS teachers and adequate L2 samples.

There have also been important theoretical conditions that have drawn EFL teachers to the use of group and pair work in the classroom. It is now widely acknowledged that access to L2 input, particularly to input that comes through face-to-face interaction and the negotiation of meaning, is vital to the L2 learning process. These claims have been based largely on research from settings in which English is learned and spoken as an L2. Although the need for positive and negative input, as well as the need for learner production of meaningful L2 output are shared by learners in both EFL and English as a Second Language (ESL) settings, there are differences in these contexts that might affect the ways in which these needs are addressed. Unlike ESL learners, EFL learners often lack access to NS models for their linguistic information and to actual L2 samples from everyday social interaction (see Gass 1990 for discussion).

How does the EFL classroom address the learner's need to access L2 input and produce L2 output? Do its activities promote the kinds of interaction and negotiation of meaning that have been shown to serve the learner's input and output needs? These questions formed the backdrop to the present study. Their theoretical framework is described below.

Negotiation and conditions for SLA

Negotiation is a term that appeared in the SLA literature as early as 1980 (see Schwartz 1980). It was later used by Hatch (1983) and operationalized as a construct in a series of papers (Gass and Varonis 1985, 1986, 1989; Varonis and Gass 1985a, 1985b; Pica 1987, 1989, 1991, 1992, 1994, 1998a, 1998b; Pica, Holliday, Lewis & Morgenthaler 1989; Pica, Holliday, Lewis, Berducci & Newman 1991). Negotiation occurs when one interlocutor's message becomes unclear or incomprehensible to the other. The negotiation gets under way as one interlocutor signals with questions or comments that the other's preceding message, referred to as a trigger, has not been successfully conveyed. The other interlocutor then responds, often by repeating the message, by uttering a modified version, or by acknowledging or refuting the message with a simple "yes." or "no" (Pica et al. 1996). Both interlocutors thus attempt to repair communication as they work toward mutual comprehension.

Research has shown that when interaction is modified through the triggers, signals, and responses of negotiation, the learner's need to access L2 input and produce output are enhanced considerably. Thus negotiation is claimed to play an important role in setting up conditions for L2 learning. These include:

(i) Input conditions, whereby learners can access positive, comprehensible input that supplies lexical and morphosyntactic data for their learning. Also made available are negative input and feedback that draw learners' attention to L2 form-meaning relationships and toward noticing a gap between their own output and the target input they need to access (Gass 1988; Long 1996; Schmidt 1990).

(ii) Output conditions, through which learners can produce meaningful L2 output and modify it toward greater comprehensibility (Swain 1985, 1995).

These features are illustrated in the following example of negotiation (Pica 1998b):

(1)

English L2 learner

the boys arrive at station

(Trigger)

they arrive at station

(Response)

NS English

What did you say about the boys?

(Signal)

oh, really

(Follow-up)

As shown, the NS's signal provided the learner with negative input as to the overall comprehensibility of the message and also with positive input about noun phrase grammar: By segmenting *the boys* from the learner's

trigger and placing it after the preposition *about*, the NS showed the learner that *the boys* could appear both as the subject of the statement or as the object of a preposition. Modified output was also shown through pronoun substitution by the learner in the utterance labeled as 'response'.

Opportunities to access positive and negative input as well as to produce modified output are especially critical in the EFL classroom, as this is usually learners' principal environment for their L2 learning. The present study was undertaken, therefore, to better understand the EFL environment as one that promotes L2 learning through the interaction that occurs among its learners. The following research questions were advanced:

- (i) Do EFL learners modify their interaction through the negotiation of meaning?
- (ii) Do they provide each other with the kinds of modified input and feedback claimed to be necessary for SLA?
- (iii) Do they produce modified output as a result of their interaction?

The Study

The study was modeled on Pica, Lincoln-Porter, Paninos and Linnell (1996). The Pica et al. (1996) study was carried out on low-intermediate learners in an ESL setting. The present study was similar to Pica et al. (1996) in its overall design but several of its methodological aspects involving subjects and tasks were modified in order to address issues vital to L2 learners in an EFL setting. The following section describes the subjects that participated in the study, the tasks and procedures used in data collection, and the guidelines followed in data.

Subjects

Subjects were fourteen advanced learners of English (seven males and seven females) and seven female NSs of English. The learners were in their second year of studies in the four-year English Philology degree program of the University of the Basque Country. Their TOEFL scores were in the 580-630 range. They were assigned to one of seven dyads of learner-learner (L-L) interactants.

Six of the NSs were North American college students from three different universities, all of them speakers of standard American English. They had come to the Basque Country to study Spanish as members of the USAC (University Studies Abroad Consortium) program. The other NS was a British college student who had come to the Basque Country as an ERASMUS student². They were assigned to one of the seven native speaker-learner (NS-L) dyads. Dyadic distribution of subjects was as follows: 2 were

² ERASMUS is the name of an exchange program established between different European universities. The program allows students to complete part of their degree in different host universities in the European Community.

male L/male L pairs, 2 female L/female L pairs, 3 male L/female L pairs, 5 female NS/female L pairs and 2 female NS/male L pairs.

The learners ranged in age from 19-33 (median 22 years). Their median of exposure to English was approximately 10 years. The NSs ranged between 19-22 (median 20 years). Assignment into dyads was based primarily on the participants' availability, which was constrained by class schedules.

Data collection procedure

Recordings were made in a period of approximately one month when the members of the dyads were available. They took place in a laboratory setting at their university. To reduce any possible anxiety they might have had about participating in the study, the learners were told that their performance was not going to have any influence on their grades. They were assured that they were not being tested, and that this was simply an opportunity for them to discuss some topics with other students and, for some of them, with a NS as well. The NSs, as volunteers, who were visiting from other universities and classrooms, were aware that their participation as conversation partners with the NNSs had no bearing on their grades.

One of the researchers introduced the members of the dyads to each other, reviewed instructions for taping, advised them to read the instructions carefully, and left them to work. The L-L dyads participated in two communication tasks, which are described below. Once each dyad completed the tasks, its members informed the researcher and then exited the setting. The tasks consisted of two information gap and two decision making tasks, and were distributed evenly across the dyads.

The information gap task was used for its established effectiveness in providing learners with opportunities to work toward comprehension, feedback and interlanguage modification. This is because they are required to exchange information in order to reach the goal of the task. The decision-making task was used as a way to generate an exchange of ideas as the learners engaged in opinion, argument, and decision oriented outcomes.

The information gap task used with the L-L dyads was "The unlucky man" from *Ur's Discussions that Work* (1996:63). Individual learners were given five different vignettes from a ten-scene story, which they were then told to arrange into a story by exchanging information about the vignettes held uniquely by them. They were not allowed to view each other's pictures or the original ten-scene story until they completed the task.

The decision making task for the L-L dyads, "The desert island," was taken from S.A. Sadow's *Idea Bank* (1982) and Duff (1986). The learners were told to imagine they were on a sinking ship. The instructions relayed that there were rubber boats available for their rescue. However, the boats could hold only a limited amount of supplies and people. A small island could be seen in the distance. If their boat made it to the island safely, they

would need things to help them survive until they were rescued. The learners were then given lists of items, arranged into six groups, and were told to choose three items from each of the groups. The two members of the dyad had to decide, and agree completely, on which items to take and which to leave behind.

The L-NS dyads participated in two communication tasks as well. Their information gap task, also a picture task, was based on *Mathematical games* by Martin Gardner (Ur 1996:62). Their picture sequence consisted of seven drawings; each member of the dyad had three of those and they were allowed to see the seventh, remaining drawing. The task required members of the dyad to describe the scenes they held, and uncover the story line behind them. In the pictures they saw a man that had to take a goat, a wolf and a cabbage in a small boat from one island to another. Specific instructions were given as to which two animal/vegetable combinations could be left together on one of the islands. For example, they read in the instructions that the wolf would eat the goat, and the goat would eat the cabbage, if given the opportunity. The members of the dyad had to come up with a logical order for the different scenes and discover how the man managed to solve his transportation problem with animals and vegetables intact.

The decision-making task given to the L-NS dyads was "Choosing candidates" from The Law Scholarship (Ur 1996:72). In this task the members of the dyad were asked to choose one candidate to be awarded an annual Law Scholarship. The dyads were provided with profiles of five candidates who had all attained similar grades on their university entrance exam. There was detailed information about the relative merits of each candidate: their personal backgrounds, needs, tastes and characters.

The tasks used in the present research were somewhat different from those used in the study by Pica et al. (1996), as they were not created by the researchers to target specific linguistic structures. Instead, the current tasks were taken from actual published materials and, therefore, were more open-ended in expectations about linguistic features. The primary motivation for the choice of these tasks was that they resembled the kinds of communicative activities typically employed in tertiary and university EFL classrooms.

A total of six hours of recording were transcribed and coded. Data were coded according to the negotiation related categories used in Pica (1987), Pica (1992), Pica et al. (1989) and Pica et al. (1991), and focused on the input and interactional modifications contained therein. As in Pica et al. (1996), coded as lexical modification were synonym substitution and paraphrase of all or part of prior utterances that triggered the signals and responses of negotiation. Coded as structural modification were simple extractions of individual constituents such as lexical items and phrases from prior utterances and segmentation with embedding into longer phrases or more complex utterances. Several of these features of modification, were illustrated in the example (1), above, and are discussed within the context of the hy-

potheses advanced below. Full coding procedures can be found in the studies noted earlier in this paragraph. Several rounds of coding between the two researchers resulted in agreement of 99%.

Hypotheses

Learner Interaction as a Context for Positive and Negative Input

Hypothesis 1: Learners will provide less modified input than NSs in their responses to other learners' signals of negotiation.

The motivation for this hypothesis came from studies by Pica (1992) and Pica et al. (1990) in which learners were found to produce much less lexical and syntactic modification in response to NSs' signals than NSs produced in response to learners' signals, presumably because they lacked the linguistic resources for lexical substitution and paraphrase and for introducing alternative structures when clarifying message meaning. It was believed that the learners in the present study, though more advanced in their L2 development than those in Pica's research, might still have limited resources for interlanguage modification despite their overall level of proficiency.

Hypothesis 2'a: Modifications in learners' responses will be less evenly distributed by type than those of NS. Learners will segment individual words and phrases from their prior utterances more often than they will make other modifications, such as lexical substitution and paraphrase, structural changes of embedding, or relocation of prior utterance constituents.

The motivation for Hypothesis 2'a was based on the observation that the predominant manner of modification on the part of learners in response to signals from NSs is to extract and repeat an isolated word or phrase from a prior utterance through a form of modification that Pica et al. (1996:64) referred to as segmentation, reported in Porter (1983, 1985), and illustrated in example (1), above. In the study of Pica et al. 1996, NSs were shown to use the same kinds of segmentation as learners, but their repertoire of modifications extended beyond this feature. Thus, they also used other types of modification involving lexical substitution and paraphrase. There was, therefore, a considerable difference between the type of modifications that learners and NSs were shown to offer as input for L2 learning.

An alternative hypothesis was posited for the present study, given the more advanced level of proficiency among its learners. Thus, it was argued that these learners might not limit themselves to segmentation as often as the low-intermediate level students in Pica et al. (1996). This motivated Hypothesis 2'b:

Hypothesis 2'b: Modifications in learners' responses will be comparable to distribution by type as those of NSs. Learners will segment individual words and phrases from their prior utterances as often as they will make other modifications such as lexical substitution and paraphrase, structural changes of embedding, or relocation of prior utterance constituents.

The third hypothesis was relevant to the issue of learners as input providers.

Hypothesis 3'a: Learners' responses of simple segmentations of their own prior utterances will conform more to L2 morphosyntax than their responses of other modification types.

The motivation for this hypothesis came from observations regarding the brevity and simplicity of the segmentations used by learners, as compared with the modifications used by the NSs, which included structural adjustments such as paraphrase and embedding of utterance constituents. Hypothesis 3'a speculated that learners would be likely to use standard L2 morphosyntax when extracting a word or phrase from a previous utterance, and unlikely to do so when faced with the linguistic challenge of paraphrase or constituent embedding.

As was the case with Hypothesis 2, there was an alternative hypothesis for 3'a, based on the argument that, as the subjects in the present study were advanced learners, they might be expected to exhibit the same conformity to L2 morphosyntax both when they use segmentation and when they use other types of modification. Hypothesis 3'b was stated as follows:

Hypothesis 3'b: Learners' responses will conform to L2 morphosyntax, in equal distribution, regardless of whether they are simple segmentations of their own prior utterances or responses of other modification types.

The next hypotheses were again based on Pica et al. (1996) and they regarded L-L interaction as a context for negative input or feedback. Previous research had documented the fact that learners could be active providers of feedback (Bruton and Samuda 1980). Pica et al. (1996) were particularly concerned in their study with the extent to which learners' signals were encoded with L2 morphosyntax and might thus provide data for each other's L2 learning. The underlying assumption was that learners' signals can serve to call the attention of other learners as to the comprehensibility of their message as well as to the conformity of their utterances to L2 morphosyntax (Pica 1992, 1994; Pica et al. 1990).

Once again, alternative hypotheses were posited, given the linguistic status of the learners, and as argued in Hypotheses 2'a and 2'b:

Hypothesis 4'a: Learners' signals of simple segmentations of each other's prior utterances will outnumber their signals of other modification types.

Hypothesis 4'b: Learners' signals of simple segmentations of each other's prior utterances will be evenly distributed with their signals of other modification types.

The rationale for the next two Hypotheses followed that given for Hypotheses 3'a and 3'b as to the grammaticality of the signals that were encoded through segmentation. On the one hand, their status as learners suggested that modifications of simple segmentation would be more likely than other kinds of modification to be encoded in grammatical L2 input. On the other hand, the advanced level of the learners suggested that they might have available the resources to produce grammatical L2 samples in their other modifications.

Hypothesis 5'a: Learners' signals of simple segmentations of each other's prior utterances will conform more to L2 morphosyntax than their signals of other modification types.

Hypothesis 5'b: Learners' signals will conform to L2 morphosyntax, in equal distribution, regardless of whether they are simple segmentations of prior utterances or signals of other modification types.

Learner Interaction as a Context for Production of Modified Output

The following hypotheses used in the present study reflect those of Pica et al.(1996).

Hypothesis 6: When learners are given signals that modify their previous utterances, they will produce a similar amount of modified output in their responses whether the signals were from other learners or from NSs.

Hypothesis 7: Conversely, when learners are given signals that modify their previous utterances, they will produce more modified output in their responses to other learners than to signals from NSs.

The motivation for both hypotheses came from findings of previous studies of L-NS interaction (Pica 1992,1994) which showed that learners were able to modify and expand their original utterances when they responded to negotiation signals from NSs. The incidence of this modification seemed to be contingent on the types of signals directed at them: open-ended signals from the NSs led to modified output on the part of the learners; modified signals from the NSs led to just yes/no answers by the learners.

The difference in the two hypotheses lay in the learners' perception of

the intention behind the signal. It was believed that if the learners considered the NS to be superior in L2 expertise, then they would see little or no reason to attempt additional modification of the NS message and, therefore, would view the signal as an L2 model to employ in follow-up responses. In L-L interaction, however, it was believed that the learners might realize that they shared a lack of L2 expertise as interlocutors and might therefore consider that each other's signals were offered mainly to seek message comprehensibility. In this case the signal could be seen as the utterance used to clarify the meaning of the message and, consequently, the learners might modify their input when answering the signal from their peers. In the present study, we hypothesized along the same lines because the hypotheses are motivated by issues pertaining to the role of learners per se and not because of the FL context in which their learning takes place.

Summary

Hypothesis 1: Learners will provide less modified input than NSs in their responses to other learners' signals of negotiation.

Hypothesis 2'a: Modifications in learners' responses will be less evenly distributed by type than those of NSs. Learners will segment individual words and phrases from their prior utterances more often than they will make other modifications, such as lexical substitution and paraphrase, structural changes of embedding, or relocation of prior utterance constituents.

Hypothesis 2'b: Modifications in learners' responses will be comparable to distribution by type as those of NSs. Learners will segment individual words and phrases from their prior utterances as often as they will make other modifications such as lexical substitution and paraphrase, structural changes of embedding, or relocation of prior utterance constituents.

Hypothesis 3'a: Learners' responses of simple segmentations of their own prior utterances will conform more to L2 morphosyntax than their responses of other modification types.

Hypothesis 3'b: Learners' responses will conform to L2 morphosyntax, in equal distribution, regardless of whether they are simple segmentations of their own prior utterances or responses of other modification types.

Hypothesis 4'a: Learners' signals of simple segmentations of each other's prior utterances will outnumber their signals of other modification types.

Hypothesis 4'b: Learners' signals of simple segmentations of each other's prior utterances will be evenly distributed with their signals of other modification types.

Hypothesis 5a: Learners' signals of simple segmentations of each other's prior utterances will conform more to L2 morphosyntax than their signals of other modification types.

Hypothesis 6: When learners are given signals that modify their previous utterances, they will produce a comparable amount of modified output in their responses regardless of whether the signals are from other learners or from NSs.

Hypothesis 7: Conversely, when learners are given signals that modify their previous utterances, they will produce more modified output in their responses to other learners than to signals from NSs.

Results and Discussion

This section will present the results of the study and then compare them with the results obtained by Pica et al. (1996). Similarities and differences will be discussed especially as they bear on the issues involving the advanced learner in an EFL setting.

The first three hypotheses addressed the contributions of learners and NSs as providers of modified input. Hypothesis 1 had predicted that the learners would offer proportionately fewer lexically and structurally modified utterances when responding to each other than would NSs in L-NS dyads. This hypothesis was tested by comparing the percentage of learners' utterances that lexically and/or structurally modified their prior utterances during L-L negotiation with the percentage of NS's utterances that did likewise during L-NS negotiation. As shown in Table 1³, there was a numerical advantage in favor of the learners both in the picture sequence and in the decision making tasks. However, when the corresponding proportions were compared, the differences between learners and NSs as to the modified input provided were non-significant.

As shown in Table 1, the learners in the picture sequence task produced only three modified utterances, which were 60% of the total utterances of negotiation, when responding to other learners. The NSs did not produce any of these features. On the decision making task, the proportions of modified utterances of response were 50% for the learners and 75% for the NSs.

³In Tables 1-6, both Pearson's chi-square test with Yates' continuity correction and Fisher's exact test are shown. However, we should basically consider Fisher's exact test because, due to the small counts we are dealing with, the chi-squared approximation may not be appropriate.

Table 1
Comparison of Learners' and NSs' Modified Utterances of Response
in Negotiation as Modified Input on Two Communication Tasks
(Hypothesis 1)

Communication task	Response type	Learner		NS		Total (n)
		n	%	n	%	
Picture sequence	Mod R	3	60%	0	0%	3
	Oth R	2	40%	1	100%	3
Decision making	Mod R	9	50%	3	75%	12
	Oth R	9	50%	1	25%	10

Note. Mod R = modified responses; Oth R = other responses

Pearson's chi-square test with Yates' continuity correction

	X2	df	p
Picture sequence	0	1	1
Decision making	0.1248	1	0.7239

Fisher's exact test

Picture sequence	p-value = 1
Decision making	p-value = 0.594

Hypothesis 1 was, therefore, not confirmed, as the amount of modified input provided by learners to each other was not significantly different from the amount of modified input provided by NSs to the learners. This result was in contrast to that in Pica et al. (1996), in which Hypothesis 1 was partially confirmed for one of the tasks. In contrast, the learners in the present study performed more like NSs as sources of modified input.

Hypothesis 2'a had predicted that learners' responses of modified input in L-L negotiation would offer proportionately more simple structural segmentations of prior utterances than would NS responses of modified input during L-NS negotiation. Hypothesis 2'b had predicted that such distinctions would not be found.

As shown in Table 2, there was no support for Hypothesis 2'a or Hypothesis 2'b, this due to the absence of segmented responses by learners or NSs in the information gap tasks and the low frequency of only two instances of segmented responses by the learners in the decision-making tasks

(22% of their response utterances). Learners used other types of modification in both tasks. This result was consistent with that of Pica et al. (1996), in which both learners and NSs used segmentation in only a small percentage of their responses. However, the relative lack of negotiation found among the L-L and L-NS dyads in the present study made it difficult to compare its results with those of Pica et al. (1996) on this negotiation-related feature.

Table 2

Comparison of Learners' and NSs' Segmented Utterances of Response in Negotiation as Modified Input on Two Communication Tasks (Hypothesis 2)

Communication task	Response type	Learner		NS		Total (n)
		n	%	n	%	
Picture sequence	Seg R	0	0	0	0	0
	Oth Mod	3	100%	0	0	3
Decision making	Seg R	2	22%	0	0	2
	Oth Mod	7	78%	3	100%	10

Note. Seg R = segmented responses; Oth Mod = other modifications

Pearson's chi-square test with Yates' continuity correction*

	X2	df	p
Picture sequence	Inf.	1	NA
Decision making	0	1	1

Fisher's exact test

Picture sequence	p-value = 1
Decision making	p-value = 0.9999993

* Inf stands for 'indefinite' due to the number of zeros. NA stands for 'not available'.

Hypothesis 3'a had predicted that learners' responses during L-L negotiation would offer more L2 accurate input through simple structural modifications of prior utterances compared to other types of modification of those prior utterances. Hypothesis 3'b had predicted that learners' utterances that were simple segmentations of their own prior utterances and responses of other modification types would conform to L2 morphosyntax.

These hypotheses were tested by first identifying learners' responses that showed conformity to L2 morphosyntax and then comparing the percentage that were simple structural segmentations of learners' prior utterances with those that contained other modification types.

As was shown in Table 2, no segmented utterances of response were used by the learners in the picture sequence task. Out of the three utterances of response in negotiation that used other modifications, Table 3 shows that two (i.e. 67%) conformed to L2 morphosyntax. In the decision making task, Table 2 showed that learners used two segmented responses, both of which, as seen in Table 3, conformed to L2 morphosyntax. In addition, out of the seven utterances of response in negotiation that used other modification types, five (i.e. 71%) conformed to L2 morphosyntax.

Table 3
Comparison of Learners' Segmented Utterances of Response and Other Modified Utterances of Response in Negotiation for Conformity with L2 Morphosyntax on Two Communication Tasks (Hypothesis 3)

Communication task	Response type	Learner		
		n	%	
Picture sequence	Seg R	0	0	(cf. Table 2: 67%)
	Oth Mod	2	100%	
Decision making	Seg R	2	29%	(cf. Table 2: 100%)
	Oth Mod	5	71%	(cf. Table 2: 71%)

Note. Seg R = segmented responses; Oth Mod = other modifications

In the present study, therefore, Hypothesis 3'b was confirmed: both segmented and other types of modified responses conformed to L2 morphosyntax for most of the time. However, as in Pica et al. (1996), Hypothesis 3a was not confirmed. Thus, it appeared that, even though the segmented responses all adhered to L2 morphosyntax, the infrequency with which the learners used this type of modification of their previous utterances made it an unlikely source of grammatical input for L2 learning.

As noted above, Hypotheses 4 and 5 dealt with the issue of learners as a source of feedback for L2 learning. Hypothesis 4'a had predicted that learners' signals that were segmentations of prior utterances would be greater in number than learner's signals of other modification types. Hypothesis 4'b had predicted that learners would use as much segmentation as other types of modification in their signals to NSs. These hypotheses

were tested by comparing the percentage of learners' signal utterances that modified their previous utterances through simple structural segmentation during L-L negotiation with the percentage of NSs' signal utterances that did likewise during L-NS negotiation.

As shown in Table 4, Hypothesis 4'a was not supported. In the information gap task, both learners and NSs used just one segmented utterance of response in negotiation (20% and 25% of their total signal utterances, respectively). In the decision making task, learners used four segmented signal utterances and NSs used three, in both cases 30% of their total number of signal utterances. Hypothesis 4'b was not supported: Learners' signals of other modification types, including lexical substitution and paraphrase outnumbered their use of segmented signals. When the relevant proportions were established, no statistically significant difference was found between the two groups. This is shown in Table 4.

Table 4
Comparison of Learners' and NSs' Segmented Signal Utterances
in Negotiation as Feedback on Two Communication Tasks
(Hypothesis 4)

Communication task	Response type	Learner		NS		Total (n)
		n	%	n	%	
Picture sequence	Seg Sig	1	20%	1	25%	2
	Oth Mod Sig	4	80%	3	75%	7
Decision making	Seg R	4	30%	3	30%	7
	Oth Mod Sig	11	70%	7	70%	18

Note. Seg Sig = segmented signals; Oth Mod Sig = other modified signals

Pearson's chi-square test with Yates' continuity correction

	X ²	df	p
Picture sequence	0.3937	1	0.5303
Decision making	0.0744	1	0.785

Fisher's exact test

Picture sequence	p-value = 1
Decision making	p-value = 0.9999993

This result was not consistent with that of Pica et al. (1996). There, it was found that when signaling for message comprehensibility, learners

simply segmented a portion of each other's prior utterances. This was different from their responses to signals for message comprehensibility (Hypothesis 3) for which they produced a variety of modification types. In contrast, the more advanced learners of the present study used a variety of responses both when responding to signals for message comprehensibility and when signaling for message comprehensibility, due most likely to their more developmentally advanced repertoire for linguistic modification.

Hypothesis 5'a had predicted that learners' signals that were simple segmentations of each other's prior utterances would conform more to L2 morphosyntax than their signals that were of other modification types. This hypothesis was tested by first identifying learners' signal utterances that showed conformity to L2 morphosyntax and then comparing the percentage that were simple structural segmentations of their prior utterances with the percentage of those that contained other modification types.

As was the case with Hypothesis 3, no support could be found for Hypothesis 5'a. The learners used very few instances of segmented signals. As shown in Table 4, there was one instance in the information gap task and four in the decision making task. These signals, as seen in Table 5, conformed to L2 morphosyntax. However, signals of other modification types (four in the information gap task and eleven in the decision making task) also showed conformity to L2 morphosyntax, with 100% of other modified signals in the information gap task and 90% in the decision making task. Similarly, the study by Pica et al. (1986) showed no support for Hypothesis 5'a, but there was a trend in the direction of support that held across the two tasks used.

In the present study, support was found, therefore, for Hypothesis 5'b.

Table 5
Comparison of Learners' Segmented Signal Utterances and Other Modified Signal Utterances in Negotiation for Conformity with L2 Morphosyntax on Two Communication Tasks (Hypothesis 5)

Communication task	Learner Response type	n	%	
Picture sequence	Seg Sig	1	20%	(cf. Table 4: 100%)
	Oth Mod Sig	4	80%	(cf. Table 4: 100%)
Decision making	Seg Sig	4	29%	(cf. Table 4: 100%)
	Oth Mod Sig	10	71%	(cf. Table 4: 90%)

Note. Seg Sig = segmented signals; Oth Mod Sig = other modified signals

Hypothesis 6 had predicted that when learners were given signals from

other learners that modified their previous utterances, the percentage of modified output in their responses would not be greater than that in their responses to native speakers. Conversely, Hypothesis 7 had predicted that when learners were given signals from other learners that modified their previous utterances, the percentage of modified output in their responses would be greater than that in their responses to native speakers. Hypotheses 6 and 7 were tested by comparing the percentages of learner-modified responses that followed learner- and NS- modified signal utterances during L-L and L-NS negotiation.

As can be seen in Table 6, in the present study, support was found for Hypothesis 6, as the learners did not modify their output to a greater degree in negotiation with other learners than in negotiation with NSs. When the relevant proportions of the two groups were compared, no statistically significant difference was found. However, as shown in Table 6, the percentage of modified output in the responses by learners was greater than the percentage of modified output in the responses by NSs.

Table 6
Comparison of Learners' Modified Utterances of Response to Learners' and NSs' Modified Signals in Negotiation on Two Communication Tasks (Hypotheses 6 and 7)

Communication task	Response type	Learner Mod Sig.		NS Mod Sig.		Total (n)
		n	%	n	%	
Picture sequence	L Mod R	3	75%	0	0	3
	L Oth R	1	25%	2	100%	3
Decision making	L Mod R	8	67%	3	43%	11
	L Oth R	4	33%	4	57%	8

Note. Mod Sig = modified signals; L Mod R = learner- modified responses; L Oth R = learners' other responses

Pearson's chi-square test with Yates' continuity correction

	X ²	df	p
Picture sequence	0.75	1	0.3865
Decision making	0.2834	1	0.5945

Fisher's exact test

Picture sequence	p-value = 0.4
Decision making	p-value = 0.3765

In the information gap task, learners responded to four signals from other learners that modified their previous utterances. Of these, 75% were modified versions of previous utterances compared to the null response to modified signals from NSs. The figures were lower in the decision-making task where learners used modification in 67% of their responses to modified signals from other learners and in 43% of their responses to modified signals from NSs.

In Pica et al. (1996) support was also found for Hypothesis 6. That result was explained by the limited linguistic resources of the learners. In the present study, the learners were more advanced in their L2 development. However, their level of proficiency might not have yet risen to a level that made a difference for them in relating to NSs. On the other hand, their use of modified input and feedback to both each other and NSs suggested that they could offer each other native-quality conditions for L2 learning in these areas.

Summary and discussion of results

With respect to the question of advanced EFL L2 learners as providers of input, the results of testing Hypotheses 1-3 revealed that on both communication tasks in which they participated, the learners' used a range of modifications beyond simple segmentation, which conformed to L2 morphosyntax. The advanced EFL learners of the present study thus were a richer source of modified input to each other than the low intermediate ESL learners in the study of Pica et al. (1996).

As for the question of learners as providers of feedback (Hypotheses 4 and 5), the study revealed that signals during L-L interaction offered feedback that consisted of structural segmentations and other types of modification and those signals conformed to L2 morphosyntax as well. Pica et al. (1996) found that when learners were given signals from other learners, these signals were predominantly segmentations of each other's prior utterance, and that they, too, were target-like. Based on these results, Pica et al. (1996) reasoned that learners at a low-intermediate level of proficiency can provide opportunities for grammatical feedback, albeit in a simplified form. Alternatively, the more advanced learners in the present study were able to offer more complex feedback and to do so with grammatical accuracy. The present study also revealed that there was no significant difference between the modified responses given by learners to signals from other learners or from NSs. Again, the advanced level of their learning allowed them to draw on their interlanguage resources in comparable ways across interactants.

As was the case in the study by Pica et al. (1996), L-L negotiation in the present study was not any more limited than L-NS negotiation in helping learners to produce more modified output. What was limited, however,

was the relatively low incidence of negotiation found among the learners and especially between the learners and the NSs. With only 21 signals in the L-L dyads and 6 signals from the learners in the NS-L dyads, negotiation seemed unlikely as the means through which learners would be provided with modified input, feedback and the opportunity to produce modified output. Of interest, therefore, were other strategies that were revealed through the learners' interaction. Two of the strategies identified were labeled completion and self-correction. These are discussed in the following section.

Completion and Correction Strategies

Completion is a kind of scaffolding that has been identified in research on the collaborative dialogue that takes place between two learners. (Pica et al. 1995; Swain 1995). Although it can be manifested in a variety of ways, completion is characterized by one interlocutor's hesitation over a word or sentence constituent, and the other interlocutor's suggesting the missing item. By means of this type of scaffolding, learners in the present study were observed to offer appropriate words or phrases in order to complete each other's utterances. They moved the discourse forward by constructing sentences and using different types of syntactic modification. The completion process was seen in three different formats found in the current data, identified as simple, chained, and nested completions, and shown below (see also, García Mayo and Pica, in preparation).

Simple completion

Learner A

a fishing pole is...

yes

Learner B

what you need to catch fish

to fish, I think you need a fishing pole

In this exchange, learner A seemed to have difficulty completing his utterance and learner B suggested the appropriate continuation. Learner A then expressed acceptance.

Chained completion

Learner A

no, with extra-clothes we have

all and the other things are....

are not necessary

Learner B

sheets, blankets ...

In the above excerpt, learner A's utterance was incomplete; learner B completed that utterance and then learner A finished what he had started.

*Nested completion***Learner A**

I would probably ...
kick him or ...
fault

Learner B

perhaps ... yes ... but ...
but it isn't his wife's ...

Although not very common, in this type of completion, each learner finished his own incomplete utterance. In the above example, a simple completion was also shown when learner A finished learner B's utterance (his wife's fault).

The incidence of correction in the data was confined almost completely to learner self-correction. There were very few instances of other correction. It appeared that learner assistance to other learners was through supplying words, phrases and clauses in the wake of pauses and hesitations. Self-correction occurred largely as learners clarified noun and verb features and forms, or made them more precise. Some examples of this strategy follow:

"I would probably get drunk, you know, if my dear has is gone"

"[...] but blankets are more stronger ... are stronger thansleeping bags"

"[...] yes, because he is in the same road and he is hitten ... hit"

"We are human beings, we are made of flesh and blood and just do make mistakes"

Taken together, both of these strategies are encouraging as to the EFL environment as a learning environment. Their use among the learners seemed to suggest that during their interaction, the learners were able to draw from their own interlanguage store both to complete each other's message meaning and to correct and clarify message meaning on their own.

Despite these encouraging results on learners' ability to assist each other and to correct themselves during their interaction, there were other results that raised important concerns. Specifically, several areas of imprecision were given little attention during both L-L and L-NS interaction. Consistent patterns were observed with respect to pronoun omission in anaphoric reference and expletive constructions, adverb misplacement, and imprecisions of preposition use. In describing sequences of activity or making decisions during their tasks, for example, the learners were found to omit pronoun references, as in the following examples:

...what would you do? stay with him with her til ___ comes comes

I think ___ is the most important

I think ___ is a very good thing to try not to sleep...

...before drinking it you would need to purify ___ so I would choose....

Adverb misplacement was observed in utterances such as:

I don't like very much soup

Preposition misuse included omissions, as in

...because now he is knocking ___ the door

...a tent to live in, sleeping bags to sleep ___ and extra clothes...

and imprecisions such as

I agree with you except in one thing

The learners also produced lexical imprecisions that went unaddressed,

perhaps because the imprecision did not interfere with learners' overall message meaning:

... but frozen meat when it's not frozen it ruins..."

"[...] because it is a lot caloritic ..."

Other learners said "first auxiliaries" instead of 'first-aid kit' and "good alimentation" instead of 'good food.'

Conclusions

The present study was motivated by questions and concerns about the interaction between L2 learners in an FL language setting. Considering how highly regarded CLT has become in tertiary level education in many FL contexts and considering that, due to the methodological changes brought about by this method, learners are increasingly becoming each other's models for language learning, we posited several research questions about the extent to which learner interaction in an FL setting could address conditions claimed to assist L2 learning.

Results of our research have revealed that, overall, interaction between advanced EFL learners can provide as much modified input, feedback and output as when interaction between learners and NSs takes place. We found that learners can offer each other modified L2 input and grammatically accurate feedback, and can produce modified output. However, we also found that these features were low in frequency, as negotiation, the usual vehicle for their generation, was seldom used during the learners' interaction. What was observed was that the learners were able to convey comprehensible messages as required by the tasks used in the study, so there was little need for negotiation on their parts.

In their attempts to achieve lexical precision and grammatical accuracy, the learners used, as we have seen, other interactional strategies such as completion and self-correction that appeared to generate input, feedback and output to serve their L2 learning needs. These strategies are important aids to the development of grammatical and lexical features that even advanced learners have yet to master.

In sum, the present study revealed that advanced EFL learners appear to be a suitable resource for each other's L2 learning. This is encouraging news in light of constraints characteristic of EFL environments, namely, the number of students per classroom and the limited access to both NS teachers and adequate L2 samples. However, results also suggested that the emphasis on communication tasks in the EFL classroom may not be sufficient to respond to the needs of advanced learners. Our challenge, therefore, is to devise communication tasks that will target grammatical and lexical features that the learners still need to develop. In responding to such challenges, we look toward the theoretical writings and empirical studies of Doughty and Williams (1998), Long and Robinson (1998), and Skehan (1998) to guide our future efforts.

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María del Pilar García Mayo is an Associate Professor in the Department of English Philology at the University of the Basque Country (Spain). She obtained her 'licenciatura' in Filología Inglesa from the Universidad de Santiago de Compostela (1987). She was awarded an M.S. in Linguistics and TESOL (1989) and a Ph.D. in Theoretical Linguistics (1993) by the University of Iowa (USA). Her research interests include second language acquisition, both from a generative and an interactionist perspective, and the analysis of ESP discourse.

Teresa Pica is a Professor in the Language in Education Division. She holds an M.A. in Speech Pathology from Columbia University Teachers College and a Ph.D. in Educational Linguistics from the University of Pennsylvania. Her research interests in second language and foreign language acquisition have focused on social interaction between language learners and native speakers and the role of instruction in the acquisition process.

Interviews and Identity: A Critical Discourse Perspective

Anne Pomerantz

University of Pennsylvania

This paper discusses interviews from a critical discourse perspective. In particular, it suggests that interviews are sites of struggle where individuals strive to construct representations of themselves. As individuals choose among the possibilities for stating a particular idea, they are aligning themselves with both certain ways of understanding the social world and the people who have historically understood the social world from that perspective. That is, they are identifying themselves with certain subject positions. In critical discourse research, subject positions refer to the possibilities for social identity that are available at particular times and places. The notion of subject positions is thought to capture the idea of social identity as multiple, complex, dynamic, locally situated, and open to negotiation. The present study examines how individuals utilize a variety of linguistic and social resources in order to move among different subject positions over the course of an interview encounter for the purposes of self representation. It asks: (1) what social and linguistic resources are available for and constitutive of interviews, (2) how do interviews delimit the ways in which these resources are used, and (3) how do specific instances of resource use function as acts of self representation? While noting that freedom to manipulate linguistic and social resources is constrained by both knowledge of interviews and individual circumstances, this paper illustrates how individuals manage to construct multiple, complex and dynamic representations of themselves within the confines of a highly ritualized form of talk.

Introduction

In this paper I examine interviews from a critical discourse perspective. In particular, I argue that interviews are not just ritualized speech events where one individual elicits information from another. They are also sites of struggle where individuals strive to construct representations of themselves. The present study looks closely at the relationship between language use and social identity within the context of interviews. That is, it examines how individuals utilize a variety of linguistic

and social resources over the course of an interview encounter to create a publically recognizable self. By linguistic and social resources I am referring to both the elements of language (sound patterns, word meanings, syntactic structures, etc.) and the rules for language use (turn taking patterns, conversational conventions, inferencing, etc.) available for the realization of face-to-face interaction. As individuals choose among the possibilities for stating a particular idea, they are aligning themselves with both certain ways of understanding the social world and the people who have historically understood the social world from that perspective. That is, they are identifying themselves with certain subject positions. In critical discourse research, subject positions refer to the possibilities for social identity that are available at particular times and places. The notion of subject positions is thought to capture the idea of social identity as multiple, complex, dynamic, locally situated, and open to negotiation.

Participants, Data Collection, Methods

The data presented in this study come from a series of interviews I conducted for a project on the experiences of individuals studying a heritage language at the university level. My original study asked whether formal language instruction affected a heritage speaker's attitudes toward that language. The participants in the study included both graduate and undergraduate students of Latino heritage studying Spanish at two universities in a large Northeastern city in the United States. As an instructor of Spanish at one of the universities where interviews took place, I asked my colleagues for assistance in recruiting participants for a study on heritage language learners. Over the course of two months, I was able to conduct a total of eight interviews. Although I contacted more than 15 students, only eight were available to speak with me about the project during the period of data collection. Each interview took place in my campus office and lasted approximately 20 to 40 minutes. A small tape-recorder, in full view of the participants, was used to record the interviews. Of the eight interviews conducted, excerpts from three are presented in this paper.

Rationale and Research Questions

Motivated by discussions in the literature as to the reliability/validity of interviews as a research method (Wolfson 1976; Briggs 1986; Milroy 1987), I decided to look closely at the characteristics of the data I had collected. In particular, I was struck by what Halliday (1985) termed the "ideational" and "interpersonal" metafunctions of language. Halliday observed that all instances of language use simultaneously communicate two types of meaning: information about content (ideational meaning) and information about social relationships (interpersonal meaning). In examining my data, I noted

that individuals were not merely describing their experiences as heritage language learners. They were also constructing multiple, complex, and dynamic representations of themselves within the confines of an interview setting. Indeed, I realized that this identity work merited further investigation as interviews are not just a neutral tool for gathering data. The study presented here asks: (1) what social and linguistic resources are available for and constitutive of interviews, (2) how do interviews delimit the ways in which these resources are used, and (3) how do specific instances of resource use function as acts of self representation? In short, I suggest that the study of interviews from a critical discourse perspective allows for the investigation of how individuals manage to construct multiple, complex and dynamic representations of themselves within the confines of a highly ritualized form of talk.

Approach

Critical discourse analysis, like other discourse-based approaches, advocates a view of language as social practice. Specifically, it offers a framework for understanding the relationship between language use and social identity. In critical discourse research, discourses refer to "the complexes of signs and practices that organize social existence and social reproduction" (Norton 1997: 207). They both "delimit the range of possible practices under their authority" and "organize how these practices are realized in time and space" (Norton 1997: 209). Yet, discourses also offer different places from which to make sense of the social world or different 'subject positions.' As Gee (1996: 91) has argued, a given language makes possible many ways of saying the same thing. These ways of speaking, however, differ with respect to their associations with subject positions. As individuals choose among the possibilities for stating a particular idea, they are aligning themselves with both certain ways of understanding the social world and the people who have historically understood the social world from that perspective. That is, they are identifying themselves with certain subject positions.

In critical discourse research, "subject positions" refer to the possibilities for self-hood or socially recognizable ways of being that exist within a discourse. This notion is thought to capture not only the idea of social identity as multiple and complex, but also the idea of social identity as constructed within and through language. Drawing on the work of Bakhtin, some critical discourse analysts (Walsh 1991, Wertsch 1991, Ivanic 1998) have argued that each subject position is characterized by a certain socially recognizable style of language use or "voice." As individuals choose among the linguistic and social resources available for and constitutive of certain discourses, they speak through these different voices or "ventriloquate." The act of ventriloquation allows individuals to take up and manipulate different voices for the purposes of self presentation within the context of a

particular interaction. This approach implies that social identity is not a fixed attribute of the self, but rather an ongoing production. A critical discourse perspective suggests that all instances of language use align speakers with ideologically saturated and historically situated subject positions and hence function as acts of identity. What makes this perspective critical, is a belief that not all subject positions are invested with the same amount of power and authority. As individuals move among these subject positions they either reproduce or challenge the ways of organizing meaning embodied in different discourses.

Ivanic (1998) has argued that the distinction between "genre" and "discourse" may help to explain how individuals are able to do such intricate identity work within the context of highly ritualized forms of talk. Genres, she writes, are "shaped by institutionally defined purposes, roles and the social relationships associated with them," while discourses are shaped by "subject matters and ideologies" (Ivanic 1998: 46). Consequently, interviews belong to the category genre while subject positions belong to the category discourse. A critical discourse approach assumes that as individuals participate in an interview, they must choose among the linguistic and social resources available for and constitutive of the interview talk. That is, they must decide what an interview entails and how to go about accomplishing this goal. Moreover, individuals must be aware of the limitations interviews place on their rights to use certain resources. Yet, as individuals participate in an interview, they also draw on their knowledge of discourses to position themselves as having certain beliefs, values, and perspectives. They take up and manipulate different voices in order to construct multiple, complex, dynamic, historically situated, and ideologically saturated self representations.

Review of the Literature

As interviews have long been considered a means for data collection, there exists a wealth of information on the practical aspects of research interviewing. This literature addresses such issues as formulating questions, establishing trust, and scoring responses (see Briggs 1996 for review). Despite this focus on "practical concerns," a review of the sociolinguistic literature on interviews, and more generally face-to-face interaction, suggests that participants draw on a wide range of linguistic and social resources for the enactment of speech genres. In this paper, I discuss five of these resources and illustrate how they are used for identity construction within the context of an interview. Briefly, these resources are: participant roles (Milroy 1987; Wolfson 1976); conversational maxims (Molenaar & Smit 1996; Grice 1975), contextualization cues (Gumperz 1982), footing (Goffman 1981), and personal pronouns (Davies and Harré 1990).

Wolfson (1976) was among the first sociolinguists to examine the interview as a distinct form of speech with its own rules of speaking. She found

that individuals readily identify the “question/answer pattern” as characteristic of interview talk. Furthermore, she observed that “native speakers of English are quite aware of the rule which gives one of the participants in the interview event the unilateral right to ask questions and the other(s) the obligation to answer them” (Wolfson 1976: 190). In keeping with this perspective, Milroy (1987) noted that interviews are culturally recognizable and highly stylized speech genres in which power and authority are distributed unevenly between participants. In an interview, two individuals (generally strangers) engage in an extended question/answer sequence intended to elicit information on a particular matter. Yet, the roles these individuals occupy with respect to one another differ greatly in terms of the rights and obligations associated with each. The interviewer has the right to select topics and formulate questions. The interviewee must address the interviewer’s topics and answer his/her questions.

With respect to this interactional approach to the study of interviews, Molenaar and Smit (1996) examined how Grice’s (1975) conversational maxims influence what can and cannot be said during an interview. They noted that “normal” conversational strategies impose “practical limits” on how interviewers and interviewees relate to one another over the course of an interaction (Molenaar & Smit 1996: 134). Furthermore, they argued that Grice’s (1975) philosophical work on the structure of face-to-face interaction offers a way to understand how individuals make sense of each other’s utterances. Grice claimed that speakers of a language share a common code for the interpretation of speech behavior. He argued that this code could be described in terms of a set of four conversational maxims, referred to collectively as “The Cooperative Principle.” Briefly, his code states,

Grice’s Cooperative Principle

Quantity: Make your contribution as informative as is required (for the current purposes of the exchange). Do not make your contribution more informative than is required.

Quality: Be truthful. Do not say what you believe to be false. Do not say that for which you lack adequate evidence.

Relation: Be relevant.

Manner: Be brief and orderly. Avoid obscurity and ambiguity (Grice 1975 as cited in Wolfson 1989: 58).

Grice’s principle, when applied to the study of interviews, suggests interviewers and interviewees rely on their knowledge of conversations in order to manage their interactions.

In keeping with this focus on conversational knowledge, Gumperz’s (1982) work on contextualization cues offers a means for investigating the

ways in which individuals signal how the use of a particular utterance/gesture should be taken. For Gumperz, contextualization cues refer to the "constellations of surface features of message forms" by which "speakers signal and listeners interpret what the activity is, how semantic content is to be understood, and how each sentence relates to what precedes or follows (Gumperz 1982: 131). As Gumperz noted, contextualization cues (which can take a myriad of verbal and nonverbal surface forms) function below the level of conscious awareness to relate what is said/done to what is meant by a particular utterance/gesture. These cues allow participants to form contextual presuppositions about both the kind of speech genre in which they are engaged and the illocutionary force intended by a particular utterance. Hence, individuals rely not only on the knowledge of conversations generally, but also on the specifics of single interactional moves to understand face-to-face encounters.

Building on this notion of interaction as an ongoing production, both Goffman's concept of footing (1981) and Davies and Harré's work on positioning (1990) emphasize how individuals in conversation continually reposition themselves with respect to one another over the course of an encounter. Goffman defined footing as "the alignments we take up to ourselves and the others present as expressed in the way we manage the production or reception of an utterance" (Goffman 1981: 128). He used this concept to describe how the freedom to move among subject positions is constrained not only by one's role in a particular interaction, but also by one's other social roles and relationships. Davies and Harré observed that pronouns are often used by conversants to indicate how they see themselves with respect to others. These authors distinguished between two kinds of positioning, interactive and reflexive. In interactive positioning, "what one person says positions another," while in reflexive positioning what one says positions oneself (Davies and Harré 1990: 48). For Davies and Harré, pronouns are the linguistic manifestation of footing as they represent the process of conversation as a cooperative endeavor.

Data Analysis and Discussion

This first example considers the notion of participant roles within the context of an interview. Following Milroy (1987), I argue that the distribution of rights and obligations which characterize the roles interviewer/interviewee must be upheld in order for a given interaction to count as an interview. In this selection, I (the interviewer) ask Isaac (the interviewee) about where his parents were raised.

Example 1

- | | | |
|---|--------|---|
| 1 | Anne: | are your parents from the same neighborhood in Brooklyn |
| 2 | Isaac: | uhhh pretty much yeah |
| 3 | Anne: | pretty much |

- 4 what neighborhood are you from
 5 Isaac: (pause...) I don't know the name of it (laugh)
 6 Anne: (laugh) just a curiosity question
 7 my dad's from Brooklyn too

In line 4, I make a direct request for information by asking the interviewee to name the section of Brooklyn in which his parents were raised. The interviewee, however, cannot supply an answer and there is a slight breakdown in communication. Not only does the interviewee pause (line 5) before he admits to not knowing the name of the neighborhood, he also emits a laugh upon not being able to comply with my request. Indeed, one could argue that both the pause and the laugh signal the interviewee's awareness that a question must be followed by an answer in this kind of speech event. That is, the interviewee is knowledgeable about the rules of speaking which govern question/answer adjacency pairs in interviews, yet he doesn't have access to the kind of information which would allow him to comply with the rules. In lines 6-7, I offer some rationale for my question "just a curiosity question/ my dad's from Brooklyn too" (lines 6-7) and this seems to release the interviewee from his obligation. In the context of an unrealized question/answer sequence, my statement of explanation seems to function as a repair mechanism. Rather than pressing the interviewee for an answer, I seem to mitigate the importance of my question with the word "just" and then provide a personal reason for making such a request. This move allows the interview to proceed without disturbing the distribution of participation rights and obligations. Had the interviewee asked why I would need/want to know this information about his parents' neighborhood, the interview structure might have broken down. As this excerpt illustrates, both individuals must remain aware of their rights and obligations as participants in an interview event and work together to uphold the characteristics of their roles in order for a given exchange to count as an interview.

The roles of interviewer and interviewee, while highly restricted in terms of participation rights and obligations, nonetheless make possible a number of subject positions from which an individual may speak. For example, the previous excerpt showed how one interviewee was able to present himself as both knowledgeable with respect to the cultural conventions which guide research interviews and unknowledgeable with respect to the topic at hand. The roles of interviewer and interviewee do not determine what an individual can say during an interview encounter. Instead, they serve as points of reference around which individuals can take on different voices in order to construct representations of themselves.

The next example illustrates how individuals rely not only on the roles available in a particular speech event, but also on their knowledge of how conversations should be conducted in order to present themselves as certain kinds of people. The following excerpt illustrates how Grice's Coop-

erative Principle functions as resource for the construction of social identity. In this selection, I have just explained to the interviewee (Raúl) that I am doing a project on individuals studying a heritage language at the university level. We now begin to talk about Raúl's childhood.

Example 2

- | | | |
|----|-------|---|
| 1 | Anne: | Tell me a little bit about yourself. Where were you born |
| 2 | | etcetera |
| 3 | Raúl: | OK. I was born in uh Voorhese New Jersey |
| 4 | Anne: | mm hm |
| 5 | Raúl: | South Jersey here uh in the Delaware Valley and uh I was raised |
| 6 | | in Washington Township New Jersey uh in Gloucester |
| 7 | | County and I uh attended uh Wedgewood elementary |
| 8 | | school and then uh in middle school I was Washington |
| 9 | | Township Middle School and then Washington Township |
| 10 | | High School and uh I what else I mean those are the only |
| 11 | | things I can um |
| 12 | Anne: | Well yeah no that's great um what was I going to say |
| 13 | Raúl: | I guess grow growing up I uh I I mean re relative you know |
| 14 | | to the ah to the question I mean I I grew up speaking both |
| 15 | | languages |

In line 1, I make a direct request "tell me a little bit about yourself" and then modify this request with a specific question "where were you born etcetera." In keeping with the maxim of relation, the interviewee responds by naming his place of birth. Moreover, he takes up my more general request by giving his educational history. While one could argue that the interviewee's emphasis on geographic detail would violate the maxim of quantity, Raúl's desire to comply with my request for personal information seems to account for this attention to detail. Indeed, in lines 10-11, Raúl implies that he is aware of the maxim of quantity "I mean those are the only things I can um." Raúl seems to feel an obligation to fulfill my request with a statement that includes just the right amount of information. That is, he draws attention to the maxim of quantity in order to present himself as a cooperative, knowledgeable interviewee. Moreover, Raúl's comments in lines 13-15 suggest that he conceives of the interview as an information seeking event. Rather than waiting for a question about language use, Raúl addresses the issue of his linguistic history right from the start, "I grew up speaking both languages" (lines 14-15). According to Grice, Raúl's reference to language could be explained as an attempt to adhere to the maxim of relation as he actively tries to make his comments related to the overall theme of the interview. In fact, in line 13, Raúl himself uses the word "relevant" to introduce his remarks on language use. Here, one could argue that Raúl is presenting himself as not only cooperative but also an individual who meets the criteria of my study. By emphasizing the maxim of relation he presents himself as both a heritage language learner and one who speaks from that subject position.

With respect to the study of subject positions, Gumperz's work on contextualization cues (1982) highlights the choices speakers make among similar ways of saying something. They point to the ways in which, for example, speakers select one lexical item over another to provide a continual index of who they are and what they are doing with respect to both the speech genre and one another over the course of an interaction. In the following excerpt, Isaac and I are discussing his experiences as a student of Spanish. At this point I have asked Isaac whether or not his professors at the university had been native speakers of Spanish.

Example 3

- | | | |
|---|--------|--|
| 1 | Isaac: | then for [Spanish] 130 |
| 2 | | he was he was Hispanic so I'm going to assume he was a |
| 3 | | native speaker |

In this example, Isaac uses the verb 'assume' to problematize the relationship between being Hispanic and speaking Spanish. As a Puerto Rican who does not speak Spanish fluently, Isaac seems to realize the risk of making assumptions about people's linguistic abilities with respect to their ethnic identities. In fact, other excerpts from this interview suggest that Isaac has struggled with issues of language and ethnic identity as a heritage language speaker (for example, Isaac says of his decision to study Spanish at the university, "I um I guess uh once I got here it became more of a I felt more of an obligation since I'm um um Hispanic that I should speak Spanish). In line 2 Isaac uses the verb "assume" to cast doubt on the connection he is about to draw between his professor's ethnic identity and his professor's native language. With respect to Grice's Cooperative Principle, one could argue that the word "assume" indicates that Isaac's adherence to the maxim of quality. He chooses a verb that connotes the subjectivity of his remarks in making this assertion. Yet, this lexical choice also seems to function as a contextualization cue. By using a verb of mental perception, Isaac positions himself as one who sees connections between language and ethnicity from a critical perspective. Indeed, the structure of line 2 shows how the phrase "so I'm going to assume" functions as a red flag in terms of relating the beginning of the line "he was Hispanic" to the end of the line "he was a native speaker". While line 2 is syntactically balanced (it begins and ends with phrases that take the form of "NP + to be + NP"); nonetheless, these two phrases are not joined together unproblematically. The phrase "so I'm going to assume" allows Isaac to emphasize the subject position from which he speaks. That is, Isaac speaks through the voice of one who struggles with questions of language and ethnic identity. While Isaac recognizes that a connection may exist between language proficiency and ethnic identity, he realizes that this is not always the case. Consequently, he seems to use the verb "assume" to draw attention to the subjectivity of his claim.

Despite individuals' abilities to use linguistic and social resources for the purpose of self representation, they cannot always choose freely among subject positions. The next example draws on the notion of footing (Goffman 1981) to illustrate how Isaac positions himself relative to me during the interview. In reading this example, one should note that I had been Isaac's teacher for intermediate Spanish (Spanish 140) in the spring of 1997. Here, as in example 3, I have asked Isaac to comment on the native language of his Spanish teachers at the university and he must now include me in his account.

Example 4

- | | | |
|---|--------|--|
| 1 | Isaac: | then for [Spanish] 130 |
| 2 | | he was he was Hispanic so I'm going to assume he was a |
| 3 | | native speaker and um then I'm not sure if you |
| 4 | Anne: | I'm not a native speaker |
| 5 | Isaac: | oh ok |

In line 3 Isaac hedges and says, "and um then I'm not sure if you." Here, I immediately tell Isaac that I am not, in fact, a native speaker of the language and this seems to signal a change in footing. Not only does Isaac break the interview frame by evoking our prior relationship as teacher/student (as opposed to the present one of interviewer/interviewee), he also (as interviewee) asks me (the interviewer) a personal question. While one could argue that this shift in rights and obligations might indicate that we are no longer participating in a traditional interview event, Goffman's notion of footing allows for a more flexible interpretation. Although Isaac and I briefly exchange roles, the interactional economy remains static. Isaac now has the right to ask questions and I have the obligation to supply answers. Each of us seems to have traded one set of rights and obligations for another. We are still operating within the context of an interview frame, yet our roles relative to one another have changed.

Isaac's lack of knowledge as to whether I am a native speaker of Spanish also restricts the subject positions from which he can speak at this moment. Given that I know the answer to this question and Isaac is unsure, he cannot speak from the position of a cooperative, knowledgeable interviewee. Indeed, one could argue that in a traditional research interview, interviewers rarely ask questions to which they already know the answers. That is, interviews are activities in which the goal is to seek information, not to check information. Thus, interviewees have the right to speak from the position of "expert provider of information." In example 4, however, this is not the case. Consequently, Isaac and I change roles relative to one another as the relationship teacher/student becomes more salient than the relationship interviewer/interviewee. Now I have the right to speak from the position of "expert provider of knowledge" and Isaac has the right to ask questions. By shifting roles, we have gained access to new possibilities for subject positions.

Indeed, this emphasis on multiple, complex, and dynamic subject positions can be further examined in terms of the use of personal pronouns. In the following excerpt, I have asked Jessica to comment on what it is like to be the only person of Latino origin in a Spanish language class. Here, one could argue that the use of both interactive and reflexive positioning strategies seems to reveal the existence of two frames: the interview and the narrative. Each frame makes possible several different and simultaneously occurring subject positions.

Example 5

- | | | |
|----|----------|---|
| 1 | Anne: | um going back to being in class do you think being Hispanic |
| 2 | | in Spanish class um is different from not being Hispanic |
| 3 | | in Spanish class do you think that plays any role |
| 4 | Jessica: | yeah I think that they believe that we're supposed to be able |
| 5 | | to it comes naturally to us |
| 6 | Anne: | um hm |
| 7 | Jessica: | you know even though I grew up in Ameri you know here |
| 8 | Anne: | yeah |
| 9 | Jessica: | in Philadelphia and speaking primarily English they think |
| 10 | | that oh you're Hispanic background you can say with no |
| 11 | | problem and it's just not like that |

Consistent with our relationship as participants in a formal interview setting, I ask Jessica a question in lines 1-3. The repetition of the pronoun "you" in this question seems to suggest that I am attempting to solicit her opinion. That is, I want Jessica to answer the question in terms of her experiences as a heritage language learner. In lines 4-5 Jessica's use of pronouns draws attention to the multiple subject positions from which she speaks. Here, Jessica "the story teller" embarks on a short narrative to answer my question. She begins by positioning the different characters participating in her story relative to one another. Specifically, she mentions three groups: I (Jessica), we (Jessica + other students of Hispanic origin), and they (students/teachers not of Hispanic origin). In this story, reflexive positioning serves to illustrate how Jessica sees herself with respect to these other characters. For example, the pronoun "we" suggests that Jessica considers herself part of the group "Hispanic students" while the pronoun "they" serves to create an opposition between Hispanic and non-Hispanic members of a Spanish language classroom. Yet, Jessica's pronoun use is not confined to this internal narrative mode. She too remains conscious of her positions as narrator and interviewee. In line 7 she repeats the phrase "you know" twice and this seems to indicate her awareness of my presence. Jessica's story is told with respect to a specific audience and she seems to take my responses in lines 6 and 8 as signs of my participation in her story line. Indeed, one could argue that the use of the pronoun "you" in this context allows Jessica to position me as a ratified participant in her narrative and a interviewer seeking information about her experiences as a heritage language learner. Thus, the use of pronouns draws attention to the subject positions made possible by several simultaneously occurring relationships:

interviewer/interviewee, story-teller/audience and story-teller/characters in story.

Conclusions

This paper has shown how individuals use various social and linguistic resources to construct representations of themselves over the course of an interview encounter. Taking a critical discourse perspective, I began by explaining how the relationship of interviewer to interviewee is both constituted by and constitutive of interview discourse. That is, the rules of speaking which govern interviews make possible the relationship between the interviewer and the interviewee, and the relationship between interviewer and interviewee makes possible the notion of interviews as a distinct form of discourse. Next, I discussed how this relationship creates two distinct roles and illustrated how these roles form points around which individuals may take up various subject positions. Individuals exploit the rights and obligations which characterize these roles in order to construct themselves as particular kinds of people with particular wants and needs. Then, I demonstrated how other social and linguistic resources serve a similar function by discussing both conversational maxims and contextualization cues. These resources allow for movement among different subject positions as they offer a continual index as to who one is and what one is doing over the course of an encounter. Furthermore, I argued that individuals are not free to align themselves with all of the subject positions available at a given moment in time. They are constrained by both their access to certain forms of knowledge/experience and their relationships to the other interlocutors present. Finally, I discussed how the same linguistic resource (pronouns) can function on multiple levels, thus allowing individuals to occupy several, simultaneously occurring subject positions.

My analysis of research interviews has suggested that a variety of social and linguistic resources are available for the construction of self representations. These self representations form the building blocks of social relationships. That is, they allow people to take up different subject positions with respect to one another. Freedom to manipulate linguistic and social resources, however, is constrained by a variety of forces. First, the rules of speaking for interviews limit what counts as valid/appropriate behavior in such situations. Individuals must have access to these rules in order to present themselves in a favorable fashion. Second, individual circumstances shape people's abilities to both recognize and appropriate these resources. Not everyone has access to the same set of resources and some resources are more valuable than others. Consequently, interviews become a site of struggle as people attempt to use the resources they have within the confines of a highly stylized context. Despite these limitations, how-

ever, individuals do manage to create multiple, complex, and dynamic representations of themselves. I would argue that as individuals move through life, they discover new ways to use social/linguistic resources and consequently discover new possibilities for self-hood.

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Anne Pomerantz is a doctoral student in Educational Linguistics in the Graduate School of Education at the University of Pennsylvania. She also teaches Spanish at the university. Her research interests include second language learning and the relationship between language use and social identity.

Rhythm and Resource: Repetition as a Linguistic Style in an Urban Elementary Classroom

Melisa Cahnmann

University of Pennsylvania

This paper seeks to understand the role of culturally-specific styles of discourse in the classroom. I use and expand upon Foster's (1995) three categories of classroom language use (control, curriculum, and critique) to present data on how an urban, Puerto Rican teacher uses forms of repetition that have African and African American origins to accomplish a variety of classroom functions: 1) To control the classroom behavior and talk; 2) To highlight elements of the curriculum; and 3) To critique the use of Standard English language in an elementary classroom context.

Introduction

The register of teacher talk (TT) is often parodied in movies and television. Audiences have had a good laugh at films such as Ferris Buehler's Day Off when the teacher used a patterned routine of asking a question, calling his pupils' names twice ("Buehler, Buehler"), and then providing the answer to his own question. Cazden (1988) characterizes TT as having "a higher pitch, more exaggerated intonation and careful enunciation, shorter sentences and more frequent repetitions, and many more questions than the same adults would use in speaking to other adults" (Cazden 1988: 160). Although "repetition" in the classroom has often been humorously portrayed as symbolic of teacher's emotional and stylistic distance from his or her students, this paper discusses an alternative. I focus on how African American styles of discourse influence the forms and functions of repetition used to bridge rather than widen social distance between a teacher and her students.

My purpose here is to describe how a culturally-specific form of repetition is used by a Puerto Rican teacher with her African American¹ and Puerto Rican students and the functions it serves. According to Okpewho

¹ I use the terms African American and Black interchangeably, as do members of this community.

(1992), repetition is one of the most fundamental characteristic features of African oral traditions. In oral literature or story-telling, repetition can be delivered in the form of a single utterance, phrase, or refrain, and is found to perform a variety of aesthetic as well as practical functions. Likewise, studies in the United States of a Black church in the South (Sutton 1988) and Black teachers and students in an urban community college (Foster 1989, 1995) have found repetition to be a salient feature of church and classroom discourse. Urban Puerto Rican culture and English language use in the United States is heavily influenced by the linguistic styles and performance norms of African Americans. According to Zentella (1997) Puerto Rican English (PRE) incorporates features of both Standard English (SE) and African American Vernacular English (AAVE) and has few of its own characteristics (Zentella 1997: 45). This influence helps to explain the appearance of repetition in a Puerto Rican English language classroom setting.

In the first section of this paper I will present some of the findings on the form and function of repetition in research on African oral traditions and African American language use in church and classroom contexts in the United States. Next, I will describe the context of this study including a description of the setting, participants, and method of data collection and analysis. Finally, I will use and expand upon Foster's (1995) three categories of classroom language use (control, curriculum, and critique) to present data on how an urban, Puerto Rican teacher uses repetition to control the classroom behavior and talk, to highlight elements of the curriculum, and critique the use of Standard English language in an elementary classroom context.

Repetition

Okpewho (1992) explains that in African oral traditions "fullness, not economy of expression is a fundamental virtue...the oral performer who keeps the audience's attention through the night is more likely to be rewarded than the one who sends them home after only a very short performance" (Okpewho 1992: 83). Repetition is an important stylistic device that is used to captivate the listener's attention, emphasize and build on important details in the narrative, and maintain an element of rhythm and musical charm throughout a performance (Okpewho 1992: 70-88). Okpewho suggests the use of repetition is successful when it increases listeners' excitement, participation, and attention to detail; whereas, repetition is less successful when it is used as a means to fill a gap in a narrative and mark time through simple, unimaginative changes (Okpewho 1992: 73).

In the African American Baptist church, repetition also is used as a means to increase the congregation's active involvement in the service. Sutton (1988) has identified repetition as a fundamental characteristic of chanted speech patterns in the Southern church. He describes the chant as a form of

oral poetry using regular rhythmic patterns uncharacteristic of speech:

The emphasis in chant is less strictly referential or denotative and becomes more strongly affective or poetic. That the message be formally well ordered is as important as the cogency of its reasoning. There are usually more abstractions, more formulaic phrases, and more repetition (of both words and whole sections) than in spoken passages (Sutton 1988: 161-2)

Given the functions of repetition described above, it appears that its selective use in classrooms along with AAVE cadence, intonation, and stress patterns might contribute to increasing the attention and participation of urban minority students in the classroom. There is very little research on the use of repetition among minority teachers and students. However, studies by Cazden (1988) and Foster (1989, 1995) illuminate the forms and functions of shared language and stylistic features in minority teacher and student classrooms. Cazden found that the use of *cariño*, a nurturing communicative style, appeared to contribute to the strong and positive sense of community she found among Mexican-descent teachers and students in a Chicago elementary school (Cazden 1988). This nurturing style was expressed through the teachers' selective use of diminutives, an emphasis on *respeto*, respect for others, and references to the children's family life in the classroom.

Foster's (1989) study has provided a detailed description of the forms and functions of shared speech style between a Black, female teacher and Black students in an urban community college. In particular this research documents the teacher's use of language and performance norms in the classroom that draw on the influences of African American speech styles and Church language patterns such as vowel elongation, cadence manipulation, and repetition. In a second study Foster (1995) distinguished three categories that capture the dominant purpose of the African-American teacher's discourse: a) language of control, b) language of curriculum, and c) language of critique. Foster argues that the teacher's selective use of the stylistic features of AAVE, such as repetition, shed light on the sociocultural, sociopolitical, and affective factors contributing to her success with students in the classroom.

From 1997 to 1998 I conducted ethnographic fieldwork on an urban educator's successful rapport with her students and the frequent use of repetition among other stylistic features in her classroom. However, Ms. Diana Capero² who taught third and fourth grade is not Black, but Puerto

² The teacher and students names used in this paper are pseudonyms.

Rican as are the majority of her students. As mentioned, although repetition has not yet been documented among Puerto Ricans in English language classrooms, Zentella (1997) has found that Puerto Ricans and African Americans who live in the same neighborhoods also share several stylistic as well as linguistic features of AAVE. My findings of the extensive use of repetition in a Puerto Rican teacher's classroom support Zentella's findings. In this study I will focus on repetition, a frequent stylistic feature of the Puerto Rican teacher's discourse. I use and expand upon Foster's three categories of classroom language use (control, curriculum, and critique) to answer the following research questions:

How does a Puerto Rican elementary school teacher in an urban context use the stylistic device of repetition?

What functions does repetition serve during classroom instruction?

Method

Setting

This study is based on fieldwork I conducted at Potter Thomas Elementary School³ from October 1997 to April 1998. Potter Thomas is located in North Philadelphia where there is a substantial Puerto Rican and African American community. According to a Potter Thomas Grant Proposal (1998) 81% of the students are Latino (94% of whom are Puerto Rican), 18.4% are African American, and .6% are white. However, when I asked one teacher how they consider the many students of mixed race, she replied: "It's like the one-drop rule—one drop and you're Latino." This teacher implied that several students come from homes where there is one African American parent and one Puerto Rican parent, but that mixed heritage is always counted as Puerto Rican.

North Philadelphia is commonly referred to in the media as "The Badlands," due to the considerable poverty, crime and drugs in the area. The influences of the community often penetrate the elementary school walls: during the winter 1997-1998 holiday a student was shot through the door of his home as a result of drug dealing in the community, and this spring (1999) a student had to leave her third grade classroom because her stepfather had raped and killed her mother over Memorial Day weekend. Despite the influences of drugs and violence in the neighborhood, the school, which was run by Puerto Rican administrators and a large number of Puerto Rican teachers (63.9%), has been noted for its perseverance and excellence

³The actual name of the school is used with permission.

in education (Cahnmann 1998). According to a rating that includes attendance records and test scores, Potter Thomas was one of the top ten most improved schools in the Philadelphia district during the 1996-1997 school year. The school continues to attract large funding projects and district support for their unique bilingual education model that encourages all students to acquire Spanish and English fluency.

Participants

In October of 1997 the school principal introduced Ms. Carpero to me as one of the school's most outstanding teachers. Because of Ms. Carpero's strengths as a teacher, she had been assigned to a small group of 18 third- and fourth-grade "at-risk" students, so-called because of exceptionally low test scores and behavior problems in previous classrooms. After observing in Ms. Carpero's classroom, I was struck by the close relationships she maintained with her students, and the rhythm she used in her classroom both to manage students' behavior and encourage their participation and excitement. When asked about her success with students, Ms. Carpero told me she felt that her young age enabled her to relate to the students in ways that other teachers could not. She was 26 and had been teaching at Potter Thomas for the last five years. However, Ms. Carpero shared more than relatively close age with her students. Three of her students (in the 1997-1998 school year) had African American mothers and fathers, and the remaining 15 students were Puerto Rican or had at least one Puerto Rican parent. Ms. Carpero is herself a US-born Puerto Rican, who grew up in a single family home in North Philadelphia and attended Potter Thomas Elementary School when she was a child. Her mother has continued to live in the neighborhood of the school and Ms. Carpero has attended the same church as many Potter Thomas students.

Between November 1997 and April 1998 I visited Ms. Carpero's classroom every week for 45 minutes to four hours at a time. I also had weekly telephone conversations with the teacher about her practice, and met twice with Ms. Carpero outside of Potter Thomas to discuss her lessons. In February of 1998 I made three videotapes of her classroom as a means to analyze her interactions with students during whole-group and small-group lessons.

Data Collection and Analysis

The data used for this study is one 35 minute tape of Ms. Carpero's classroom during a period of whole-group instruction. I wanted to analyze the particular stylistic features of Ms. Carpero's classroom discourse that enable her to have an intimate rapport with her students and create a positive classroom atmosphere of learning. The first phase of this research consisted of transcribing all audible classroom interaction as well as aspects of

non-verbal behavior such as hand-raising and teacher movement. Once these were transcribed, I identified the use of repetition as a salient, and fundamental feature of the teacher's interaction with her students. Finally, I developed a coding schema to enable me to isolate the different functions achieved by the use of repetitive words, phrases, and refrains in the classroom. I began with 12 tentative categories of repetition based on the form and illocutionary force of the utterance as evidenced by student and teacher interactions on the tape. However, when I began coding I realized that many of these categories overlapped with one another. After a careful review of the literature on the use of repetition (Foster 1989, 1995; Okpewho 1992; Sutton 1988), I found that the 12 categories I had identified fit well within the three-tiered framework used by Foster: the language of control, curriculum, and critique.

Findings

Language of Control

In Foster's (1995) study, "language of control" refers to the language style the teacher uses to sanction and encourage a particular student's behavior. Foster describes "behavior" as aspects of educational achievement that, despite differences in educational preparation, are within the students' control, such as attendance, following instructions, completing homework, and doing extra credit. She uses the term "gettin' on the case" to characterize the speech event when the teacher uses a public forum to provide critical feedback to overall as well as individual performance in the class. Foster stresses that the public nature of "gettin' on the case" does not pit students one against the other, but, rather, encourages individuals to compete against themselves and their past performance. She describes this event as teacher-dominated and entirely in Standard English (SE).

In Ms. Carpero's class, what I have characterized as the language of control works in a similar way. In this elementary school setting, "behavior" concerns students' control over completing tasks such as homework as well as control over one's ability to sustain attention across activities within a lesson. Repetition often becomes a rhythmic device that helps students transition between small-group activity and teacher-centered activity or between one subject and the next. The following segment illustrates Ms. Carpero's use of repetition to control classroom behavior and talk. Here, she transitioned from the whole group reading of a Shel Silverstein poem called, "The Googies," to asking students to recall questions about the poem's details.

- 1 Ms Carpero: If you hear me clap one time.
 2 Students: (One Clap, few claps are in sinc)
 3 Ms Carpero: If you hear me clap twice.
 4 Students: (Two Claps, more are in sinc)
 5 Ms Carpero: If you hear me clap three times.
 6 Students: (Three Claps, most in sinc)
 7 Ms Carpero: If you hear me clap four.
 8 Students: (Four Claps, all in sinc)
 9 Ms Carpero: Let's start with the top. Who can raise their hand quietly
 10 let us know—and I want you to write down the problem and take it
 11 down in your notes—Renaldo, you need to have a better attitude.
 12 Student 2: Miss. I can go to the bath room.
 13 Ms. Carpero: Sit up, sit up. I'm gonna wait, I'm gonna wait.
 14 Who can raise their hand and tell me, how much, how much, I'm
 15 gonna wait, I have Thadiuss' attention, Daniel's attention and Luis'
 16 attention. Thank you Luis. Who can raise their hand and tell me
 17 how much was one lean one? how much is a lean one? Raise your
 18 hand, don't spoil it!⁴

The first part of the above rhythmic device (Lines 1-7), "If you hear me," functioned as a means to control classroom behavior and talk, and appeared three times throughout the 35 minute segment of analysis. In Lines 9-16 the repetition of commands, assertions, and questions such as "sit up," "I'm gonna wait," and "who can raise their hand?"-also served as ways to control classroom talk and support a return to a single floor, where one person spoke at a time (Edelsky 1981). Singular admonitions to individuals or the class as a whole such as "Renaldo, you need to have a better attitude," and "Don't spoil it" stood out as punctuations in the rhythmic sequence she had created through the context of repetitive and parallel phrasing⁵.

In the 35 minutes of tape analyzed I found that Ms. Carpero used repetition most often (N = 18) as a means to control classroom behavior, talk, and activity. Twice the teacher was explicit about her use of this device, stating phrases like "Ooh, let's try that again," between repeated instructions. Throughout my participant observation in this class I have witnessed the effectiveness of Ms. Carpero's use of repetition as a management

4. Transcription conventions:

/ = overlapping speech on final syllable

= = simultaneous speech, whole word

S = one student (numbers are assigned to show multiple students)

Ss = more than one student

Selective portions of repetition are underlined

Non-standard lexical and phonological variation is written phonetically

⁵ Although not discussed in this paper, the teacher's use of repetition is accompanied by various paralinguistic features such as gesture, volume and tone that are characteristic of African American speech norms. Due to time constraints and developing analytical skills I do not include such an analysis here. However, the study would undoubtedly benefit from a closer examination of these features.

strategy. Students who had been "behavior problems" in other classrooms typically responded to Ms. Carpero's rhythmic cues.

Language of Curriculum

Language of curriculum describes the language used when classroom instruction is taking place. The use of repetition is frequent during classroom instruction, and incorporates a style described as "chanting" in Sutton's (1988) work in the Black Church. One function of repetition is to increase students' verbal and non-verbal participation in the classroom lessons. The constraints imposed by the use of questioning individual students in the classroom using the Initiation, Response, and Evaluation (IRE) sequence (Mehan 1979) is that only one child is expected to participate at a time. Ms. Carpero's use of repetition ensured that when a question is repeated several times using varying intonation, cadence, and stress patterns, it lengthens the amount of time students have to think about the question asked and raise their hands for a chance to participate. The following question occurs 9 minutes and 53 seconds into the 35 minute mathematics lesson after the children have read the poem: "Who can raise their hand and tell me, quickly, how much, how much does it cost for a noisy kid? How much did the Googies have to pay for a noisy kid?" The teacher completed the question and calls on a student at 10 minutes and 9 seconds (time elapsed = 1:16). The following is a non-verbal transcript that illustrates the kinds of response elicited when the teacher elaborated her question by repeating "how much" three times⁶.

Table 1. Timing of Non-Verbal Cues

Time in seconds: student talking (S)	Movement
9:57: S1, S2, S3, & S7	turn head
9:58: S2	raises hand
10:00: S3	raises hand
10:01: Ss 4 & 5	raise hands
10:05: S6	raises hand
106:47: S7	raises hand

⁶Six children sit outside the frame of the video camera. While only 7 children are observed participating in this sequence, this does not include the nonverbal participation of those outside the camera's view.

Students in this classroom were encouraged to participate in a variety of non-verbal as well as non-oral ways, and therefore participated more than they might otherwise do with purely verbal responses. In addition to hand-raising, each student had a math journal where they are all expected to write their responses to instructional questions. As Ms. Carpero used it, the response part of the IRE sequence usually entailed that all students use the written channel before the verbal channel when providing an answer to the teacher's questions. In this way the teacher is able to repeat different kinds of evaluations to many students at a time. In the following sequence, Ms. Carpero repeated out loud what she was seeing when she walked around to evaluate students' written responses.

- 1 Ms. Carpero: Shh, hold on. I want to see/ (in sing-song voice as she is walking around the room)
- 2
- 3 Student: (Looks up to the teacher) Ms. Carpero/
- 4 Ms. Carpero: /That work. (over students' paper) And I'm seeing some nice note taking! Wow. And I'm seeing, ooh, very nice. Debra has the date at the top of her paper. Super.
- 5
- 6

A third form of non-verbal participation is through hand signals. Throughout the lesson Ms. Carpero will repeat the phrase "Show me with your hand signals," inviting students to respond to a given question or response as a group. Alternating whole-group, non-verbal and/or non-oral responses with individual, verbal responses helped to mitigate against the fact that Ms. Carpero was only able to call on one of the 18 students at a time. Students were encouraged to wave both hands in the air frenetically to show approval of a given response or repeatedly cross both hands in front of their chests to show disapproval of a peer's response. Through sharing the power of critique and approval with her students, Ms. Carpero altered the rules of politeness (Brown & Levinson 1978) in a way that enabled her to lessen the social distance between herself and her students and to provide them with more direct feedback. The following interaction illustrated the way the class participated in correcting and guiding a student towards an understanding of where to use the decimal in a three digit number problem about money. Here, Carlos had just crossed his arms back and forth in front of his chest to show his disapproval about a problem that had just been collectively solved by the teacher and his classmates.

- 1 Carlos: (arm waving across his chest to signify disagreement)
- 2 Ms. Carpero: Why do you disagree?
- 3 Carlos: I disagree because that says one dollar and fifteen cents and is' supposed to be eleven dollars and fifteen cents.
- 4
- 5 Student: No thas' /
- 6 Ms. Carpero: How many people think its eleven dollars and fifteen cents?
- 7 Students: Nooo (accompanied by negative hand signals)
- 8 Ms. Carpero: we have
- 9 Carlos: Yeah, eleven dollars five cents.
- 10 Students: (Several continue negative hand signals)
- 11 Ms. Carpero: Look at this: How many digits do we have?
- 12 Student 1: three!

- 13 Ms. Carpero: How many digits do we have?
 14 Student 2: three
 15 Student 3: two!
 16 Student 4: three!
 17 Students: (Students raise two or three fingers in the air)
 18 Ms. Carpero: How many digits?
 19 Student 5: Two!
 20 Students: Three!
 21 Carlos: Three!
 22 Ms. Carpero: One, two, three.
 23 Students: Thas' right! (points to board, other students wave affirmative hand signals)
 24
 25 Ms. Carpero: How many digits ? One, two, three.
 26 Student: 'Cause two numbers belongs in the end!
 27 Ms. Carpero: How many digits do we have, Carlos? One, two, three.
 28 How many do we have here? One, two, three.
 29 Student: Yeah.

In the above discourse, the use of hand, arm, and finger gestures in Lines 1, 7, 10, 17, and 23 were essential nonverbal channels for student participation in the classroom. The teacher repeated her question using various intonation patterns until she observed agreement among the students' gestures as well as verbal responses. The repetitive questioning device culminated in Line 25 when a student provided the correct explanation for the decimal placement: "'Cause two numbers belongs in the end!" Thus, the student, rather than the teacher, produced and explained answers to questions in the classroom.

As described above verbal and non-verbal repetition is used to increase student participation and to affirm and guide students' responses while classroom curriculum is being taught. In addition, repetition is also used as a means to layer new and/or important concepts on top of ones that have previously been introduced. This effect is called "piling" in African oral literature (Okpewho 1992), when a narrator repeats a refrain as a means to present successive sequences in a story. In the following interaction, Ms. Carpero repeated the number "80" and the question "What does 80 cents mean" in order to stress the importance of labeling written information in mathematics.

- 1 Ms. Carpero: Well Thadius how did you solve it? How did you get that?
 2 Thadius: Adding it up
 3 Ms. Carpero: What did you add up? two plus two, 9 plus 9?
 4 Thadius: 80 plus 80.
 5 Ms. Carpero: 80 what plus 80, 80 dogs plus 80 dogs?
 6 Thadius: 80 cents!
 7 Ms. Carpero: 80 what?
 8 Thadius: 80 dogs plus 80 cents
 9 Ms. Carpero: Well why am I gonna add? Who can help Thadius? Why didn't,
 10 why am I gonna add 80 cents plus 80 cents. What does the 80 cents
 11 mean? What does 80 cents mean? Renaldo, what does 80 cents
 12 mean? What does 80 cents mean in this problem?
 13 Renaldo: Change.

- 14 Catalina: Ooh Ms!
 15 Ms. Carpero: What does it mean in this problem?
 16 Students: Change!
 17 Ms. Carpero: Not just change, but what does it mean?
 18 Students: Kids
 19 Ms. Carpero: Raise your hand. What does the 80 cents mean?
 20 Student: Ooh ooh Ms.!
 21 Ms. Carpero: Edgar, what does 80 cents mean in this problem?
 22 Student: Kids=
 23 Edgar: (??) =children
 24 Ms. Carpero: Well what kind of child cos' 80 cents?
 25 Edgar: The husky children
 26 Ms. Carpero: 80 cents means one husky child. One husky child (she illustrates
 27 how to label the math problem on the board).

In this playful poem, the fictional "Googies" charge different prices for different types of children they collect and sell. The poem lends itself to cross-curricular teaching, providing the perfect opportunity to work on mathematics through poetry. In Line 2 in the above excerpt, Thadius explained that he found his answer (\$1.60) by "Adding it up." Mrs. Carpero used the "piling" technique of repetitive queries to move Thadius to a more mathematical description of the process of his work. The repetition of "80 what" and "What does 80 cents mean?" kept the momentum of participation going until Thadius and his classmates moved from "it" (Line 2) to "80" (Line 4) to "80 cents"(Line 6) and ultimately to labeling 80 cents as the cost of "one husky child" (Lines 26-27).

Language of Critique

In Foster's research the language of critique refers to the language that teachers use to challenge the dominant ideology of the state regarding schooling. The language of critique is evidenced not only in what teachers talk about in their classrooms, but also the languages themselves that teachers use in classrooms. Ms. Carpero's incorporation of AAVE and PRE linguistic styles and performance norms can be seen as challenging the dominant ideology about schooling that insists on the strict adherence to Standard, monolingual English in the classroom. When I asked Ms. Carpero about her use of Non-Standard varieties of English and occasional use of Spanish in her classroom, she revealed a philosophy about classroom language use that challenges the status quo. Ms. Carpero felt that her role was to encourage students to participate in all forms of language, rather than police students' strict adherence to Standard English norms. The teacher's own selective use of Non-Standard English lowered the social distance between herself and the students. Ms. Carpero also code-switched into Spanish on occasion if she felt that the use of Spanish would help a child who spoke Spanish at home to understand a concept or feel comfortable participating in her classroom.

However, Ms. Carpero was aware that her students also needed to learn the Standard form of English in order to succeed in public domains outside of her classroom. Rather than correct students' language directly, the teacher chose moments in the classroom to model Standard English usage. She often used repetition to respond to what a student had just said in Non-Standard English into the Standard English form. For example, when Namika, a student who has recently transitioned into English language instruction said: "The Googies want for the husky kid, 80 cents," Ms. Carpero repeated Namika's response: "80 cents. That's how much they paid (teacher's emphasis) for it." Similarly, when Nector offered: "It don't work," Ms. Carpero asked: "Nector, why doesn't 90 cents work?" In this way Ms. Carpero chose moments during her instruction to model Standard English, while validating the use of Non-Standard English as well.

Conclusion

This paper has explored a Puerto Rican teacher's strategic use of repetition as a distinct cultural resource, and how she used this resource with students who are speakers of languages and dialects other than Standard English. Though it is difficult to infer how this teacher's style contributed to her success in the classroom, I believe her use of culturally-specific forms of repetition did enhance the way she controlled classroom talk and behavior, increased students' participation and learning of the curriculum, and critiqued the use of Standard and Non-Standard language use in the classroom. Cazden (1988) concludes her study of the language style used by Mexican-American educators with the following challenge: "For every teacher to find a personal style that is equivalent in contributing a strong and positive sense of community with each year's group of learners." Ms. Carpero's use of repetition helped her meet this challenge. Her personal classroom discourse style built on the cultural patterns of language use in the local African American and Puerto Rican community. Her use of this stylistic resource served to validate, rather than stigmatize, the language use of minority students.

Gumperz (1972) discusses the success of many political leaders who rely on the alternation between Standard and Non-Standard language styles for rhetorical effect (185). Who could forget Dr. Martin Luther King's powerful "I have a dream" speech; his memorable refrain illustrating the use of repetition in the African American church? It is important to recognize the value and influence that African American speech styles have had on the English language use of other minority communities. Most studies of minority classroom discourse tend to compare Non-Standard speech styles to those of the White, middle class (Phillips 1983; Heath 1983). Here, I have attempted to shift the focus from routing all influence through White norms towards an understanding of the mutual influences minority groups have

had on one another's language use; specifically, that some degree of convergence between stylistic features of AAVE and PRE has developed in urban areas where both communities are in frequent contact.

Repetition is only one of many AAVE stylistic features used by this Puerto Rican teacher in her classroom. It is important that future research analyze both the linguistic and paralinguistic features of urban minority student-teacher discourse, such as cadence, prosody, posture, gesture, and dress, to fully understand the implications of such use in the classroom. Another direction for future research is to consider the variation between Puerto Rican teachers' language use in the classroom according to gender, age, place of birth, years in the classroom, and language of instruction. In this way we can understand the extent to which Ms. Carpero's speech style is typical among Puerto Rican teachers, and the extent this style is reflective of this teacher's unique idiolect. Regardless, research should continue to pursue ethnographic and sociolinguistic accounts of the language style used between educators and students who share cultural, linguistic, and/or socio-economic backgrounds.

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Melisa Cahnmann is a doctoral candidate in Educational Linguistics at the University of Pennsylvania. She is a Spencer Fellow and has worked on the Literacy in Two Languages Project with Dr. Nancy Hornberger and the Urban Mathematics Project with Dr. Janine Remillard. Currently, she works on her dissertation research: a critical ethnography of bilingual education in Philadelphia. Her work is published or forthcoming in the following research journals: Bilingual Research Journal, Educators for Urban Minorities, and SALSA. She teaches the "Cultural Foundations" course in the Master's Education program at Beaver College.

Analyzing the Role of the Vernacular in Student Writing: A Social Literacies Approach

Mollie Blackburn and Deborah Stern

University of Pennsylvania

In this article the authors present and use a social literacies perspective to analyze a rap written by a high school student. They begin by examining the student's uses of African American Vernacular English (AAVE) and standard English. The student writing sample and the researchers' analysis are subjected to review by two other African American teenagers, and these students' insights are used to interrogate the assumptions of analysis and research into language use. The article ends by claiming that teachers and researchers must engage students' literacy practices in order to enrich classroom life and conduct meaningful, socially just research.

Introduction

It seems that all talk today about reforming instruction in urban schools centers around one of two ideas: either we have to toughen academic standards, or we have to make curriculum responsive to the changing needs and identities of our student population. If teachers and researchers are going to take the latter recommendation seriously, one of the first tasks before us is to find ways to understand our students' writing. Currently, most evaluation of student writing focuses on technical deficits or strength of argument or organization; this avoids the ideological issues that underlie all types of evaluations. What we need is a new approach to student writing that recognizes and seeks to make intellectual and academic use of students' social literacies.

As veteran teachers who have worked in urban schools around the country, we recognize the need for radical instructional reform. Too many children are sitting in class, bored out of their minds and unable to make any connections between their needs and what they are receiving in school. Too many children in the city have stopped going to school altogether because it is simply not worth their time. As some educators have suggested (Moll, Amanti, Neff, & Gonzalez 1992), we should find ways to incorporate students' own funds of knowledge into school curricula. Also, we must

look closely at students' written assignments - the expository compositions, narratives, and other types of creative writing they produce for teachers in school - and assess them for more than mechanical or stylistic "correctness." In addition, we must scrutinize our students' extracurricular literacy events and literacy practices, including the behaviors and meanings associated with reading and writing (Heath 1983). Once we do so we can learn what writing means to students and how it represents them. We will then be able to build curriculum around and out of student concerns and student literacies. We may then be able to understand what each of our students is bringing with him or her into the classroom, and better help each child benefit from a rich, truly useful education.

We need to take several kinds of steps to achieve this goal. First, we have to understand literacy as a social rather than an autonomous phenomenon (Street 1995). Urban teens make all kinds of deliberate decisions and judgments about communication throughout the day - what tone of voice should be used with the police officer? What does it mean that this authority figure uses African American Vernacular English with me? Should I respond in kind? - and yet we ignore these highly literate abilities, choosing instead to teach technical skills such as phonics in the classroom. Our conception of literacy needs to be extended and broadened considerably.

This is the purpose of our study. We hope to gain new insights into literacy by exploring students' feelings about writing and school. We hope to use these insights to critique and see more clearly the implications of the choices we have made in the past as English teachers. We hope to unpack some of the assumptions about literacy and learning that we currently hold as researchers of language, school, and students. Each of these goals fits into our larger hopes for our work with urban teenagers and schools. Paramount among these hopes is the desire to find ways to make urban teens and urban schools fit one another more successfully.

Research questions for this study include:

- (1) How do students' social and cultural traditions shape their writing in school?
- (2) How do students think about various academic audiences for their writings?
- (3) How do students negotiate the different expectations and standards occasioned by these different audiences?

Some of the more philosophical questions that drive our inquiry are: What are the sources of researchers' representations and interpretations of student writing? How are these representations and interpretations lim-

ited? What does a particular analytical approach say about us as teachers? As researchers?

To make use of any student writing we must find ways to analyze and represent it. This is another purpose of this paper: to examine the limits and uses of methodology in analyzing students' writing. We first clarify our methodological terrain, identify the theoretical framework for our study, and detail the phases of our inquiry (Section II). Next, in Section III, we describe and analyze our findings. In the next section we reflect on both our methodological approach and the ways in which we have analyzed our findings. The last two sections (V and VI) are devoted to implications for classroom teachers and literacy researchers.

Theoretical Framework and Methodology

This study is qualitative and interpretive in nature. It was carried out and is being reported by two former high school English teachers, Mollie Blackburn and Deborah Stern. We first selected a piece of student writing and analyzed it in an eclectic but rigorous way. This was "How Many?" a piece of writing by Casey¹ an 18-year-old African American male high school student in Athens, Georgia (see Figure 1). We then conducted interviews with two other students about writing in and out of school in general, and about the aforementioned sample of student writing in particular. We finished by reflecting on our findings in an effort to recognize that what counts as knowledge is fluid. It is more sensitive to complexities of social phenomena, and it must be seen as a recursive process including construction and legitimation (Lather 1992).

Our work allowed us to look closely at three of what Mitchell (1984) calls "telling cases": Casey's piece, our interview subjects' responses to this piece, and our own research methods. The "particular circumstances [in each of these cases]...serve to make previously obscure theoretical relationships suddenly apparent" (Mitchell 1984: 239). In the first two telling cases we regard language variety, students' own productions, and students' commentary as they relate to urban high school teachers' expectations, urban community values, and to youth culture. In the examination of our own methods of inquiry - that is, in the third telling case - we seek to understand our research in the context of our multiple roles as white, female, middle class ethnographers and high school teachers struggling with outsider status, academic discourse, and theory-based analysis. We are not implying that these telling cases are typical or represent general social or cultural truths. Rather, we understand them to be illustrations of "social fields" that provide contexts which surround linked events and relationships (Mitchell 1984).

¹ All students' names are pseudonyms.

It would be useful at this point to elaborate on how we approached each of the three data sources. First, we will discuss Casey's piece. This text, a rap written in AAVE, allows us to explore how alternative literacies function in the school context. Casey made choices in writing the rap that are embedded in social and political contexts. Casey's writing, like all literacy events, is surrounded by a multitude of behaviors and meanings that we cannot catalogue but must acknowledge.

The rap is an example of adolescent vernacular writing. This appeals to us because it gives us an opportunity to be "sensitive to local variation in literacy practices" (Street 1995: 149). We appreciate the vernacular as a viable variation of literacy practice. Like Street, we recognize the insistence of a single version of literacy to be intellectually meaningless, "culturally damaging," marginalizing, authoritative, and homogenizing. We agree with Street's claim that "different literacies have different powers" (Street 1995:140). We want to rescue vernacular writing from the margins into which it is so often forced in the academic arena. Another reason we look at a vernacular piece of writing is its social nature, which we believe to be central in literacy studies. In Camitta's study of adolescent vernacular writing, she defines vernacular as "creative, expressive, literate behavior ... liberated from the constraints of canon" (Camitta 1987: 6), and she states that "writing as it is practiced on the vernacular level is a social act" (Camitta 1987: 116). She argues that "[r]eal writing" is social (Camitta 1987: 116). Based on her assertion, in order to look at "real writing" we must look at social writing, and vernacular is one example of social writing.

How does a researcher look at social writing? We needed to create a new way of looking critically at written AAVE. We needed to adopt a believing stance toward what has traditionally been forbidden in the high school English classroom. We read "How Many?" paying attention to Casey's sense of audience, rhyme, structure, his uses of AAVE and standard English, his sensitivity to audience, mechanics, and spelling. A thorough account and analysis of our findings can be found in Section III.

In analyzing Casey's piece, we formed some tentative theories about his use of language. These theories are grounded in New Literacy Theory, which makes explicit some of the political and social realities inherent in all communication. For example, according to New Literacy Theory, the autonomous, skill-based model of literacy advocates a narrow, European and North American bias. This bias stigmatizes non-Western, oral cultures (Street 1995: 14), and imposes the underlying assumptions, power dynamics, and political and economic institutions of the dominating power upon the "illiterate" population.

New Literacy Theory was also of use to us in approaching the next phase of the study. How could we most effectively look into the social dimensions of "How Many?" Because of the complex codeswitching that

pervades the rap we thought it would be useful to show the piece to people who practice codeswitching regularly. Certainly many urban African American youth fit this description (Foster 1987). Stern had done some teaching in the West Philadelphia community, and was thus in touch with some African American teens. She contacted a former student, Graham, and invited him to come meet with the researchers one afternoon to talk about school, writing in general, and Casey's piece in particular. We thought it would be easier for Graham to speak if he had the support of a friend - another African American, another teenager, another male. And of course, "the natural interaction of peers can overshadow the effects of observation and helps us approach the goal of capturing the vernacular of everyday life" (Labov 1972: 256). Graham brought his friend, Norton, with him to the interview. Graham is 15, an honor student going into tenth grade. Norton is 13 and is going into eighth grade.

Our encounter with Graham and Norton reminded us to question critically our third source of data - our own research processes and practices. A reflexive stance allowed us to see deficits in both our analysis of Casey's piece and in our discussion of it with Graham and Norton. We also saw that our affiliation as teachers brought both complication and great advantage to the research process, giving us "intimate knowledge of the interconnections among the actors and events constituting the case study or social situation...[and thus] strategically plac[ing us] to appreciate the theoretical significance of these interconnections" (Mitchell 1984: 240).

Findings and Analysis

Our analysis of Casey's piece (see Appendix) closely resembles Gee's (1996) discourse analysis. Gee uses discourse analysis of stories and their contexts "to see the workings of sense making in social contexts with all their political and ideological ramifications" (p. 103). This search for deeper meaning, particularly social and political meaning, is what drove our analysis of Casey's rap.

We began by noting Casey's use of AAVE. Labov (1972) defines AAVE as "the relatively uniform dialect spoken by the majority of black youth in most parts of the United States" (Labov 1972: xii). He claims that "the major causes of reading failure are political and cultural conflicts in the classroom, and dialect differences are important because they are symbols of this conflict" (Labov 1972: xiv). The use of dialect differences, such as AAVE, is important because it is often rejected in the academic realm, yet it is powerful among its users. Labov (1972) reminds us that "it is the normal, intelligent, well-coordinated youth who is a member of the BEV culture" (Labov 1972: 286). He goes on to say that those who do not use

²Labov uses the term "Black English Vernacular" (BEV), as opposed to African American Vernacular English, in keeping with the terminology of the early 1970's.

AAVE, who are not part of a vernacular peer group, "give up the satisfaction of a full social life and any first hand knowledge of the vernacular culture" (Labov 1972: 286).

"How Many?" is replete with instances of AAVE. We found thirteen occurrences of AAVE and eleven incidences of other vernacular English varieties. Examples of AAVE in Casey's poem include the weakening of consonant clusters at the end of words, such as "mo" (ll. 1 and 3) and "yo" (l. 5) and the omission of the verb "to be" (ll. 4, 6, 7, 10, and 21). "[G]otta" (ll. 1, 3, and 4), "wanna" (l. 9), "cause" (l. 10) and "ain't" (l. 12) are some examples of other vernacular English that Casey used in this piece. We noticed that 22 of the 24 vernacular occurrences are before line 17.

At line 17 Casey stopped using vernacular, changed from black to blue ink, modified his handwriting a bit, and shifted his discourse organization. The shift at line 17 captures our attention and complicates our selection of this piece. Did Casey's sense of audience change? Did he start writing for his teacher at line 17? Why did he decide to shift from vernacular to more formal, standard English?

Gee (1996) asserts that people tend to use the vernacular when they are more concerned with "solidarity and bonding with those to whom they are speaking" and are more likely to use the standard when they are more concerned with "status ... respect, dignity, and social distance" (Gee 1996: 91). Considering this assertion, what does Casey's shift in language say about his relationship to school and to his audience? What is he telling us?

Next we looked at discourse organization features in the shift in Casey's rap. Evidence of Casey's discourse organization is in his structure, patterns, and rhymes. These define Casey's writing as rap and suggest Casey's involvement in "a specific cultural tradition of sense making" (Gee 1996: 114), a tradition fixed in African American music. Evidence of his shift exists in the change of ink color, print style, use of vernacular, and mood. We interpreted his shift away from AAVE use and toward a didactic tone as a shift in audience from peers to teachers. Although we recognize that "[t]here are always, in principle, many interpretations of a text, a text can always be interpreted at different levels (more or less 'deeply'), and interpretations can never be proven" (Gee 1996: 101). Camitta (1987) and Shuman (1986) support our interpretation of intention behind Casey's shift. Camitta (1987) asserts that "[a]dolescent vernacular writing is often geared to an immediately accessible or imaginable audience who shares a common experience or frame of reference" (Camitta 1997: 142). Shuman (1986) says, "Adolescents wrote for adults most often at school" (Shuman 1986: 97). So perhaps vernacular writing suggests an audience of peers, with whom solidarity is important (Gee 1996), and the absence of vernacular suggests a more distant audience, such as teachers or other adults, for whom status is more important (Gee 1996). What does such a shift say about societal influences on Casey's literacy? What does this say about the power of various

literacies? So what? What are the educational implications?

These are questions we did not answer in our initial analysis. We still needed to push the social and political boundaries of our analysis - to consider power relationships involved in social practices that influence the conceptions of reading and writing in various cultural contexts (Street 1995).

Next we scanned the piece for rhyme, which drew our attention to structure. We found 14 pairs of rhymes, or couplets. Nine of the couplets span two lines, for example, "How MANY 'mo feen's you gotta serve/ I gotta know how long you on the curve" (ll. 3 & 4). The following line, "Wasting 'yo life cutting time like a knife" (l. 5), is one example of the five couplets that is on a single line. We found no structural pattern explaining these choices. We contemplated the inconsistency. We thought maybe the single-lined couplets are distinct from the double-lined couplets in terms of meter, but scanning the poem for meter proved otherwise. Perhaps he put all of his figures of speech on single-lined couplets. This is true with the exception of the figure of speech that occurs after the shift in line 17. We hypothesized that he put short couplets on single lines and long ones on two lines, but lines 9 & 10, 12 & 13, and 22 & 23 disprove this theory in that these couplets comprise two short lines. For example, lines 12 & 13 are, "It ain't gone last/ Only end with a blast." Perhaps Casey's choices about how many lines to use when writing couplets were random.

We focused on non-standard mechanics during our next reading and found four prelexical apostrophes, such as those in "'mo" (ll. 1 and 3) and "'yo" (l. 5), and seven intralexical apostrophes which occur before S's, such as those in "dime's" (l. 1), "time's" (l. 2), and "feen's" (l. 3). We speculated that these may represent hypercorrected mechanics.

We also noticed non-standard spelling. We thought that these words might have been phonetically accurate according to the author's pronunciation, since Casey is a southern speaker of AAVE. Either that or that they too were evidence of hypercorrection. For example, perhaps Casey wrote "sale" for "sell" as a result of pronouncing the word with a southern accent. We wondered whether he pronounces "marijuana" like he spells it, "marijuwana," or whether this spelling suggests hypercorrection.

Our initial concerns regarding the shift at line 17 emerged repeatedly throughout our analysis. The shift was apparent in many ways besides the changes in ink color and print style. The rhyme scheme seems more forced in two of the four couplets in the second part. For example, Casey used "house" to rhyme with "out." There are significantly fewer occurrences of vernacular English and hypercorrected mechanics after the shift. Did Casey's sense of audience change? If so, did that change influence his literacy choices? Were we witnessing "the uses and meanings of literacy [as they] entail struggles over particular identities up against other identities, often imposed ones" (Street 1995: 135)? Had we located a "cite of tension between authority and power on the one hand and individual resistance and creativity on the other hand" (Street 1995: 162)?

For the next series of findings and analyses, we must look to our second data source: the interview with Graham and Norton. We met with the boys on a summer morning in an unused auditorium at Graham's high school, which was open for summer school. Both Graham and Norton were friendly and shared their feelings about school and writing freely. Both boys are intelligent, polite, and forthright. Both separate school from "life outside of school," but they assign different values to these two domains. (All unscripted quotations in this section come from the interview conducted 7/24/98). Our interview progressed from a specific discussion about what the boys were doing this summer to their feelings about school in general. This shift happened organically. In discussing their summer activities (Graham was taking summer school courses and Norton was doing carpentry with his father), Graham and Norton consistently drew distinctions between "school stuff" and "life stuff." Norton told us that he never wrote anything for school that he enjoyed, and contrasted this with the kind of writing he enjoyed very much: writing lyrics to share with Graham and other peers. We learned from Graham and Norton's descriptions of this writing that one critical element of out-of-school writing that mattered to the boys was its collaborative nature. When the boys write for one another, give each other feedback, and read each others' lyrics aloud, they are engaging in a process that is, as Camitta (1993) tells us, collaborative, recursive, and performative. We spent about a half an hour discussing these writing-and sharing-processes, and then showed the boys Casey's piece. This text further opened up discussion about what was appropriate in school discourses versus what is appropriate in non-school discourse in terms of authorial tone, subject matter, mechanics, use of slang, profanity, and ethical position.

The boys referred again and again to how differently they felt about using language and writing in school and using language and writing outside of school. Norton said he only liked "writing if it's like my pleasure," and went on at length about how different this personal writing is from what he writes for school. If he is "getting a grade for it," he has to follow the teacher's rules, and he does not enjoy that. When Norton writes lyrics for himself and his friends, on the other hand, he does not have to follow anyone's rules but his own. He told us that in this writing he uses "a lotta big words all the time. They don't make no sense...I don't even know what I'm sayin'. I could be talking about pork and toothbrushes!" (or some such unlikely juxtaposition of concepts). The one time Norton was invited to write a rap for school, he didn't like it "because it made sense" !

For Norton, good writing needs to be neither coherent nor mechanically correct. He knows the rules to follow for writing in school, and consciously rejects them. This means that he is free to indulge in language play only in his own writing. He is unable to play with language and meaning in school where standard English and correctness is stressed over sound and rhythm, and where he is penalized for his alternate literacy.

Norton's unorthodox criteria for good writing illustrates Lea and Street's (1998) proposal that there are epistemological presuppositions "hidden under technical attention to supposedly generic features of academic writing" (Lea & Street 1998: 30). When we read writing by a young, urban, African American boy such as Norton, and it makes no sense to us, we assume that he has not mastered the rules and conventions of standard English. We rarely think that Norton is freely choosing to devalue technical correctness (Giroux 1983), but it is clear that he is doing just that in his preference for aural and affective elements. This tendency was also evident in Norton's response to Casey's piece. After reading this piece, Norton told us that "How Many?" seemed old-fashioned to him. He said, "...it seem like, like this was written in '92" - a time that for Norton is far in the past, a time when rap was less rhythmically complex, and when rappers used the simple rhyme scheme and metronomical rhythm that characterizes Casey's piece.

We gain one striking insight from Norton's preferences. His priorities and criteria for good writing show us that in emphasizing coherence and correctness - that is, in reproducing the values of in-school writing - our analytical apparatus ignores two critical qualities of Casey's piece: sound and rhythm. We are not sensitive to these aspects of the piece, as Graham and Norton are, for many reasons. We don't write raps. We don't listen to them with as much concentration. We are English teachers and researchers into language, and our analytical apparatus is replete with proof of this fact. We approached Casey's piece as if it were a poem, a linguistic sample, a literary text - anything but a piece of music.

Graham's focus is different from Norton's, and also affords us further information about how inquirers into language make meaning from a text. Graham is more invested in formal aspects of writing than Norton is. He admitted that sometimes he makes mistakes when he writes, and added that he doesn't "have a problem making mistakes. That's how we learn." Like Norton, Graham shares his lyrics with his peers, but unlike Norton, he is not looking for affirmation of how good his lyrics "sound." Also unlike Norton, Graham wants his friends to tell him if he has made spelling or other mechanical errors. For Graham, the differences between writing for teachers in school and writing for himself or his friends out of school do not lie in attention to coherence or rhythm. He writes as correctly - which, for Graham, means standard English - as he can for all audiences.

This may be because Graham is quite committed to mastering standard English, which for him is a "secondary discourse" (Gee 1996: 142). He welcomes correction that improves his ability to use this other discourse, and seems to believe that all technical conventions of his primary discourse are mistakes - or are at least inappropriate to use in writing in or out of school. For Graham, what differentiates in-school writing from out-of-school writing is the writing's content or message. When he read Casey's piece, Graham zeroed in on the shift at line 17. It was the first thing on which he

remarked. Graham believed that the first part of the piece is an endorsement for the drug-dealing life, and that the second part of the piece, which cautions against this kind of activity, may not even have been written by Casey. It is so school-appropriate, in fact, that Graham thought a teacher must have written it. Graham explained this belief: "I think because from [lines] 1 to 16, he's, he like talkin' about the life like he's lived it. And the other part, he's talking about... like [a] teacher could be talking about what she saw happening." Graham's comments also showed that he is sensitive to what Fairclough (1992, quoted in Ivanic, 1992) calls the two components of interpersonal meaning: the representation of social identities (who is the author at the end of the piece?) and the representation of social relations (Who is the author in relation to the preaching voice at the end of the piece? Who is the author in relation to the drug dealer at the beginning of the piece?).

These insights show us another aspect of "How Many?" that our analytical apparatus omits: What is Casey's attitude toward his drug-dealing protagonist? What is Casey's ethical responsibility as an author who will be read by youth, by adults, and by people outside the community? We have noted that there is some ambivalence on this point (see section II), but this ambivalence does not cause us to question Casey's credibility. Graham and Norton seemed to have conflicting feelings about Casey's shift in voice. On the one hand, they valued the first sixteen lines of Casey's piece because they reflect "reality." On the other hand, Graham especially was uncomfortable with the idea of receiving this pro-drug message in school and thought that Casey's piece ought to be shown, if at all, to 11th and 12th graders, only, because "it's like teachin' kids that sellin' weed is OK." Young children do not need to hear this message in school. Norton, on the other hand, thought the piece was appropriate for school children in 4th grade and above.

One other aspect of the piece that we completely ignored but that played a central role in Graham and Norton's analysis of it was Casey's use of profanity. On lines 9-10, the piece reads: "You wanna quit/ Cause you feeling like shit." Graham and Norton could not help but pay attention to this bold rejection of school-writing protocol. Students are simply not allowed to use profanity in their writing for school. The word "shit" was, for Norton, what stood out most in the piece - more than rhythm, more than street credibility. This fact impacted on whether the boys felt the piece was appropriate for school, and on their feelings about Casey as an author.

At this point in our critique of our original analytical apparatus, it is clear that we ignored at least three important aspects of Casey's piece: rhythm, accurate or credible representation of street culture, and profanity. Should we have paid attention to these aspects? Could we have? What else did we miss? First, it is our belief that even though he was writing for school, Casey wanted to make his piece as authentic, as vernacular (Camitta 1987) as possible. Casey's intentions are made clear by his deliberate use of

AAVE and his choice of subject matter.

But he was also writing for a teacher, and both Graham and Norton noted this conflict in different ways. As previously discussed, Graham points out that although Casey wrote "How Many?" at the request of a teacher, his authorial tone seems to shift from conspiratorial to judgmental. Not surprisingly, Norton saw Casey's shift differently, as one of rhythm and affect. Rapping a few of Casey's lines, Norton demonstrated how you can hear the shift at line 17 by reading the lines out loud ("Doot doot dooh...see? This is like poetry. It's the way you say it. Poetry is jazzier"). The shift was represented as well in the kind of language Casey began using after the break ("See? The way he rappin' up here [after line 17] - 'the route to all evil,' he wouldn't say nothing' like that...it sound like poetry").

Passing judgment, noting stilted poetic homilies and ignoring rhythm - these are characteristics of the kind of writing that Graham and Norton associate with school. They are also features of our analytical apparatus. More than anything, Graham and Norton's fresh perspective on writing shows us how much our analytical approach has been determined and circumscribed by our own experiences in school. We did not look at "How Many?" as an example of collaborative or musical or reality-based vernacular writing. Instead, we focused on Casey's use of nonstandard English, on metaphor, and other rhetorical features - the formal aspects of the piece that trouble Graham and Norton, and which typified for them the conflicts between writing for in-school audiences and writing for audiences outside of school. What mattered to the boys were Casey's experiences, his use of profanity, and his credibility as a representer of street culture. Our approach bypassed these concerns.

We might have constructed an analytical apparatus that was more inclusive and more useful if we had conducted this interview before making sense of Casey's piece ourselves, and tried to incorporate the insights we gained from talking to Graham and Norton. But our approach was limited by our position as outsiders. Norton summed this up most succinctly. When we asked the boys at the end of the interview to help us understand Casey's piece by teaching it to us, Norton said he could help readers understand the piece by asking them to situate themselves in relation to it. If he were teaching the piece, Norton said, "I ask you where you live, first. Cause you live where we live, you know what we talking about. I'd break it down to you."

Reflections on Methods and Findings

Complicating factors arose in each stage of our inquiry into literacy practices and schooling. First, our analysis of "How Many?" was hindered by our tendency to dichotomize the standard and the non-standard. When we looked at mechanics, we discussed them in terms of the standard. That

which we identified as hypercorrected was hypercorrected according to the standard. When we looked at spelling, our focus was on non-standard spellings. We called it non-standard; we were separating it and identifying it as "other." Does calling "non-standard" or "vernacular" somehow neutralize its negativity? Does the fact that we noted Casey's AAVE with bold-face type remove the stigma of traditionally red-penned errors? What kinds of values are implicit in the word "vernacular"? Shuman (1986) problematizes our respect for the standard. She writes, "[T]he notion of standardization in literature or any art form involves a great irony" in that the distinctive stands out from the common in that it has standards, but "great literature is distinguished from lesser literature on the basis of uniqueness and nonconformity to standards" (Shuman 1986: 190). She differentiates linguists from literacy scholars in that the former "have regarded standardization as the key factor that makes written and oral communications significantly different" (Shuman 1986: 184), and the latter "are concerned with written texts in terms of the kind of information they contain" (Shuman 1986: 186). Perhaps our greatest impediment in identifying social and political meaning in Casey's piece was assuming the roles of linguists rather than literacy scholars.

Our interview with Graham and Norton was similarly complicated by a variety of factors. Our different teaching styles led us to adopt different researcher styles; Blackburn tended to be extremely empathetic, offering affirming, compassionate rejoinders to many statements made by the boys. Stern was eager to collaborate and asked the boys more leading questions. How did these variations impact on the kinds of responses and information the boys offered? Furthermore, in producing and interpreting two quite dissimilar sets of fieldnotes, we recognize how differing written accounts might turn interpretation toward or away from certain themes. Such variability is inevitable when an event becomes an interpretable text. Indeed, as we learn from studying ethnography as a methodology, all written accounts of oral experiences are limited by the very fact of their transcription. As Hammersley and Atkinson tell us, "Written language is an analytical tool, not a transparent medium of communication" (Hammersley & Atkinson 1995: 240).

Another factor that might be compromising our interpretations is the extremely limited scope of our study. How representative are Graham and Norton's viewpoints? Have we in fact created an "apt illustration" (Mitchell 1984: 237) of the social relationships among two white, female, former teachers conducting research into literacies in the city with two teenaged, African American boys? Or do the special circumstances of our various relationships with one another (Stern has been Graham's teacher. Blackburn and Stern may be reluctant to expose their teacher voices in front of each other. Norton may have been trying to impress his older peer throughout the interview) compromise all of our statements in important ways? Also, the decision to test our analytical apparatus via an interview with two lo-

cal teenagers may have yielded some interesting insights, but it may also perhaps be woefully incomplete as a test of that apparatus. More than anything else, what this interview makes clear is that Blackburn and Stern still act like teachers: they lead, they ingratiate themselves, they challenge the boys to confront difficult concepts and express their own viewpoints, and they validate and encourage everything that the boys say. Is this any way to conduct research? We may be challenging the research community, but we say emphatically, that yes, it is.

Finally, in the same way that our written account of the interview with Graham and Norton suffers from the limitations of transcription, so too, is Casey's piece compromised as it gets further and further from its source. Our study may be doing Casey's piece a gross disservice by thrusting it into new contexts, to be read by strangers in other academic environments, in other cities. This is a risk that every written piece runs, recalling Plato's dilemma (Gee 1996: 26-31). Plato said that dialogic communication alone is authentic. Only dialogue allows a reader to consult an author, and only dialogue allows an author to revise, clarify, or restate meaning.

Although we have discussed the deficits in both our analytical apparatus and our testing of it, we think that the nature of these flaws is itself significant. Yes, we are far removed from our texts, but all readers, even all authors experience a certain degree of distance from actual experience once it is transcribed and frozen via textual representation (Gee 1996). And yes, our research goes back and forth from discovery of new insights to confirmation of our hypotheses - but isn't that also a defining feature of all reflexive research? And finally, we can view our affiliation as teachers as bringing both complication and great advantage into the research process. This affiliation gives us "intimate knowledge of the interconnections among the actors and events constituting the case study or social situation...[and we are thus] strategically placed to appreciate the theoretical significance of these interconnections" (Mitchell 1984: 240). Clearly, this study suggests some new considerations and caveats for research into student writing, in and out of school. The implications for teaching and for research are discussed in the next two sections.

Implications for Classrooms

If it does nothing else, this study reinforces our need to continue the conversation about imposing standard English on all speakers and writers of nonstandard English at school. Many scholars (Heath 1983; Delpit 1995; Smitherman 1977, 1981) have joined this debate, and when the scope of the debate is extended to include nonnative English-speaking students, its political as well as pedagogical implications are enormous. Effective communicators like Casey, Graham, and Norton show us the fallacy of the concept of verbal deprivation (Labov 1972: 202). They also push us to devise new ways to validate alternative literacies and aid us in helping students

become proficient users of dominant literacies.

Can we do these two things simultaneously? How? We can invite students to bring examples of non-school literacy practices into the classroom, and use them as the basis for careful, student-centered analysis (Stern 1995). We can increase urban students' access to the assumptions and implications of standard English in general by making school a place where students inquire into language and meaning-making (Fecho 1995). Both these forms of inquiry rely on urban teens' experiences and expertise (Heath & Mangiola 1991). The trick is to make sure that these students are given opportunities to practice standard English while they are studying the power dynamics inherent in its use and in its variations.

Probably the most useful tool at our disposal for making in-school writing matter to students is the model of collaborative literacy which has been indicated by both our interview subjects and by some New Literacy scholars. Can we set up critical, affirming, authentic peer groups in classrooms that function like Graham and Norton's group of lyric-reading friends? Can we link urban teens via the Internet, as Moll and Diaz (1987) have suggested, so that they can carry on dialogues about each others' writing across towns and states? Can we establish writing collectives in the same way that teachers such as Cone (1994) have set up reading groups in which high school students dialogue with one another about their responses to literature? While there are potential difficulties in all these suggestions in terms of classroom management, expense, and authors' vulnerability, each one is inspiring and might help make in-school writing less a hated, evaluated entity (as it is for Norton), and more a dialogic way for students to know the world.

This approach may make school more enjoyable for some students. Will it make them more academically successful? Labov (1972) says a student's verbal skills on the street will not necessarily bring him or her success in the classroom (Labov 1972: 213). This is true, given our current exclusive emphasis on school literacy. But as this study implies, urban teachers can do their students a great service by taking a social literacy stance in regards to student writing. As Lee's (1993) work shows, when teachers approach nonstandard English and non-school literacies with respect and intellectual rigor, they not only gain insight into their students' writing but also help their students make crucial links between school and the streets.

Forming these bridges may be a new task for teachers, but it is only one of several new roles that a social literacy stance calls upon teachers to assume. Moll, et. al. (1992) suggest that teachers build curriculum around students' funds of knowledge, which teachers investigate by acting as field researchers into students' social contexts. Remembering how busy a teacher's day is, we would amend this suggestion somewhat and ask students to be the ones to investigate and articulate their social contexts as part of their inquiry into language and literacy. Teachers would share the process of discovery and help students arrive at new insights. Based on

our own collaboration, we would also suggest that teachers who decide to work with student writing from a social literacy stance enlist the help of one or more colleagues and/or students. As Graham and Norton showed us, we all know more together than we do apart. Or, as Norton put it so neatly, participating in social literacy research made him "feel special because everybody don't know what I know."

Implications for Research

Our study has important research implications that suggest that research should work for social change, be reflexive, and insist on being real. These implications demand that researchers commit themselves to improving society, complicating their work, and listening closely to the people who contribute to their research.

We celebrate the activist, rather than the academic nature of research. Gee (1996) tells us that "[w]e ought to be much less interested in creating a new science than in creating a new society" (Gee 1996: 65). Although we did construct a new technical apparatus with which to analyze students' vernacular writing, our construction and our critique of it are located in a larger effort to work toward a more just society that values vernaculars and the powers of various literacies in various contexts.

We struggled not only to make our inquiry into literacy activist but also personal. In our study, we examined the realities of the lives of Casey, Graham, and Norton, as their writing and conversation reveals them; and we investigated how school as a social structure shapes their decisions to use different literacies in different contexts. This illustrates Weiler's (1988) assertion that research should "address the relationship between structural oppression and the realities of individual lives" (Weiler 1988: 59).

Reflexivity is also essential to the kind of activist research we advocate. It demanded that we problematize our white, middle class, female, former teachers' approach to a piece written by an African American, working class, male student. A reflexive stance is also what led us to recognize our limitations as outsiders and compelled us to solicit input from Graham and Norton.

As researchers, we must address the real lives of kids in classrooms. What can we do to learn about these lives? How can we make a difference? How can we make school more meaningful for students? In order for researchers to answer such questions we must start by listening to what students are telling us. It is not enough to hint at valuing AAVE by identifying it in student writing, as we did with Casey's piece. We need to make explicit our respect for AAVE as a critical ingredient of a social literacy by inviting and incorporating the insights of a few of its speakers and writers into related research.

Of course, this complicates literacy studies. It is easier to read articles

that point to characteristics of AAVE and then find those characteristics in written documents - but when operating like this, researchers might fail to note what is significant to AAVE speakers. Fortunately we found Graham and Norton to identify these qualities for us. Other researchers who study student writing and social literacies must find and listen to students talk about what they know: issues of race, class, gender, and power. From these conversations, researchers can develop a better understanding of how to read students' written productions and commentaries, and can co-construct analytical structures that reflect both groups' understandings. Without such collaboration literacy research is handicapped, cannot serve students, and cannot effectively work for social justice.

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Deborah Stern has been teaching and conducting research at urban high schools since 1987. She currently teaches in an alternative high school for drop-outs and push-outs in Philadelphia. Her research looks critically at the relationships among students' and schools' cultures.

Mollie Blackburn taught in urban, public, middle and high schools. She currently serves as the Women's Programs Coordinator at a youth-run center for lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and questioning youth. Her research explores the relationship between literacies and sexual identities of the youth with whom she works.

Appendix

HOW MANY? - Written by Casey _____

- 1 How MANY 'mo dime's ◆you gotta sale (nigga please)
- 2 How MANY time's ◆you made bale.
- 3 How MANY 'mo feen's ◆you gotta serve
- 4 I gotta know how long you ◆on the curve.
- ⌘ 5 Wasting 'yo life cutting time like a knife
- 6 How MANY sack's of marijuana ◆you gone bag
- 7 You ◆getting paid On the corner and you brag.
- ⌘ 8 Killing soul's no chance of getting old
- 9 You wanna quit
- 10 Cause you feeling like shit.
- ⌘ 11 With fancy car's, getting paid like star's.
- 12 It ain't gone last
- 13 Only end with a blast.
- 14 Easy cash with a hard way out
- 15 Your inner-self is the thing that you 'doubt.
- ⌘ 16 Feeling used from the game you abuse.
- 17 Remember there's only two ways to get out
- 18 A bullet in your head or cops up in your house.
- ⌘ 19 Either way, It's gonna take away your day.
- 20 The root to all evil is the old mighty dollar
- 21 You living well with gold around your collar.
- 22 How MANY, How MANY times
- 23 Please listen to this rhyme.

KEY TO SYMBOLS

gone= African American Vernacular English

◆= African American Vernacular English deletion

gotta= vernacular not specific to African American Vernacular English

'_doubt= hypercorrected mechanics

⌘= single-line couplet/variation in structural choice/note figures of speech

LINES TO NOTE

Line 17: Exhortation

Lines 18, 19: Threats

Line 20: Aphorism

Line 22: Repeated rhetorical question

Line 23: Direct appeal

Lines 17-22: Shift in tone and literary conventions, and shift away from AAVE/Signal shift in perceived audience

Recent LED Doctoral Graduates

While the primary purpose of the Working Papers in Educational Linguistics is to present works in progress by students and professors on a range of topics, we also would like to help our readers become informed about the dissertation work of recent doctoral graduates of the Language in Education Division of the University of Pennsylvania Graduate School of Education. The abstracts of these dissertations will soon be available at the WPEL web site: <http://gse.upenn.edu/wpel/index.http>.

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