

Second Language Teaching and Learning: Diversity and Advocacy

Proceedings of the 2017 Second Language Acquisition Graduate Student Symposium

Edited by Monica de la Fuente Iglesias, Zhongkui Ju, Erik Larson, Corinne Mathieu, & Tripp Strawbridge



CARLA | Center for Advanced
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UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

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Introduction: Diversity and Advocacy in Second Language Teaching and Learning

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On April 21 and 22, 2017, the University of Minnesota hosted the Second Language Acquisition (SLA) Graduate Student Symposium for the first time. Around 100 graduate students, professors, and educators attended the event, mostly from the three universities that host it on a rotating basis: University of Iowa, University of Minnesota-Twin Cities, and University of Wisconsin-Madison. Over 30 graduate students presented their work in paper and poster sessions, and four established scholars—Dr. Martha Bigelow, Dr. Kendall King, Dr. Kate Paesani, and Dr. Kim Potowski—gave keynote and plenary talks.

With support from Dr. Kate Paesani, director of the Center for Advanced Research on Language Acquisition (CARLA), and Dr. Martha Bigelow, professor in the Department of Curriculum and Instruction, the organizing committee decided to publish the first-ever proceedings to come out of the SLA Graduate Student Symposium. In addition to highlighting some of the important work that students presented at the symposium, the process of organizing the symposium and publishing the proceedings has resulted in the creation of a variety of resources, as well as these proceedings, which can be accessed on the CARLA website.¹

The 2017 Symposium was organized around the theme of diversity and advocacy. It is well known that the field of language teaching and learning in the United States has shifted dramatically in the 21st century as our society and students become more diverse and globalized than ever. Technological innovation and global migration have problematized the traditional dichotomy of foreign and second language learning while also offering opportunities for new imaginings of where and how language learning takes place (Douglas Fir Group, 2011). More specifically, in the field of SLA research, scholars have recognized this diversity with calls for a

¹ <http://carla.umn.edu/conferences/organizing/index.html>

bilingual or multilingual turn that foregrounds the “dynamic, hybrid, and transnational linguistic repertoires of multilingual (often migrant) speakers” (May, 2014, p. 1), essentially promoting multilingualism rather than monolingualism as the norm. This turn acknowledges the wide range of diversities that exist in the populations studied by SLA researchers, including diversities of context, background, native languages, and learning motivations.

There have also been strong calls in the field of second language education (or instructed SLA) research for a critical turn through which researchers interrogate their own agendas through an ethical lens (e.g., Ortega, 2005). These scholars push for research that reflects on who ultimately benefits from their work and who might be unintentionally harmed by a research agenda that positions some speakers as more native-like, more capable, or more resourceful than others. These questions are of particular import when second language education scholars are working with immigrants or other minority groups. Bigelow and Pettitt (2016) explain that, for them, research is an “engaged experience, meaning it is *with* and *for*” (p. 70) the students and educators they study. With this definition, they purposefully make a distinction between a research agenda that views learners as subjects and one that views learners as empowered participants in the process. This is one representation of how second language education research might take a turn toward advocacy, celebrating and leaning in to the diversity of our learners. In this proceedings volume, we are proud to present chapters that emerged from presentations at the Symposium that describe a variety of ways in which diversity and advocacy are manifested in second language teaching and learning.

In the first chapter, “Ideological Disjunctures and Institutional Repertoire at One Ojibwe Kindergarten Graduation,” Mel Engman presents a map of ideological disjuncture at the intersection of learning, schooling, and human capital at a single tribal school event. She examines how school stakeholders at this graduation ceremony discursively enact and reimagine the contentious “two-worlds” philosophy. Through critical discourse analysis, Engman explores the stances enacted through a variety of ideological disjunctures at play in an Indigenous language reclamation program. She advocates for teachers, administrators, and community members to encourage Indigenous language learning and use in school spaces.

Through a comprehensive literature review, Soon Jeong Kwon explores some of the challenges that TESOL educators encounter when they adopt co-teaching techniques to support

the different learning needs of an increasingly diverse ESL/EFL population. In her chapter, titled “Challenges in Co-Teaching in TESOL,” Kwon acknowledges the benefits of co-teaching for students, particularly in improving relationships among teachers, among students, and between teachers and students. At the same time, she recognizes that current studies have revealed difficulties in planning and implementing co-teaching across educational contexts. Kwon points out that some of those challenges are due to teachers’ unfamiliarity with collaborative work, as studies indicate that issues typically arise because of lack of co-planning time, paucity of training, and power inequality during role negotiation or decision making. Through this chapter, Kwon advocates for teachers by reminding us that they need proper preparation and support if they are to successfully co-teach in a way that benefits language learners.

The diversity of language learning contexts is foregrounded in Maria Schwedhelm’s investigation of communication strategies and negotiation of meaning in the peer-peer interaction of two novice learners of Mixtec, an Indigenous language from Southern Mexico. Her chapter, titled “Sustaining Common Ground and Co-Constructing Meaning in Peer-Peer Novice Learner Interaction,” analyzes the social and embodied tools that the learners (one of whom is the author herself) make use of throughout a series of role-play interactions. Through a sociocognitive lens, Schwedhelm analyzes a less commonly studied context for negotiation of meaning (non-classroom and non-laboratory) for a less commonly studied language, showing how learners were able to utilize a number of communication strategies in order to complete the role-play interactions as well as minimize and repair breakdowns in communication. As Schwedhelm stresses, these strategies represent a range of social and embodied affordances that go beyond mere repair of communication breakdown; in fact, most of the learners’ strategies were employed preventatively in order to sustain communication. Schwedhelm advocates for a conception of negotiation of meaning that more adequately describes its nature as a constant, ongoing effort to sustain communication and construct meaning.

In “Power and Privilege in Adult ESL Classrooms,” Ilse Griffin explores how White ESL instructors can make their teaching more equitable for students from minority races and cultures. She draws on Freire (1968) to argue that adult ESL students need to have a real voice in what and how they study. Teachers can make this happen by not defining students based on language deficit, by giving them real opportunities to choose topics and activities in class, and by

having them help rework curricula that are irrelevant or that include stereotypes of ESL learners. Griffin outlines several strategies that ESL teachers can use to have their students challenge or critique problematic class materials. Similar to Kwon's chapter, Griffin advocates for student learning by highlighting teacher practices.

In her article titled "Technology, Mobility, and Transnational Reality: Reconsidering the Speech Community," Jen Vanek directly address issues of diversity and advocacy as she explores the experiences and needs of adult ESL learners in relation to English language development and technological literacy. Vanek argues that changes in human movement and communication due to globalization, transnationalism, and technological innovations require a re-examination of the traditional view of a speech community. Vanek asserts that the original notion of a speech community was based on a local, monolingual perspective, whereas the use of digital communication tools like Facebook and Skype have allowed (im)migrants to expand their speech communities to include transnational and multilingual contexts. To support her argument, Vanek discusses three studies in which she and her colleagues worked with adolescent and adult migrants as they engaged in English language and literacy education in the United States. Overall, Vanek's work highlights the importance of leveraging technology to support English language learners' multilingual practices as a pathway to English language and digital literacy development.

Taken together, these five papers offer differing yet complementary insights aimed at bringing diversity and advocacy into second language teaching and learning. Some advocate for teachers to become educators for social justice, whereas others advocate for learners by encouraging teachers and educators to engage with effective multilingual and multicultural practices in planning and teaching. The chapters presented in these proceedings, besides being of interest in the research fields of second language acquisition and education, will undoubtedly resonate with groups that have a vested interest in social justice and representation, including educators, researchers, administrators, and the broader public.

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Ideological Disjunctures and Institutional Repertoire at One Ojibwe Kindergarten Graduation

Mel M. Engman, University of Minnesota

The complicated ideological terrain of a tribal school¹ wrestles with aims of self-determination, academic success, and the legacy of settler colonial violence and theft through institutionalized schooling. One effect of these ideological challenges is the ‘two-worlds’ approach to education for Indigenous students that categorizes linguistic and social practices as either “Indigenous” or “modern” (Lee, 2007; Wilson & Kamanā, 2009). Though this approach has long been recognized as problematic by critical educators, researchers, and activists, it persists in numerous Indigenous schooling contexts. This study employs critical discourse analysis (Fairclough, 2001; van Leeuwen, 2007) to examine how school and community officials discursively invoke, reject, and reimagine versions of this “two-worlds” philosophy within a single event: one Ojibwe tribal school’s kindergarten graduation ceremony. Contextualized with data from a larger ethnographic project, I extend Meek’s (2011) work with disjunctures to call attention to the institutional repertoires that shape the teaching and learning therein.

After months of listening, watching, speaking, singing, and playing with the bilingual Ojibwe kindergarteners at Migiziwazisoning, it was no surprise to find that the arrival of Graduation Day felt heavy in its finality. The previous day, I had put away data collection equipment for this linguistic ethnography of classroom language use in order to enjoy the day with my teacher-friends and celebrate the completion of the learners’ first year of school. Children and teachers were dressed up, the kindergarten classroom’s walls were bare, and the gymnasium was quickly filling with family members and friends. We helped the graduates into their robes and mortarboards and then filed down the hallway past the lockers and American flag, and into the gymnasium where drum and voices reverberated off the wooden bleachers. The blending of Ojibwe song, language, imagery, and ceremony with the more colonial trappings of the institutional rite of passage called graduation was sustained throughout the hour-long event. It was not entirely seamless, yet it was hardly uneven. The graduation ceremony appeared to be representative of the school community in that it was at once traditional and modern and fluid and complex. Though my identity as a White woman inarguably influenced what I was able to

¹ *Tribal schools* refers to schools in the United States that are controlled by federally-recognized tribes in conjunction with the Bureau of Indian Education (BIE).

read and misread in ways that are not entirely knowable to me (Probyn, 2004), the observable complex fluidity appeared to be achieved through the expert moves of the ceremony's participants. They were adept at shifting, pivoting, and adjusting their language to provide different messages to various stakeholders, and to index ideologies that appeared to contradict one another while occupying the same discursive space.

This study examines such ideologies, especially those that index the “two-worlds” vs. “one-world” approaches to education, to show how they are discursively constructed over the course of a single community event at an Ojibwe tribal school in the Midwestern United States. The importance of these conflicting ideologies to this specific context is rooted in the chronology of settler colonial schooling in the land now occupied by the United States. Though boarding schools and corporal punishment are assimilative tools that we have relegated to the past, the process of *deculturalization* (Spring, 2016) embedded in those institutions lives on in the present and foreseeable future. At tribal schools, where the school is overseen by the tribe in conjunction with the Bureau of Indian Education (as opposed to the municipal school district and state), culture-based curricula and Indigenous language instruction are often employed and supported in various forms to strengthen cultural identity and resist the deculturalizing processes of schools controlled by typically White-dominant colonial systems. The critical analysis of discourse presented here shows how institutional, social, and cultural ideologies overlap, strengthen, and contradict one another, sharing the same discursive space at a single community event. The push and pull of this ideological co-habitation highlights sites of entrenched reliance on dominant systems of power in the United States as well as potential openings for sovereign, transformative practices in school.

Ideology and Disjuncture

This research relies on a critical analysis of ideological disjunctures and their discursive representations at one event: the school's kindergarten graduation ceremony. *Disjuncture* refers to a point of “discontinuity or contradiction” (Moore, 2011, p. 291) and it is a useful descriptor for the frequent pivots that Indigenous stakeholders and allies make as they attempt to do decolonizing work within a colonial institution. Observations and analyses of disjuncture have been applied to concerns of widely varying scales such as with Appadurai's (2001) discussion of

the disjunctive relationships within and among the new 'landscapes' associated with globalization and deterritorialization (Appadurai, 2006) as well as with Meek's (2011) more focused ethnography of sociolinguistic disjunctures among the Kaska language revitalization movement in the Yukon. Meek (2011) defined disjuncture as: "the everyday points of discontinuity and contradiction—between social or linguistic groups, within discourses, practices, or between them, even between indexical orders—that interrupt the flow of action, communication or thought" (p. 4).

It is Meek's ethnolinguistic work that resonates most with this study in both scale (community-focused) and context (language revitalization). Her examination of the disjunctive points of sociolinguistic contradiction and interruption highlighted the role of practices shaping and being shaped by Kaska language endangerment in the Yukon. In emphasizing the everydayness of disjuncture, Meek showed how embedded these contradictions were in her participants' interactional, institutional, and ideological habits, as well as the resulting "ultimate disjuncture—younger generations' failure to acquire [specific cultural Kaska] knowledge" (2011, p. 30). Similarly, the research I present here grows from a larger project concerned with Ojibwe language reclamation in a school though the ideological ruptures, points of difference, and contradictions that I focus on are bound by the confines of the event.

The primary objective of this critical discourse analysis is to centralize disjunctures at a single community event as a heuristic for tracing the ideological tensions that structure life in an English language-dominant Ojibwe tribal school. Emphasizing the "gaps" can illuminate potential points of transformation (Fairclough, 1992b) whereby people can make *discursive change*. Akin to momentary interruptions in talk, disjunctures are opportunities for repair. They fold into our routines and are regimented in our institutional practices with an ease that concomitantly ushers in a multitude of chances for innovative shifts, reverses, and expansions. This approach is particularly pertinent in a school as "discursive events themselves have cumulative effects upon social contradictions and the struggles around them" (Fairclough, 1992a, p. 97).

Also important to this study is a critical understanding of the two-worlds approach to Indigenous schooling (Lee, 2007; Wilson & Kamanā, 2009) as well as the importance of deculturalization (Spring, 2016) and Whiteness (Hermes & Haskins, in press; Richardson &

Villenas, 2000) in the dominant model of American schooling. This ideological construct and socio-political process, respectively, work in tandem to sustain the assimilative project of schooling (Giroux, 2001; Lee, 2007) in the United States.

Two-Worlds Approach to Indigenous Education

“Walking in two worlds” is a commonly deployed metaphor to describe the irreconcilable tensions for Indigenous youth in education (Henze & Vanett, 1993; Wilson & Kamanā, 2009).

Henze and Vanett (1993) described its general meaning as such:

The metaphor of walking in two worlds sets up a likeness between being bilingual or bicultural and walking comfortably in two very different places. The somewhat intangible notion of different cultural and linguistic repertoires is made more comprehensible through metaphorical reference to a physical process (walking) taking place in two distinct physical locations (two worlds). (p. 118)

It simultaneously indexes participation in the colonial systems that structure education in the United States (one of the worlds) and its incompatibility with fidelity to an Indigenous way of life (another, separate world).

The ideology behind this metaphor has been widely critiqued for its assumptions about the fixed uniformity of any given culture and how it presumes a certain level of availability and accessibility of these cultures to the Indigenous youth (Henze & Vanett, 1993). Moreover, Wilson and Kamanā (2009) saw this metaphor as a barrier to language revitalization because its adherence to pre-contact “pure” language bars the creation of new words in the Indigenous language to reflect new technologies and other aspects of contemporary life. As activists in the movement to reclaim the Hawaiian language, Wilson and Kamanā rejected the two-worlds philosophy in favor of a one-world approach that “uses ritual and metaphor within a genealogical framework” (p. 371) to prepare Hawaiian youth to connect with the spiritual and cultural ways of their Hawaiian heritage as a means of participating in modern life with strong Hawaiian identities.

At times, the alternating ideologies deployed at the Ojibwe kindergarten graduation index the two-worlds approach to education for Indigenous youth, while concomitantly indexing re-interpretations of these worlds. Nevertheless, participants in the event also resist, reject and re-imagine educational philosophies and contemporary Ojibwe identities and futures. The ease with

which the two-worlds approach is invoked and the evident ideological tensions around it signify both the staying power of colonialism and the strength and adaptability of modern Ojibwe identities.

Deculturalization and Whiteness

Since (at least) the establishment of the Office of Indian Affairs in the United States, schooling has been viewed as a tool for the deculturalization and assimilation of people indigenous to North America (Spring, 2016). One of the primary tools of White colonial power seeking to “civilize” Indigenous people, education has been institutionalized in such a way as to render Eurocentric cultural norms as not just preferred, but also unmarked; which renders non-Eurocentric practices as “other.” This normalization of Whiteness is not simply a second world on equal footing with an Indigenous cultural world. Rather, it centers and reifies one particular (settler colonial) way of thinking, doing, and being, seeking to enact processes of erasure to an assimilative end. For instance, Spring (2016) described an early push for print literacy by the first head of the Office of Indian Affairs. Soon afterward, Sequoyah’s Cherokee syllabary rose to prominence, prompting the printing of numerous Cherokee-language texts. The colonial response to this seemingly preferred emerging educational practice was to double down on schooling in English, discouraging use of Sequoyah’s ingenious, parallel Indigenous literacy resource for learning in missionary and government schools.

Soon thereafter, the Indian Removal Act of 1830 wrote government-sanctioned erasure of human beings into law, and was followed by further attempts at school-based assimilation for survivors and their descendants in the form of compulsory residential schools (Grande, 2008; Spring, 2016). While the boarding school era officially wound down in the 1970s (Pember, 2015), settler colonial ideology persists in education in the United States and is deeply intertwined with capitalism and neoliberal conceptions of school and language. Standardization of curriculum, testing linked to school funding, and a focus on individual achievement are just a few examples of how education is both product and producer of the settler colonial capitalist thought that is central to the maintenance of existing power structures in the United States (Hermes & Dyke, in press). Thus, for many Indigenous communities, there exists tension in the relationship with education that can result in “a resilience and resistance to schooling alongside

strategies for reappropriating space and resources within it” (Hermes & Dyke, in press, np). For instance, as an alternative to standardized curriculum and even culture-based curriculum, some schools are turning to Indigenous language immersion models that teach culture (and other academic content) through the Indigenous language. These sorts of efforts serve the dual function of growing language, reclaiming educational practices, and strengthening personal relationships and community ties.

Immersion is not the only means of fostering relationships and rooting students in their communities and cultures in school contexts, but language is often front and center as a site of resistance and reclamation. At the kindergarten graduation ceremony that this research focuses on, there are linguistic and extra-linguistic discursive clues that highlight cracks and openings in the wall of Whiteness (i.e., that often invisible structuring of thought and social action that we are socialized to default to) in contemporary school contexts. The Migiziwazisoning community resists deculturalization—it is evident in the discourse of the event analyzed here. Yet the community also reifies constructs that derive from Whiteness—also evident in the discourse of the event. This disjunctive relationship between discourses in such close proximity to one another provide a unique portrait of what is at stake in one specific ideological battleground.

Methodology

The analysis presented here is a close examination of the discourse at one school-community event that grew from a much larger linguistic ethnographic project (Engman, 2017). I focus exclusively on semiotic data taken directly from the graduation ceremony though my analysis also occasionally draws from my prior experience at the school as a participant researcher in the kindergarten classroom. I take the identities and relationships involved in this project very seriously—care that I labor to demonstrate in my choice of epistemological stance (an epistemology of belief) and theoretical framework (critical discourse analysis).

An Epistemology of Belief

I am a White woman doing research with Anishinaabe² people in their community institutions, thus an attention to my own biases is a necessary facet of my methodology. As this section

² The Anishinaabe people and Ojibwe people are one and the same. Some prefer the descriptor Anishinaabe while others prefer to use Ojibwe. I use them interchangeably here.

explains, a full accounting of my blindspots is unattainable, but by adopting an *epistemology of belief*, I strive to amplify my own receptivity to linguistic, cultural, and ideological alternatives to the unmarked status quo of knowledge systems. I follow Kincheloe and Steinberg's (2008) call for an attention to Indigenous epistemologies among "Western" researchers as a means of destabilizing traditional, colonial ways of knowing. They assert that "[s]uch a perspective holds transformative possibilities, as people from dominant cultures come to understand the overtly cultural processes by which information is legitimated and delimited" (p. 139). This commitment to non-colonial epistemologies not only changes the way research is conducted, but it also removes any semblance of universality that would treat settler colonial knowledge systems as "objective" or acultural. Numerous Indigenous scholars have been advocating for a turn away from unmarked Euro-centric epistemologies for years as a means of critiquing an over-reliance on a single knowledge system (e.g., Deloria, 1995; Grande, 2008; Smith, 2012) and centering longstanding epistemologies that are otherwise marked and marginalized (Arvin, Tuck, & Morrill, 2013).

This metaphorical decolonization (Tuck & Yang, 2012) of thought helps me to better understand my positionality relative to the parts (e.g., participants, site, methods) and the whole of the study. I take up the challenges offered by Arvin, Tuck, and Morrill (2013) to "recognize the persistence of Indigenous concepts and epistemologies" (p. 21) and to "question how the discursive and material practices of...the academy writ large may participate in the dispossession of Indigenous peoples' lands, livelihoods, and futures" (p. 25). Yet, as a non-Indigenous woman writing critically about Indigenous language and education, I am somewhat blinded by and tethered to the very system I seek to subvert. I take seriously the tensions inherent in white critiques of Whiteness (Land, 2015). Just as some aspects of Indigenous knowledge systems inevitably stretch beyond my limited familiar White-scape, there are aspects of Whiteness that are unknowable to me (Probyn, 2004) because of where I stand as a white woman.

Rather than trying to claim expertise in ways of knowing that are (for me) fragmented, I shift my epistemology to one of uncertainty and belief. I first came to this position through work with bilingual Ojibwe language teacher-learners (Hinton, 2003) who asserted that they and their fellow Anishinaabe students experienced language learning differently than what is regularly described and analyzed in second language acquisition research. These assertions have been

corroborated by Indigenous language researchers (e.g., Jourdain, 2013; White, 2006; Willow, 2010), and to refute or ignore them would be a denial of epistemological sovereignty that is both short-sighted and immoral. This *epistemology of belief* is neither an attempt to “prove” certain knowledge nor blind faith. Rather, it is a position of open-ness through which I attempt to receive non-White, de-colonial, Indigenous ways of knowing as unmarked and legitimate, just as researchers have been treating Eurocentric knowledge systems for centuries.

Critical Discourse Analysis

Working with Anishinaabe data sources, I labor to guard against the practice of “taking on the charged, contextualized, experienced words of brilliant communities and stretching them to fit inside [my] own mouth” (Fine, Tuck, & Zeller-Berkman, 2008, p. 162). Thus I look to a methodology that attends more directly to the words and the practices of the participants (as opposed to the heavier reliance on researcher characterization and interpretation of social action of ethnographic research). Critical discourse analysis (CDA) views language as the residence (though not the source) of unstable ideological equilibrium; and thus examines *text* (i.e., any sort of spoken, written, drawn, or embodied form of communication) as the basic unit of analysis (Fairclough, 1992a). Texts signify ordered ways of being/doing in the world (i.e., social practices), which, in turn, signify naturalized ideological constructions of power, particularly in institutions. CDA is thus a methodological and analytical framework that allows for movement between historic and present-day timescales, tracing action through and across social actors and spaces (Rogers, 2011). It enables an analysis that deconstructs dominant discourses in language and interaction and traces their source(s), in some cases also tracing trajectories toward anti-colonial educational outcomes that re-imagine language, schooling, and identity for indigenous language learners and users.

Fairclough’s (1992b) *intertextuality* and van Leeuwen’s (2008) *legitimation* are specific CDA approaches that address how ideological orientations are manifested in language, though they differ in how they go about examining a text as evidence of discursive power. Intertextuality sees language as the residence of ideology and it seeks to describe hegemonies and resistance in contexts of social change. It is a methodology for examining how texts are exchanged (i.e., produced, distributed, and consumed) as a window into the ways that discourse is used to index

various ideologies. The interpersonal exchange of these texts are crucial to people's achievement of social action in any context. Intertextuality is particularly concerned with the overlapping discourses in these exchanges because discourse "bears the traces of the voices of others, is shaped by them, responds to them, contradicts them or confirms them, and in one way or another evaluates them" (Blackledge & Creese, 2009, p. 238).

Van Leeuwen's approach to CDA echoes the mediating link between language and social practice emphasized by Fairclough. Van Leeuwen drew on Foucault (2013) (as does Fairclough) in defining discourses as "*socially constructed ways of knowing some aspect of reality* which can be drawn upon when that aspect of reality has to be represented" (2009, p. 144). Yet, while an intertextual analysis is concerned with tracing the interdiscursive chains and the ideology and power that structure them, van Leeuwen's legitimation undertakes a more process-oriented approach. A legitimation analysis seeks to answer the questions *why do this?* or *why do this in this way?* to address the means by which certain ideologies are ascribed a normative dignity in discourse (van Leeuwen, 2007). Van Leeuwen's legitimation framework thus contributes to an understanding of a given discursive practice's ideological underpinnings, while Fairclough's intertextuality traces the discourse's connection with the context (a more peripheral aspect of legitimation analyses).

It is important to note that this methodological framework has European roots—its progenitors are primarily of European descent, it is most often applied to Western/Northern communicative contexts, and it derives from critical social theory developed by non-Indigenous men (i.e., Mikhail Bakhtin, Michel Foucault). Applied to a decolonial context, this methodology appears to be lacking any sort of Indigenous influence. I employ it here because it is both theory and method and its critical approach to all forms of human meaning-making grants CDA some flexibility in terms of the critical social theories that it is paired with. That is, the use of CDA here does not preclude my engagement with Indigenous theories. Indeed, the findings from this study *require* dialogue with Indigenous research and epistemological stances. Moreover, this dialogue need not be adversarial as the C in CDA stands for *critical* (an explicit stance oriented toward troubling existing systems of power and oppression), which is a common thread in decolonizing methodologies. Fairclough's emphasis on the importance of social change within a given context lends itself especially well to an Ojibwe language tribal school where traditionally colonial

education structures are redeployed for what is regularly conceived of as an anti-colonial project (Hermes, 2005). “Culture is not itself visible” (van Maanen, 2010, p. 2), but at least some of the imbalance of hegemonic relations in the culture of a social/institutional space is undoubtedly evident in the language that is used in that space (Fairclough, 1992a).

Research Site and Data Sources

The School (Migiziwazisoning)

This study takes place at a tribal school situated on the land of one of six bands of Ojibwe whose geography overlaps with the state of Wisconsin. Current enrolment is over 7,000 tribal members (Isham, Barber, & Ross, 2015), though large numbers of these tribal members live off-reservation in nearby metropolitan areas (less than one third of tribal members live on reservation, trust, or fee land). The reservation’s approximately 70,000 acres of land was the result of an 1854 treaty put in place after the United States government had reneged on earlier treaties attempting to dislodge the Ojibwe band from their homelands for relocation West (Cormell, 2010; Lac Courte Oreilles Mission, 2016). Both before and since 1854, government policies, European-based religious movements, and racist ideologies have conspired to threaten and destroy much of the land, sovereignty, and way of life around this place (Cormell, 2010; Loew, 1997). Yet the tribal school where the kindergarten graduation was celebrated, Migiziwazisoning,³ is one of many sites in the area of cultural and linguistic survivance.

The participants in my study, kindergarteners at Migiziwazisoning, and their teacher are all learners of “their own language as a second language” (White, 2006, p. 105). Though Ojibwemowin class is compulsory (Pre-K-12), English is the dominant language of instruction at the school as well as the dominant social language outside of school. All the children are English-dominant bilinguals under the most inclusive understanding of the *bilingual* label. This dominance of English is evident at the graduation ceremony, though the presence and strategic use of Ojibwemowin reflects a continued commitment and desire for stronger relationships with the language among school stakeholders.

³ Migiziwazisoning is a pseudonym for the school. Out of respect for the participants’ privacy, I have decided not to use the name of the community here.

The Ceremony's Setting

The graduation ceremony is the focus of this analysis and while the 22 kindergarten pupils and their language teacher were the primary participants in the larger study from which this analysis is drawn, they were passive participants in this event as it was dedicated to celebrating them and their achievements. The school principal (non-community member), the classroom teacher (community member), the tribal chair (community member), and a retired faculty member from the school (community member) were the speakers at this public event and it is their discourse that I examine here. The ceremony took place in the school gymnasium and it was the first of three graduation ceremonies that day (there was also a ceremony for junior high students and one for high school seniors) so participants were cognizant of time constraints. The gym was a large rectangle with a temporary stage set up at one of the short ends. Onstage were a podium, a projection screen, and a few chairs for the speakers. Directly in front of the stage were smaller chairs in a row for the graduates, which were facing out toward about a dozen rows of chairs for the audience to sit in. There were also wooden collapsible risers flanking the long sides of the rectangle for faculty, staff, and family. To the left of the stage was a large drum around which one teacher and five youth sat to play and sing the graduates in. The walls of the gym were decorated with banners and posters congratulating the graduates and there was a camera set up in the back (the other short side of the rectangle) to film the graduation and post to the tribe's public YouTube channel.

The transcript and videorecording that I relied on for this analysis came from the public YouTube channel as I did not bring my own equipment with me to the ceremony, nor did I take any notes at the time. I initially tried to capture some elements of the event on my phone such as when the tribal chairman spoke (his presence at the ceremony was a surprise to the teachers), but gave up when chairman announced that the video would be made public online. The ceremony was bilingual, but English dominated the event. I transcribed and translated it myself, though some of the Ojibwemowin required me to call upon the help of a friend who is an advanced speaker. I regularly checked the transcript against the YouTube channel's recording to verify its validity. Inevitably, there are places where the language (English and Ojibwe) is unclear because of the quality of the recording, but these points of fuzziness are few and far between.

Findings

The graduation ceremony began with a drum song. It was set in the middle of a ring made up of a teacher and six students, all to the left of the makeshift stage platform in the gymnasium. As the kindergarten graduates filed in one-by-one down the center aisle, the sounds of the drum circle's rhythm and its members' singing voices reverberated throughout the space. The principal of the school spoke briefly, thanking the families for their presence and support throughout the year, and then handed the microphone to the classroom teacher for a recap and celebration of the year.

A short time later, the tribal chairman was introduced and he stood to address the graduates and their families. The start of his congratulatory remarks picked up where the drum left off. His words ran counter to the contentious two-worlds approach to education for Indigenous youth that has been a point of contention for language reclamation activists who reject its binary categorization of linguistic and social practices as either "Indigenous" or "modern" (Lee, 2007; Wilson & Kamanā, 2009).

Excerpt 1: One World, Two Codes ("Passing on the Knowledge")

- 1 TC: ((smiling)) boozhoo,
hello,
2 T----- indizhinikaaz,
my name is T----.
3 C----- indoonjibaa.
I come from C-----
4 first of all
5 I want to acknowledge all the Elders and folks that are here,
6 thank you for what you've done for us,
7 I want to acknowledge the drum over here today
8 ((turns and points with index finger to drum circle))
9 I want to thank B----- for teaching these youngsters,
10 passing on the knowledge

Prior to speaking in line 1, the tribal chairman was introduced by the kindergarten teacher in English. Although his opening provided his Ojibwe name rather than his English name, the rest of the tribal chairman's use of Ojibwemowin in lines 1-3 fails to provide new information to the audience. This particular text, however, is not just about content. It closely resembles *boozhoo* speech (King & Hermes, 2014), which is a performative and symbolic use of Ojibwemowin that

locates speakers in a particular place and links participants to one another through the language (Uran, 2005).

Were this a straightforward two-worlds text, the chairman's switch to English in line 4 would necessitate a concomitant shift in discourse oriented toward modern conceptions of education centered on individual achievement and capital (Bowers, Vasquez, & Roaf, 2000; Urciuoli, 2003). Yet, in this case, despite a change in code, the chairman maintains a continuity of content that acknowledges the significance of Elders and the drum in the space, and an explicit nod to the importance of intergenerational transmission of sacred knowledge. These texts, produced in a tribal school, index an approach to education that reimagines school as a place that Indigenous language and sacred cultural practices such as drumming can inhabit, rather than as a space that exists entirely in opposition to Ojibwe life.

Yet, this discursive continuity does not last. Excerpt 2 presents an example of the discontinuity in ideologies of learning and schooling in this tribal school. As the chairman's speech continued, he descended from the stage and directly addressed the kindergarteners seated in front. In Excerpt 2, he encourages the graduates to think ahead to their adult lives, reminding them in line 14 that they can "do anything [they] want to."

Excerpt 2: Two Worlds, One Future ("Dream Big")

11 TC: I want all you guys
12 ((points left index finger at several students in front of him))
13 to know one thing.
14 that you guys can do <any>thing you want to.
15 anything.
16 you want to be an airline pilot, a pilot, an astronaut,
17 if you want to be a banker,
18 if you want to be (.) a rich guy or a rich girl,
19 or own a business,
20 anything you want to do you can do.
21 so dream.
22 dream big.

He presents a number of specific career suggestions in lines 16-19, including a more general "rich guy or a rich girl" (line 18). In this text, the discourse is decidedly more individual- and capital-oriented. While the first example showed how school had the potential to be "localized" and "indigenized" (Deloria & Wildcat, 2001), this excerpt invokes neoliberal conceptions of

education whereby all actors (e.g., teachers, students, administrators) are viewed as “little capitals” (Brown, 2015, p. 36) with non-metaphorical market values attached. These career options read as individual achievements, and are presented as such, without nuance, without references to community, and without any acknowledgement of potential institutional barriers. Here school is represented as a place where certain kinds of knowledge (with objective market values attached) are available for the taking, if only students choose to do so of their own accord. Learning is a means to a marketized end—a discourse that is problematized further in the ceremony with a subsequent slideshow of the kindergarteners holding up signs on which the classroom teacher, Miss Stacy, has written their individualized future career goals. The most common signs read *teacher* and *police officer*. But what do the tribal chair’s words mean to six year-old Vincent whose sign read *hunter*? What is that knowledge “worth” here?

Vincent’s sign (contrasted with his classmates’ signs) highlights a rupture in the difference between the two questions What do you want to be when you grow up? (which was the prompt for the slide show) and How do you plan to earn a living in a capitalist society? The latter question aligns more closely with the tribal chair’s words of encouragement and it highlights the role of neoliberal ideology in American schools. Tuck (2013) described neoliberalism as an “epistemology, economic strategy, and moral code rolled into one” (p. 325). She further characterized neoliberalism as an extension of colonialism and its reach into school discourse is evident here. Thus, in presenting an array of futures to kindergarteners that are legitimated by their connection to the capitalist marketplace, the words of the tribal chair conflate questions of what one wants to be versus how one will assimilate into the marketplace. These two questions, however, ask very different things, and their significance is existential.

Perhaps surprisingly, there is room for more than one conceptualization of learning here. In Excerpt 3, the chairman reiterates how important it is for the kids to learn everything they can. This is in line with the neoliberal discourses of the prior talk. He positions the learners as agentive in the learning process—it’s up to them to learn everything they can. This, again, indexes the emphasis on individual achievement that we see in contemporary American schooling contexts. However, his speech shifts paradigms abruptly in line 25.

Excerpt 3: “That’s Education”

23 TC: it’s really important

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24 that you learn everything you can.
 25 it doesn't matter if you're a baby bird,
 26 a baby bear,
 27 or whatever,
 28 they learn from their elders (.)
 29 the best place to get food,
 30 the best place to hide,
 31 the best place for everything.
 32 and that's education.

In lines 25 and 26, the tribal chair uses the pronoun “you” to relate the kindergarteners to a baby bird and a baby bear. This is a sharp move away from colonial ideologies of hierarchy and mastery. Instead he is calling on shared knowledge of Anishinaabe relationships with nature. Animals are relations, they are clans and spirits, and in line 28, the chairman uses the pronoun “they” to continue the metaphor. “They” refers to baby birds and baby bears; they, too, have knowledge. Knowledge that is tied to the land and tied to the generations that came before them. “They” also refers to the kindergarteners he is addressing, because they too, are metaphorical baby birds and baby bears. This is a beautiful parallel. These youngsters need to know things to survive and they learn these things from their elders. This is an intergenerational chain of knowledge—it’s how Ojibwemowin used to be learned too—passed from one generation to the next through experience in the world together. Knowledge as embodied and experienced alongside older relatives as teachers. Knowledge as something you come to through living in the world, perhaps through observation at first, then through trial and, inevitably, error.

Now, in truth, school does not specifically teach these young children the best place to get food or the best place to hide. They are learning academic skills and how to be in our society, which entails performing work that earns revenue of some kind to survive—a monetary value-based skill that birds and bears are exempt from developing. There is a disjuncture here between the ideological reality of education in the United States that is silo-ed and capital-oriented vs. ideologies emphasizing learning that is relational and natural.

The view of education in Excerpt 3—that it is a process of learning how to be in the world through experience and intergenerational exchange—is deeply connected to identity on a scale that goes well beyond the individual. The chairman makes this connection more explicit with his parting words, though it is not without a seemingly contradictory nod to individualism

first. In Excerpt 4, he appears to return to assigning agency to the learners in lines 33-34 with the use of the pronoun “you”: “it’s up to you guys to learn everything,” as if learning is achieved individually and for the purpose of personal gain.

Excerpt 4: Individual Strength for the Community

32 TC: and that’s education.
33 so it’s up to you guys to learn
34 everything that you can to be strong.
35 strong as people.
36 and that will make us strong as a nation.
37 so I just want to say congratulation
38 one more time again.
39 good job you guys.

But then in line 35 he shifts away from this individual agency and achievement and moves toward the collective: “strong as people. and that will make us strong as a nation.” This message is layered in terms of code, content, and context. It is a message seemingly about identity, delivered in English, in a school, and delivered by an Anishinaabe leader to a room full of Anishinaabe youth and their parents.

American schools have long been in the business of making citizens—for a nation. In fact, this citizen-making involves policies and practices of deculturalization that force children to assimilate and essentially erases salient features of their home cultures. And this work has been done under the banner of making the citizenry strong as a nation—the nation of the United States of America. The chairman’s words here are poignant and representative of an ideological disjuncture that is not entirely clear to me as a white woman. I interpret the chairman’s use of the pronoun “us” to reference the Anishinaabe in the room only. And I interpret “strong as a nation” as a reference to the Anishinaabe nation, though in English, on a stage decorated with an American flag, there is room for interpretive error. Disjunctures grow from complex conditions.

The ideological disjunctures represented here are pertinent to the work that language teachers do in the classroom because the discourses evident in these excerpts are institutionalized in the school, where “discursive events themselves have cumulative effects upon social contradictions and the struggles around them” (Fairclough, 1992a, p. 97). Teachers, administrators, and community members encourage language learning and use at Migiziwazisoning, knowing that it can serve as a multi-purpose medicine. Ojibwe language

locates speakers in a place, it relates them to a community, and it redistributes experiential, shared knowledge. Yet these disjunctures also extend far beyond the linguistic repertoires of the bilingual graduates. The tribal chairman uses metaphor, cultural teachings, and collective identity to communicate modern Anishinaabe ideas and ideologies in the colonial tongue at a ceremony with colonial origins. The disjunctures here are noteworthy in part because they are not ubiquitous. They represent remaining visible points of contact and discontinuity, serving to highlight the contrasting smoothness and fluidity of all the non-disjunctive discursive space as well.

Discussion

This analysis presents a map of ideological disjuncture at the intersection of learning, schooling, and human capital at a single tribal school event. Disjunctures occur at ideological points situated at the juxtaposition of Ojibwe knowledge and its seemingly adjacent-but-separate school knowledge. Ojibwe knowledge is presented as a relational orientation linked to land, place, Elders, and ancestors, while school knowledge comes across as individual-oriented and linked to both the mastery of content/school subjects and neoliberal market values of learning and the learner. At first glance, they come across as competing discourses, but because of the role of power and the hegemony of Whiteness in school, the discourses associated with schooling can end up containing and confining the Ojibwe knowledge.

This is particularly pertinent for the project of revitalization and the reclamation of language, culture, and identity. Numerous researchers have documented the perils of using schools to reclaim language. Treating it as a subject, like math, grants the language entry to the institution and confers upon some institutional legitimacy, but it then also subjects the language to the same sort of curricular container and value-based orientation that other subjects get (Hermes, 2005; Richardson, 2011). The layout of this ideological terrain is crucial for understanding Indigenous language acquisition in schools along with its attendant social and cultural projects.

I see the implications from this study as running parallel to the linguistic focus that led me to this event. Indigenous scholars have criticized the field of second language acquisition for its tone-deaf treatment of Indigenous language learning. They argue that an Indigenous person

learning her Indigenous language later in life is significantly different from other L2 learning endeavors. As some critical researchers push SLA to reconsider its epistemological orientation to Indigenous language teaching and learning, we can also push for a change in how we orient to the institutional context. For instance, consider current approaches to the linguistic practices of language learners and teachers that conceive of such abilities as *repertoires* (e.g., Busch, 2012; García, 2009; Gumperz, 1964). I argue that this conception of possibility and practice can be applied to institutions as well. Just as a language user develops a repertoire of signs to be deployed for the purpose of communication, so has this context (a school) developed a repertoire of orientations and epistemological tendencies to be deployed for the purpose of transmitting certain knowledges to certain people in certain ways.

Even in just a few minutes of talk, it is clear that anti-colonial and neoliberal discourses can easily inhabit the same space. When they do, they can be read as disjunctures that not only identify the tensions inherent in this space, but also highlight openings for a more responsive and culturally congruent educational project in Indigenous school spaces. Specifically, when this analysis is considered in the context of reclaiming Indigenous language in school, there are tremendous opportunities for a rejection of an assimilative neoliberal focus on developing 'little capitals' with a stronger focus on language.

Teachers, administrators, and community members can encourage Indigenous language learning and use in school spaces, as it can serve as a multi-purpose medicine. Language locates speakers in a place, binding them to a community. It can work in tandem with a curriculum developed locally to create a feedback loop of culturally relevant content and language (Hermes, 2005) that, in turn, allows learners to imagine flexible futures outside the neoliberal marketization of human activity. Furthermore, these ideological disjunctures are themselves potential tools of change as they signal an adjustment (Meek, 2011). Disjunctures are momentary interruptions. They are opportunities for repair and recalibration. Looking more carefully at the struggle lived out in their opposition can lead the way for transformation.

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Appendix A

Transcription Conventions

=	Latching
(.)	Brief, untimed pause
-	Repair, self-interruption
[Overlap
(())	Gesture, non-verbal communication
.	Falling intonation
,	Slightly rising (or “listing”) intonation
?	Rising intonation
< >	Slower speech
> <	Faster speech
—	Syllabic emphasis
:	Elongated syllable

Adapted from Jefferson (2004).

Challenges in Co-Teaching in TESOL

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Growing attention is being paid to collaboration in language education. Co-Teaching has been implemented to support the learning needs of ESL students (Dove & Honigsfeld, 2010). Thus far, the majority of work has been directed at pairs of teachers in ESL settings, particularly in the context of bilingual education in the U.S. (e.g. Arkoudis, 2006; Bahamonde & Friend, 1999; Davison, 2006; Dove & Honigsfeld, 2010; Pawan & Ortloff, 2011), where ESL teachers are matched with content area teachers. Yet investigations of co-teaching have also been conducted within EFL settings (e.g. Carless, 2006, Chen, & Cheng, 2014; Tajino & Walker, 1998), where teachers are often matched in international-domestic teaching pairs. Descriptions of successful implementations of co-teaching have suggested such benefits as improving relationships among students, between teachers, and among students and teachers in the classroom (Bahamonde & Friend, 1999). While co-planning outside of the classroom is considered key in collaborative work, researchers have observed challenges in lack of collaborative planning (Bahamonde & Friend, 1999; Dove & Honigsfeld, 2010; Pawan & Ortloff, 2011; Tajino & Walker, 1998). Lack of professional development programs has raised confusion in role designation among teachers and their effective co-teaching (Norton, 2013; Tajino & Walker, 1998). The implementation of professional development programs that include co-teaching methods is necessary both in ESL and EFL settings (Dove & Honigsfeld, 2010; Moodie & Nam, 2015). Difficulty in role negotiation is originated from power inequality among teachers (Norton, 2013). The studies have indicated challenges in interpersonal and intercultural issues among teaching partners, English as a lingua franca, and conflict management (Pawan and Ortloff, 2011; Carless, 2006; Tanghe, 2014; York-Barr et al., 2007). With the inclusion of research methods from other fields such as conflict studies and sociolinguistics, future research must include observation of teaching team interaction to examine power imbalance and conflict management.

As the ESL population in the United States has increased, TESOL educators have found it necessary to adopt collaborative teaching techniques to support the English learning needs of ESL students in the classrooms of public schools in the United States (Dove & Honigsfeld, 2010). According to Friend, Cook, Hurley-Chamberlain, and Shamberger (2010), the basic structure of co-teaching consists of partnership instruction in which a general education teacher is paired with a special education teacher or other specialists. These partners collaborate in all facets of lesson preparation and delivery.

A guiding principle of co-teaching is the delivery of instruction that meets the learning needs of diverse groups of students with disabilities or other special needs. The successful implementation of co-teaching across the fields has resulted in benefits for students (Bahamonde & Friend, 1999; Dove & Honigsfeld, 2010; Pawan & Ortloff, 2011; Tajino & Walker, 1998), yet challenges have also been documented (Bahamonde & Friend, 1999; Carless, 2006; Pawan & Ortloff, 2011; Tajino & Walker, 1998). This paper reviews the challenges of co-teaching which have been cited in previous studies. The first portion of the paper addresses successful implementation and challenges in co-teaching and the sources of challenges. Second, power inequality in decision making is discussed with further specific elements. Third, power in discourse and co-teaching conflict is examined. Fourth, future studies are discussed in the conclusion.

Successful Implementation and Challenges in Co-Teaching

Several studies have revealed the benefits of co-teaching (Bahamonde & Friend, 1999; Dove & Honigsfeld, 2010; Tajino & Walker, 1998). In co-teaching practices in the U.S., it is reported that co-teaching has been beneficial in improving relationships among both students and teachers, as well as between teachers and students (Bahamonde & Friend, 1999). In addition, in English as a Foreign Language (EFL) settings, non-native teachers could maintain discipline among a homogeneous group of students (Bahamonde & Friend, 1999). However, co-teaching has presented challenges due to co-teachers' unfamiliarity with the co-teaching system. Many studies frequently point out the importance of planning time (Bahamonde & Friend, 1999; Carless, 2006; Dove & Honigsfeld, 2010; Friend, et al. 2010; Pawan & Ortloff, 2011; York-Barr, Ghere, & Sommersness, 2007). Collaborative planning is the stage where co-teachers jointly discuss their plans for the construction of their lessons before teaching them. Many of the problems reside in this stage. These problems include (1) lack of co-planning time, (2) paucity of training, and (3) power inequality at the role-negotiation and decision-making levels. Furthermore, sources of power inequality will be examined with regards to interpersonal issues, intercultural issues, English as a lingua franca, and conflict management.

Lack of Collaborative Planning Time

This section discusses lack of co-planning time as a converging challenge across the field of collaborative teaching. One of the problems at the co-planning stage is the absence of planning time due to teachers' unwillingness of putting extra effort in planning for team taught lessons, especially where co-planning is not built into school administrative structures (Carless, 2006).

Numerous studies on co-teaching emphasize the importance of co-planning, while addressing the concurrent issue of lacking co-planning time. Some studies have addressed these issues in the context of the U.S. (Bahamonde & Friend, 1999; Dove & Honigsfeld, 2010; Friend et al., 2010; Pawan & Ortloff, 2011; York-Barr et al., 2007). York-Barr et al. (2007) conducted a longitudinal study to examine the collaboration between English Language Learner (ELL) teachers and content teachers in urban elementary schools in a Midwest urban school district in the U.S. They found instructional co-planning to be one of the key factors that contributed to effective collaboration, eventually leading to the success of the instructional collaboration. However, insufficient amount of time was considered a challenge. Similarly, in a study of K–12 co-teaching, Dove and Honigsfeld (2010) also found that co-planning was done informally, during the off-task times in the hallway, on the playground during recess, or waiting in line at the cafeteria. They concluded that co-planning is one of the essential elements that contribute to success in co-teaching. In an investigative study on how joint professional development programs supported the sustained teacher collaboration, by Pawan and Ortloff (2011) one ESL teacher reported that “collaboration only works when there is a designated time and people are held accountable to be there” (p.468).

The need for co-planning time was raised as a logistical issue in the field of special education. Friend et al. (2010) found that co-planning time affects the relationship between co-teachers, and that it is critical to have co-planning done on a weekly basis at a minimum. If this is not feasible, it should be done at least twice per month. In the international co-teaching practice, Choi (2004) identified a lack of mutual co-planning as one of the significant problems, while claiming that instructional co-planning time is at the heart of the co-teaching process. She found that having the co-planning time not only allows teachers to discuss how to present lessons, how to assess student learning, and how to adapt instruction; it also provides opportunities to negotiate their roles and responsibilities before, during, and after the lessons. In

comparison, with the field of special education, Bahamonde & Friend (1999) argued that ESL co-teachers may face greater time issues as they deal with different program regulations and parameters than special education co-teachers do, such as caseloads and student's age ranges.

Paucity of Training and Need for Professional Development Programs

Another common issue raised in co-teaching is the lack of a set of guidelines for teachers who are completely unfamiliar with the new co-teaching method. Norton (2013) found that the lack of a professional development program can cause confusion about roles and how to effectively co-teach. Dove and Honigsfeld (2010) pointed out how teachers are being held accountable for implementing new programs in diverse classrooms without the benefit of hands-on, concrete training or support in implementing them. Current workshops can easily lose sight of the integration of novice teachers and veteran colleagues, failing to emphasize an understanding of second language acquisition, and how to reflect new strategies and methodologies into the lessons. Dove and Honigsfeld (2010) argued for the necessity of professional development that is ongoing, subject specific and collaborative.

The issue is also discovered in collaboration in EFL settings where Japanese teachers of English and assistant English teachers co-teach. Tajino and Walker (1998) revealed that teachers do not know how to team teach effectively and their lack of experience in team teaching may result in the escalation of problems. Moodie and Nam (2015) pointed out ambiguity in a co-teaching program in Korea. They found that in the English Program in Korea (EPIK), in which Native English Speaking Teachers (NESTs) pair with Korean English Teachers (KETs), there is little guidance provided in how to properly implement co-teaching. At the same time, they claim the need for new models of team teaching to exemplify the research on best practices of co-teaching and the development of more effective training.

In the realm of special education, Friend et al. (2010) suggested the need for teachers to grasp how their combined knowledge and skills contribute to the co-teaching process. They must also possess the additional collaboration skills necessary for negotiating roles and responsibilities. Additionally, they addressed the issue of urgency in implementing high-quality professional development, containing coaching, and supports to change teacher practices. Smith

(1998) found that one of the key components of professional growth is understanding that a teacher's professional growth does not take place in isolation.

Certain studies show practices of teachers' collaborative professional growth. Smith (1998) conducted a qualitative study on professional development in an intensive ESL program in higher education with three experienced teachers. The study revealed several aspects of professional growth: (1) collaborative relationships include personal and professional factors; (2) collaborative relationships, specifically interdependency and collaborative environment, increasingly develop over time; (3) collaborative culture among teachers extends to their students and is recognized by the students; and (4) teachers' commitment on their collaborative work affected not only their immediate co-teaching situation but also extended into the larger ESL teaching community.

In Taiwan, Chen and Cheng (2014) conducted a qualitative study based on Vygotskian sociocultural theory, namely, situated learning and community of practice. They examined teachers' skills and knowledge growth from their NEST and NNEST pair copartners through team teaching and how partners contribute to each other's growth. NNEST and NEST pairs learned to observe each other's strengths and weaknesses. Through this year-long team teaching, both teachers learned how to teach more effectively through engagement in joint activities and partnership. This study reported successful practices of teachers' growth through team teaching. However, teachers' learning was limited to observing each other's performance while both teachers' experience was at the entry level. In other words, the set of standards of the absolute learning objective was absent, which left teachers to learn on their own without knowing what to focus on.

Difficulty in Role Negotiation

As Dove and Honigsfeld (2010) put it, "collaboration is a style of interaction between at least two coequal parties voluntarily engaged in shared decision making as they work towards a common goal" (p. 5). For many teachers in collaboration, a dilemma arises in defining their shared roles when making a joint decision. Several such cases were examined in co-teaching practices in the U.S. (Dove & Honigsfeld, 2010; Norton, 2013). Dove and Honigsfeld (2010) claimed that while role definition is a key to successful teacher leadership initiative, little evidence of role definition

was discovered. While pointing out the lack of teacher leadership role, they urged schools to come up with professional development that teaches methods and procedures for maintaining a co-teacher partnership such as role maintenance and conflict management. Another study provided further clarification on teacher roles: Norton (2013) conducted a mixed-methods study on elementary ESL and General Education (GE) co-teachers' perceptions of their roles. Specific co-teaching roles were organized based on: (1) teaching academic content; (2) deciding which content standards would be addressed in a lesson; (3) teaching academic language; (4) developing language objectives; (5) deciding what to teach; (6) designing and planning lessons; (7) deciding who will teach part of a lesson; (8) deciding how to differentiate instruction; (9) determining classroom management systems; and (10) implementing classroom management systems.

Conflicting self-perceptions of GE teachers and ELL teachers were discovered. GE teachers perceived themselves as resident experts in teaching academic content and primary instructors responsible for both ELL and non-ELL students. In comparison, ESL teachers perceived themselves as a co-teaching coach/capacity builder, ESL specialist, and ELL student and community advocate. Meanwhile, GE teachers perceived the ESL teacher's role as resident expert in language development, sharing responsibility for students' learning. On the other hand, ESL teachers perceived GE teacher's role as content specialist and teacher of ELLs.

In the special education realm, Friend et al. (2010) observed the tendency of special education teachers to take the classroom assistant role rather than the role of equal copartner, due to their lack of content knowledge. With little negotiation about their respective roles, GE teachers showed a tendency to be less willing to interact with students with disabilities when a special educator was present in the classroom. The difference in teaching styles of co-partners created a conflict which resulted in a struggle in collaboration. They suggested that the implementation of professional development that accompanies the learning of collaboration skills should provide opportunity to practice role and responsibility negotiation.

Several pieces of literature deal with the issues of co-teaching practices in the EFL setting where NESTs pair with NNESTs, regarding role negotiation. In Japan, evidence of this role definition issue was discovered, in which the role was described as unclear or ambiguous (Moodie & Nam, 2015; Tajino & Walker, 1998). The purpose of NEST and NNEST teacher

collaboration in language education is to enhance the benefits of each role by complementing the other. Several co-teacher roles in team-taught lessons were introduced: the instructor role, the modeler role, the resource role, the evaluator/monitor role, and the organizer/motivator role. However, discussion of the role in team teaching lessons is unclear and thus the necessity of NNEST was questioned.

Struggle in role designation has been attributed to the unequal distribution of their role between co-teachers in Korea and needs to be resolved through collaborative negotiation between co-teachers (Moodie & Nam, 2015). In that study, multiple roles were assigned to Korean teachers, from assisting NESTs' settlement and additional living conveniences such as housing and banking, to performing as an instruction partner, crisis manager, and secretary. On the other hand, in the study of teacher identity, NESTs felt marginalized outside of the classroom. A similar case was reported in team teaching in Japan (Tajino & Walker, 1998), in which a study researched students' learning expectations towards team teachers. NESTs performed as a lead teacher in the classroom while nominally functioning as assistant of NNEST due to the lesson written entirely by NEST. In both studies above, NEST teachers, frustrated by their assigned role, referred to themselves as "performing monkeys" (Moodie & Nam, 2015, p. 82), or functioning as "human tape recorders" (Tajino & Walker, 1998, p. 115).

We have examined some common areas of challenges across the fields of NEST and NNEST collaborative teaching, both domestically and internationally, including (1) the importance of common planning time, (2) the paucity of training and need for professional development, and, (3) difficulty in role negotiation. This section has described various fields of collaborative teaching and the converging challenges, which are the same across the fields. In spite of the challenges, co-teachers seek answers to how to enhance their co-teaching/co-planning. The next section examines specific elements that cause challenges in role negotiation in the co-planning stage.

Power Inequality in Decision Making

In researching the sources of challenges in co-teaching, one common phenomenon emerged: decision making can be made based on the power inequality between teachers (Arkoudis, 2006;

Gardner, 2006; McClure & Cahnmann-Taylor, 2010; Norton, 2013; Pawan & Ortloff, 2011), which is also known as epistemological authority (Arkoudis, 2006).

In role negotiation between ESL and GE, power inequality is related to perception issues and teacher identity issues in several co-teaching practices. Norton (2013) found that ESL teachers were perceived as having lower status than GE teachers, resulting in marginalization of the ESL teacher. The author's study discovered that ESL teachers felt negative attitudes from GE teachers, who reported feeling marginalized, powerless, and as if they were treated like aides. This might be the result of the influence of the hierarchical nature of power relations in traditional teaching structures.

A GE teacher's traditional environment of work independence presented challenges in the following areas: (1) gaining ownership, (2) dividing space, and (3) transferring responsibility. Cross-disciplinary conversation is necessary and recommended as part of the training for ESL teachers as a means of developing collaborative practices and gaining epistemological authority. To examine the issue of power inequality, various kinds of discourse analysis were used. In one study in the UK, Gardner (2006) introduced teacher-teacher talk in the classroom specifically, which includes support talk, collaborative talk, and partnership talk in the co-teachers' discourse in the classroom to see whether the language supported collaborative relationships. Support talk is primarily responsive to or supportive of lead teacher initiations and develops rather than begins a new phonological paragraph or exchange sequence. Collaborative talk is where each teacher contributes from their own professional perspective. Partnership talk is where the language support teacher and the class teacher develop the instructional registers, and where each may provide feedback on content. The study has found the continuum from support to partnership talk occurred along with several dimensions. Though partnership talk has benefits such as developing co-teachers' understanding and appreciation of roles, skills, and linguistic behavior, and in turn easier joint planning, targeting to have partnership talk should not be the purpose.

In Australia, Arkoudis (2006) used positioning theory and appraisal theory as analytical tools to explore how teachers position themselves in discourses to address the epistemological issue. Through positioning theory, people position themselves in relation to others in conversation as they construct their view of reality in conversation. Appraisal theory is a

linguistic analysis that explores relationships between co-teachers by understanding the linguistic resources each uses to adopt and manage evaluative positions. This theory is divided into the areas of attitude, engagement and graduation, and involvement. These especially apply to the linguistic resource teacher's use of this method.

Application of positioning theory and critical theory was also discovered in the NEST and NNEST partnership. Tanghe (2014) conducted a study in public elementary schools in South Korea to investigate inequities in power and its influence on teacher identity co-constructions. Critical theory was chosen to identify changes in power imbalances. A total of six teachers, three sets of co-teaching pairs, participated in the study. The result showed that power depends more on the ownership of English than it does on teaching ability. NESTs were considered superior in position due to their English proficiencies, regardless of their relevant educational background in teaching. Meanwhile, NNESTs were ascribed inferiority with their qualified collegiate degree in English education due to a lack of fluency in English. Despite their “head teacher” (p. 249) or “lead teacher” (p. 116) role self-perception and their communicative competence in English, NNESTs often had to check in with their “authentic language” (p. 116) from NESTs. The author perceived this phenomenon as idolizing the native English speaker as the model teacher. The interesting point is that the majority of the studies emphasized the importance of discourse when it comes to addressing the issue of power inequality. We will further discuss the power asymmetry manifested in interaction and several sociolinguistic factors.

Sources of Power Inequality

The sources of power inequality originate largely from four subcategories: (1) interpersonal issues, (2) intercultural issues, (3) English as a lingua franca, and (4) conflict management. Following sections will further address the four categories.

Interpersonal Issues

Successful interpersonal skills led to sustained collaboration. In the ESL and GE collaboration, Pawan and Orloff (2011) explained that interpersonal factors are also considered as interactional factors. Interactional factors divide into two categories: “(1) Finalization: shared goals and vision, (2) Interiorization: sense of dependency, mutual trust and respect, and mutual knowledge” (p. 465). The findings reveal that content area teachers identified interiorization as a factor that

sustained collaboration. On the other hand, ESL teachers identified it as a significant barrier. This disparity points out the need for dialogue in the form of open conversations about their challenges and difficulties in working with each other. McClure and Cahnmann-Taylor (2010) argued that personality as well as conflict and tension are important factors that affect both the process and the outcome of collaboration.

In the effort to resolve interpersonal issues, the use of discourse analysis was applied. York-Barr et al. (2007) suggested role-modeling conversations between team members, since intellectually and interpersonally adaptive interaction is a key element that leads to success. The application of discourse in examining interpersonal issues was found in many studies (Arkoudis, 2006; Davison, 2006; Gardner, 2006). The specific descriptions of those implications will be further discussed later in the paper.

In the EFL setting, Moodie and Nam (2015) pointed out that personality is one of the factors that influences the team. According to Carless (2006), the challenges of team teaching between NESTs and NNESTs come about as the result of the following interpersonal factors: the willingness to cooperate with partners and the ability to remain sensitive to each other's viewpoints and practices when facing differences. Carless (2006) emphasized that interpersonal factors play a key role in team teaching, and that successful intercultural team teaching significantly depends on the interpersonal sensitivities of participants. Tanghe (2014) provided a narrative illustration that explains how different personalities interfere with the co-teaching partnership. A teaching pair who struggled to collaborate reported that one of the main factors that caused strain in their professional relationship was their different personalities. One teacher who valued working in the atmosphere of calmness was frustrated by being in an agitated state due to business and vice versa. In the beginning of the collaboration, both had believed that their own ways were the best way for them. Obviously, their different personalities created difficulty in partnership as each had a different work ethics. They struggled with incompatibility in their personality during the lesson plan, but successfully worked through negotiation for finding a middle ground and commonality.

Intercultural Issues

Among the literature described in the previous sections, intercultural difference is one of the predominant challenges in collaboration between NESTs and NNESTs (Carless, 2006; Moodie & Nam, 2015; Tajino & Walker, 1998). The scope of the intercultural issue is limited to NESTs and NNEST paired in EFL settings. This is due to the fact that cultural clashes are greater in EFL settings than in settings that pair up ESL and GE, in which both teachers often share one culture and language. It is reported that the failure of effective communication is due to intercultural problems and lack of lesson preparation time which led to dissatisfaction in lessons. (Tajino & Walker, 1998).

First, incompatibility in culture can cause problems. The NESTs' reluctance to embrace EFL culture will create cultural clashes. For example, Carless (2006) argued that one of the challenges raised in Korea is that NESTs do not necessarily respect well-established Korean practices. Second, incompatibility of teaching and learning styles due to different educational backgrounds from different cultures can create issues. A Chinese study conducted by Rao and Yuan (2015) described it as very obvious when two teachers have different educational backgrounds. The education culture of NESTs exhibits global, open, intuitive-random, and hands-on teaching styles, whereas Chinese learning styles include analytical, closure-oriented, concrete-sequential, and visual styles. Lack of understanding the educational culture of the copartner may create some problems. Carless (2006) discovered that NEST teachers found it difficult to gain EFL students' attention due to the different education style between them. In Korea, the culturally prevailing idea is that the students' purpose of studying is preparation for the exam. Thus, they feel no desire to concentrate on the conversation lesson where the exam is absent.

One possible factor that might affect the imbalance in teachers could be discriminatory hiring policy. The policies often differentiate teachers' qualifications in hiring between NESTs and NNESTs in Korea (Tanghe, 2014). While the policy requires the local teachers to possess a collegiate level degree in education, for NESTs a four-year college degree is sufficient regardless of their major. Unequal educational backgrounds between NESTs and NNESTs adds to the difficulties in co-teaching. As a result, local teachers refer to themselves as lead teachers, but one of their additional jobs includes teaching NESTs how to co-teach.

English as a Lingua Franca (ELF)

English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) is an important factor in the discussion of power imbalance. Lingua franca is defined as a language used by people whose primary languages are not intelligible for communication (Herk, 2012). English has been considered a lingua franca, and as Goodman and Graddol (1996) mentioned, “the English language seems set to take over the world in the course of the twenty-first century, and become the global language” (p. 184).

In the co-teaching context, using English as a lingua franca is a phenomenon discovered in the interaction among co-teachers. There are several ways in which ELF factors into power imbalance in co-teaching. First, all the co-teaching interaction was done in English since the communication issue was reported in expanding circles where NESTs pair with NNESTs in Korea (Carless, 2006; Moodie & Nam, 2015; Tanghe, 2014) and Japan (Carless, 2006; Tajino & Walker, 1998). Moodie and Nam (2015) reported that Korean teachers’ English ability affects cooperation in co-teaching partnerships in Korea. In the study of teachers’ identity using positioning theory, even if Korean teachers have education degrees, they positioned themselves lower than NESTs due to their lower English proficiencies than NESTs. This indicates that English proficiencies, without the consideration of having a teaching degree or relevant experience, take a superior position to having educational background in teaching English. Second, native-like English proficiency provides power. Research has consistently reported problems due to linguistic inability (Carless, 2006; Moodie & Nam, 2015; Tanghe, 2014). On the other hand, no literature was found on the interaction in co-teaching partnerships in target language in EFL settings. Interestingly, the western teachers’ lack of Korean proficiency was not reported as a problem in the research concerning the cooperation in partnership (Moodie & Nam, 2015). Even occupying lower position, Korean teachers did not complain about English being the communication medium. Instead, they displayed a self-accusatory attitude in their incompetency in English, especially for not having native-like-pronunciation (Tanghe, 2014). In Japan, the inability to understand each other’s native languages is reported to result in failure in effective communication, hindering smooth collaboration in planning (Carless, 2006).

This section can be summarized by three main parts. (1) Co-teaching interaction happened in English in expanding circles, not in local languages. (2) English proficiency is superior to having an educational background in teaching English. In other words, NESTs were

positioned higher due to their native-like English proficiency than NNESTs with Teaching English education background. (3) Having native-like English pronunciation provides power and places them in a superior position. What qualifies good English teachers predominantly depends more on talking like a native speaker than many other elements such as teaching styles, content of lesson, or meaning of the sentence.

Conflict Management

The characteristics of co-teaching are complex in nature, and an issue of conflict in many co-teaching partnerships. In numerous studies co-teachers identified conflict as one of the challenges to overcome for better collaboration (Davison, 2006; Dove & Honigsfeld, 2010; Friend et al., 2010; Norton, 2013; York-Barr et al., 2007). York-Barr et al. (2007) stated that conflict between co-teachers arose due to the fact that every teacher has their own unique approach to instruction.

As a result, teachers showed less collaboration (Friend et al., 2010). Dove and Honigsfeld (2010) found that conflict resolution and maintaining individual roles should be included in professional development to enhance understanding of the methods and procedures in the co-teaching partnership. In relation to professional development, Norton (2013) argued that co-teachers expressed the need for training and recommended that conflict resolution with their copartners should be included as part of the professional development program. While the current issue is still present, no relevant solution was provided or paid attention to. The specific notion of conflict is required in the realm of co-teaching in order to examine sources of conflicts, types of conflicts, or conflict management, and conflict resolution. The following section will address this issue, offering an in-depth examination of conflicts in co-teaching partnerships.

Conflict, Power Inequality, and Co-Teaching

In the field of conflict studies, conflict or social conflict is defined as “when two or more persons or groups manifest the belief that they have incompatible objectives” (Kriesberg & Dayton, 2012, p. 2). The conflict between co-teachers is considered a form of a social conflict. Conflict can manifest power imbalance and the elements of sources are displayed. Power inequality is one of the primary bases of social conflicts of all kind (Kriesberg & Dayton, 2012). Power in the realm of relative domination can be described as “some persons and groups have more control over

their own affairs than do others and more freedom from control by others” (Kriesberg & Dayton, 2012, p. 63). Some parties have greater influence on making collective decisions to a system as a whole. Power holders are given the right to command orders since their authority is recognized. Conflicts can be manifested in the hierarchies of power in which a higher-status group exerts substantial influence over the lower-status group. The lower-status group expresses dissatisfaction or grievance. Kriesberg and Dayton (2012) provided an example in occupational study that people with lower work autonomy of an occupation have the tendency of expressing their dissatisfaction or wanting to quit. Conflict between co-teachers with respect to power inequality may reflect this tendency, as expressed in teacher dissatisfaction or frustration when deprived of their ownership of lessons by their partners.

Power in Discourse and Co-Teaching Conflict

In researching the sources of conflict in collaborative teaching, some overlap arose between the two realms of (1) power in discourse and (2) conflict. In cases where conflicts are observed, unequal distribution of power is found to be a fundamental element. The imbalance of distributed power in discourse could result in the escalation of conflicts. Discourse analysis can be described as an examination of the structure of a conversation, through which the roles of the participants are displayed (Herk, 2012). In a narrower scope, interactional discourse studies the language people use in face-to-face interaction (Gee & Handford, 2012). Donnellon (1996) examined team collaboration using discourse analysis. She argued that teamwork is inherently paradoxical, specifically in expressing and developing individuality, integrating identity, managing interdependence, and building trust. She sought to find the sources of conflict through observing team talk, emphasizing the power of language. Team talks were observed using the framework of six key dimensions: (1) identification, (2) interdependence, (3) power differentiation, (4) social distance, (5) conflict management tactics, and (6) negotiation process.

In sociolinguistics, power has a slightly different definition from the one in conflict studies in that it already connotes asymmetrical status. In the case of sociolinguistics, power is a non-reciprocal or unequal relationship between two or more speakers, predicting who (or whose norms) will dominate an interaction (Herk, 2012). Johnstone (2008) further described that power in discourse appears in asymmetrical relationships. Some people have more power than

others in discourse. Speakers are given more power to shape the world, while passive participants, people without a voice, are given less. In other words, the participant is the one who has influence on making decisions about what to say, how to say it, and what others should take it to mean. On the other hand, decoding participants are passive recipients of the message. To sum up, a speaker's greater influence on making decisions confers upon them a higher authoritative position. Passive decoders are given a reduced degree of influence and a lower position. It narrows down to the point where power designation can be made in two specific domains: How much influence do interlocutors have in making decisions? What position is given in role definition? To answer the questions according to the domain specified, it is necessary to reiterate the summary succinctly: Speakers possess greater influence in making decisions and they are given higher position; passive decoders, however, are given less influence, and lower position in discourse.

Conclusion and Future Directions

Current studies reveal the difficulties of co-teaching across the realm of education, including lack of co-planning time, lack of guidance and difficulty in role negotiation. Power inequality is considered a main cause of difficulty in decision-making, rising from interpersonal issues, intercultural issues, English as a Lingua Franca (ELF), and conflict management. Discourse is a crucial mechanism in examining the power relations in role negotiation, which allows examination those elements. Future studies should include observation of team interaction to identify additional elements of power imbalance, as well as the role discourse analysis plays in conflict management.

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Sustaining Common Ground and Co-Constructing Meaning in Peer-Peer Novice Learner Interaction

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Studies on communication strategies and negotiation of meaning in peer-peer interaction have primarily focused on learners of commonly taught languages. Little is known about the learning processes of learners of Indigenous languages and their unique ecological contexts. This study looks at the communication strategies used by two novice learners of Mixtec, an Indigenous language from Southern Mexico. The participants, Lucía and María (the author), met weekly throughout a six-week intensive language learning program to practice conversation. Two of those video-recorded interactions were analyzed for this study. Participants used verbal and non-verbal strategies like mime, embodied completions and constant comprehension checks to sustain common ground and avoid a breakdown in communication. A sociocognitive lens illuminates the context and limitations of learning an Indigenous language that has many varieties and few speakers. The traditional text-based teaching method, tonal structure of the language, and the participant's relationship as friends and peers with similar levels of competence, yet knowledge of different varieties of the language, all influence our interactions and how we used these strategies to create meaning in Mixtec.

In the summer of 2016, my friend Lucía and I met weekly to practice Mixtec, an Indigenous language from Mexico that we were learning together at a six-week intensive language-learning program. The video-recordings that resulted from the oral role-play interactions provide the data for this self-study. Taking a sociocognitive approach to second language acquisition (SLA) (Atkinson, 2011), the study asks how Lucía and I, two novice language learners, negotiated meaning in interaction and how we used gestures and other non-verbal semiotic resources to co-construct meaning. A sociocognitive perspective facilitates attention to the social and embodied tools we employed to align ourselves to our interlocutor and the language being learned. Within our role-play interactions, where the focus was on meaning, Lucía and I used verbal and non-verbal strategies like mime, embodied completions, and constant comprehension checks to sustain common ground and avoid a breakdown in communication. This was a challenge given our very limited linguistic resources in Mixtec and because we communicated across two different linguistic varieties of Mixtec (Lucía having some background in a variety of the language that was different from the one spoken by our teacher). Even so, the interactions provided many opportunities for language development, as evidenced by self-repair and uptake

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after reformulations. A sociocognitive lens goes beyond cognitive-interactionist approaches by underscoring the linguistic, social, and environmental affordances at play in interaction, and sheds light on non-traditional language learning contexts, including, in the case of this study, an Indigenous language that has many linguistic varieties and no clear standard. It also provides a more holistic perspective to SLA, highlighting the variety of interactions that afford learning opportunities, even in peer-peer novice learner interaction and when focused on meaning.

Literature Review

The benefit of interaction for SLA has long been established (Gass, Mackey & Pica, 1998). Interactionist research in SLA is heavily influenced by the work of Vygotsky (1980) and his colleagues, who in the 1920s argued that cognition occurs first through interaction with more capable peers and only later gets internalized. Peer-peer interaction is also widely considered beneficial for language development (Pinter, 2007; Sato & Lyster, 2012). Some scholars working within cognitive approaches have argued that interactional feedback and self-correction tend to be more common in peer-peer interaction than in interaction with native speakers, affording more opportunities for learning (e.g., Gass & Varonis, 1989).

How development is measured, the form of interaction, and the target structure will all influence language development (Mackey, 1997). From a cognitivist perspective, it is generally assumed that more opportunities to negotiate form necessarily means better acquisition opportunities (Yule & Tarone, 1991). One way to focus interaction and provide learners opportunities to negotiate form is through form-focused tasks (Nobuyoshi & Ellis, 1993). In fact, Sato and Lyster (2012) suggested that unless learners are engaged in solving a form-focused task, negotiation of form is not common in peer-peer interaction, limiting the opportunities for language development.

Early studies on negotiation of meaning focused on native speaker—non-native speaker interactions and the strategies that native speakers used to make their input more comprehensible for non-native speakers (e.g., Long, 1983). More recently, Mackey, Gass, and McDonough (2000) framed negotiation of meaning as happening during points of “communication breakdown.” Similarly, Ellis, Basturkmen, and Loewen (2001) described negotiation of meaning as occurring when a linguistic problem needs explicit resolution. Within

studies on corrective feedback, negotiation of meaning can happen in the absence of communication breakdowns, but it usually involves a more competent speaker (e.g., a teacher) purposefully shifting the focus from meaning to form to get the learner to notice the difference between their interlanguage and the target language (e.g., Sheen, 2004).

Research on negotiation of meaning is notably parallel to research on communication strategies (CS), yet the two lines of research have remained conspicuously independent (Yule & Tarone, 1991). Most mechanisms to negotiate meaning—for example, asking for clarification during a communication breakdown—are considered CS by scholars. Interestingly, while many definitions and taxonomies exist for CS (e.g., Canale, 1983; Dörnyei & Scott, 1997; Tarone, 1980), some more extensive than others, efforts to achieve conceptual clarity have led to narrowing down the taxonomy to those strategies used to “repair the discourse when trouble occurs” (Long, 1983, as cited in Dörnyei & Scott, 1997, p.186). Indeed, Dörnyei and Scott, in their review of research on CS, report that “the vast majority of the CS literature is concerned only with the devices belonging to [...] the management of actual language-related problems in communication” (p.186).

This study adopts Canale’s (1983) extended conceptualization of CS as involving any attempt to “enhance the effectiveness of communication” (as cited in Dörnyei & Scott, 1997, p. 179). This definition allows us to consider strategies used to maintain common ground before communication breakdowns happen and is not restricted to linguistic means but includes tools like gestures, eye gaze, mime, intonation, and other external affordances. Traditionally, studies on negotiation of meaning focus on lab- or classroom-based settings, where students learning a majority or other commonly taught language engage in form-focused activities with each other or receive corrective feedback from a teacher or more capable peer. These studies are narrow in that they have not captured all learning opportunities afforded to learners, for instance those afforded through peer-peer conversational tasks that are not focused on form (e.g., Nakahama, Tyler & Lier, 2001). In this study, I aim to fill that gap, and thereby take an expanded definition of negotiation of meaning, conceived here as the ongoing process, facilitated by communication strategies to sustain communication and co-construct meaning.

Methods

Theoretical Framework

This study takes a sociocognitive perspective to SLA that views learning as a continuous, complex, and nonlinear process that takes place in interaction (Atkinson, 2011). The social and cognitive realms are viewed as interrelated and inseparable. Cognitive processes therefore are inextricably linked to external affordances, such as (a) tools like textbooks, notebooks, and pens; (b) embodied tools like eye gaze and gesture; (c) social tools like interaction and turn-taking; (d) individuals and their identities (e.g., peers, tutors, friends); (e) historical trajectories (e.g., individual histories of socialization and education); and (f) historical and environmental context (e.g., sociopolitical status of the language being learned) (Atkinson, Churchill, Nishino, & Okada, 2007).

A central concept within the sociocognitive approach is that of alignment, which Atkinson, Churchill, Nishino, and Okada (2007) defined as “the complex means by which human beings effect coordinated interaction, and maintain that interaction in dynamically adaptive ways” (p.169). When learning a language, learners align themselves with the language being learned as well as with all other sociocognitive affordances described above. Affordances like embodied tools and social tools, which are not commonly foregrounded in mainstream cognitive approaches to SLA, take on special relevance in mediating and defining the language learning process.

Under this framework, gaze, gestures, and other non-verbal communication strategies are sociocognitive affordances inseparable from linguistic affordances in the learning process, necessary in understanding the process of negotiating interaction and constructing meaning. Embodied and social tools take on special relevance in how participants align to each other and the language being learned to establish common ground.

There are no studies to my knowledge that address embodied and social tools in novice peer-peer interaction. In addition, most studies on communication strategies and negotiation of meaning in peer-peer interaction have focused on learners of commonly taught languages. Little is known about the learning processes of learners of minoritized languages, especially Indigenous languages. The learning of Indigenous languages often takes place in unique ecological contexts where common sociocognitive affordances like language learning materials or basic access to

input from proficient speakers are limited. Addressing this gap takes on special urgency given the global and rapid language shift towards majority languages. Similarly, the unique ecological context of novice peer-peer language learning outside of traditional educational settings will help inform a more holistic understanding of language learning.

Seeking to address the gaps outlined above, this study asks: (a) How do two novice language learners of Mixtec negotiate meaning in oral role-plays? and (b) How do novice learners use gestures and other non-verbal semiotic resources in constructing meaning?

Context and Participants

The role play interactions analyzed here were recorded over the summer of 2016 during an intensive Mixtec language learning program in Oaxaca, Mexico. Both participants, Lucía and myself, were sponsored by a Foreign Language Area Studies (FLAS) fellowship to study the language, a competitive fellowship sponsored by the U.S. Department of Education designed to “strengthen global competitiveness” through “world language study” (U.S. Department of Education, 2017).

I am a graduate student of second languages education. My research interests, as well as a deep commitment to contributing to language revitalization movements in my native Mexico, prompted me to apply for the program to study Mixtec. Initially, my plan was to study Zapotec, but given the political situation that made access to the site difficult, I switched to Mixtec, joining one week into the six-week program. My history with language learning and teaching is long. I grew up speaking Spanish in Mexico but was introduced to English and German in school. Later, I studied some French and two years living in China, one after high school and again after college, prompted me to study and learn some Mandarin Chinese. During my time in college and graduate school I also explored other languages, taking one semester of Tamil and one semester of Kiswahili. This is all to say that I greatly enjoy learning languages and I’m familiar with being at the novice level. I also have experience teaching English and Spanish, mostly to beginner learners.

Lucía is a graduate student in urban development from Los Angeles, California. What brought her to Oaxaca was a specific interest in the Mixtec language. Lucía grew up bilingual in Spanish and English, her family being from the Mixtec region in Puebla, Mexico. There are few

speakers left of Puebla Mixtec, and nobody in Lucía's family claims to speak the language, though she could recognize some words used by her grandmother (who still lives in Puebla). Lucía is also deeply committed to the linguistic documentation and revitalization of Mixtec, and the years prior to the program had been studying the Puebla variety of the language and working with her partner, a linguist, on a dictionary of Puebla Mixtec.

Mixtec is an Indigenous language spoken in the states of Oaxaca, Puebla, and Guerrero. Recent migration to urban areas and the United States has also spread the Mixtec-speaking population, notably to Mexico City, Baja California Norte, California, and New York. The Instituto Nacional de Lenguas Indígenas (INALI) counts over 400,000 speakers of 63 varieties of the language nested around specific geographic regions. Many of these varieties are mutually unintelligible, making Spanish the *de facto* lingua franca among bilingual speakers from different regions. Also, while the number of speakers is still relatively high, many observers and scholars have noted a rapid generational shift from Mixtec to Spanish, where many of the younger generations are no longer fluent in the language.

Lucía and myself were the only two students in the language program taught by Professor Tomás (pseudonym), a former teacher and scholar from a Mixtec community in the Mixteca alta, a few hours away from Oaxaca City. Thus, Lucía and I learned the language variety from his hometown. As we studied in Oaxaca City and access to his community is limited, he was our only reference throughout the course. Other Mixtec speakers we encountered spoke different varieties and conversations were limited to observations in Spanish about differences and similarities in lexis. Lucía also had to manage her knowledge of the two varieties, often mixing the two during class and our conversations.

For five weeks we met Monday through Thursday from 8 a.m. to 1 p.m. The class was largely text based and centered around Professor Tomás as he introduced vocabulary that he wrote on the board. Lucía and I copied into our notebooks and asked him to translate other vocabulary and phrases we thought could be useful. In that sense, the class was fairly student driven, though there was no focus on conversation. Professor Tomás pronounced the words he wrote on the board, and as a learner, I often repeated his pronunciations, sometimes out loud to get his feedback. For the last hour of class, we sometimes played games like memory or bingo or listened to songs, decoding the lyrics. Other activities involved translations on handouts and for

the final weeks the production of texts. There was, however, little to no focus on spoken language and conversation.

Data Collection and Analysis

Lucía and I met on our own to practice conversation once a week starting two weeks into the program. After reviewing vocabulary for a given period of time, we decided on a topic for a role play and video recorded ourselves talking. I proposed recording our conversations to be able to track our progress. Rather than form-focused tasks, the meetings we recorded were opportunities to practice and develop our oral language through interactions where we role played several scenarios. These became less and less structured as we progressed through the course. For the first two we had rough scripts with an order of questions we would pose to each other to guide the conversation. However, as we recorded, we did not allow ourselves to look at our notes and we often improvised.

We recorded role plays a total of four times during the summer program and three times as we met remotely during the following months. For this study, I will be primarily looking at our first role-play conversation (two weeks into the program) and the very last recorded role-play conversation (at the end of the program).

For the first recording, a 3-minute structured role play, we asked each other basic questions about our names, age, and place of origin. For the last recording our only prompt was the question “What did you do yesterday?” from which we improvised the rest of the six-minute conversation. It should be noted that all the conversations were video-recorded in the summer of 2016, four to five months before I analyzed them as data for this study, which originated as a class paper for a class on SLA in the fall of 2016.

To analyze the data, I use multimodal interaction analysis as proposed by Atkinson (2011). The approach, adapted from Goodwin (2000), “focuses on the use of complementary semiotic resources in performing sociocognitive action-via-interaction” (Atkinson, p.152). These semiotic resources include: (1) language; (2) nonlinguistic vocal behavior; (3) gaze; (4) facial expression; (5) gesture; (6) head and body movement and orientation; (7) tools (e.g., computers, grammar exercises); (8) settings (e.g., coffee shops, religious ceremonies); (9) roles and relations; and (10) arrangements and practices. While considering the ways that these resources and

affordances play a role in the interactions we construct, I explicitly focus on gaze, gesture, and head and body movement and orientation to answer the question of how novice learners use gestures and other non-verbal semiotic resources in constructing meaning.

When analyzing how Lucía and I negotiate meaning in oral role-plays, I focus on the language produced. That analysis was informed by research on communication strategies (Dörnyei & Scott, 1997) and corrective feedback (Lyster & Ranta, 1997), specifically looking at repetitions, comprehension checks, recasts, and self-repair.

A self-study of language use has many advantages, as self-reflection is an invaluable source of data. Researcher-participants can provide personal insight on the intention and function of linguistic and non-verbal resources and other social tools and contextual factors shaping the interaction. This personal knowledge prompted me to focus my analysis more closely on my own gestures, language use, and interpretations. But a self-study doesn't come without challenges and ethical dilemmas, raising questions of trustworthiness in the process of "presenting, representing, legitimizing, analyzing, and reporting one's own experience as data" (Bullough & Pinnegar, 2001, p.15). On the other side, a self-study acknowledges the centrality and the agency of the researcher, who always, though not always consciously or reflexively, generates data based on their unique positionality (Choi, 2016). Within this study, my positionality became data, as it informed how I aligned myself to my interlocutor, but also to the environment and the language being learned.

Results

Though our interest developed from different places, both Lucía and I had (and continue to have) a high investment in learning Mixtec. Wanting to make the most out of the summer learning opportunity, we created additional opportunities to practice oral language, imagining scenarios that would lead us to use the language learned through oral role-plays. This involved artificially creating situations where our shared languages (English and Spanish) were not available, forcing us to use Mixtec and other non-linguistic affordances to negotiate meaning. Given that our knowledge of Mixtec was limited (more so after only two weeks of learning but still so at the end of the six-week program), we had few linguistic resources to sustain communication and repair communication breakdowns. Shared embodied and social tools

gained special relevance in facilitating that interaction and co-constructing meaning, compensating for our limited resources.

This study asks the following questions: How do novice learners use gestures and other non-verbal semiotic resources in constructing meaning? Secondly, how do two novice language learners of Mixtec negotiate meaning in oral role-plays? This section is organized in four sub-sections that reflect the main resources or strategies, verbal and non-verbal, that Lucía and I employed to co-construct meaning and to sustain common ground. I categorized the non-verbal resources as embodied completion and mime. The verbal resource and most common strategy was repetition, which, if including a reformulation, could be interpreted as negative feedback. Lucía and I, however, employed it as a comprehension check when communicating across dialects or to gain time. In the last sub-section, I discuss instances of uptake or self-repair that represent instances of language development despite the focus being on sustaining common ground at a very basic level.

Embodied Completion

Gestures and gaze are used in different ways in our role-play conversations. One important function of these embodied tools was that of passing turn at talk. This represents a practice of embodied completion or “launching a turn at talk, and then at a point where some trajectory of the turn is projectable, ceasing to talk and completing the action that had been initiated by the particular turn through gesture or embodied display” (Olsher 2004 in Mori & Hayashi, 2006, p.196).

In excerpt 1, Lucía and I practiced asking common questions about each other. This was our first role-play and the first time we attempted to engage in a conversation in Mixtec. Before we recorded ourselves, we reviewed the vocabulary and gave each other roles, planning the structure the conversation would take and who would ask which question when. During the conversation, however, either intentionally or not, we allowed ourselves to improvise, creating situations where we had to negotiate interaction. In line 1 for example, I asked the first question (What is your name?). Lucía answers and then asks me the same question in line 2, which I answer, then wait for Lucía to take the floor. In line 4, by gazing away and directing her gaze back at me, however, Lucía passes the turn at talk back to me. I understand the message, as I

quickly produce the next question in line 5. Eye gaze as a shared resource plays an important role in helping us sustain the conversation when other affordances are not available (e.g., linguistic affordances to negotiate turn at talk, notebook with our notes, and role-play specifications).

Excerpt 1: First role-play, 07/03/2016

- 1 M: Ahm: (.2) na: na nani yo'o ku'u?
Ahm: (.2) What's your name, sister?
- 2 L: Ahm, ndi'u nani Lucía. Na nani (.2) yo'o ku'u?
Ahm, my name is Lucía. What is your name, sister?
- 3 M: Na nani: Ah! Ndi'u ((gesturing towards Lucía)) nani María.
What is: Ah! My name is María.
- 4 L: Ah! Ahm ((looks away then looks back at María))
Ah! Ahm
- 5 M: Ahm Nda dava kui:ya: yo'o ku'u?
Ahm: How old are you sister?

The practice of embodied completion is also often accomplished through gestures. The need to compensate for limited resources drives me to use gestures extensively, as shown in Excerpt 2 below. In line 10 I ask Lucía a question. After a brief pause, I signal towards Lucía at about the same time when I start asking the question. The gesture that accompanies the verbalization could signal that I am referring to her and/or serve as an indication that I am about to give her the floor. In L1 interaction in English or Spanish a change in intonation usually provides enough information to indicate a question, which in turn indicates a turn at talk. Given my limited knowledge of Mixtec, a tonal language with an intonation pattern I am unfamiliar with, a gesture towards Lucía in line 10 is used to compensate and provide that information. Lucía not only shows understanding of my question in line 11, but demonstrates competence by replying with a possible answer. It is unclear if (and, if so, to what degree) this type of embodied completion is aiding Lucía's comprehension of my verbalizations or even aiding my production of the question in the first place, yet in either case it plays an important role in helping us sustain the conversation when other affordances are not available.

Excerpt 2: Final Role-Play, 07/29/2016

- 10 M: [Ah] ahm: ((gestures at L)) yo'o ñeji: ñeji: va'a yo'o ku'u?
[Ah] ahm: Did you eat sister?
- 11 L: Ah! Ah: ñeji va'a ndi'u. Ñeji dita yĩĩ diva.

- Ah! Ah: I ate well. I ate tortilla with diva.*
- 12 M: Ah:!
Ah:!
- 13 L: Mh'm
Mh'm

Embodied completions like using gaze or hand gestures to complete an action and pass a turn at talk are usually not considered communication strategies (CS); however, they aid the participants in sustaining common ground in interaction. Tarone (1980) distinguished between CS, learning strategies, and production strategies, and categorizes gestures as production strategies. Gestures in conjunction with my verbalization of the question could be aiding my language production and Lucía's comprehension. This is, however, a difficult claim to make because there is no breakdown in communication that is subsequently repaired.

Mime

Unlike the embodied completions in the examples above, non-verbal resources used to describe concepts or to provide visual illustrations have been included in typologies of CS from very early on. One such example is mime, which many studies have shown is used by language learners to compensate for limited linguistic resources (e.g., Færch & Kasper, 1983; Tarone, 1977).

Mime can serve as a secondary device to convey meaning when the speaker is not sure about the word choice. It also puts special emphasis on performance and learning to do by doing.

In Excerpt 3, below, I tell Lucía that I would like to drink water while simultaneously pretending to drink from an imaginary glass (line 16). After I get confirmation in line 17 that my message was understood, I continue in line 18, telling Lucía that I have water at my house, this time making a square figure with my hands while I say “ve’e” (“house”) and then pointing to myself as I say “ndi’u” (“I”). By using these gestures, I am making use of different affordances to align with Lucía and Mixtec. This conversation comes from the final recording at the end of the program. While I know the words for both “I” and “house,” and I know Lucía knows them well too (they are high frequency words that we have used and reviewed many times), I am not sure if the syntactic structures of the phrases are correct or whether we share enough context to interpret the meaning of the conversation. The embodied tools go beyond being tools to illustrate two isolated words but aim to help build the context to interpret the meaning of the

whole utterance. They serve as an additional resource to help sustain common ground and prevent potential communication breakdowns.

Excerpt 3: Water

- 15 L: Ah: (.2) ((nods)) *nĩ'ĩn tuin. nĩ'ĩn tuin?*
Ah: (.2) Do you drink too. Do you drink too?
- 16 M: Ah! Ahm: (.2) *miñi nĩ'ĩn ndute.* ((holds imaginary glass))
Ah! Ahm: (.2) I like to drink water.
- 17 L: Ah. Ujun. ((nods)) *Ndi'u ndu- te ahm: (.2)*
Ah. Yes. I wa- ter ahm: (.2)
- 18 M: Ujun ((nods)). *Ve'e* ((gesture of square)) *ndi'u* ((pointing at self)) *iyó ndute.*
Ujun. In my house there is water.

Excerpt 4 (see below) is also an abstract from the role play at the end of the program; we are talking about the tamal festival we went to on the previous day. The prompt for the role-play was asking each other what we had done on the previous day. Because we had spent the day together at the tamal festival, context was a shared resource. In this case, Lucía asks me whether the festival was nice (line 20), to which I answer, “mhm vii ika, viko iyo yaa” (“*Mhm it was nice, there is music at the festival*”) (line 21). As I say “yaa,” the word for “music,” I swirl with my finger around my ear. Unlike the examples above, where the words that were illustrated through mime were high frequency words and there was little ambiguity in their pronunciation, the word for “music” can be ambiguous if not pronounced correctly.

Excerpt 4: Music

- 20 L: Ah: *viko ah: vii?*
Was the festival nice?
- 21 M: *Mhm vii ika, viko iyo yaa:* ((gestures hand swirl around ear))
Mhm it was nice, there is music at the festival
- 22 L: *Mhm*
Mhm

In Mixtec, a tonal language, “yaa” can have different meanings depending on the tone, including “tongue,” “grey,” and “ashes,” and, with a glottal stop (“ya’a”), also “chili.” Since we had had little speaking practice and I had little confidence producing tones, the gesture is an effort to disambiguate and compensate for those limitations. In neither case with these examples is there an evident communication breakdown. The gestures are employed as an additional affordance to

align to each other. The gestures can also serve and be interpreted as comprehension checks, as they are followed by a confirmation from Lucía “Ujun” (“yes”) or “Mhm.” Their purpose here is to make sure we share common ground before communication breaks down.

Repetitions and Reformulations

There are several instances in the data where Lucía or I repeat the other’s utterance before continuing the conversation. Repetitions can have several functions. Other-repetition has been considered a learning strategy to gain time (Dörnyei & Scott, 1997). When a repeated utterance includes a change in form, it tends to be interpreted as a recast, a form of corrective feedback (Nicholas et al., 2001), yet whether any given repetition is intended as recast is not always clear. In the present study, because both participants are at a similar level and the conversations were not designed to focus on form, corrective feedback is unlikely. In addition, Lucía’s knowledge of Puebla Mixtec adds an additional layer of complexity, as we strive to communicate across dialects.

When Lucía says a word I don’t recognize, I often assume it is the Puebla variety rather than a mistake. In Excerpt 5 below we are talking about what we did the previous day. The first repetition comes in line 3, when Lucía repeats the name of the restaurant I mention I had gone to (“ita noni”). This could be a communication strategy to gain time, or simply a discourse strategy to show surprise. The repetitions, however, continue in lines 8 and 9 “ndiṽi tya’a.” In this case, Lucía repeats the phrase with rising intonation, signaling that it is a question and that she is asking for confirmation. The communication hasn’t broken, but she is taking proactive steps to maintain common ground. In line 11, Lucía follows up with the conversation about food, asking me how many tortillas I have eaten: “Na dava: dita?” (line 11). She uses “dava,” the Puebla Mixtec word for “how many” and I repeat the question in line 12, though I use the Huitepec Mixtec word for “how many,” “ndava.” My intent here is not to correct and provide the correct form of Huitepec Mixtec, but to confirm that I have comprehended her question.

Excerpt 5: Repetition

- | | | |
|---|----|--|
| 1 | L: | Ah: Na dide yo’o ku’u?
<i>Ah: What did you do sister?</i> |
| 2 | M: | Ah (.3) Ñe’en ah: ñejii ita noni
<i>Ah (.3) I went to eat at ita noni</i> |
| 3 | L: | Ah ita noni! Va’a ñejii? |

- 4 M: *Ah ita noni! Was it good?*
 Va'a ñejii. Va'a ñejii ah: dita: ((nod))
It was good. Tortillas were good.
- 5 L: Mhmm? ((nods))
Mhmm?
- 6 M: Mhm. Ah: ndi'i ndivi.
Mhm. Ah: and eggs.
- 7 L: Ah:
Ah:
- 8 M: Ndivi tya'a
Eggs in salsa
- 9 L: Ndivi tya'a?
Eggs in salsa?
- 10 M: Aha ((nod))
Aha ((nod))
- 11 L: Mm Na dava: dita?
Mm how many tortillas?
- 12 M: Ah: Na ndava dita? Mm (.2) ñejii jimi dita ((gesture showing four fingers))
How many tortillas? Mm I ate four tortillas ((showing four fingers))

When I do not recognize a word, rather than thinking it might be an error, I assume that she is either using the Puebla variant or that I haven't learned the word. Reformulations as comprehension checks help participants negotiate meaning, checking for understanding. These strategies are constant and necessary in our novice learner conversation to make sure we are establishing common ground and we are in fact co-constructing meaning.

Excerpt 6 below is the start of our first role play. Lucía and I greet each other and in line 1, I pronounce the word for sister without the glottal stop (*"kuu" instead of "ku'u"). Lucía greets me back saying the word "ku'u" correctly in line 2. In this example, she is not repeating my utterance, but simply replying to the greeting, reformulating the word "ku'u" with the glottal stop. Her utterance in line 2 also functions as a recast, since I notice it, as shown by the uptake in line 3. When I ask the next question in line 3, I used the word "ku'u" again, this time with the glottal stop.

Excerpt 6: Good Morning

- 1 M: Nku Kueeni kuu!
Good morning sister!
- 2 L: Nku Kueeni ku'u.
Good morning sister.

- 3 M: Ahm: (.2) na: na nani yo'o ku'u?
What's your name, sister?
- 4 L: Ahm, ndi'u nani Lucía.
Ahm, my name is Lucía.

Even if not intended as negative feedback, this short conversation provides a learning opportunity. Because this role play is structured and we were anticipating each other's utterances, the absence of the glottal stop does not affect meaning and does not result in a communication breakdown. Nevertheless, the interaction does provide an opportunity for me to take up the input.

The two examples above show instances that could be interpreted as recasts. Because of how the participants align to each other horizontally as novice peers and communicate across two linguistic varieties, the repetitions are not necessarily meant as negative feedback, yet they may still lead to uptake. As Mori and Hayashi (2006) noted in their study looking at embodied completion, recasts can also be designed “to serve the interactional project of re-framing the ratified talk” (p.212). This seems to be the case of the repetitions here, serving rather as production or even communication strategies such as comprehension checks employed to maintain common ground.

Uptake and Self-Repair

In different places either Lucía or I initiate self-repair even in the absence of negative feedback or communication breakdown showing learning taking place in novice peer-peer interaction. When we are wrapping up the conversation during the last role play, we say good-bye to each other.

Excerpt 7: Self-Repair

- 40 L: Ahm: (.4) koja'an tnee ku'u?
Ahm: see you tomorrow sister?
- 41 M: ((nod)) Uun, ah: ((wave)) nde tnee t- ku'u
Yes, see you tomorrow sr- sister
- 42 L: Nde tnee taa ku'u ((wave))
See you tomorrow sr. sister
- 43 L: Oh. nde tnee ku'u
Oh. see you tomorrow, sister

In line 41 I say “nde tnee t- ku'u.” In Mixtec, this expression changes depending on whom you are talking to. In class, we always used this phrase with our teacher, in which case we would

have said “nde tnee taa” (see you tomorrow sr.). I was about to make that error, but I noticed before completing the utterance and corrected myself. Then, in line 42, Lucía also used both “taa” and “ku’u” only to repeat her own utterance correctly in line 43. Whether this is self-repair or Lucía is taking up the input of my utterance in line 41, it happens without prompting or communication breakdown, showing that learning takes place even without negotiating meaning in the traditional sense.

In Excerpt 8 below, I was telling Lucía about the mole that her grandmother had made.

Excerpt 8: Mole

- 30 M: Na’an tyitna ndi’u ahm: ((gestures calling on the phone))
Tell my grandmother
- 31 L: Aha
confirmation
- 32 M: Ndeyu va’a ñejii
The mole is very good.
- 33 L: Juun. ahm: tyitu:
Yes. ahm: full
- 34 M: Ah! Tyitna yo’o ((pointing at L))
Ah! Your grandmother
- 35 L: Aha. tyitu tyitu yiti ndi’u
Aha. My stomach is full.

In line 30 I ask her to tell my grandmother that the mole is very good. Lucía does not provide negative feedback but instead confirms “ah!” in line 31. Only 4 turns later do I initiate self-repair pointing at Lucía “Ah! Your grandmother” (line 34).

In Excerpt 9 below, there is no self-repair, no negative feedback, and no communication breakdown. We can infer meaning from context and continue the conversation.

Excerpt 9: California

- 1 M: Ahm: ñu ah: (.4) ndi’- ahm: (.3) ñu- ah: ñuu yo’o ah!- Na nani ah: na nani ñuu yo’o ku’u?
Town- ah: I- ahm: town-ah: your town ah!- What’s the name ah: What’s the name of your town sister?
- 2 L: Ah! Ndi’u nani ñuu California.
Ah! I am called California.
- 3 M: [Ah:]
- 4 L: [Ah:] na nani ñuu yo’o ku’u?
What’s the name of your town, sister?

In line 1, I ask Lucía what the name of her town is. In line 2, Lucía says she is called California to which I only respond “ah:” as a confirmation. I am not sure if I notice the error, and the conversation proceeds with no communication breakdown, as the noun “California” answers the question even though the grammatical structure of the answer is incorrect. We are both satisfied that we are achieving common ground.

Lucía and I employ several strategies to help us co-construct and negotiate meaning. Given that we are novice learners and our linguistic resources are limited, non-verbal resources like embodied completion and mime become important strategies to help us maintain common ground and avoid communication breakdowns. Repetitions also occur very frequently throughout our role-plays. These can be interpreted as strategies to gain processing time or as comprehension-checks, again employed to maintain common ground. In some cases, repetitions contain reformulations of the previous utterance and could be interpreted as recasts; however, because Lucía and I align to each other horizontally as novice learners and communicate across dialects, I argue that rather than recasts, reformulations, like repetitions, function as comprehension checks. Yet regardless of the speaker’s intention, reformulations can still result in uptake. Language development is evident through that uptake as well as through instances of self-repair.

Discussion

The communication strategies discussed above (embodied completions, mime, repetitions, and reformulations) can be described as social and embodied affordances that aid learners like Lucía and me to maintain common ground before there is a “problem” in communication.

Lucía and I share two languages (English and Spanish) which were not available to us during our role-plays. We do, however, have other non-linguistic shared resources and affordances like gestures, gaze, and context that play an important role in helping us sustain communication and co-construct interaction in Mixtec. These affordances play an especially important role in sustaining common ground considering our limited linguistic resources and the fact that we are communicating across dialects.

It is difficult to distinguish between strategies that are used to problem-solve and those used to enhance communication and avoid problems in the first place. Co-constructing meaning

and negotiating interaction involves not only recovering from communication breakdowns or initiating explicit repair interactions. In fact, many of the communication strategies described in the literature do not involve repair and can be employed preventively to sustain communication. Repetition, for example, can be interpreted as a check for comprehension (preventing a breakdown of communication) or a request for clarification (after a communication breakdown). In both cases the confirmation that follows in the next turn signals the participants that communication is sustained and the conversation can continue.

This study of negotiation of meaning does not necessarily point to communication breakdown, or the presence of explicit resolution. Scholars need to move beyond conceptions of negotiation of meaning or communication strategies as repair to understand all the benefits of interaction for language learning, thinking of negotiation of meaning as the constant, ongoing effort to sustain communication and construct meaning in interaction. Looking at negotiation of meaning as an ongoing process from a sociocognitive perspective also leads to consideration of the myriad social and embodied tools that individuals employ to align themselves to their interlocutor and the language being learned as they work toward sustaining common ground.

Conclusion

This study sheds some light on the strategies that two novice learners of Mixtec use to maintain common ground. A sociocognitive lens illuminates the context and limitations of learning an Indigenous language that has many varieties and few speakers. The traditional text-based teaching method, the tonal structure of the language, and the participant's relationship as friends and peers with similar levels of competence (though with knowledge of different varieties of the language) all influence our interactions and how we used these strategies to create meaning in Mixtec.

This study points at the need to look holistically at SLA, and the variety of interactions that afford many learning opportunities even in peer-peer novice learner interaction and when focused on meaning. This is especially important in the context of Indigenous language revitalization where the input from advanced speakers is often limited and where one language can have many different, non-standardized varieties. A view of negotiation of meaning as the ongoing process, facilitated by communication strategies to sustain communication and co-

construct meaning, can shed light on the many sociocognitive affordances that mediate learning in non-traditional contexts.

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Appendix A

Transcription Conventions

[beginning of overlapped talk
]	end of overlapped talk
:	lengthened sound
CAPS	relatively high volume
?	rising intonation
.	falling intonation
,	continuing intonation
(words)	unintelligible stretch, guessing words
#	inaudible word or stretch
((words))	comments by the transcriber
-	sudden cut-off of the current sound
(.2)	pause of two seconds
Italics	English translation

Power and Privilege in Adult ESL Classrooms

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Many researchers have contended that there is room for growth in TESOL teacher training programs regarding discussions on sociocultural issues, such as how race, privilege, and power affect adult ESL classrooms (Crump, 2014; Kubota & Lin, 2006; Motha, 2014). A majority of teacher training programs include extensive instruction on teaching methodology and grammar; however, discussions on historical context and larger discriminatory forces should also be included (Vazquez, 2000). Particularly because so many TESOL practitioners are white or representative of the dominant U.S. culture, it is important to investigate how social construct and privilege may manifest themselves in the classroom (McCann, 2012). As discriminatory forces are still very present in U.S. society, the researcher believes it valuable to reflect on pedagogical practices, so that they challenge rather than perpetuate harmful power dynamics. This paper will be valuable for TESOL professionals who are interested in discussion on the historical context of English language teaching and current white normativity, especially in how they can exist in adult ESL classrooms. The research will include a foundation of theoretical approaches that can be translated into tangible solutions toward resolving postcolonial practices in classrooms.

Postcolonial forces that affect immigrants in wider U.S. society can also manifest themselves in TESOL contexts and ESL classrooms. This analysis provides valuable background information that can help foster reflection in White, English-monolingual teachers from the dominant culture. This paper includes proposals of potential solutions towards reconciling hierarchical power structures in adult ESL classrooms that can emerge due to White, native English-speaking teachers' uncritical view of TESOL. The following research question guides this paper: How can TESOL teachers in the United States create more equitable classrooms that value student voice?

Teacher Recognition of Privilege

Due to the intersectionality of race with power structures in the U.S., I will often refer to the Whiteness that exists in TESOL culture. *Whiteness* in this paper refers to the dominant, White cultural identity that stands as the invisible and powerful norm in U.S. society (Adair, 2008; Kubota & Lin, 2006). The research shows Whiteness to be invisible to White, native English-speaking teachers, with a troubling lack of teacher training on the sociocultural implications and contexts of English language teaching. Many researchers suggest a link between understanding

context, including latent power structures, and the subsequent ability to be better teachers and social justice advocates in the classroom (Kumaravadivelu, 2001; McCann, 2012; Motha, 2006; Taylor, 2006). In order to understand the implications of race and privilege in their classrooms, teachers should untangle their own complex identities, which many White teachers have yet to do (McCann, 2012; Solomona, Portelli, Daniel, & Campbell 2005). My own MA TESOL program includes an entire course devoted to examining and reflecting on the contexts for English teaching and learning. The explicit instruction on historical power structures inherent in English language teaching compelled me to consider my privilege, challenge my preconceptions, and change my teaching practices. McCann (2012) spoke to the importance of awakening teachers to the deleterious effects that unexamined privilege can have on ELs, and that this awareness leads to a deeper understanding of ELs' contexts and expectations.

Another important step toward reflecting on privilege is problematizing the connection between race and “standard” English, and the connotations of teaching and correcting to this form in classrooms (McCann, 2012). There are some MA TESOL programs that address different varieties of English, such as the concept of Global Englishes. Such programs prepare teachers to have more understanding and acceptance of diverse Englishes, particularly in how their learners may use or interact with the language (Nero, 2005). ESL teachers should also understand the power inherent in standard or native-like speech and how pursuit of this variety finds its source in a wider belief in the superiority of a colonizing language, which in the case of English is deeply intertwined with Whiteness (Motha, 2014).

Teachers able to reflect on the intersection of race, language, and power will undoubtedly perceive identities that are more complicated than teachers who cannot see the forest for the trees (the forest being the White dominant culture that they live within) (Adair, 2008). Teachers who recognize social constructs for what they are, and who are cognizant of historical forces, may be more accepting of the dynamic identities and languages of their ELs, and also more willing to value their voices. If teachers are better educated about power structures and White privilege, then they will be better able to address these issues and foster more equitable classrooms (McCann, 2012).

Equitable Classrooms with a Focus on Student Voice

Once teachers are aware of systemic forces, the next step is to translate this knowledge into the creation of equitable classrooms that honor student voice and disrupt power structures. Freire (1968) was an early proponent for overthrowing the traditional power dynamics found in classrooms and for challenging colonialist forces that masquerade as charity. He rejects the banking method of education, wherein knowledgeable teachers gift knowledge to their students; this concept reveals the stark power gulf between ignorant, passive recipient students and benevolent, wise teachers. An ideal classroom is one in which teachers and students are equals—all teachers in their own right—who come together to co-create knowledge and forge liberating identities through problem-solving and mutual humanization. Furthermore, in this pedagogical model, students are not being integrated into existing oppressive systems, but rather are thinking and acting for themselves. There is much to gain from Freire's work; it provides a jumping-off point when considering how ESL teachers can articulate pedagogically liberating philosophies into practice. In order to begin this process, a look at classroom repositioning is warranted, as a radical paradigm shift in classroom dynamics can trickle down to many aspects of teaching and learning.

Re-Positioning

Acts of Positioning

Colonial-like power hierarchies can be reinforced through acts of positioning in adult ESL classrooms that deny EL voice and agency. Many educational settings contain acts of positioning, with the teacher normally situated as the more knowledgeable person than the students. When turning to adult ESL classrooms, the implications of positioning are more dire because the students are also adults, and furthermore, from diverse communities. Freire (1968) was an early, influential opponent of traditional classroom positioning, speculating that teacher-centered classrooms are oppressive, “projecting an absolute ignorance onto others” (p. 72). If we think now of adult ELs, images of recent, hapless immigrants may surface: adults wandering down the aisles of department stores without the language to ask clerks for assistance, without the cultural know-how to stand quietly in line. ESL teachers may step up to the job not only seeing themselves as potential givers of language, but also bestowers of culture to adults who know little

to no English and little to nothing about White culture. The banking method of education can be problematic in any setting, but particularly when considering teaching immigrant adults. Positioning ELs as empty receptacles to be filled by their teachers denies their rich life experiences, knowledge, and humanity, while inflating these qualities in the teacher. In this limited pedagogy, learner identities are passive, deficit-based, and dependent on the charity of the all-knowing teacher (Freire, 1968). Examples of banking education are illustrated in the positioning acts below.

Naming, or categorizing, students based on class or testing levels can reflect problematic ideologies (Jenkins, 2015; Nero, 2005). ELs are often labeled to indicate their assumed capability in English; nonetheless, the act can portray students as passive groups defined by levels rather than individual traits. The gap between ESL teacher and ELs is further widened in classrooms where learners are named thusly; in addition, when one group categorizes another, power hierarchies can be reinforced. Indeed, EL categorization can be even more insidious; for example, Sacklin (2015) referenced a situation where a learning center director positioned the ELs as “welfare recipients” (p. 10), which could surely limit the director’s nature of relating with and supporting the learners.

ELs are also positioned through persistent, prescriptive corrective feedback toward standard English. It can be argued that providing feedback is an essential responsibility of a teacher; indeed, many believe it is a disservice to ELs if correction is neglected in a language classroom. With the complexity of the issue in mind, it is still important to unpack the intention behind correction, particularly in situations where intelligible utterances are corrected to be more standard. When teachers from the dominant culture label students’ attempts as *correct* or *incorrect*, the underlying meaning is that varieties other than White American English are unacceptable (McCann, 2012). If teachers do not reflect on their corrective feedback practices, they run the risk of signaling ELs’ Otherness. The practice of correcting students’ accents and speech patterns to match the standard supports the dominant culture’s monolithic appraisal of one correct form of English (Motha, 2014).

ESL teachers can begin to disrupt colonial forces in classrooms by repositioning their students and themselves. To avoid practicing the banking method of education which situates ELs within colonial discourses, ESL teachers can reposition their students by making them fellow

teachers. While scholars such as Freire (1968) provided the theoretical framework for this, there are many researchers and educators who have proposed tangible steps towards this end.

In *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1968), Freire presented a list of problematic items that characterize the banking method of education. Items (a–h) support the colonial roles of teacher and students, and mirror oppressive society at large:

a) the teacher teaches and the students are taught; (b) the teacher knows everything and the students know nothing; (c) the teacher thinks and the students are thought about; (d) the teacher talks and the students listen meekly; (e) the teacher disciplines and the students are disciplined; (f) the teacher chooses and enforces his choice, and the students comply; (g) the teacher acts and the students have the illusion of acting through the action of the teacher; (h) the teacher chooses the program content, and the students (who were not consulted) adapt to it; (i) the teacher confuses the authority of knowledge with his or her own professional authority, which she and he sets in opposition to the freedom of the students; (j) the teacher is the Subject of the learning process, while the pupils are mere objects. (p. 73)

By examining and counteracting the themes from these items, potentially liberating practices start to emerge. In (a) and (b), the liberating counter practice would be to reposition students as individuals with rich life experiences and knowledge to share. In items (c) and (d), ELs could be re-conceptualized as active constructors of knowledge rather than passive objects. Items (e) and (f) are especially problematic as they support the reenactment of colonial-like authority in the classroom. A humanizing alternative to these items is to shift discipline policy into the hands of the students themselves. The remaining items (g–j) are all similar in that they surround the notion of active versus passive learning. Items (g) and (h), and (j) are closely related to preceding items, in that they focus on agency and authority in the classroom. Item (h) can be very concretely challenged by giving ELs' choice in program content. When considered as a whole, the items all work together to vest power in the teacher. The summative, liberating opposite would be a redistribution of voice among the students—with the teacher simply another voice in this new classroom choir. Next, a look is needed at orientations that directly challenge the principles espoused in banking education and start the process of repositioning.

Table 1. Banking Method Practices and Counterpractices

Banking method practices	Counterpractices
A. The teacher teaches and the students are taught.	Reposition students as individuals with rich life experiences and knowledge to share.
B. The teacher knows everything and the students know nothing.	
C. The teacher thinks and the students are thought about.	Students could be re-conceptualized as active constructors of knowledge rather than passive objects.
D. The teacher talks and the students listen meekly.	
E. The teacher disciplines and the students are disciplined.	Shift discipline policy into the hands of the students themselves.
F. The teacher chooses and enforces his choice, and the students comply.	
G. The teacher acts and the students have the illusion of acting through the action of the teacher.	A redistribution of voice among the students—with the teacher simply another voice. Student choice in program content.
H. The teacher chooses the program content, and the students (who were not consulted) adapt to it.	
I. The teacher confuses the authority of knowledge with his or her own professional authority, which she and he sets in opposition to the freedom of the students.	
J. The teacher is the Subject of the learning process, while the pupils are mere objects.	

Renaming

A tangible way for ESL teachers to encourage repositioning in their classrooms is to reflect on how they name their ELs and themselves. Keeping in mind that teachers often use such terms in

a practical manner, it is still important to be thoughtful when naming learners. In this paper, I have referred to a wide, diverse group of adult learners as ELs for the purpose of ease. In reality, the learners in ESL classrooms are individuals with different names, identities, backgrounds, and aspirations; they should not be identified solely based on their level of English, particularly when the terms are deficit-based, like non-native English speaker (NNES). Jenkins (2015) made a cogent case for reconsidering the traditional terminology, suggesting new terms that focus on EL strength, especially in regard to multilingual abilities. Nero (2005) pointed out the underlying monolingual bias that favors the native-speaker construct, and how this bias belies a fluidity of language and identity that ELs have. In reality, many ELs are bi- or multilingual speakers able to move between and within different communities much more adroitly than monolingual teachers (Nero, 2005). Jain (2014) proposed a new paradigm in viewing and naming ELs' linguistic and cultural identities as *translingual*, a dynamic term that runs counter to the colonial binaries of non/native. Despite society-wide attempts to label ELs and immigrants as Other due to the ideology that values monolingual, native speakers (Motha, 2006), ESL teachers can rename their ELs in more empowering ways that emphasize their strengths. Reconsidering terms for students addresses the first humanistic counter principle, in that it repositions students as individuals with rich life experiences.

ESL teachers can also rename themselves to highlight the complexities of their own identities and demonstrate their cultural constructs. Kumaravadivelu (2001) wrote that the acknowledgment of both student and teacher positionality, including race, can prompt challenge of the hierarchical status quo. If White ESL teachers explicitly speak to the privilege in belonging to the dominant culture, this may open up avenues for engagement with important topics (Solomona et al., 2005). Self-identifying as part of the White, dominant culture, or as monolingual, will invite discussions of White normativity and the limits of existing within a monolingual and monocultural orientation. Just as ELs can be renamed to emphasize their strengths, ESL teachers can be renamed to acknowledge limitations; the act of renaming can open up opportunities for the former to teach, and the latter to learn. Slowinski (2002) argued that the practice of self-identifying culture, positionality, and limitations as ESL teachers has been given less attention in TESOL; however, there is ample opportunity to integrate this simple step into classrooms. As an example, when addressing learning strategies to use in the home, a

monolingual ESL teacher may draw upon the knowledge of a multilingual student who has experience navigating language use with children and family members. In this example, the teacher acknowledges and supports the students' abilities and experience as a multilingual individual.

Recently, after witnessing many of our Muslim students praying on paper towels at school, I asked Rukiya, a female Ethiopian student, for advice on how to make the situation more comfortable. Wisely, she recommended purchasing prayer rugs, and also suggested a local business. With the acknowledgment of her knowledge, we were able to come together as equals to solve a problem, with the student an expert on her culture. Such an acknowledgement starts a path toward a reconceptualization of ELs as individuals with skills and experiences to share, and reveals ESL teachers not to be inherent experts (and certainly not on all things culture).

Taking the above steps can begin a process of divesting teacher authority, which is necessary for fostering equitable classrooms (Freire, 1968). If renaming can be thought of as acknowledgment of culture, then this is a necessary step toward teachers recognizing their racial identity and how it may affect ELs (Solomona et al., 2005). If power differentials are reconciled, ESL teachers can step into a much more impactful role, that of a transformative individual who works for emancipation through problem-posing and participatory pedagogy (Dogancay-Aktuna, 2006).

Learner Identity as Shaper of Pedagogy

When students are repositioned as fellow teachers in the ESL classroom, teachers can learn from their knowledge, experience, skills, and concerns to shape curriculum and pedagogy. It has been argued by many that learning is only effective when it is relevant for learners and when it activates their prior knowledge (Tarlau, 2014). To push this point further, Norton (2016) contended that harnessing the dynamic, translingual identities of ELs will have the powerful effect of positively enhancing language learning and possible future identity transformation. Therefore, student identity will not only benefit from the implementation of a relevant, contextual curriculum, it can also be the direct shaper of pedagogy. The social and political forces in ELs' lives have undoubtedly shaped them as individuals; their lived experiences should also affect pedagogical practices (Kumaravadivelu, 2001). EL identity itself, in its fluidity and

plurality, is a challenge to White normativity because it challenges the essentialist binaries of identity given through dominant narratives (Taylor, 2006). The dynamic identities of ELs can puncture and expose the socially constructed bubble of White normativity in their refusal to be summarily categorized and othered (Taylor, 2006).

Norton (1997) presented a case study of an adult EL who became disengaged due to class activities that provided a monocultural perspective. The EL felt, rightly so, that her complex identity was not being addressed, particularly after a stretch of lessons that focused on the monocultural experiences of a European American individual. Her own identity, a constantly evolving interplay of Vietnamese and now North American culture, called into question such a monocultural approach. Immigrants and refugees, as they are inherently involved in the merge and clash of multiple cultures and languages, do not have simple or fixed identities. A lack of activities that invite exploration and comparison of ELs' experiences in the US and in their home countries may lead to a loss of engagement (Norton, 1997). Jain (2014) advocated for an approach that honors and complements ELs' translingual, dynamic identities. Because ELs bring a wealth of linguistic and cultural resources, ESL teachers should learn and draw from their translingual identities and instill teaching practices that reflect and validate these identities.

Pedagogy that Empowers

With ELs' identities in mind, ESL teachers can create more equitable classrooms by adopting empowering, student-driven approaches to curriculum and pedagogy. Unfortunately, it is not always possible to throw out or completely rework existing curricula for a wide variety of reasons. The hope is that, even when ESL teachers are bound to a set curriculum, they can still incorporate and embed empowering practices into their pedagogy. There have been many models for empowering curriculum suggested (Auerbach, 1992; Chun, 2016; Crump, 2014; Freire, 1968; Jain, 2014; Kumaravadivelu, 2001; Yosso, 2002), all challenging the pedagogical banking method of education by prioritizing student voice, discussions on sociocultural issues, and relevant content.

Relevant curriculum requires transcending traditional focuses on grammar and lexis to consider the complex identities and needs of ELs. Freire (1968) introduced the concept of problem-posing education that emphasizes critical thought, real-world issues, and a co-teaching

situation where teachers learn alongside students. Auerbach (1992) transmogrified Freire's earlier ideas into the participatory approach to pedagogy, which heightens real-world context and student involvement through an EL-centered process of critical thought on their reality and a search for alternative solutions. Similarly, Kumaravadivelu (2001) argued for a post-method approach that asks teachers to move beyond discussions of methodology to focus on more pressing, context-sensitive pedagogies of possibility, with EL identity and surrounding sociopolitical reality as the most salient concerns. Freire's alternative pedagogies also influenced the Critical Pedagogies Approach, which involves getting outside of one's own sociopolitical sphere through critical awareness of racialized discourses and consideration of multiple perspectives (Chun, 2016). Many experts advocated for such a critical pedagogical approach: Yosso (2002) made a case for the adoption of a Critical Race curriculum which seeks to expose and challenge contemporary forms of racism, and Crump (2014) suggested the closely related LangCrit as a theoretical framework for exploring the intersection of race, racism, and language. An explicit focus on examining racialized constructs in the classroom can be used in intermediate or advanced classes in the form of text analysis and deconstruction, and in beginning classrooms (and indeed all classrooms) as the consideration of multiple perspectives on topics that are usually considered solely from a dominant culture lens.

The ESL curriculum developed by the Minnesota Literacy Council (2013) offers an example of a classroom activity that considers diverse perspectives and also invites comparison between U.S. culture and EL home cultures. This activity prompts discussion and sharing on different conventions of gender and work by considering the multiple perspectives present in classrooms of adult ELs. The activity begins with discussion of questions such as Do women work outside the home in your country? and Do women get paid the same as men? It ends with students writing a meaningful text that summarizes their answers to the discussion questions. Both parts of this classroom activity provide opportunities for everyone in the classroom, including the teacher, to learn from each other. Significantly, the activity does not include presumptions about the students' experiences or views, as cultural essentialization can be a reality in adult EL activities and texts (Chun, 2016). Activities like these widen the lens through which the topic is viewed and create a classroom co-teaching situation where everyone's experiences and opinions are at the table.

Curricula

Curriculum itself, and how it is delivered and adapted (or, significantly, unadapted) can also reify colonial forces. It is possible that inequalities in ESL classrooms find root in a *hidden curriculum*, or an underlying attempt to prepare ELs for survival and not success. Auerbach and Burgess (1985) contended that these survival texts, which are often found in adult ESL classrooms, have an unspoken goal of maintaining a degree of EL subservience that will keep them at the bottom of the food chain. Survival texts are characterized by over-simplified dialogues, are often written with a middle-class perspective, and can fail to acknowledge realistic situations or problems that ELs may encounter (Auerbach & Burgess, 1985).

Cultural essentialization and assimilatory undertones can also exist in curricula. Kubota (2002) highlighted the problematic inclusion of racial stereotypes in ESL class materials. Racial stereotypes and the essentialization of cultures often result from attempts toward multicultural discourses in textbooks (Chun, 2016). Such attempts often reinforce power hierarchies because they are a demonstration of who has the power to construct identities, and who is passively being defined (Chun, 2016). Rather than having an active role in the portrayal of their own identities, ELs are defined by dominant narratives that essentialize members of their community, such as portraying them as dishwashers or other beginning-level employees. Such instances can escape our notice if the narratives are presented as normal, or in other words, as White. For White teachers immersed in the dominant culture, these visible acts of oppression may remain invisible (McCann, 2012; Shuck, 2006). An example of cultural essentialization can be found in an adult ESL textbook by Foley and Neblet (2001). In one textbook activity about jobs, the positions mentioned are all menial hotel staff positions, such as valet, waitress, desk clerk, and housekeeper; significantly, there is no mention of managerial positions. A follow-up activity asks ELs to mark job skills that they have, most of which are catered toward unskilled labor, such as “I can repair equipment” and “I can cook well” (Foley & Neblet, 2001). The exercise leaves only one blank space for ELs to fill in other skills.

Curricula often carry U.S.-centric values that reflect the privilege of the dominant White population (Auerbach et al., 1985; Jain, 2014; Kubota & Lin, 2006). Kubota and Lin (2006) noted that Whiteness is demonstrated in ESL/EFL textbooks through their ability to construct norms of legitimate linguistic and cultural knowledge. Many ESL/EFL textbooks and materials

are dominated by culturally irrelevant materials and written in prescriptive, standard English grammar. Together, these features fit into the constructed norms of a cultural and linguistic body of White, monolithic knowledge. Kubota (2001) suggested that the ultimate goal of curricula with such features is successful entry into White America. The hidden curriculum of assimilation can sometimes be obvious. Another example from the ESL textbook by Foley and Neblet (2001) showcases a series of photographs that reflect activities that are normal for members of White, middle-class America, but perhaps irrelevant for many ELs, such as sunbathing.

Not all curricula or materials available to teachers have relevant or empowering features. However, ESL teachers can enrich their curriculum to match the dynamic nature and unique needs of their ELs. Relevance often hinges on the teacher's willingness to co-adapt an existing curriculum or co-create a new curriculum alongside their ELs. Auerbach's (1992) participatory approach requires teachers to first critically reflect on existing materials, and to consider what implicit norms are being enforced and how much student voice is being incorporated. In many cases, changes will have to be made. Many adult ESL programs use a thematically organized curriculum that is easily adaptable through a needs analysis or gathering of student input. Different themes and issues can be elicited and then embedded into the different units. To perform a participatory needs analysis, Auerbach recommended listening for student themes that may arise during class and through structured activities intended to elicit them. A common unit in thematic curriculum is *Neighborhood and Community*. This unit often includes basic survivalist themes such as asking for directions or different places in communities. Through a needs analysis, Auerbach enriched this unit by identifying relevant, student-generated issues:

Neighborhood and Community. *Quality of life:* safety, loneliness, lack of safe play space for children, mutual support and sense of community (or lack of it); ways of helping neighbors; community issues (school closing, police harassment); tensions between cultural groups, racism and discrimination. (p. 60)

The themes identified in the *Neighborhood and Community* unit go beyond a cursory overview; they target real-life concerns that adult ELs and people of color may experience in the current U.S. climate, such as police harassment (Shin, 2016). Units such as *Families* can also be oversimplified in survival texts and may avoid real-life concerns that many adult immigrant ELs

face in their homes (Auerbach & Burgess, 1985). Through Auerbach's (1992) participatory approach, this unit can be fleshed out to be contextual and useful for ELs:

Family. *Men's/women's roles:* housework, work outside the home; language use; tensions created by changing roles in new culture; women's independence.
Parents'/children's roles: roles reversals, loss of respect/authority/control, parents' dependence on children; children as link to new culture, parents' hope; children feeling burdened; mutual support of parents and children; mothering; parents as teachers; separation from children. *Language use in the home:* contexts for native language vs. English use; attitudes towards native language, emotional significance of language choice; how to maintain native language and culture.
(p. 60)

The student-generated issues above probe into the very real clash of culture and potential loss of home language that translingual EL populations face. As part of the participatory curriculum development process, Auerbach (1992) recommended developing instruction around student themes through reading selections, collaboratively written texts, individual writing, oral histories, and photo stories. In participatory pedagogies, curriculum is tailored to the group of ELs, rather than the other way around as in banking education. Learner rights, or the incorporation of student voice (Hyland, 2006), requires the adaptation of curriculum. A curriculum is emancipatory if it allows for learner rights, rather than pushing through (often irrelevant) material. Co-adaptation or creation of curriculum supports the humanistic counterpoint for item (h) (see Table 1), because students are directly shaping class content. To go a step further, ELs' voices can be bolstered through discussion and challenge of dominant discourses that are often found in ESL class material.

Critiquing, Challenging, and Discussing Dominant Narratives

Another liberating approach to fostering equitable classrooms are activities that encourage critique and challenge of *dominant narratives*. Perry (2015) defined dominant narratives as a body of stories authored by the privileged that maintain power hierarchies through strong, ideological undertones. An example of a dominant narrative is the concept of the American Dream, which not only supplants the reality of White normativity with meritocratic success, but pretends to be an attainable goal for everyone (Perry, 2015). ELs can engage in critiquing and challenging the status quo through tasks that involve engagement and analysis of dominant narratives found in attitudes, discourses, and texts. Often this process can be prompted by providing ELs with either

racialized texts that can be critiqued, or readings that directly question the dominant narratives. For the former option, racialized or otherwise problematic texts can be used in class. Chun (2016) advocated for Critical Pedagogies as an approach to encourage deeper student engagement with curriculum materials through investigation of problematic discourses. The ESL learning environment can be profoundly effective due to the intersectionality of power, language, and identity; as such, there is ripe opportunity to challenge dominant ideologies that are replete with value judgments on culture (Vazquez, 2000). For instance, the textbook activities summarized earlier can be analyzed by ELs in terms of their culturally essentializing undertones. The teacher can pose questions to the ELs with the aim of opening up a dialogic space (Chun, 2016). An example could be: What do you notice about the positions and/or skills mentioned in this activity? or Whose perspective is this activity considered from? The teacher could also have ELs re-write these textbook activities so that they reflect more diverse and relevant positions and job skills. Posing questions and directly re-writing texts are two of many ways to initiate discussions on social issues and critique the dominant cultural lens by considering multiple perspectives. As they stand, dominant narratives are unsurprisingly embedded in many types of discourse (Yosso, 2002); therefore, there is much opportunity for ESL classrooms to engage with and critique problematic texts.

ELs can also be provided with texts that explicitly challenge the status quo. Fictional novels like *The House on Mango Street* (Cisneros, 1984) or nonfictional books like *A Good Time For the Truth: Race in Minnesota* (Shin, 2016) can be great ways to invite discussion on relevant sociocultural issues, and expose the fault lines in the idea of the American Dream. Such texts are *counter-narratives*, stories that act in opposition to dominant voices; they are written by marginalized individuals and illustrate their lived experiences (Perry, 2015).

Counter-narratives can be starting blocks toward understanding racial injustice in a society where the dominant group is the one telling the story. Perry (2015) also wrote of how counter-narratives deconstruct the dominant construct by providing complex views of cultural and racial identities, illustrating lived discriminatory experiences and giving voice to the marginalized. Both books mentioned tell the story of U.S. immigrants and people of color who show resilience in the face of systemic racism and other power structures. *The House on Mango Street* also dismantles the myth about culturally absolute categories, as the story is a dance

between different cultures, languages, and identities. It honors many EL's translingual identities and is a welcome antidote to essentializing discourses. Counter-narratives can be used in a myriad of ways in ESL classes, and indeed should be more of a backbone for instruction, as their use validates the knowledge, voices, and identities of immigrant communities of color (Yosso, 2002). Teachers can use published counter-narratives in class by linking the texts to the ELs' experience. Additionally, counter-narrative texts can serve as models to help ELs to write their own stories.

Storytelling

ELs can actively challenge the dominant narratives of the U.S. through their own storytelling. An example of the power of counter-storytelling is given in Adair's (2008) study of several White pre-service teachers who become the minority in their diverse teacher training program. At first, the White students dominated class conversations and remained inside their sociocultural worldview. However, as these individuals listened to their classmates recount personal experiences in the U.S. and the teaching field as multilingual people of color, their foundation of White privilege became more visible, and the accompanying dominant narrative of White normativity started to crumble. The group of White students learned immensely from the stories of their classmates, who drew on their expert knowledge on topics like bilingual education and racial inequity. In a similar vein, Taylor (2006) studied a diverse cohort of high school ELs, and their learning curve when participating in an anti-racism leadership program. Significantly, ELs who were not visible minorities were able to more clearly discern Whiteness after listening to immigrant ELs of color tell stories about lived racist experiences. A Serbian student, after listening to the stories of other ELs, observed that, "[people] couldn't really see that I was an immigrant unless I told them I was. And I guess that's why I didn't encounter as many racial problems" (p. 535).

Both these studies document an unveiling that occurs when people of color recount stories of experienced marginalization to people who are from or appear to be from the dominant culture, like the Serbian student in the previous paragraph. Sacklin (2015) posed a powerful question to ESL teachers: How much insight would we gain if we listened to our ELs' stories through a centering on their voices? In a way, Sacklin (2015) answered her own question through research, in which she carried out a personal and in-depth study of one individual EL's

story, and the insight that she gained about identity, context, and investment in the classroom. As an example of application into the adult ESL classroom, I would like to introduce *Journeys, an Anthology of Adult Student Writing*. *Journeys* is an annually published book of stories gathered from Minnesotan adult ELs. *Journeys* serves as a model and a practical way to encourage student voice in the ESL classroom. Although many stories are more superficial texts about holidays and hobbies, there are also significant examples of counter-storytelling. In two such stories, the writers described feelings of frustration with how they are treated by the “majority” group of people in the US. In one story, the EL documented an instance of discrimination that she experienced while shopping in a high-end department store, and then wrote, “The majority group of people stereotypes the minority people because of their lack of understanding. Therefore, they segregated and mistreated us for many years” (Bojorjes, 2014, p. 116). This story tells of lived discrimination and gives insight into the reasons behind stereotypes: lack of understanding. On the following page, a different EL wrote of his journey from being persecuted in Burma to being oppressed in the U.S.: “The other thing I don’t understand is why powerful people want to step on the weak. We are people from a different country that have been chased out by our own people!” (Htoo, 2014, p. 116). Both stories provide personal counter-narratives to the American Dream, and are powerful mediums demonstrating inequality.

Counter-narratives are not only stories about lived discrimination and injustice, they are also stories about complex and unique humans who cannot be categorized or Othered. Stories like these chip away at society-wide perceptions of immigrants, such as the following description that an EL writer gave about his background:

I was born in Mogadishu, Somalia in 1950... I started my education at around seven years old and continued until I finished high school. Then I got a scholarship to study outside the country. I went to Russia and attended the university, and I graduated there in 1982. Then I taught auto mechanics at the technical institute in Odessa for five years. I speak Somali, Russian, Arabic, a little Urdu, and some English. I worked in the United Arab Emirates for 10 years and in Kenya for one and a half years. When I returned to Somalia, I worked at the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Labour and Sports. After several wars in Somalia, I moved to the U.S. in 2013. (Mohamed, 2015, p. 206)

Such a personal story precludes cultural essentialization and labeling of immigrants as passive, because it echoes the resilience and agency that the writer exhibits. Additionally, the story

recounts the EL's linguistic, academic, and professional skills in a variety of international settings. Personal stories like this one can easily be integrated into ESL classrooms. In lower-level classes, ELs can tell stories through pictures or simpler grammatical structures. There is ample opportunity to integrate storytelling into pedagogy; indeed, it is a very literal way of centering ELs' voices (and identities) in the classroom.

Summary of Solutions

There have been significant limitations in my study. The most obvious is the lack of direct student voice to add to the conversation. A reframing of power dynamics surely would be more impactful if it included more direct student input. Additionally, I have written this paper and product based on the experience of White ESL teachers, and thus have not considered perspectives from teachers of color in TESOL. The lack of this perspective stems not from a personal devaluation, but because I believe such a topic merits its own focus, and I was not prepared to approach this in my own research.

I have presented several solutions to the question: How can TESOL teachers create more equitable classrooms that value student voice? I began by outlining a general paradigm shift that counters the banking mode of education by including humanistic principles that give ELs agency and voice in the classroom. Then, I continued with a synthesis of tangible strategies to begin the process of re-positioning in the classroom, with the focus shifting to EL agency but the onus remaining on the ESL teacher (to create an equitable classroom environment). The solutions presented are not intended to be exhaustive; a myriad of ways exist to enact social justice in ESL classrooms, but I believe that they all start with the idea of student voice and agency. In the end, of course, EL identity is about ELs—not about teachers. Much of what we can do as ESL teachers (which is quite a task indeed) is to create a transformative, equitable classroom environment so that ELs can do the real, active work of forming empowering identities and challenging hegemony. All of the humanistic counter-principles to Freire's (1968) principles of banking education support active EL roles as active constructors of knowledge. When ESL teachers are ready to name ELs as equals and as fellow teachers, with challenges and rich life experiences that shape class discussion and direction, then they are practicing emancipatory pedagogy.

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Technology, Mobility, and Transnational Reality: Reconsidering the Speech Community

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The paper summarizes a contemporary sociolinguistics perspective that technological ubiquity and globalization contribute to a transnational reality for migrants, requiring translanguaging pedagogies in educational programming, instruction, and policy. This paper discusses the impact of technological ubiquity on language use and learning, showing how communication afforded by the Internet is both a product and magnifier of globalization, a magnifier that ensures a transnational reality for migrants in the US. I describe how transnationalism has made more complex the sociolinguistic concept of speech community (Gumperz, 1968). I refer to literature on how networks of multilinguals are key to the development of superdiverse communities (Creese & Blackledge, 2010; Vertovec, 2007). Additionally, I share new thinking in sociolinguistics about how language as a specific bounded system is insufficient for describing the translanguaging practices evident in these communities (Blommaert, 2010; Creese & Blackledge, 2010; Jørgensen, Karrebæk, Madsen, & Møller, 2011).

Because of technological innovation and globalization, refugees and immigrants in the U.S. are no longer fully separated from their homelands. Indeed, through the Internet, they might have access to transnational interactions that help shape their identity(ies) as speakers of their home languages, newcomers, and English language learners. Research on how newcomers use technology to communicate transnationally can inform instructional strategies based on leveraging online interactions, and the translanguaging practices represented within, in support of second language learning. This paper first defines key theoretical constructs important to consider in such research, traces how these constructs are represented in current and seminal literature, and discusses with how one such construct, speech communities, requires reexamination. The paper closes with a sketch of my own research that touches on these issues.

Communication in a Modern World

The rapid development and adoption of information and online communication technologies (ICTs) over the past twenty years has made more complex and varied the means by which we use language, and it has broadened the pool of people with whom we interact (Appadurai, 2000; Blommaert, 2010; Vertovec, 2007). For immigrants, refugees, and migrants, this means leaving

home is not an absolute disconnection to homeland or the end of the use of a home language (Vertovec, 2007), which complicates the sociolinguistic concept of speech community (Gumperz, 1968). Further, translingual practices evident in newcomer communities around the world have contributed to a new conceptualization of *language*. Canagarajah (2013) defined translingual practices as “processes and orientations” (p. 5) employed when interlocutors draw on multiple linguistic and semiotic resources to express and understand meaning. In this view, language is the use of a flexible range of linguistic resources required for communication in situations where multiple languages and dialects are present (Blommaert, 2010; Creese & Blackledge, 2010; Jørgensen, Karrebæk, Madsen, & Møller, 2011). Taken together, these two points have great impact on identity, integration, and language use and learning (Duff, 2015). As newcomers who live in diverse communities integrate, encounter, and possibly make use of a range of linguistic resources, they are likely simultaneously sustaining home language connections through use of the internet. This, in turn, has implications for second language acquisition (SLA) research and the pedagogical practices on which it is based.

Definition of Key Concepts

To begin, I share definitions of key terms that are common in discussion of language use in our technologically rich age—globalization and transnationalism—and then revisit an old construct—speech communities. These theoretical lenses are incredibly important to consider with respect to language use and learning.

Globalization

Anthropologist Arjun Appadurai (2000) described globalization as global circulation of objects, including “ideas and ideologies, people and goods, images and messages, technologies and techniques” (p. 5), that are conveyed through media and the technologies that serve as “containers of cultural products” (p. 2). Sociolinguist David Block (2004) referred to sociologist Anthony Giddens, defining globalization as “the intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa” (Giddens, 1990, p. 64). Block wrote that to be considered useful within sociolinguistics, accounts of globalization need to describe its impact on the use of

language in migrant communities, including how linguistic resources in diverse communities are valued and drawn upon in communication.

Blommaert (2010) presented globalization through the metaphor of the marketplace, where there is a market for and competition amongst communicative resources. He developed the concept of “sociolinguistics of mobility” to support his views on globalization, suggesting a view of “language in motion” (p. 5) where patterns of language use are ranked hierarchically, given language ideologies present in context. Blommaert’s work complicates a more traditional view of multilingualism to one that includes ideology. A sociolinguistics of mobility deals with resources used in contexts, where access to and control of linguistic resources is not equitable. Unlike in studies of geographical distribution of languages, space is not viewed as strictly horizontal but also vertical. Vertical space is characterized by “socially, culturally and politically salient distinctions” (p. 5). This affords orders of indexicality, a ranking of linguistic resources in a given context, that create stratified and normative distinctions about language and language use. The result is that, in any given context, there will be many available linguistic resources, some of which are more valued and sought after than others, and that access to these valued resources illustrates social capital.

Transnationalism

Anthropologist Michael Kearney (1995), in his seminal work defining transnationalism, characterized the difference between transnationalism and globalization as a consideration of scope: “Whereas global processes are largely decentered from specific national territories and take place in a global space, transnational processes are anchored in and transcend one or more nation-states” (p. 548). Vertovec (2001, 2004) referred to transnationalism more generally, as anything pertaining to cross-border connections, particularly the activities of migrants themselves.

In the field of sociolinguistics, transnationalism has been taken up as a way to characterize language use, recognizing that social interaction of migrants is not limited to the borders of the place where they currently reside (Block, 2004; Blommaert, 2010; Creese & Blackledge 2010; Duff, 2015). Transnational practices are common in migrant communities marked by great diversity and sustained by the presence of international phone cards, money

transfer, and Internet cafés (Blommaert, 2010). This allows for transnational interaction, meaning a migrant is not “of” just one place. Migrants move frequently and might live in multiple highly diverse places before reaching what is likely to be a diverse community in a more permanent host country. Along the way, they build virtual networks of other transnational people, sustained by social media and the internet after they arrive. In these ways, traditional notions of speech community are disrupted.

Traditional View of Speech Community

Gumperz (1964, 1968) introduced the term speech community to describe a group marked by frequent interaction in which systematic behavior is characterized by use of commonly understood patterns of semiotic signs (language, gestures, etc.) that differentiate one group from other groups. Gumperz (1964) drew on the work of Dell Hymes (1964) and his assertion that linguistic research should be focused on the use of a language in a community, rather than on its structure alone to account for what might appear to be deviation from a standard linguistic structure. Contrary to a view taken by structural linguists, Gumperz suggested that such deviation may actually represent intended patterns of use that reflect shared meaning to members of a group.

The construct of speech community stems from the connection between grammatical rules and their relationship to usage and representations of social structure that reflect norms in a community. Gumperz (1964) called the resources represented in the linguistic repertoire of a speech community “the weapons of everyday communication” (p. 138). The choices that determine which vocabulary or grammatical structures can be used in this range of possibilities are subject to both “grammatical and social restraints” (p. 138) and what is both intelligible and socially acceptable.

Gumperz (1968) asserted that speech communities were not necessarily geographically bound; rather, they could be defined by shared behavior, actions, or interests, and used to accomplish particular activities by specific groups. Hence, speech communities are identifiable not solely because of geographical location but also because of the verbal repertoire evident or the difference between the speech of a community and other groups. This description remains

relevant in analysis of language use in our current globalized world today; however, the current new transnational reality requires us to rethink how it works.

Globalization and Speech Communities: Current Research

Because globalization, transnational interactions, and the Internet all afford translingual communication, the traditional read of a speech community falls short. Blommaert (2010) argued that globalization complicates the link between locality, speech community and communicative function” (p. 108). This is because communities around the world are impacted by migration that both allows linguistic resources and language varieties to circulate globally (Blommaert & Rampton, 2012), and consequently, separates language, identity, and linguistic practice from national identity. Furthermore, this unboundaried communication makes it difficult to define language competence by one monolingual standard (Creese & Blackledge, 2010).

In this way, the traditional view of speech communities becomes disrupted, becoming simultaneously less geographically bound and more difficult to disentangle or discern because of intense linguistic diversity in a geographic setting; the rich pool of semiotic devices presented in media; and the new technologies of communication that create new means to access information, interact, and enact social capital. Blommaert and Rampton (2012) suggested that the construct speech community is antiquated, in their words, “superseded by a more empirically anchored and differentiating vocabulary like ‘communities of practice,’ or ‘networks’” (p. 11), which are more mobile, flexible, and dynamic. Participation in a network expands opportunities for interaction and the range of linguistic resources employed. Androutsopoulos (2013) suggested *networked multilingualism* as a label for multilingual practices made possible when one interacts with others digitally and participates in the “global digital mediascape” (p. 4).

There are a handful of sociolinguists who have written useful interpretations of these shifts. For example, in Duff’s (2015) comprehensive literature review describing current applied linguistics research on transnationalism, identity, and multilingualism, she touched on the impact of digital technologies on the experience of migrants’ interactions, education, resettlement, and language use. She suggested that migration is a readily recognizable means by

which to engage in transnational practice. However, equally significant, she asserted, are interactions via ICTs. She made the following argument:

With Skype, mobile phones, messaging tools, and online social networks such as Facebook and other websites, physical borders and distance do not pose the same degree of constraint over travel, return or reverse migration, communication, assembly, or movement... Digital technologies also provide the means and spaces for exploring and representing linguistic, cultural, and transnational identities and hybridity. (p. 73)

Exemplar Studies

There are several studies that explore different aspects of this hybridity. Best known, probably, is the work of Creese and Blackledge (2010), who, working with youth and young adults in Bengali schools in Birmingham, U.K., found that “digital communication made available [linguistic] resources which superseded territorial boundaries...” (p. 569). Furthermore, they observed that the range of linguistic resources employed depended on varied degrees of access to those technologies, and this, in turn, impacted individual identity and the community itself.

An example of particular interest is Noguerón-Liu’s (2013) work with adult English language learners, in which they explored the impact of transnational social networks on the digital literacy development and use of those skills in support of further education and resettlement of adult Spanish-speaking immigrants. The case studies showed how supported use of the Internet (both peer-to-peer support and formal coursework) made participation in local and transnational social networks possible, helped sustain home-country relationships, and made possible both English language and computer literacy learning.

Further, Creese and Blackledge (2010) suggested that language use was always the work of “a situated speaker” making use of “contextually embedded” linguistic resources (p. 555). Because migrants are able to use communication technologies for transnational communication, they are contextually embedded in a range of global interactions afforded via the Internet. This makes it possible to sustain home language connections that shape language use by simultaneously supporting maintenance of home language(s), SLA, and the development of entirely new ways to communicate locally that draw on all linguistic resources represented in the geographic local, homeland, and other international communities of the diaspora.

A common characteristic of these studies is that their participants were living transnational experiences afforded by the Internet and their diverse local communities. Their speech communities were, therefore, both more dispersed and more linguistically diverse than the communities that Gumpertz observed. The traditional approach to describing a speech community was based on a monolingual perspective—looking to see the use of one language. In the globalized world reflected in the studies, speakers in a community may not possess equal proficiencies in the languages they use to communicate, to understand, and to be understood. They dynamically employ all of their language assets for both receptive and productive tasks (Canagarajah, 2013).

Representations in My Research

I have drawn on this literature and its implications to support my research investigating the impact of this new reality on newcomers, particularly adolescent and adult migrants still engaged in learning English language and literacy in the U.S. My research is motivated by a desire to define instructional strategies that support them as they not only cope with daily technology demands but learn how to master technology for learning and in support of the transnational interactions afforded by the Internet. Two of these works described below focus specifically on use of social media to support use of translingual practices in a classroom. The final work is a study on the development of digital literacy of refugees and migrants, undertaken with the view that digital literacy is essential for buoying the translingual practices or transnational communication that make space for the use of home language in a mostly monolingual English speaking context. Taken as a whole, these studies represent my early attempts to deepen my understanding of how technological ubiquity has changed the way adult and adolescent migrants communicate, how it shapes language they use within different networks, and how these new processes and orientations (Canagarajah, 2013) and technologies might be employed in support of language learning.

Translingual Practices, Refugee Teens, and Facebook

I co-conducted the first body of research in two week-long English Language Arts workshops focusing on media literacy completed in two consecutive summer school sessions. Together with my co-authors, we employed Facebook for online communication in and out of class and to

support the development of projects focusing on representations of culture. Data for the work included the students' Facebook posts, transcripts of key moments in class discussion, informal interviews with students about their work, and the actual digital artifacts created by the students and posted on the Facebook sites. We analyzed these data qualitatively, looking to see, in the first study, the impact of technologies on student language use and work product, and, in the second study, how choices about language impacted student collaboration. These studies resulted in two manuscripts that share findings on how the use of social media and translanguaging collaboratively impact classroom English language learning (Bigelow, Vanek, King, & Abdi, 2017; Vanek, King, & Bigelow, in press).

Study One

The first study and resulting article, *Social Presence and Identity: Facebook in an English Language Classroom* (Vanek, King, & Bigelow, in press), focused on how to leverage the strengths of social networking sites, and the multilingual refugee youths' experience using them, as a tool to encourage written communication. Facebook was the venue for participating in online discussions on aspects of learners' identities. The student writing served as pre-writing in development of a final presentation, which required the learners to create a digital object, post it, and then orally present it to the class. The object, most commonly an infographic or slideshow created using HaikuDeck (<https://www.haikudeck.com/>), was meant to help students add to the body of work found online about their cultures or identities. In this study, we found that the affordances of Facebook, such as ease of posting multimedia and obvious placement of "like" buttons, created an affirming online environment where the youth felt at ease expressing identities that might have been contested in the actual classroom, where restrictive conventions of schooling and religion were more deeply felt. For example, one student who was completely veiled in class, posted pictures of herself online that showed her face. This ease, afforded through Facebook, resulted in student writing that exceeded the classroom teacher's expectations and was more voluminous and developed than had been produced in more traditional classroom writing activities (Vanek, King, & Bigelow, in press).

Study Two

In the second Facebook study, *Literacy as Social (Media) Practice: Refugee Youth and Home Language Literacy at School* (Bigelow, Vanek, King, & Abdi, 2017), we explored the learners' use of translingual practices in the construction of a final project reflecting their "take" on their home cultures. We assigned this project to provide a way for the youth to speak back to representations of their culture(s) found online and to give them a chance to add their own works reframing cultural representations as they saw fit. Again, we used Facebook to support our classroom work. For this study, we set up same language groups for the Spanish, Oromo, and Somali speakers in the class and encouraged the youth to draw on home language and discussion in homogenous language groups to support their work on the project.

We expected to see much home language conversation in these Facebook groups, but were surprised by what actually happened. First, in the whole-class Facebook group used by all of the students, the students mostly wrote in English. We suggested that use of English was perhaps as a strategy of inclusion employed by the majority Somali speaking student group to be sure the Spanish speakers felt welcome to participate in the discussions. We also noticed that the Somali Facebook group became the site used by both the Somali and Oromo speaking students that could also speak Somali, and that Oromo site was left unused. Communication on this page included both Somali and English.

Through working in these multilingual groups, the students engaged in lively critical presentations of culture. In one memorable episode in class, the students contested representations of refugee living conditions as examples of Somali culture. This occurred when one student shared her digital collage showing a house in Somalia. The house she showed featured a hastily constructed temporary dwelling in a refugee camp. Students reacted strongly to the idea that the refugee house represented Somali culture. The engagement in deconstructing this example was notable because it had not been evident in our prior discussion of culture, which had occurred before the youth used Facebook as a venue for writing and sharing and before they had been encouraged to use their home languages.

As in the first study, it seemed that the opportunity to use social media as a venue for writing and the endorsement of home language use prompted richer oral and written production. A possible explanation for this is that the youth were used to multilingual writing in

Facebook through their previous personal use. It was also obvious that they enjoyed searching for and sharing images that helped them to convey meaning by scaffolding the message they were trying to write. They were actively engaged in the work. Overall, the study pointed to the strengths of use of translanguaging pedagogy combined with social media as a means by which to elevate quality and sophistication of student work (Bigelow, Vanek, King, & Abdi, 2017).

Theoretical Implications

There were two shared goals of the studies described above. The first was to examine the impact of refugee youth using social media as a venue for producing English writing and conducting critical analysis of media. The second was to employ pedagogical practices supporting translanguaging, “defined as an act of bilingual performance, as well as a bilingual pedagogy of bilingual teaching and bilingual learning” (García & Leiva, 2014, p. 1991). Together, my co-authors and I were hoping to create opportunities for learners to mirror both the translanguaging practices and the modes of communication they use outside of class in order to see if both could be leveraged in support of their learning in class. While the focus of the work was certainly not articulated as defining a speech community, we observed that the learners found common linguistic ground, which employed translanguaging practices, broad enough to be inclusive of most of the students in each of the sessions. The students demonstrated facility using Facebook, indeed in both studies most students already had accounts, and a comfort weaving in and out of different languages, flexibly employing a range of linguistic resources within their posts. The translanguaging practices referred to in the literature above were certainly evident and leveraged in support of English literacy development. For example, the participating teacher in the first study observed that the students had written more in one week than they had previously that summer. In the second study, the complexity of student discussion and resulting writing was supported by preparation activities employing home language use.

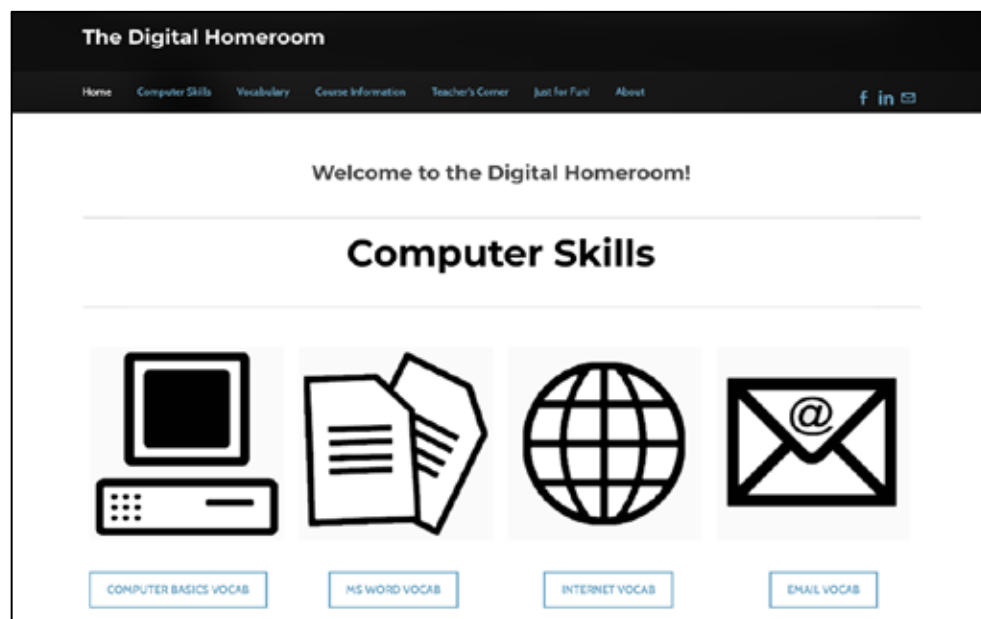
Digital Literacy for ELLs

A second set of studies that address the impact of technology on language learning and speech community(ies) of migrants deals with the issue of digital literacy. In this body of work, I explored the difficulties faced by many migrant, refugee, and immigrant adults preparing for the digital world by building digital literacy skills rather than language learning. The work was

motivated by the understanding that adult migrants must be able to make use of digital technologies, particularly the Internet, if they are to maintain home language proficiency, leverage technologies to support English language learning, and open paths to resources needed to support migration.

I worked with a group of AmeriCorps members to define instructional challenges common in the basic computer classes they facilitated in their service sites. The work was done to answer this overarching question: What support is needed to help teachers provide quality digital literacy instruction to English language learners who are struggling to resettle and integrate in a technologically rich society? I used Design Based Research to collaboratively and iteratively research, define, build, and implement an instructional intervention while contributing to knowledge regarding issues of digital literacy and language learning. The intervention, more aptly referred to as a resource, was called the Digital Homeroom (Figure 1), a website created by the corps members to house the many online learning recourses (e.g., YouTube videos, interactive learning objects, PDFs, etc.) that they used in class. Use of the Digital Homeroom made possible both differentiated instruction in class and independent study at home.

Figure 1. Digital Homeroom, Homepage



What I learned, among other things, was that the migrants in the study privileged digital literacy learning opportunities, at times over English language classes, and that the quality of the

instruction they encountered impacted their identities as authentic participants in the classroom and as digital citizens. Further, to help untrained or minimally-trained facilitators overcome instructional challenges, the programs that host them must ensure access to vetted learning resources that can both support the learners and provide a pedagogical scaffolding for the facilitators themselves—both in terms of computer skills and English language required to learn them.

Theoretical Implications

These findings are important when considering the impact of digital literacy for participation in transnational interactions accessed through the internet. Without digital literacy, these adult migrants are left out and lose a valuable opportunity to sustain or even further develop home language literacy. They lose access to a potentially valuable speech community and this, quite possibly, impacts their learner identity. In this age of nativist, anti-immigrant, and racist rhetoric delivered from the highest elected public officials in the U.S., access to a homeland or diaspora community with shared language and ethnic identity can serve as an antidote to unwelcoming and isolating discourses that dominate popular media.

Conclusion

Communication afforded by the Internet is both a product and magnifier of globalization, a magnifier that ensures a transnational reality for migrants in the U.S. and in other income-rich receiver countries. However, this transnational reality is not always a privilege afforded to refugees and migrants as they work to achieve linguistic, economic, and civic integration in their new communities. The literature presented previously describes the positive impact of providing opportunities to develop digital literacy and employ translanguaging in schooling and, more broadly, the benefit of transnational interactions and facility with digital technologies in daily life. It is my hope that this paper serves as a nudge for SLA researchers to push into these issues more deeply and to remember the impact of those new realities on familiar theoretical frameworks when conducting research on language use, language learning, and migrant identity.

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