

ACADEMIC LANGUAGE AND YOUNG EMERGENT BILINGUALS: PATTERNS OF
CONTEXTUALIZING DISCOURSE IN PERSONAL NARRATIVES AND CLASSROOM
LITERACY EVENTS

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By

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ABSTRACT

Both personal experience narratives and classroom tasks require language use that is precise, explicit, and sufficiently elaborated for the naïve interlocutor. Language that fulfills these expectations, often labeled *decontextualized* language but called *contextualizing* language in this study, is hypothesized to be a bridge between everyday narration and academic discourse. The proposition that narrative is preparation for and facilitative of academic language and literacy development has been addressed for monolingual populations (Chang, 2006; Griffin, Hemphill, Camp & Wolf, 2004; Heath, 1983; Melzi, 2000; Michaels, 1981; Minami & McCabe, 1995; Ochs, Taylor, Rudolph, & Smith, 1992; Peterson & McCabe, 1994) though rarely for developing bilinguals. Moreover, few studies examine narrative discourse as both an individual and collaborative classroom entity in early academic language use.

This study examines elements of contextualizing discourse in the personal experience narratives and classroom interactions of 20 English- and Spanish-dominant emergent bilinguals. More specifically, it investigates both elicited narrative interview data and observations of routine literacy events in two dual language kindergarten classrooms over a school year through analyses of elaboration, orientation (McCabe & Bliss, 2003; Peterson & McCabe, 1983), and pronominal reference (Halliday & Hasan, 1976; Martin, 1992; Martin & Rose, 2003). All

analyses for both data sources include attention to children's independent production as well as interlocutor-supported production.

Findings indicate that personal narration and classroom literacy events share many linguistic features of contextualizing discourse, though the opportunities for self-monitoring and interlocutor support differ between the two. Nonetheless, overall, engaging in personal narration is argued to be constitutive of emergent academic language and literacy development as evidenced through participants' attention to the need to tailor their stories and discussions of stories to their interlocutors. In particular, narrative elaboration, repair of potentially inadequate orientation, and interlocutor positioning are argued to signal important areas of overlap for personal narration and school-based literacy events. Results are discussed in terms of their implications for both a developmental and sociolinguistically-informed notion of academic language and culturally- and linguistically-responsive instruction of young emergent bilinguals.

For my parents, John and Miriam Gallagher, and for
Rebecca Yerman and Sylvia and Jack Gallagher-Yerman

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

A dominant theme in U.S. education policy and research for the last decade has been ensuring positive learning outcomes for all students (e.g., August & Shanahan, 2006; Bos & Anders, 1990; Carlo et al., 2004; Chang, 2006; Collier & Thomas, 2004; IDEA, 2004; Lee, 2008; NCLB, 2001; Roberts, Jurgens & Burchenal, 2005; Segalowitz & Freed, 2004). Regardless of disability, English proficiency, ethnicity or socioeconomic status, all students are expected to meet rigorous grade-level standards as mandated by the No Child Left Behind (NCLB) act and communicated in the new Common Core Standards (National Governors Association Center for Best Practices & Chief State School Officers, 2010). Educators at the school and district levels are in turn held accountable by state and federal policy for their students' progress and new incentives, disincentives, programs and procedures have been put in place with the dual intentions of helping each student progress and making adequate yearly progress under the NCLB act (Balfanz, Legters, West & Weber, 2007; Darling-Hammond, 2006; Valli, Croninger, Chambliss, Graeber & Buese, 2008).

Despite the intense interest in equitable outcomes, Latino children in the United States, on average, continue to perform behind their European- and African-American peers. The results of the 2011 National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) in reading indicate a 27-point gap in achievement between European-American students and Latino¹ students by the fourth grade; 77% of European-American fourth graders nationwide performed at or above the basic level in reading, while only 50% of Latino students did the same. Similarly, 84% all European-American eighth graders taking the 2011 NAEP achieved a score of at or above basic, while only 63% of Latino students did the same (U.S. Department of Education, 2011). In 2009, an average

¹ The terms *White* and *Hispanic* were used in the NAEP report. See a discussion of terminology in this dissertation in a later section in this chapter.

of 8.1 percent U.S. individuals aged 16 to 24 was considered high school dropouts. Among European-American individuals, the average was 5.2 percent, while among African-American individuals, the average was 9.3 percent, alarming figures in and of themselves. However, for the same year the percent of high school dropouts among Latinos was 17.6 percent, nearly double that of any other group (U.S. Department of Education, 2010).

Researchers, educators and policy makers have spent time, resources and effort trying to determine the reasons for such disparities and discover instructional interventions that will alleviate them. Investigators have used quantitative methods to find correlations between demographic characteristics and literacy outcomes (e.g., Snow, 1993), described culture-specific discourse patterns with implications for literacy (e.g., Melzi, 2000; Minami, 2008; Minami & McCabe, 1995), and examined classroom processes such as the production and use of power in multi-lingual and multi-cultural classrooms (e.g., Hadi-Tabassum, 2006). What is missing from these efforts, though, is attention to how processes of learning and development in the classroom are connected with language- and culture-specific discourse patterns. Such an understanding is a vital foundation for designing appropriate and effective instruction that will address the disparities in educational outcomes cited above.

This investigation addresses the issue of educational parity for Latino and European-American students in the United States through a focus on features of academic language and literacy. It uses a narrative lens to investigate children's oral language and classroom literacy events with the goal of discovering similarities in the way linguistic features are deployed that might provide insight into how children draw on language skills developed at home as they navigate the academic language and literacy demands of the classroom . With narrative analysis and interactional sociolinguistic approaches, the investigation (1) examines the patterns of

personal narration to which children have been socialized by the beginning of kindergarten, (2) describes narrative interactions that take place during literacy events in the bilingual classroom, (3) examines how children draw on their own competencies when narrating and negotiating the narrative biliteracy demands of the bilingual kindergarten classroom, (4) examines the support adults provide in those two types of interactions and how children take up this support, and (5) looks for connections between patterns and interactions in personal narratives and literacy events. Thus, this study contributes to what is known about the processes of biliteracy development and their similarities and differences across various sociolinguistic groups in the U.S. Not only have diverse methodological approaches been used to examine this issue in the past, but various ideological underpinnings are also evident. Prior research into language and culture in education has taken a variety of ideological stances that will be addressed in the next section.

Explanations for Differential Schooling Outcomes

This project is ultimately concerned with quality learning experiences for all students regardless of language dominance, national origin, or racial background. As such, terminology for various sociolinguistic groups is used frequently throughout this document. The first part of this section provides context for terminology used in this study, and the second part addresses historical and current perspectives on differential schooling outcomes amongst various sociolinguistic groups.

Terminology Associated with Culturally and Linguistically Diverse Students

The choice of terminology is problematic for a number of reasons. First, the labels commonly used for racial and sociolinguistic groups within the U.S. are not always adequately descriptive and distinctive, as in the case of designating as ‘Black’ a native Spanish speaker from

the Caribbean with African heritage. The terminology used here is intended to be as inclusive and descriptive as possible given the project's concerns with cross-cultural discourse characteristics and multicultural classrooms. The term *Latino* in this study refers to individuals of Mexican, Central American, Caribbean or South American origin, whether recent immigrants or families of Latino heritage long established in the U.S. The term *African-American* is used here to refer to individuals and groups of African heritage who do not have familial affiliations with the Spanish language or Latino cultures. The term *European-American* is used to refer to individuals and groups of European origin who do not have familial affiliations with the Spanish language or Latino cultures.

In addition to referring to participants by ethnic affiliation, this study makes distinctions between English-dominant and Spanish-dominant individuals. The meaning of the terms may at first seem self-evident; however, these sociolinguistic labels can be problematic when applied to diverse learners. First, these terms imply a unitary view of language competence, disregarding the differences the dynamic relationship between domains of language use and proficiency in a particular language (García, 2009). Proficiency in each language may be linked to specific domains so that, for example, one person may be stronger in Spanish in the home and family context and in English in the classroom setting. Bilingualism researchers (Umbel, Pearson, Fernández & Oller, 1992) administered the Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test – Revised (PPVT-R; Dunn & Dunn, 1981) and the Test de Vocabulario en Imágenes Peabody – Adaptación Hispanoamericana (TVIP-H; Dunn et al., 1986) to 105 Spanish-English bilingual first graders in the southern U.S. and found that when the results of any one test were considered alone, the bilingual participants' conceptual knowledge of vocabulary was underrepresented; many of the lexical items were known to the children in only one language or the other. This point leads to a

second reason that identifying language dominance is challenging: bias in the use of standardized assessments. Tests developed for monolingual populations but used with bilingual individuals have been criticized as potentially biased (Valdés & Figueroa, 1994) and invalid (MacSwan & Rolstad, 2006). Authors of a study of 180 native Spanish speaking, limited English proficient Arizona students aged six to eight administered two of the most commonly-used tests of Spanish language proficiency, the Language Assessment Scales-Oral (LAS-O; DeAvila & Duncan, 1991) and the Idea Proficiency Test (IPT; Ballard, Tighe & Dalton, 1989), as well as a natural language measure, and found that while the natural language measure identified all but two students as fluent in their native language, the LAS-O and the IPT identified 74% and 90%, respectively, as limited or non-proficient in Spanish (MacSwan & Rolstad, 2006). The authors call into question the underlying construct and the validity of each of the standardized assessments. For this reason again, the identification of language dominance is not unproblematic.

These concerns about language dominance are related to a larger overall debate about labeling someone a native or non-native speaker of a particular language. The notion of native speaker is a complicated one that involves challenging questions about cognition, target language grammar, identity and language variety, to name a few (Davies, 2003). In a treatment of the topic of the native speaker, Davies (2003) points out that, amongst other concerns, variability in usage within the community of those designated native speakers makes it hard to define the target for non-native speakers. Other discussions address the fairness of the notion of nativeness, pointing out that one is usually seen as being born into native speaker status and that by definition, one cannot become a native speaker (Cook, 1999, Rampton, 1990). Rather than focus on the native speaker as the norm, Cook (1999) proposes a multicompetence view which acknowledges an individual's combined first and second language knowledge and is reminiscent

of other terms that treat language as a resource rather than deficit such as the term *emergent bilinguals*, discussed below. Alternate suggestions for terms designating the individuals sometimes labeled non-native speakers include *language experts* (Rampton, 1990) and *second language users* (Cook, 1999; 2007), the latter of which I employ in chapter three to discuss my own use of Spanish for this study.

Despite the challenges associated with nativeness and language dominance, the distinction does become salient in this study for selecting and describing participants and analyzing their linguistic production. Rather than introduce an external measure of competence, this study relies on language dominance as determined by school personnel in the research setting. This decision is consistent with the effort to present an emic perspective of the dual language classroom learning context. For programmatic purposes in dual language classrooms, children are identified and treated as dominant in one language or the other initially; balanced classes of English- and Spanish-dominant students are constructed and students are often offered initial literacy instruction based on the outcomes of these determinations (Howard & Sugarman, 2007). Therefore, the school's determination of language dominance becomes reality in the implementation of the program and thus relevant for an examination of the interaction between context and individual development.

A final important consideration for this study is the label provided for the participating students, all of whom are in the process of developing competence in two languages. A term used throughout this study is *emergent bilinguals* because, as García & Kleifgen (2010) point out, it is a term that treats language as a resource by acknowledging the linguistic potential of these students rather than emphasizing what they cannot yet do. As such, it is coherent with the overall language-as-resource orientation (Ruiz, 1984; García, 2009) underpinning this study.

Moreover, it is a term that encompasses both of the two groups in the dual language classrooms this study: Spanish-dominant students in the process of becoming bilingual and biliterate in Spanish and English and English-dominant students in the process of becoming bilingual and biliterate in both languages as well.

Theoretical Approaches to Differential School Success

When considering cross-cultural discourse, multicultural education and educational equity, it is important to be aware of ideological assumptions and approaches. Many have theorized about the role of language and culture in schooling over the years. Discussions of this disparity between the schooling outcomes of majority and minority children have ranged from deficit views (e.g. Erickson, 1987) to resource views (e.g., Moll, Amanti, Neff & Gonzalez, 1992; Vazquez, Pease-Alvarez, & Shannon, 1994) as overviewed below. While there exist several thorough accounts of theories that attempt to explain the achievement gap (e.g., Cummins, 1986; Nieto, 2005; Ovando & Combs, 2012), this review focuses on three that have been highly influential and that are most relevant to the current study: deficit theories, the mismatch hypothesis, and hybrid views.

Early accounts of the discrepancy tended to ascribe to deficit views which see minority students and their families as racially and culturally inferior and which locate success or failure within the students themselves, their language, their families, or their cultures (Nieto, 2005). While such a view might seem outdated now, some theorists have pointed out how current policies and beliefs have an underlying deficit ideology. For example, Nieto (2005) places frequently-used labels such as ‘at risk’ or ‘disadvantaged’ in this category, and Martin-Jones and Romaine (1986) and Edelsky et al. (1983) have critically analyzed the still-popular language proficiency constructs of basic interpersonal communication skills (BICS) and cognitive

academic language proficiency (CALP) popularized by Cummins (1980; 1981) as deficit-oriented. A deficit orientation to language is not supported by the current study, which finds in part that language and interactions typically considered social in nature serve as resources for academic language development. This point is taken up again in the concluding chapter.

Moving away from what has been called a blame-the-victim approach (Nieto, 2005), many educators and linguists have taken an anthropological and sociolinguistic approach to understanding differential school success. Dubbed the *mismatch hypothesis*, this explanation for school performance historically has assumed that interactional, linguistic, cultural and cognitive differences exist between minority and majority cultures (Jacob & Jordan, 1987), and that these differences contribute to difficulty with success in school on the part of the minority groups (Erickson, 1987; Vogt, Jordan, & Tharp, 1987). Research in the cultural and linguistic difference tradition has focused on differences between majority cultures in the United States and minority cultures such as Native American (Phillips, 1983; Scollon & Scollon, 1981) and African-American (Heath, 1983; Michaels, 1981).

This vein of research has been highly influential and goes a long way toward helping us understand the students we work with. For example, research in this tradition highlighted differences in participation structure between learning events in a native American community and those in the schools the children from the community attended (Phillips, 1983), and it also pointed out variations in working class African American and European American orientations to narration and contrasted them with school-based expectations (Heath, 1983). Research on sociolinguistic differences between children's homes and their schools has also served as the basis for instructional recommendations that treat students' home language and cultures as resources rather than as problems. The cultural and social knowledge, traditions, language, and

patterns of interaction into which students were socialized at home came to be called “funds of knowledge” (Moll et al., 1992) upon which students draw as they negotiate the literacy demands of the classroom, a concept which has found its way into materials commonly used in teacher training programs (e.g., Ovando & Combs, 2012) and thus has become a foundational concept in the training of teachers of culturally and linguistically diverse students. In another well-known application, the Kamehameha Elementary Education Program (KEEP) program employed culturally-compatible instruction with Native Hawaiian children with positive results (Tharp, 1982). Research and educational applications in the cultural and linguistic mismatch tradition are informative and hopeful, a positive step away from the earlier and still-present deficit views.

However, several shortcomings become apparent with respect to the application of findings from such studies. First, though information on culture-specific language styles is helpful, caution must be taken neither to overgeneralize it nor to commit the ecological fallacy of assuming that what applies to a particular cultural group necessarily applies to every individual in that group. Since socioeconomic status, language proficiency, family characteristics, individual differences, and a host of other factors influence language learning and use (Walqui, 2000) along with culture, it is important to apply findings on culture-specific language styles with care. The growing tendency toward diversity in U.S. schools and communities today (OELA, 2011) that was reflected in the classrooms in this study reinforces the need for that care. While groups or classrooms of students might speak the same language or share a country of origin, differences such as those mentioned above may result in differential patterns of language use.

Another shortcoming associated with studies of sociocultural differences and applications of the mis-match hypothesis is that they often do not go far enough in challenging the status quo

for children from non-dominant cultural and linguistic backgrounds. While they make a space for home language and culture as a starting point, a point of departure toward mainstream norms in the classroom, they do not acknowledge the transformative potential of creating official spaces where dominant and non-dominant discourses come together to form a new hybrid mode of communicating and learning.

More recent accounts of attempts to create quality learning environments for culturally- and linguistically-diverse students emphasize the potential for a syncretic (Gregory, Long & Volk, 2004) or hybrid third space (Gutiérrez, Baquedano-López & Alvarez, 2001; Hadi-Tabassum, 2006) between majority and minority worldviews. In such research, the emphasis on bridges between home and school has been conceptualized as an opportunity for hybrid spaces within the classroom which draw on both students' home practices and the needs and expectations of the classroom (e.g., Gutiérrez, Baquedano-López & Alvarez, 2001; Hadi-Tabassum, 2006). In emphasizing the co-constructed nature of language and learning, this work invokes the concept of a third space, or "a discursive space in which alternative and competing discourses and positionings transform conflict and difference into rich zones of collaboration and learning" (Gutiérrez, Baquedano-López & Alvarez, 2001, p. 197). Subsequent research has drawn on this framework; for example, an ethnographic study of a dual immersion classroom in the eastern United States (Hadi-Tabassum, 2006) described from a socio-historical perspective the power differential between dominant and non-dominant discourses which came to bear in the classroom. Using the concept of a third space, Hadi-Tabassum (2006) analyzed and explained classroom episodes in which adults' actions blocked access to a third space as well as those in which students exercised agency and appropriate power in a culturally hybrid third space. Gregory, Long and Volk (2004) invoke the similar concept of syncretism in their discussion of

new forms of literacy which draw from diverse home and school cultures. When viewed from a perspective of accounts for differential schooling outcomes, these studies of hybridity in the classroom implicitly echo Cummins' (1986) thesis that dimensions of schooling systematically de-privilege culturally and linguistically non-dominant students. This new generation of work that addresses educational inequities builds on the traditions of recognizing and honoring differences by taking the "otherness" out of the equation and recognizing the potential of a third space as a learning environment for all.

The current study rejects the notion of language as a problem and works within this language-as-resource orientation. It also aligns itself with current research that extends the resource view by insisting that not only can students draw on funds of knowledge from home and community, but that these can and should play an integral and vital role in a classroom in which sociolinguistically-informed and culturally-relevant pedagogy is employed. The current study of linguistic features common to narrative and academic language finds areas of overlap in the classroom where hard lines between typical extra-curricular and curricular ways of interacting are blurred and where the two are used in complementary fashion by teachers to support student participation and socialization to linguistic ways of being a student in a kindergarten classroom. In doing so, this study emphasizes the importance of the role of language and interaction in classroom teaching and learning processes, an important pre-requisite to fully understanding how to implement sociolinguistically-informed pedagogy.

The Current Study

The current study of academic language and literacy development addresses this question of differential schooling outcomes while taking resource and hybridity perspectives on children's home culture, language and literacy resources. It takes as a starting point the connections that

have been established between oral language and literacy (e.g., Chang, 2006; Dickinson & McCabe, 2001; Gee, 1996; Griffin, Hemphill, Camp & Wolf, 2004; Heath, 1983, Philips, 1970; Scollon & Scollon, 1981; Snow, 1993) and investigates how personal narrative, as one culturally-variable aspect of oral language (Heath, 1983; Invernizzi & Abouzeid, 1995; McCabe & Bliss, 2003; Melzi & Fernández, 2004; Minami, 2001; Minami & McCabe, 1995; Scollon & Scollon, 1981), plays a role in the development of school-based literacy in a dual language classroom.

The goal of this study is to explore relationships between features of narrative language skills students have developed at home and in their communities, on the one hand, and academic language and literacy development as constituted in and by discourse and socialization patterns in the classroom, on the other hand. It is rooted in a language socialization (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986) perspective on language and literacy, which holds an inherent resource perspective through its theoretical assumption that through participation in communities of practice, individuals come to know language and culture and to be able to act in culturally and linguistically appropriate ways in specific contexts. These behaviors allow students to negotiate “the highly complex, fluid and hybridized cultural settings in which they may find themselves and need to act” (Watson-Gegeo, 2004, p. 339).

The study also takes a social (Barton & Hamilton, 1998, 2000; Cook-Gumperz, 2006; Gee, 1996) and developmental (Pellegrini, 1996) literacy perspective, the latter of which assumes that early literacy for children is constituted in and by oral language use, including interaction around print, and that this oral language forms the basis for later school-based literacy. This is coherent with socially-oriented literacy theorists’ (e.g., Gee, 1996) views that literacy involves not only the individual skills related to phonics, phonemic awareness, decoding,

encoding, fluency and comprehension that are traditionally associated with reading and writing, but also practices that involve acting, thinking, interacting, projecting identities, and using language and print in certain ways. With young emergent bilinguals, the notion of emergent biliteracy becomes relevant and its definition takes on characteristics of a social approach to literacy more generally. Applied specifically to young learners in the process of developing competence in two languages, emergent biliteracy is “the ongoing, dynamic development of concepts for thinking, listening, speaking, reading and writing in two languages (Reyes, 2006, p. 269). This conceptualization of biliteracy is coherent with a language socialization perspective; both assume a connection between language, context and cognition. In this view, children learn through interaction with those around them to use language in complex, situated and culturally appropriate ways.

The current study starts with the assumption that kindergarten children arrive at school with a wealth of linguistic and cultural resources upon which they will draw and build as they move out of the private world of the family and into the public world of schooling and beyond. Among these resources is the propensity to engage in personal narrative to communicate past, habitual, future or hypothetical events within a constrained time frame. Not only is narrative a way of engaging in interaction with others, but it also a way of constructing identity (De Fina, 2003a), making sense of events (Daiute & Nelson, 1997) and structuring experience (Berman & Slobin, 1994).

A central proposition of this study, then, is that children employ their narrative resources as they engage in and negotiate the demands of the literacy events of the dual language classroom and that the linguistic capabilities developed through narrative interaction at home and in school provide pathways into the literate behaviors and academic uses of language of the

classroom. The methodological frameworks that guide this investigation of features common to narrative and academic discourse include narrative and interactional sociolinguistic analyses. The methodological frameworks and multiple sources of data and strategies for analysis, detailed in chapter three, allow for triangulation of data and methods.

State of the Art in Narrative and Academic Language and Literacy Research

This study makes a valuable contribution to knowledge on narrative as one aspect of emergent biliteracy. Specifically, it analyzes discourse features that evoke context in both personal narration and academic literacy events and highlights commonalities and overlaps between the two that address the overarching theme of classroom processes by which linguistic competence displayed during narration facilitates the development of academic language and literacy. Studies of narrative contributions to literacy and biliteracy development are situated within research on oral language and literacy and take what is known about the development of literacy in one language as a starting point, but much more work is needed in the areas of both narrative as a specific aspect of oral language and biliteracy as related to but distinct from monolingual literacy. The following pages briefly highlight what is known about narrative and literacy and then locate the gaps where further research is needed. More details about context, narrative, academic language and biliteracy are discussed in chapter two.

What we Know about Narrative and Academic Biliteracy

Narrative is but one aspect of oral language that has been examined in terms of its relationship to literacy, and it is an under-examined one at that. Phoneme- and word-level skills have been studied extensively and have been shown to be predictive of later reading and writing skills (August & Shanahan, 2006; Catts, Fey, Zhang & Tomblin, 1999; Roth, Speece & Cooper, 2002; Storch & Whitehurst, 2002; Whitehurst & Lonigan, 2001). Less conclusive quantitative

evidence extends the research to the discourse-level and suggests a relationship between narrative and literacy development (e.g., Chang, 2006; Griffin, Hemphill, Camp & Wolf, 2004; Miller, Heilman, Nockerts, Iglesias, Fabiano & Francis, 2006; but see Roth, Speece & Cooper, 2002). In addition, a limited amount of quantitative research specifically focused on biliteracy development has also found relationships between narrative and biliteracy (Miller et al., 2006). A recurring theme in this research is the divergent roots of different primary school literacy skills in distinct aspects of oral language; for example, while narrative macrostructure at age five most closely correlated with later narrative writing skills at age eight for a group of 32 European-American middle and working class children, elaboration on the content and evaluative significance in narrative most closely correlated with later reading comprehension (Griffin et al., 2004).

However, inconsistencies and disagreements persist within the quantitative literature on narrative and literacy. A look at the more contextually-situated qualitative work on narrative and literacy provides insight into the nature of the narration in which children engage and provides directions for researching classroom narrative and literacy processes. Taken together, this more qualitative literature suggests that several facets of narration contribute to early literacy development, including (1) children's culturally-preferred narrative structure (e.g., Heath, 1983; Michaels, 1981; Melzi, 2000); (2) the use of decontextualized language such as elaborated text (Chang, 2006; Snow, 1993; Stadler & Ward, 2005), orientation (McCabe & Peterson, 1994), explicit reference and the ability to take the interlocutor's perspective (Berman & Slobin, 1994) and recontextualize experience for different audiences and purposes (Georgakopoulou, 2002); and (3) the evaluation of narrative topics (Heath, 1983; Invernizzi & Abouzeid 1995; Minami & McCabe, 1995).

While each of those facets of narration would provide productive entry points for examining connections between personal narrative, academic language and biliteracy development, that chosen for this particular study centers on the idea of decontextualized language, called contextualizing language in this study as explained in chapter two. As specific linguistic phenomenon that have been linked to contextualizing discourse, or discourse that is sufficiently adjusted to the time, place, situation, and interlocutor, elaboration, orientation and pronominal reference serve as the analytical frameworks for this study. Both personal narratives and literacy events in two dual language classrooms are examined using tools from each of these frameworks in order to identify similarities and difference between the two and ascertain the extent to which children are able to apply and extend their existing narrative skills to new situations. In this study, narrative serves as a window into the otherwise difficult-to-observe cognitive phenomenon of academic language and biliteracy development. This is a unique contribution to our knowledge of roots of and processes in academic language and biliteracy development. As of yet, no research has investigated the connection between cultural-specific patterns of narration to which an individual has been socialized and classroom processes of biliteracy development.

What We Need to Know about Narrative and Biliteracy

Prior research on the organizational structure, decontextualized language and evaluation of narratives often takes one of two approaches, both of which carry limitations when applied to biliteracy development in U.S. the school context. One approach is to define literate uses of language, record developing narrative in family or home contexts, and show how those literate uses of language are scaffolded by adults or used by children in family narration (e.g., Georgakopoulou, 2002; Ochs, Taylor, Rudolph & Smith, 1992; Peterson & McCabe, 1994;

Scollon & Scollon, 1981). Researchers taking this approach often conclude articles with thoughtful implications for school-based literacy. However, although these studies suggest plausible links between narrative and literacy, few actually examine the process at work in the classroom (but see Michaels, 1981) or document connections between oral narration and biliteracy outcomes.

Another common approach involves quantifying aspects of elicited narration and correlating them with later results of reading and writing assessments (e.g., Chang, 2006, Griffin et al., 2004; Miller et al., 2006). These studies take an important step in confirming the link many have suggested by establishing a relationship between variables such as narrative evaluation and structure on the one hand and measures of literacy such as reading comprehension, word reading efficiency and receptive vocabulary on the other. However, they do not address why or how the relationship comes about, are occasionally contradictory (e.g., Chang, 2006; Roth, Speece & Cooper, 2002) and tend to be reductive in their treatment of the various aspects of narration; this line of work could be clarified, expanded and illustrated with qualitative, observational data of the biliteracy development process at work in the classroom. Gaining a richer picture of the role of narration in academic language and biliteracy development is helpful step for implementing the results of this line of research with classroom interventions or instructional techniques.

Finally, the literature on narrative and academic literacy suffers from a dearth of attention to children learning to read and write in two languages. A limited number of studies specifically examine the connection between narration and school-based biliteracy (but see Miller et al., 2006) and though work on monolingual literacy development can inform that on biliteracy development, biliteracy development carries extra variables of access to two languages and

cultures which need to be examined in light of students' negotiation of classroom narrative demands. An investigation of narration and biliteracy becomes especially relevant in the Two-Way Immersion (TWI) model of bilingual education, which often endeavors to produce students who are bilingual, biliterate, and bicultural (Freeman, 1998; García, 2009, Tedick, Christian & Fortune, 2011) and which, theoretically, should allow for students to draw on and expand the linguistic competencies acquired at home.

In summary, several gaps exist in the research on narrative and academic language and biliteracy development: (1) Connections that have been established quantitatively do not yet provide enough detail, nuance and replication of results to allow for clear conclusions. While evidence tends to point to correlations between aspects of narrative and aspects of literacy, it provides little explanation of how or why these processes take place; (2) there has been little follow-up to previous work regarding how narrative patterns to which students are socialized at home may affect literacy development and outcomes in school; and (3) little work has been done to specifically address the development of narrative and literacy in two languages. It is unclear to what extent principles of emergent literacy true for monolingual children apply to developing bilinguals.

This study begins to fill these gaps by examining narration and biliteracy development among kindergarten students enrolled in a Spanish-English dual language program. The goal of this study is to explore the relationship between (1) children's independent personal narrative skills, (2) contextualizing language demands of narrative-focused classroom literacy events, and (3) mechanisms for promoting the use and development of contextualizing language during narrative-focused classroom literacy events. This study builds upon and contributes to prior

quantitative and qualitative research in oral language and literacy. Three research questions guide this study:

1. What patterns of elaboration characterize English and Spanish personal narratives? Literacy events? What similarities exist between the two contexts and how might those promote academic language and literacy development?
2. What patterns of orientation characterize English and Spanish personal narratives? Literacy events? What similarities exist between the two contexts and how might those promote academic language and literacy development?
3. What patterns of personal and demonstrative reference characterize English and Spanish personal narratives? Literacy events? What similarities exist between the two contexts and how might those promote academic language and literacy development?

CHAPTER 2: NARRATIVE, CONTEXTUALIZING DISCOURSE, AND ACADEMIC LANGUAGE

Prior research from a variety of perspectives has shown that oral language is a key element in students' development of academic literacy skills (e.g., De la Piedra, 2006; Dickinson & Tabors, 2001; Griffin et al., 2004; Melzi & Caspe, 2005; NICHD, 2005; Roth, Speece & Cooper, 2002; Storch & Whitehurst, 2002; Whitehurst & Lonigan, 2001). While the various quantitative and qualitative approaches to oral language and literacy establish a firm connection between the two, it is unclear as of yet how narrative fits into the picture and whether the findings for first language learners also hold true for emergent bilinguals. This chapter provides a summary of what we know about narrative and biliteracy. It locates narrative within the larger body of research on oral language and literacy, considers the influences of oral language on literacy and then narrows in to focus specifically on narrative. Quantitative approaches to research are reviewed first and lay the groundwork for the in-depth discussion of qualitative approaches that follows. A key theme running through the chapter is emphasis on what is missing in the professional literature: conclusive findings about narrative, literacy and emergent bilinguals.

Oral Language: The Larger Context for this Study

In thinking about possible connections between narrative and oral language, it is helpful to take a step back and examine the larger context in which investigations about narratives are situated. Narrative in educational contexts is often examined as one aspect of the larger construct of oral language. While a full discussion of the complicated notion of oral language in education is beyond the scope of this paper, some background on the topic as it relates to literacy development is helpful for understanding the value of focusing on narrative.

Researchers approach oral language as a multi-layered construct. One layer of language with well-established connections to literacy development is the word level – that is, vocabulary (Neuman & Dickinson, 2001). While some studies (e.g., Miller et al., 2006) use independent measures such as the lexeme to assess vocabulary in naturalistic discourse, others (e.g., Dickinson & Tabors, 1991; NICHD, 2005; Roth, Speece & Cooper, 2002) use standardized tests such as the Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test (Dunn & Dunn, 1981) and the Picture Vocabulary Subtest of the Woodcock Johnson Psycho-Educational Battery – Revised (Woodcock & Mather, 1989) to measure aspects of vocabulary such as receptive and productive vocabulary, word definition and word retrieval. Vocabulary is one of the most consistently targeted aspects of oral language but it is not the only component.

Researchers interested in the connections between oral language and literacy also look at language on the levels of morphology, syntax and discourse. One study of oral language and literacy used standardized tests to measure morphology and syntax (Roth, Speece & Cooper, 2002) while another operationalized syntax in naturalistic discourse as mean length of utterance (MLU; Miller et al., 2006). A growing number of studies also include attention to oral language at the discourse level; some of these define oral language holistically in terms of general language proficiency as measured by a battery of standardized tests (e.g., NICHD, 2005) or use words per minute (WPM) as a measure of fluency (e.g., Miller et al., 2006). Others elicit picture descriptions (Dickinson & Tabors, 2001; Griffin et al., 2004) and narratives (Dickinson & Tabors, 1991; Miller et al., 2006; Roth, Speece & Cooper, 2002) and score them for structure and content. In sum, researchers approaching the topic of oral language and literacy quantitatively have operationalized this complex construct on the word, sentence and discourse levels. Their work has yielded valuable insights into the relationships between oral language and

literacy, knowledge which is foundational for inquiry into biliteracy development. The results of this work are addressed in the next section.

Oral Language and (Bi)literacy Development: Outcomes-based Perspectives

Oral Language and Literacy

The relatively small body of research on literacy development in emergent bilinguals builds on and extends work in monolingual literacy development. While some recent work does specifically investigate literacy in two languages, the bulk of work in this area focuses on L1 literacy development in children. A valuable point of entry into the discussion of biliteracy development, then, is what is known about oral language and the development of literacy in one language.

As illustrated by the discussion of oral language in the previous section, literacy research concerned with student outcomes generally takes assessment-based approaches to collecting data paired with quantitative approaches to analyzing it. This section will first address the findings of experimental studies of oral language and literacy in the L1 before summarizing results of investigations which specifically focus on children developing biliteracy. This information will serve as background for a more detailed discussion of literacy and narration as one specific aspect of oral language.

A significant body of research conducted in the last twenty-five years (e.g., Catts, Fey, Zhang & Tomblin, 1999; NICHD Early Child Care Research Network, 2005; Storch & Whitehurst, 2002) provides evidence of a link between oral language and literacy. For example, a study of 39 native English speaking children (Roth, Speece & Cooper, 2002) investigated the relationship between structure, metalinguistic skills and narrative and various reading outcomes, including print awareness, letter and word identification, pseudo-word pronunciation and passage

comprehension. Using a multiple regression technique to establish parsimonious models of kindergarten language and background factors that account for reading skills in grades one and two, researchers found that the metalinguistic skill of phonological awareness was predictive of word and pseudo-word reading in kindergarten and grade one and that semantic knowledge, on the other hand, was more predictive of reading comprehension in grades one and two. This study did not find narrative to be predictive of later reading skills.

Other work, however, suggests that narrative is one of several aspects of oral language with connections to literacy development. A study of 32 normally developing European-American middle class and working class children (Griffin, Hemphill, Camp & Wolf, 2004) found that elaboration on the content and evaluative significance of extended discourse at age five correlated with reading comprehension at age eight, while structure and organization at age five correlated with written narrative skill at age eight. This notion that different elements of early reading have their roots in distinct preschool language skills is echoed in other work on literacy as well. While this study does not address biliteracy, it reinforces the support for a connection between oral language and L1 literacy and extends this body of research into the area of narrative. However, further investigation is needed to determine whether the findings regarding distinct preschool language roots for different elements of early reading hold true for children learning to read and write in two languages.

The core debate of another strand of research on oral language and literacy development revolves around not whether the former has an impact on the latter, but on what type of relationship exists: direct or indirect. A large-scale ($N=626$) longitudinal study (Storch & Whitehurst, 2002) of ethnically diverse low-income students focused on code-related skills such as phonological awareness and print principles and oral language skills such as receptive and

expressive vocabulary, narrative recall and word structure, and the relationship of these skills to reading accuracy and reading comprehension. The investigators concluded that oral language skills in preschool and kindergarten were related indirectly to reading in grades one to four, and that the relationship was mediated by code-related skills. It also found that the preschool relationship between oral language and code-related skills disappears in kindergarten and first grade but reappears in grades two and three; that is, oral language is less important in the early days of decoding and learning to read, but regains influence as a child begins to read and comprehend more complicated material in the advanced primary grades. Overall, this foundational study provides evidence for a model of emergent L1 reading made of two distinct domains, code-related and oral language skills, whose saliency varies with a child's developmental level.

While other work supports this notion of two distinct domains for emergent literacy (e.g., Catts, Fey, Zhang & Tomblin, 1999; NICHD Early Child Care Research Network, 2005), it challenges the assertion that the relationship between oral language and later literacy development is indirect. Researchers at the NICHD (NICHD Early Child Care Research Network, 2005) tested a hypothesis that offered an alternative model to that proposed by Storch and Whitehurst (2002): a direct link as well as an indirect link between preschool oral language and first and third grade reading. Their longitudinal analysis of oral language, code-related and reading data from 1,137 low-, middle- and high-income participants, 24% of whom were ethnic minorities, found that a model of literacy development which showed both a statistically direct and indirect relationship between oral language and literacy development provided the best fit for the data.

Overall, work concerned with oral language skills and literacy outcomes has yielded key findings on the relationship between the two: first, it has affirmed that a relationship exists, and second, it has established that emergent literacy is a complex-multi-component construct of which oral language is one aspect. This literature has also contributed knowledge about which aspects of oral language come to bear upon the process of learning to read and write in school. While it is clear that early oral language abilities are involved in literacy acquisition, the role for discourse-level language such as narrative in this process is less clear. The next section focuses on prior work in narrative and literacy from an outcomes-based perspective.

Narrative and Literacy

The evidence of literacy influences is mixed when it comes to oral language at the level of extended discourse. Some studies of reading and writing fail to give attention to narrative as an independent construct (e.g., NICHD Early Child Care Research Network, 2005) while others that do target narrative indicate no significant role for narrative and other forms of discourse-level oral language. For instance, a study of 39 native English speaking students over a three-year period from kindergarten to grade two (Roth, Speece & Cooper, 2002) found that phonological awareness and semantic knowledge were predictive of reading skill. In addition to these two aspects of oral language, they also measured narrative skill in terms of story production and comprehension. Despite finding a role for language at the sound and word levels, the researchers concluded that narrative was not a predictor of reading performance in grades one and two.

However, other studies (e.g., Chang, 2006; Griffin et al., 2004; Miller et al., 2006) provide evidence of quantitative links between narrative and early literacy development. As with the larger construct of oral language as a whole, outcomes-based studies of narrative tend to be

longitudinal and employ correlations to establish connections between various measures. One study (Griffin et al., 2004) elicited play narratives from five-year-olds and analyzed them for clause type, evaluation, plot structure and elaboration. In addition, the researchers elicited explanatory discourse. Three years later, the children's narrative and expository reading comprehension were assessed with the standardized Gray Oral Reading Test (Widerholt & Bryant, 1992) and a written narrative was elicited and rated holistically for structure and content. The investigators reported that elaboration and evaluation in narratives were more strongly correlated with reading comprehension at age eight, while structure and organization correlated more highly with written narrative production. Their interpretation of the data included the assertion that "overall, results suggest that distinct oral discourse competencies at age five strongly predict later achievement in writing and reading extended text" (Griffin et al., 2004, p. 138). Though this study provides clear support for a relationship between narration and literacy development, it is limited in scope to the English literacy of a group of European American participants whose native language, though presumably English, is not addressed. Similar evidence exists for L1 speakers and readers of Mandarin Chinese (Chang, 2006), but these studies do not address within-language and cross-language influences for children in the process of becoming bilingual and biliterate.

Oral Language, Narrative and Academic Biliteracy

Some outcomes-based research does address the issue under consideration from a biliteracy perspective. Researchers conducting a study of over 1,500 Spanish-dominant developing bilinguals in two Texas schools elicited narratives with a wordless picture book (Miller et al., 2006) and coded for narrative coherence. They also measured reading comprehension and word reading efficiency with the Woodcock Language Proficiency Battery –

Revised (Woodcock, 1991). The investigators reported correlations between oral language and reading not only within languages, but also between both languages. That is, Spanish oral language was related to English reading and vice versa. The authors point out that this cross-language influence is more evident for passage comprehension than for word reading, again suggesting domain-specific links.

In sum, researchers generally agree that preschool oral language is related to later literacy development. Ample evidence also exists for connections between literacy and language at the word and sentence levels. Limited research suggests that these findings may also be true for students learning to read and write in two languages. However, several gaps in our understanding of oral language and biliteracy persist: (1) The nature of the relationship, whether direct or indirect, is contested; (2) while it is clear that some oral language skills are key as students begin to develop literacy, the role of extended discourse in general and narrative in particular is contested (Neuman and Dickinson, 2001); and (3) although some experimental research specifically addresses biliteracy (e.g., Miller et al., 2006) much of what is known is based on work with monolingual speakers of English. As Neuman and Dickinson (2001) write, “Our ignorance of the role of oral language in literacy is especially evident when one considers second-language learners” (p. 4). Due to factors relevant to developing bilingualism, such as culturally-specific discourse patterns (e.g., Intervenizzi & Abouzeid, 1995; McCabe & Bliss, 2003; Melzi & Caspe, 2005), a lexicon distributed across two languages (Pearson, Fernandez & Oller, 1993) and the possibility of drawing on two language and culture systems as resources in learning to read and write in school (Moll, Amanti, Neff & González, 1992), a full understanding of academic biliteracy requires specific attention to children in the process of becoming proficient readers, writers, and speakers of two languages.

Furthermore, it is possible that the conflicting evidence about the nature of the relationship between literacy and oral language in general and narration in particular could be attributed to the lack of attention to the contextualized nature of narration. Narrative performance is affected by a host of social and cultural factors such as the motivation for telling (Schegloff, 1997), interactional context and participation structure (Goodwin, 1997) and interlocutor support (Berko-Gleason & Melzi, 1997; Michaels, 1991; Minami & McCabe, 1995), factors which are not generally considered in quantitative, outcomes-based research. The somewhat reductive and inconsistent definition of narration could function as a roadblock to achieving consistent results in these studies. It would be useful to take a step back and examine the various types of narratives bilingual children encounter and produce and the classroom contexts in which they encounter and produce them before trying to draw unambiguous conclusions about the relationship of narrative to school-based literacy development. This study attempts to fulfill that need for a contextualized examination of narrative and biliteracy in the bilingual classroom context.

Narrative and (Bi)literacy Development: Process-Oriented and Discourse-Based Perspectives

Though studies of academic literacy outcomes often overlook the contextual factors associated with children's reception and production of narrative language, a substantial body of research (e.g., Beals & Snow, 2002; Berko Gleason & Melzi, 1997; Berman & Slobin, 1994; Boyd & Naclér, 2001; Cameron & Wang, 1995; Dickinson & Tabors, 2001; Georgakopoulou, 2002; Invernizzi & Abouzeid, 1995; Kendrick, 2005; Küntay & Senay, 2003; Kyratzis, 2000; Michaels, 1981, 1991; Minami, 2001; Peterson & McCabe, 1994; Scollon & Scollon, 1981; Snow, 1993) does examine children's production of narrative with respect to specific social and cultural contexts. This body of research provides a generous basis for further inquiry into

narrative and biliteracy, but as will be discussed below, few of these studies enter the classroom context to actually examine the process of literacy development through a narrative lens.

Over the last several decades, children's use and development of narrative in specific contexts has been described and analyzed from a variety of perspectives. The following section provides an overview of narrative research that has been influential for those focusing on children's language and summarizes relevant research on child narrative development. After situating studies of children's narrative and literacy development within the larger narrative research context, the discussion turns to aspects of academic language and finally to what discourse studies of children's narratives have to say about the development of emergent academic language and literacy skills.

Key Work in Narrative Studies

The last forty years have seen a proliferation of research on aspects of narrative. Two of the most influential and relevant for the present study of narrative in educational and bilingual contexts with young children are structural and interactional sociolinguistic approaches. These approaches in some ways lie at different points on a multi-dimensional continuum of narrative characteristic proposed by Ochs and Capps (2001; see figure 3.3). This continuum includes several dimensions of narrative, including tellership, tellability, embeddedness, linearity, and moral stance. One end of each continuum is more characteristic of everyday conversational narratives, while the other is more characteristic of more performed or more institutional narratives. As Ochs and Capps (2001) report, much research on child narrative has taken a more structured, narrative-elicited approach, a limitation for studies of narrative socialization in children. However, narratives studies from a variety of points on the continua, from sole- to joint constructed, from mundane to noteworthy, and from linear to non-linear are relevant for a

study of individual language use in a social context such as this. The next sections summarize two classic but distinctive approaches to narrative analysis influential for the current study: structural and interactional approaches.

Structural approaches to narrative.

Two foundational studies on narrative structure are those of Labov and Waletzky (1967) and Labov (1972). These analyses of personal experience narratives told by inner-city African-American children and adults yielded a description of fully-developed narrative structure, a typology of internal and external evaluation and insight into the development of evaluation from the pre-adolescent to adult stage. An analysis of 30 narratives by preadolescents, adolescents and adults found that adults used a greater number and wider variety of evaluative devices than younger speakers, indicating that even after age 12, individuals still experience considerable growth toward adult norms in their first language (Labov, 1972).

Labov's studies have had considerable theoretical and methodological implications for subsequent research. His distinction between referential and evaluative functions, identification of clause types, and typology of evaluation have been influential, if adapted and expanded, in other studies. Furthermore, this work has been credited with bringing the emotional, evaluative importance of narratives into focus (Daiute & Nelson, 1997; Peterson & McCabe, 1997). Its influence can be seen in a variety of studies on language development from the analysis of foreign language assessment data (Koike, 1998; Liskin-Gasparro, 1996; Rubio, 2003) to investigations of developing L1 narratives (Peterson & McCabe, 1983). Despite this influence, others have pointed to what they see as shortcomings in what came to be known as high point analysis (Peterson & McCabe, 1983) and these scholars' work often differs from that of Labov in its theoretical and methodological orientations. More will be said later about how Labov's

structural approach was adapted in subsequent research that forms the basis of the proposed study's methodology.

Interactional approaches to narrative.

In contrast with structural approaches that focus on narrative as relatively solely constructed and detached from the surrounding discourse, interactional approaches take a more contextualized approach. Conversation Analysis (CA) has been one particularly well-utilized approach. Those working in this tradition tend to eschew interview-elicited narratives in favor of naturally-occurring, dialogic conversation from ordinary interactions (e.g., Jefferson, 1978; Norrick, 2000). From the CA perspective, elicited narratives have been problematized as decontextualized (Norrick, 2000) discourse and the interview context has been criticized as “play[ing] havoc with the motive force of the telling” (Schegloff, 1997, p. 99). Conversational narratives are viewed as more appropriate for examining why and how people tell stories (Stokoe & Edwards, 2006). In this approach, conversational and naturalistic narratives, as opposed to the elicited narratives from a sociolinguistic interview, allow for a rich analysis of the teller's motivation, co-construction of the narrative, listeners' reactions to evaluation, and the social events that are constituted by narrative. From these viewpoints, narrative is not a measurable individual skill which one person possesses, but rather an entity that is constructed and enacted within a particular social interaction.

Interactional rather than structural concerns guide the identification of narratives. From a CA perspective, conversational narratives are both locally occasioned and sequentially implicative (Jefferson, 1978) phenomena, that is, they are constituted in turn-by-turn talk and have implications for subsequent turns, which must take into account and make themselves relevant to the immediate past narrative turns. Utterances in conversational narrative tend to be

designed for the recipient, but attention must be paid to the interlocutor's uptake, or reception and interpretation as evidenced by a subsequent turn, to discover how meaning is constructed and actions are accomplished through talk (Schegloff, 1997).

While adult native speakers have internalized the system of conversational turn-taking in which the person taking the floor either self-selects or is selected by the current floor-holder (Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson, 1978), children must master the rules of turn-taking and narrative becomes a site for practice. In an analysis of Turkish pre-school narratives told during a sharing time routine with the teacher as the moderator, Küntay and Senay (2003) illustrated the importance of peer groups for developing conversational narrative skills. The children often seemed to narrate specifically for the purpose of holding the floor, while at the same time demonstrating emergent awareness of the need to make their narratives relevant to the teacher-sanctioned topic. Such work demonstrates the value of an interactional perspective on narrative data. However, as discussed below, careful attention to local conversational context only does not sufficiently address the question of individual biliteracy development within the social context of a multicultural bilingual classroom.

Drawing together divergent perspectives.

Both structural and interactional approaches are relevant to the current study. As observed by Cicourel (1992) in a study of medical encounters, the analysis of institutional discourse benefits from attention to both the conversation-internal and external contexts. Though the influence of Labovian narrative analysis is evident in the methodology used for part of this study (Peterson & McCabe, 1983; McCabe & Bliss, 2003), CA and interactional perspectives provide valuable counterpoints to some of the shortcomings in this more text-oriented structural approach.

Concerns about interview-elicited narrative data are relevant to the study of literacy and narratives in classroom settings for several reasons that are overviewed here and discussed in greater depth in chapter three on the methodology of this study. First, they serve as a reminder of the potentially rich insights that can result from the use of naturally-occurring narrative data; certainly, the use of such data allows for an exploration of the narrative processes that are part of becoming biliterate in a dual language classroom, an exploration which forms a major part of the current investigation. Second, objections to elicited narrative data such as those raised by Schegloff (1997) and Goodwin (1997) also help to situate the current study in relation to other work in narrative. While elicitation might result in impoverished data if the ultimate focus is conversation or social interaction, it is valid for a developmental study which seeks to discover what a child can do independently and how the classroom context may relate to this independent performance. Furthermore, a view of narrative as an individual skill which can be demonstrated upon request is coherent with classroom uses of language in which students must produce relatively monologic oral and written narratives with varying degrees of support. Thus, elicited narratives, while not always appropriate or valid, are both in the context of the current study. However, this study takes concerns about narrative context into account by examining naturalistic classroom observations. It attempts to draw together more and less monologic narratives as well as elicited and conversational narratives by analyzing common academic language and literacy-relevant discourse features across both.

In addition to the concern about context of production, additional questions have been raised and added to the call for an approach more comprehensive than that originally taken by Labov and Waletzky (1967). For example, narrative analysts have argued for a greater emphasis on orientation as a component of narrative structure (Baynham, 2003). In his analyses of the life

stories of four immigrants who moved from Morocco to London, Baynham (2003) showed that dislocation and relocation, represented in the orientation portions of a narrative, constituted the narrative action of the story and that therefore it was necessary to give orientation a more prominent place in the analysis. Other work (McCabe & Bliss, 2003) has also echoed this theme of the importance of orientation, reporting that orientation is a prevalent feature of the narration of Spanish-speaking American children. Such studies point to the importance in cross-cultural research of an analytic approach which does not make a priori assumptions about the function of various narrative structures.

Finally, an obvious difference between the Labovian approach and the CA approach to narrative is the criteria for calling extended discourse a narrative. Labov's relatively strict definition of a minimal narrative as consisting of two temporally ordered clauses which "recapitulate experiences in the same order as the original events" (Labov & Waletzky, 1967/1997; p. 13) has been challenged as inappropriate for child language. Research on children's narration has documented functions beyond the referential function of recapitulating past experience and the evaluative function of making a point clear (e.g., Berko-Gleason & Melzi, 1997). Developmentally, children go through a stage where their extended discourse surrounding past events may include just one event (Minami, 2001) and may surround habitual, hypothetical, or future events (Beals & Snow, 2002; McCabe & Bliss, 2003; Ochs & Capps, 2001). For example, work with the dialogic narratives of Latino, European-American and Hungarian gypsy mother-child pairs (Berko-Gleason & Melzi, 1997) shows that narrative can also function to structure the present and predict the future. Though more conversationally-occasioned approaches to labeling extended discourse narrative such as narrators' orientation to stories as such (Stokoe & Edwards, 2006) may not be relevant criteria for identifying narratives

in a study of oral language contributions to biliteracy development, taking into account objections to strict structural definitions of narrative is productive. Typical criteria for narrative include chronological order (De Fina, 2003a), extended discourse of at least two states or events and displaced past or future tense (Kyratzis, 2000). Each of these is productively applied in the present study.

As implied by the preceding discussion approaches to narrative, academic literature examining both naturalistic and elicited narrative in educational contexts is relevant and this study builds on prior work from both traditions. The following pages synthesize studies of child narrative development with relevance to the development of biliteracy in school.

Child Narrative Development

As with studies of adult narration, child narrative development studies which are relevant to the topic of literacy encompass a range of approaches and foci. Some work in child development makes use of elicitation and quantification, while other work uses naturalistic data recorded during interactions with the adults in a child's life: parents, grandparents, teachers and other caregivers. Together these discourse-based analyses suggest that the patterns of narrative use into which children are socialized in the pre-school years is an important social and cultural factor affecting school-based literacy development. Much of the foundational research on narrative and literacy was conducted in monolingual contexts, though some also extends to multilingual contexts.

The following sections summarize past and current research on narrative development in children from the perspective of narration as a factor in the acquisition of school-based literacy. Several broad areas for possible connections emerge from a review of the relevant literature, including: (1) narrative structure and the function of various components of narrative structure

such as orientation and evaluation, (2) the topics for narration and the elaboration on these topics, and (3) the context for narration and how this is reflected in the nature of the language used to narrate. Though full review and analysis of each of these areas is outside the scope of this project, the first two are overviewed to give some background for understanding the third, which is the focus of this study and which implicates aspects of the first two.

Narrative structure.

Narrative structure is one major area hypothesized to have implications for the development of academic language and literacy. Children narrate from the time they are toddlers (Ochs & Capps, 2001), but their narration undergoes systematic developmental changes as they mature. A study of the personal narratives of 96 European-American working class children aged three years, six months to nine years, six months used Labovian high point analysis and found seven distinct structural patterns (Peterson & McCabe, 1983) ranging from the classic pattern described by Labov (Labov & Waletzky, 1967; Labov, 1972) to patterns lacking key components such as the resolution or evaluation to patterns which jump from one event to another without making connections for the interlocutor to patterns which lack overall coherence. The data indicated a developmental pattern toward classic narrative structure between the ages of four and nine. The youngest children in the study preferred what the authors called a leap-frog pattern which jumps from event to event, leaves out major events, and generally requires the interlocutor to fill in a lot of the details in order to fully understand the narrative. By age five, many children told narratives ending at the high point and leaving out the resolution, while others structured their narratives as straightforward unevaluated chronologies similar to what Ochs and Capps (2001) call recasts. Classic narratives are much more prevalent in this data sample for five-year-olds than they are for four-year-olds, while the leap-frog pattern was used by only a small

number of five-year-olds. The developmental pattern toward end-at-the-high-point and classic narratives continued for the six-year-olds, while the seven- through nine-year olds in the study showed a marked preference for classic narratives. While the oldest children in Peterson and McCabe's (1983) classic study of narrative development showed progress toward norms described adults, other work has documented continued development of narrative discourse past the age of pre-adolescence (Labov, 1972).

Complimentary studies provide further insight into the development of narrative macrostructure. The authors of a cross-sectional study of narrative development in native speaking children of Turkish, German, English, Spanish and Hebrew (Berman & Slobin, 1994) analyzed the linguistic aspects of children's fictional narratives and found a consistent trend toward greater coherence and cohesion as narrators got older. Incidence of the three components of a complete narration in this analysis – onset, unfolding of plot, resolution – increased as children got older; 3% of three-year-olds, 32% of five-year-olds, and 92% of adults include all three components in their fictional picture book-prompted stories, which the authors “take... as strong evidence for development of the ability to relate to an overall hierarchical theme or storyline” (p. 49). Furthermore, the authors pointed out that a linguistically complex and elaborate story at the lexical and syntactic levels was not necessarily complete or even adequate at the discourse level. They reported a general developmental pattern with respect to organization:

- (a) spatially-motivated linking of utterances as picture-by-picture description (3-year-olds),
- (b) temporal organization at a local level of interclausal sequential chaining of events (most 5-year-olds),
- (c) sequential and/or causal chaining of partially elaborated

events (most 9-year-olds), and (d) global organization of entire texts around an unified action-structure (some 9-year-olds, and the adults). (Berman & Slobin, 1994, p. 58)

To be sure, these results are shaped by the method of data collection, a wordless picture book-stimulated narration, but they have in common with the results of another influential developmental study (Peterson & McCabe, 1983) the movement toward an elaborated, cohesive, full structure comprehensible to an individual not familiar with the events under consideration.

So research on narrative development has documented developmental patterns in the macrostructure of children's narratives. While there are general patterns, investigators have also found cross-cultural differences; for instance, in their study of English and Athabaskan speakers in Canada and Alaska, Scollon and Scollon (1981) noted that while narratives and other genres in English tend to be organized around sets of three, Athabaskan narratives tend to be organized around fours. This conceptual organization, as they called it, manifested itself in two main episodes as well as an opening and closing part to the story, for a total of four parts, as well as subdivisions of each section organized into twos and fours. The authors contrasted this with typical English rhetorical patterns of threes, and characterized interactions between English and Athabaskan speakers as potentially unsatisfying due to the divergent expectations for organization of narrative content as well as other discourse patterns.

Ample support exists for a view of elements of narrative structure as culturally variable. An experimental study of the written narrative production of 25 American and 25 Ponam Island adolescents documented culturally-specific differences in narrative retelling (Invernizzi & Abouzeid, 1995). Researchers read the same two stories aloud to each group and asked them to re-tell them in writing. The re-written stories of the Ponam Island children were longer overall,

and while they focused more on elaborating the settings and event sequences, American children focused on the resolution and consequences of the events.

Research suggests that overall, European North American children tend to use a lot of action in their narratives, while African-American children place importance on evaluation and Latin American children tend to use considerable amounts of orientation (McCabe & Bliss, 2003). Borrowing the term from Ochs and Capps' (2001) discussion of ethnopoetic analyses, some cultural groups prefer parallelism-infused narrative structure. An excerpt from Shirley Brice Heath's (1983) ethnography of two working class towns in the Carolinas provided the following story told by a two and a half year old African-American boy:

Way
Far
Now
It a church bell
Ringin'
Dey signing'
 ringin'
You hear it?
I hear it
Far
Now (Heath, 1983, p. 170)

Parallel structures can be seen at several points. First, the words "far" and "now," parts of the orientation at the beginning, are repeated verbatim at the end, giving the narrative a symmetrical feel. The action of the narrative is reported entirely with the progressive repeated in three continuous lines and the child's attempts to involve listeners and evaluate the narrative involve repetition of lines that are a near match lexically: "You hear it?/I hear it." Similar lexical as well as prosodic parallelism among African-American speakers has been cited by others (e.g., Gee, 1991; Michaels 1981) and negative schooling effects have been documented (Michaels, 1981;

1991) when teachers are not able to comprehend and scaffold narratives produced in this style. This topic of structure and schooling effects will be revisited later in this chapter.

The roots of such cross-cultural differences in narrative structure have been located in interactions between children and the adults who care for them. Parents, teachers and other adults in children's lives socialize them into their own culturally-variable patterns of narrative interaction. For example, a study of Japanese and Canadian parent-child narratives (Minami & McCabe, 1995) found that Japanese mothers requested less description and provided less evaluation than Canadian mothers. Japanese mothers tended to curtail their children's contributions to a narrative through the use of particular discourse markers, thereby shortening the length of the narrative and socializing the child to allow inference of the evaluation by the interlocutor. Through the scaffolding they provided for their children's narration, the Japanese mothers in this study helped their children to produce narratives in the culturally-preferred style.

Other work has also focused on parental scaffolding of children's narratives in order to examine how children are socialized to construct narratives of a particular structure at home. Melzi (2000) reports on the results of a narrative elicitation study between dyads of Central American and European American mothers and children. In this study, mothers were asked to elicit narratives from their children on both shared and non-shared events. In general, Central American mothers tended to be focused on maintaining the interaction; they played the role of audience members and placed greater emphasis on evaluation of events. Their open-ended questions allowed children greater latitude in recalling and organizing the experience. European American mothers, on the other hand, were focused on helping their children provide factual accounts of a central past experience similar to the European American working class parents in Heath's (1983) study. These European American working class parents in Melzi's (2000) study

co-constructed the story with their children, largely through the use of close-ended questions. This differential use of close-ended questions, particularly striking during elicitations of unshared experiences, led to a more canonical narrative organization (McCabe, 1996), while Latina mothers' "topic-switching" questions in both the Melzi (2000) and McCabe and Peterson (1991) studies were partially reminiscent of the topic-associating style described for African American children (Michaels, 1981). Melzi connects this organization to a general cultural schema for common events.

Although Melzi's (2000) study does not involve longitudinal data, she utilizes prior research to situate it within a language socialization perspective on parent-child interaction. In particular, the author speculates that the narratives which mothers lead their children to construct signal the importance Latino parents place on children's abilities to relate appropriately to others in a wide range of situations and the European American parents' goals for producing children who are independent. Citing Miller's work (Miller, 1982; Miller & Sperry, 1988), Melzi (2000) also makes the connection between parents' elicitation styles and a community's ideologies about how children learn languages. Like Michaels (1981), Melzi (2000) concludes her article with mention of possible implications for children's development of literacy skills. "These distinct ways of constructing oral narratives might lead to variations in how children approach the comprehension and production of information in written texts," (p. 174) she writes. However, she leaves open the question of exactly how narrative style might impact reading and writing activities.

In addition to analyzing interactions between parents and their children in the home, other work in adult-child interaction focuses on the school setting. In a classroom-based study of narration among African-American and European-American students, Michaels (1981) noted

differences which could result in less-than-ideal cross-cultural encounters. The study analyzed word-, sentence-, and discourse level aspects of narration during sharing time in a first-grade classroom. The results of this analysis suggested two distinct styles of relating personal experience: a topic-centered style preferred by the European-American children and a topic-associating, or parallelism-infused, style often used by the African-American children. The topic-centered style features a linear thematic progression, explicit and cohesive reference to lexical items, topical cohesion, deictic forms, and identifiable rising and rise-fall intonation contours that mark the orientation, elaboration, and closing of narratives. The topic-associating style relies less on explicit lexical cohesion and linear thematic development and instead develops a thematic focus through implicit anecdotal references to a central topic and consistent prosodic patterns of pauses, holding pitches, and vowel elongation associated with each topic. The teacher in this classroom was better able to guide the students who used topic-centered organization to produce a sharing time narrative that “was lexically and grammatically more elaborate than what the child would be likely to have created on his or her own” (Michaels, 1981, p. 440), while she misinterpreted and curtailed participation by a student who used a topic-associating pattern. Thus, these cross-cultural differences in narrative structure are important because they afford some children more support and success than others in emergent literacy activities which can be seen as “oral preparation for literacy” (Michaels, 1981, p. 423).

This study is key in its attempt to link discourse patterns into which children are socialized in the pre-school years to the development of school-based literacy. However, it also leaves some questions unanswered for those interested in biliteracy development among Spanish- and English-dominant students in a bilingual program. First, this study shares a shortcoming common to much qualitative narrative research with implications for literacy; it

hypothesized that “such differential treatment may ultimately affect the children’s progress in the acquisition of literacy skills” (Michaels, 1981, p. 440) but did not follow the effects of these classroom interactions over a significant period of time. Second, the study concerned only native English speakers and a monolingual classroom environment; it remains to be seen whether similar miscommunications would occur in a classroom which strives to draw on language skills acquired at home and develop students’ literacy in two languages. While carefully promoting the use of two languages, does a bilingual classroom also draw on patterns of extended discourse in two languages and successfully scaffold students’ participation in these cross-cultural interactions? Or, like the classroom in Michaels’ (1991) study, is one pattern of narration privileged despite the use of two languages, and are students systematically disadvantaged when the privileged discourse pattern is not one with which they are more proficient? This study aims to fill this gap in the field’s knowledge of narrative interaction and biliteracy development by documenting and describing literacy events in a bilingual classroom through a narrative lens.

The evaluation of narrative topics.

Thus far, organizational aspects of narratives with possible implications for school-based literacy acquisition have been reviewed. An additional theme with possible implications for schooling in multicultural contexts will now be considered: topics selected for narration and the evaluation of those topics.

A narrator’s choice of topic generally fits cultural norms and expectations for what constitutes an appropriate topic for a story (Heath, 1983) as well as local, interactional norms for what topic is warranted by the conversation in progress (Kyratzis, 2000). As Labov (1972) put it, storytellers need to select a reportable event involving some sort of norm violation in order to

avoid an interlocutor response of “so what?” Ochs and Capps (2001) expanded this notion of a topic’s worthiness with their conception of the narrative dimension of tellability:

Tellability is a narrative dimension that varies from a rhetorical focus on a highly reportable breach of expectations and its eventful consequences (high tellability) to reporting relatively ordinary events (low tellability). Tellability also ranges from an orientation to narrative as a performance (high tellability) to an orientation to narrative as dialogic sense-making (low tellability). (Ochs & Capps, 2001, p. 76)

Developmentally, they report, children move from recounting ordinary to unusual events. Early reporting of more routine events may help the child make sense of these routines and therefore begin to see them as more ordinary.

Interestingly, the selection of topics need not be seen as an individual skill; rather in conversational narrative it is co-constructed by the various interlocutors. An analysis (Beals & Snow, 2002) of the dinner table conversations of families with three- through five-year-old children found that by age five, children could select appropriate topics for dinner time conversation, but successful topic initiation also depended on the interlocutors’ ability to ratify and support one another’s topic choices. The question of topics for narration is important to the conversation on biliteracy development because of its relationship to children’s classroom performance. Are school narrative topics similar to those in children’s homes? Can children successfully select an appropriate topic for classroom narration? What about the classroom environment guides and supports students’ initiation of a narrative topic? It seems likely that most classroom narratives would be more elicited and less open-ended in terms of possible topics than would most narratives occurring in a conversational context outside of school.

In addition to topic selection, patterns of evaluation of topics in personal narrative could have implications for literacy and biliteracy. Evaluation, defined as “that part of the narrative that reveals the attitude of the narrator towards the narrative,” (Labov & Waletzky, 1967/1997, p. 32) was one of two primary narrative functions identified in foundational linguistic research on narrative. A cultural and personal way of making sense of events, evaluation is what helps transform a general cultural script into a personal story (Daiute & Nelson, 1997).

Varying accounts of the development of evaluation exist. Most studies of narrative development indicate that even very young children can and do engage in evaluation (e.g., Berman, 1997; Minami, 2001; Peterson & McCabe, 1983); however, a lack of consensus about the development of evaluation over time persists. In their study of the elicited narratives of children aged four through nine, Peterson and McCabe (1983) found that overall, 15% of independent clauses were fully evaluative and 35% were partially evaluative and furthermore, all children tended to concentrate their evaluation in the final clauses of the narrative. This figure did not differ significantly by age; that is, quantitatively the four-year-olds’ evaluative performance was very similar to that of the older children. However, qualitative differences associated with age were apparent; the older children used a wider variety of types of evaluation. The finding of no quantitative differences is contradicted by the results of other investigations.

A cross-linguistic study of elicited picture book-stimulated stories found that nine year olds use a greater amount of evaluation than younger children (Berman & Slobin, 1994). Likewise, a study of the monologic personal narratives of four and five year olds and of conversational narratives between these children and their parents found quantitative developmental differences. While four-year-olds did evaluate, five-year-olds were more adult-like in the quantity of evaluation they used (Minami, 2001). These quantitative differences could

be explained by an expansion in children's abilities to engage in different types of narration. By one account, development is iterative by genre; as a child learns a new genre, he or she tends to default to a bare script and then gradually evaluates and individualizes the script into personal narrative (Daiute & Nelson, 1997). Berman (1997) suggests that some of the trends observed may be related to cognitive growth:

With time, children acquire the cognitive ability to adopt a narrator stance, which includes both attributing motivations to characters and expressing their own attitudes to and evaluation of the events. (p.238)

As with decontextualized language and recipient design, concepts to be discussed in the next section, aspects of evaluation potentially provide a window into cognitive development because it reveals expectations about events (Tannen, 1993). So over time, children begin to include more evaluation in their narratives and to use a variety of techniques for doing so.

Evaluation in narrative has implications children's for work with written and spoken narration in school settings. If students employ evaluative approaches to which they've been socialized at home and these approaches are not those valued in the classroom, the point of these students' stories may be misinterpreted. Though this remains a matter for investigation, evaluative techniques valued in the classroom are likely to be those applicable within the written mode; for example, while lexical evaluation can be carried out just as easily in speech or in writing, gestural, prosodic and other non-lexical evaluation such as sound effects cannot be captured as easily on paper and rely to a certain extent on physical proximity and the mutual involvement of interlocutors. A child whose culture-specific resources for evaluation are invalidated in the classroom or a child not familiar with the lexical conventions for evaluation in

stories he or she reads in school may appear less proficient with narratives in the classroom setting.

Concerns about potential cross-cultural differences are founded; despite the developmental similarities discussed above, there is evidence of cross-cultural variation in the topic selection (Heath, 1983), evaluation (Berman, 1997; Heath, 1983) and elaboration on these topics and evaluations (Heath, 1983; Invernizzi & Abouzeid 1995; Minami & McCabe, 1995), all of which may be important for biliteracy development. Prior research suggests that topics chosen for narration and the patterns of elaborating upon and evaluating these topics are culturally variable and may have an impact on a child's school literacy. Some of this evidence comes from language socialization research conducted with parents and children in their homes. A study of the conversational narratives of 16 Japanese and English-speaking Canadian dyads (Minami & McCabe, 1995) found differences in mothers' elicitation styles that related to culture-specific expectations for extended discourse. The results indicated that Japanese mothers requested less description and provided less evaluation than Canadian mothers. Japanese mothers used a discourse marker which could function to extend or switch topics; they often used this to curtail the length of a turn, particularly with sons, reflecting a value for not being loquacious and for allowing listener to infer information him or herself. Quantitative data in the study corroborated the qualitative analysis; Canadian children produced statistically significantly more utterances per turn than Japanese children, whose mothers were shaping their narratives to be more succinct.

This parental shaping of narratives to culturally-expected norms can result in narratives that vary by culture even within similar school contexts. An experimental study (Invernizzi & Abouzeid, 1995) of 25 sixth graders from Papua New Guinea and 25 from the United States,

matched for literacy levels, years of school and Western-style schooling, asked students to recall two narrative texts. The researchers found that students from Papua New Guinea produced detailed, factual accounts with elaboration of settings and event sequences to a greater extent than American students. The Americans, on the other hand focused more on the resolution and consequences and added their own evaluation of the events. That affect was absent from the Papua New Guinean accounts was attributed to the worldview of the community in which the children were growing up. The authors emphasize that narration is culturally-specific rather than universal. Their discussion of the implications for reading comprehension is also relevant to central concerns in the current study:

We conclude that “comprehension” of text cannot be measured by the amount recalled. Cultural backgrounds serve as a rich context for the interpretation, understanding, and recall of specific elements found in stories.... Familiarity with the genre, cultural conventions, and epistemological expectations determine not only the depth of comprehension, but ultimately what is recalled and understood. It is thus imperative that we do not penalize children in our classrooms who bring rich cultural differences to comprehension instruction. (Invernizzi & Abouzeid, 1995, p. 12)

So it is particularly important to examine students’ classroom performances in light of culturally-specific ways of dealing with stories. Looking at the topics chosen for narration and the patterns of elaboration and evaluation, an activity in which narrators tend to exhibit cross-cultural differences (Berman, 1997), provides one means of investigating how the narrative behaviors to which a child has been socialized in his or her home community interact with the expected norms of the American classroom.

Ethnographic accounts of children's socialization to narrative also illustrate the culture-specific nature of topic selection, elaboration and evaluation in narrative. Heath (1983) detailed the expected content of narratives in her ethnography of the two working class North Carolina Piedmont communities of Trackton and Roadville. In the European-American community of Roadville, stories were largely used to communicate factual experiences. Tellings had to stick to the facts and generally included a moral. Gradually, Roadville children began to incorporate school-based expectations for narrative into their own storytelling and to develop an awareness of the difference between narratives at home and the more fantasy-based ones common at school. Heath (1983) recounts an anecdote of a girl who defended herself from her sister's charges of lying by saying she was telling a story of the kind expected in school rather than at home.

On the other hand, in Trackton, the straight factual account did not exist as it did in school. In an effort to hold the floor and gain status as a storyteller, individuals often gave prominence to evaluation and exaggerative metaphor, a characteristic of narrative content absent from expectations for school narratives in this community. As with the Michaels (1981) study of a child's blocked access to successful participation in class sharing time because of the gap between her preferred narrative style and that of the teacher, Heath's (1983) study suggests that the narrative patterns into which children have been socialized at home may facilitate or inhibit their participation in literate activities, thereby impacting their socialization into school-based patterns of literate behavior and eventual reading and writing outcomes.

Context, decontextualization and academic language.

Finally, another prevalent theme in the literature on narrative and literacy development, and the theme that serves as the basis for this study, is the importance of narrative in providing opportunities for the increased use of decontextualized language, also called *contextualizing*

language in this study for reasons explained below and a key component in academic language use. In the next few paragraphs, I define academic language and address the nature of contextualizing language, which is one commonality between narrative and academic language.

Academic language has been defined in ways both common-sense (e.g., Chamot & O'Malley, 1994) and highly technical, the latter of which occasionally include frameworks for components of academic language (e.g., Scarcella, 2003). Figure 2.1 summarizes a selection of definitions from prior publications in education research, policy and practice.

Figure 2.1 <i>Definitions of Academic Language</i>	
Source	Definition
Chamot & O'Malley, 1994	"The language that is used by teachers and students for the purpose of acquiring new knowledge and skills...imparting new information, describing abstract ideas, and developing students' conceptual understanding" (p. 40)
Scarcella, 2003	"A variety or a register of English used in professional books and characterized by the specific linguistic features associated with academic disciplines" (p.19). Involves linguistic, cognitive, and sociocultural/psychological dimensions.
Gottlieb, 2006	"language patterns and concepts required in processing, understanding, and communicating curriculum-based content" (p. 25)
Cummins, 1980; 1981; 2000	Cognitive academic language proficiency (CALP) is "those aspects of language which are closely related to the development of literacy skills in L1 and L2" (1980, p. 177) and in which "the range of extralinguistic supports is very much reduced" (1981, p. 34). CALP "reflects the registers of language that children acquire in school and which they need to use effectively if they are to progress successfully throughout the grades" (2000, p. 59). It involves the notion of context, or "the extent to which the meaning being communicated is strongly supported by contextual or interpersonal cues... or supported primarily by linguistic cues that are largely independent of the immediate communicative context" (2000 p. 59).
Bailey & Butler, 2003	"language that stands in contrast to the everyday informal speech that students use outside the classroom environment" (p. 9), including general and discipline-specific vocabulary, ability to express knowledge in generally-recognized formats, ability to use and interpret decontextualized language. Can be characterized at the lexical, syntactic, discourse and language function levels.
Schlepegrell, 2004	"...the linguistic choices that are highly valued in school tasks...can be characterized as the language of schooling" (p. 23).
Pearson, 2011	"Oral and written language used for academic purposes. It is the language students must have to learn content in schools. Academic

	language is the means by which students develop and express content understandings. Academic language includes the <i>language of the discipline</i> (vocabulary and functions and forms of language associated with learning outcomes in a particular subject) and the <i>instructional language</i> used to engage students in learning content” (p. 22).
WIDA Consortium, 2011 a	“the language required to succeed in school that includes deep understandings of content and communication of that language in the classroom environment. These understandings revolve around specific criteria related to discourse, sentence, and word/phrase levels of language” (p. 1). Academic language features are “the performance criteria associated with discourse, sentence, and word/phrase levels of oral and written communication; namely, linguistic complexity, language forms and conventions, and vocabulary usage” (p. 2).

The Cummins (1980; 1981; 2000) and Bailey & Butler (2003) definitions include a common theme in the literature: the notion of academic language as decontextualized. That is, it has “a relatively complete message, adequately explicit referents and an assumed audience that is not privy to important contextual information” (Griffin et al., 2004), a definition that resembles those of literate language. According to one scholar, “Literate language...involves the ability to talk about language, talk about physically and psychologically absent phenomena, and rely on the propositional meaning over contextual meaning in language production and comprehension” (Pellegrini, 1996, p. 4). This idea of adjusting discourse to fit the needs of an interlocutor who does not share a physical space or background knowledge is key to understanding treatments of what has been called decontextualized discourse.

Some scholars have countered the idea of decontextualized discourse in general and Cummins’ (1980; 1981) conflation of cognitive challenge and context-reduction in particular (e.g., Edelsky et al., 1983; Martin-Jones & Romaine, 1986). Schleppegrell (2004) contests the notion that language can be decontextualized because there is always a context for the production of a text and she notes that what is explicit or not depends on one’s background knowledge. In particular, she says that “notions of *explicitness* and *decontextualization* ignore the cultural

knowledge and knowledge about language use needed to make the link between text and context” (p. 12). In acknowledgment of the well-taken point about all language having a context of production, the term *contextualizing language* is used for this study. It acknowledges that the language and its users invoke and create context with their words and emphasizes the active nature of this linguistic construction of context.

From a narrative perspective, then, contextualizing language involves orienting listeners or readers, elaborating sufficiently for a listener who was not present or who is unfamiliar with the event to understand, and providing clear and specific referents for people and places. It is a key form common to both narrative discourse and academic language, and thus examining the discourse types for the component parts of contextualizing language just named – orientation, elaboration and reference – allows for pursuit of answers to this study’s research questions about the extent to which contextualizing language use patterns characterize the two discourse types and what types of links might exist between the two to promote personal narrative as a facilitator of academic language development. Looking at how the child speaker designs a narrative with more or less context to adjust for the interlocutor’s background knowledge provides a window into both cognitive development and development of extended discourse and is the focus of the analysis in this study.

Providing ample orientation – that is, information about where, when and with whom the event took place – is key for making this form of extended discourse comprehensible to persons removed from the event in space, time and familiarity (Peterson & McCabe, 1994). Narrative can be considered a bridge between immediate here-and-now talk and the language used in academic settings, as it affords children practice with providing sufficiently explicit references to place, time and people and sufficient levels of detail to allow the naïve listener to understand.

Monologic narrative begins in dialogic conversation... Talking about past events, future plans, or hypothetical scenarios – non-present events, in short – gives children practice in having to make their language stand on its own – decontextualized, explicit in the way that their written compositions are expected to be. (Dickinson, 1991, p. 19, as cited in McCabe, 1996)

Participation in the dialogic construction of narratives is therefore viewed as oral preparation for the academic use of language in the classroom (Michaels, 1981; Peterson & McCabe, 1994; Griffin et al., 2004). From an emergent literacy perspective, this use of contextualizing, explicit language among young children would actually be a display of age appropriate literacy in and of itself. As children grow older, this facility with contextualizing language use in the spoken mode transfers to the production and interpretation of language in the written mode.

What are the implications of contextualizing language in terms of the demands on a child's linguistic production? A decontextualized narrative would establish explicit references to people, places and objects with sufficient elaboration to allow an interlocutor unfamiliar with the event to understand what happened. Ample studies of parent-child interaction show how parents support children's developing ability to produce increasingly independent and coherent contextualizing discourse surrounding past events. In a study of 10 pairs of European-American middle class parents and children aged 26 to 34 four months, researchers found that parents' earlier prompts for orientation correlated with children's later independent provision of such contextual information (Peterson & McCabe, 1994). The researchers interpreted their results as support for Vygotskian theory on language development and highlighted the importance of this parental scaffolding in preparing children for school.

Results of other work support the notion of a developmental continuum for the use of orientation information. An analysis of the monologic narratives of 20 Japanese four- and five-year-olds and dialogic narration between these children and their mothers found that the adults provided more background information than children, while preschoolers tended to focus on actions (Minami, 2001). In contrast, a study of elicited monologic narratives of children aged four to nine found that when the length of the narrative was controlled for, the younger participants used similar quantities of orientation (Peterson & McCabe, 1983). However, the orientative information provided by the older children was richer and more varied; eight- and nine-year olds in this study included more orientation to ongoing events, as opposed to simply place and participants, they provide a greater variety of contextual information and they were more likely to provide orientation at the beginning of the narrative where it is maximally useful to the listener.

Others have emphasized the importance of out-of-school interaction with adults in developing the orientations to and facility with description of past events that may or may not align with expected patterns of communication in North American classrooms (e.g., Beals & Snow, 2002; Melzi & Caspe, 2005; Minami, 2001; Minami & McCabe, 1995). Ochs et al. (1992) examined dinner time conversation in a European American family and found it to be a site for socialization into scientific discourse through co-narration. Through narrative activity at the dinner table, one family re-constructed a representation of past events in order to account for its version of reality, to convey values, and to build family relationships and identity. The authors cite narrative activity in intimate groups as a manner of building theories about reality and “socializing cognition through language” (p. 69). As such, narratives in the home can promote children’s competence in academic language by introducing them to literate,

“protoscientific” (Ochs et al., 1992, p. 70) uses of language. It follows that families who use narrative language in such ways that resemble school uses of language may be scaffolding their children’s transition to school literacy.

The Vygotskian approach to language and literacy development has been further developed by Gee (2002), who theorized the constructs of primary and secondary Discourses. Primary Discourses are the ways of being and doing into which children are socialized early in life at home, while secondary Discourses are more public ways of being and doing that individuals are expected acquire as they enter specific communities outside of the home. Children experience what Gee (2002) called a filtering effect when the primary Discourse of their home closely resembles the secondary Discourse they encounter in the school setting. Applied to narration and biliteracy development, this notion of filtering echoes other discussions in suggesting that narrative patterns at home can serve as a bridge to academic language use in school.

These discussions remain on a theoretical and hypothetical level, however. Despite the prevalent idea that the contextualizing nature of narratives gives children practice with the literate, academic language of the classroom and facilitates the process of literacy development, no studies to date have examined this process in the classroom. What happens when children encounter contextualizing narrative language in the classroom? How do they perform when expected to produce such language during classroom literacy events? To what extent do skills developed at home facilitate negotiation of classroom demands? Do children make use of their access to two languages in a bilingual classroom environment? A fuller understanding of the implications of children’s narration for academic language and biliteracy development requires an in-depth look at children negotiating the narrative demands on the classroom, at teachers

interacting with and supporting students, and at individual student performance. This current project addresses that gap in the research.

To recap, narrative analysis from language socialization, ethnographic, interactional and experimental perspectives supports the notion of culturally-variable patterns of narration with respect to the selection, elaboration and evaluation of particular past events. Students' tendencies to select certain topics for narration and their method of elaborating on and evaluating those topics could have implications not only for the teacher support and evaluation of their written and oral production, but could also play an interesting role in their comprehension of narrative. Particularly with evaluation, a reader's ways of orienting to and interpreting the importance of events in a narrative are likely to influence his or her overall understanding of the story; if these interpretations are other than what is intended by teachers, curriculum writers, children's authors and test developers, a child may be unintentionally yet unfairly disadvantaged with regards to emergent literacy activities in the classroom setting.

In summary, several aspects of a child's narration have implications for the development of academic language and biliteracy: (1) the structure of a narrative; (2) the selection and evaluation of topics; and (3) the nature of the language used for narration, whether more or less contextualizing. In particular, contextualizing language orients interlocutors effectively, elaborates sufficiently, and refers clearly and explicitly. While each of these three dimensions – structure, topic selection, and contextualizing language – has a clear developmental trajectory, children's narrative performances can be differentiated according to the communication patterns of their home community. These cross-cultural variations hold implications for classroom participation and performance in emergent biliteracy activities.

Summary and Areas for Further Research

This chapter has addressed both outcomes-based, largely quantitative approaches and process-oriented, more discourse-based and qualitative approaches to oral narrative and biliteracy. The quantitative studies provide evidence for a connection between narrative and literacy development, though results are at times contradictory and fail to explore in depth the nature of the connection. The qualitative studies with relevance to biliteracy development offer a rich description of the narrative skills children acquire in the pre-school years and shed light on the socialization process through which children become competent producers and interpreters of narration in their home culture. What these qualitative studies also show is that cross-cultural variations exist in the instantiation of various elements of narrative such as structure and evaluation. The authors of these reports reasonably sense that such variations have implications for literacy development; however, with a few exceptions, naturalistic and quasi-experimental studies of children's narration do not enter the classroom context.

Together, quantitative and qualitative studies of narrative and literacy development form a foundation for more research, but they leave several important areas unexplored. Specifically, the field needs more information about (1) how children learning to read, write and speak two languages draw on the patterns of narration with which they are familiar both cross-linguistically and within the same language, (2) what types of literacy-relevant narrative interactions occur in the bilingual classroom, i.e., what is the nature of the literacy demands placed on the student, and (3) how the narrative demands of the bilingual classroom environment build on discourse patterns with which students are familiar. In short, we need to know more about the process of academic language and biliteracy development in a classroom environment which affords access

to two languages, which is important because of its ultimate potential to assist educators in providing effective biliteracy instruction for all learners.

This study focuses its lens on the contextualizing language aspect of emergent academic biliteracy in a classroom environment to investigate how literacy events within a classroom make demands on the narrative skills students bring to school and how children negotiate these demands. As a reminder, three research questions guide this study:

1. What patterns of elaboration characterize English and Spanish personal narratives?
Literacy events? What similarities exist between the two contexts and how might those promote academic language and literacy development?
2. What patterns of orientation characterize English and Spanish personal narratives?
Literacy events? What similarities exist between the two contexts and how might those promote academic language and literacy development?
3. What patterns of personal and demonstrative reference characterize English and Spanish personal narratives? Literacy events? What similarities exist between the two contexts and how might those promote academic language and literacy development?

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

As a reminder, the research questions for this study focus on three sets of linguistic features – elaboration, orientation and pronominal reference – that together help to establish context for an interlocutor in narrative or academic language. The study looks at similarities and differences across the two situations, focusing in particular on children’s utterances and the support provided by adult interlocutors and taken up by children. For this study of processes involved in the use of contextualizing discourse in interview and school settings, a largely qualitative approach lends itself well to the identification, description, and analysis of patterns in discourse.

A variety of methods of data collection and analysis, both of which are detailed in this chapter, helped answer the research questions. The ethnographically-informed design of the study includes both elicited and naturalistic approaches to data collection with largely qualitative approaches to analysis supplemented by what Hymes (1980) called *counting in context*. The overarching research strategies include both narrative analysis of elicited interview data and interactional analysis of literacy events. Before describing processes of data collection, some background on the notion of literacy events is provided.

Narrative-Focused Literacy Events in the Dual Language Classroom

Literacy events are commonly defined as “occasions in which written language is integral to the nature of participants’ interactions and their interpretive processes and strategies” (Heath, 1982, p. 50). The bedtime story is one commonly cited example of a literacy event that models rhythms and sounds of language for children, helps them relate written texts and their own lives, and helps children make positive affective connections with reading (Barton, 1994). Other examples of literacy events which children might experience at home include reading recipes,

watching family members pay bills, reading and discussing religious texts, or taking a message from a phone call. Studies of literacy events in educational settings have varied from studies of classroom discourse during a social studies lesson closely tied to a social studies textbook (Poole, 2003) to the analysis of the use of folk stories in a Chinese heritage language class (Creese, Su & Blackledge, 2009) to a study of teacher education using literacy events in school films (Trier, 2006). All of these studies highlight the interactional nature of the literacy event and the meditational role of a text in students' learning.

Some researchers take a broader definition of literacy events for theoretical, methodological or practical reasons. For example, a study that incorporated photography into the study of participants, settings, artifacts and activities in the literacy event (Hamilton, 2000) cited the challenge of delineating hard and fast boundaries around these elements of the literacy event. A broader definition of literacy events was warranted in this project. The two types of literacy events analyzed were shared reading and the morning news. While the shared reading sessions analyzed were traditional literacy events in the sense that they incorporated talk around a piece of written text, part or all of the morning news interactions in the English classroom and the extended oral language practice interactions that extended themes from the shared reading in the Spanish classroom did not incorporate written text, yet were very much centered on using language in ways coherent with talk around writing.

In particular, the morning news time in the English classroom functioned as a literacy event in several ways. First, the teacher viewed them as a "pre-writing activity" (field notes, 11/17/08), which she stated in a follow-up conversation to a lesson. Students were also expected to use complete sentences, an expectation established by the teacher and reinforced consistently through hand gestures, models, and verbal prompts. Finally, students themselves occasionally

used reading prosody, a fact acknowledged by the teacher when she asked them not to use their “robot voices” as they talked. This suggests that some of the students themselves experienced sharing time as a literacy event having something in common with reading aloud during other parts of the literacy block. It is reasonable, then, to view these morning news narratives as literacy events. The teacher explicitly orients to them as such and the students do so implicitly. The teacher also does so implicitly with the demands she makes on the students. For this project, then the narrative-focused literacy event was defined as an interaction (1) involving written text or oral academic language and (2) focusing on the interpretation or production of narrative texts. The notion of literacy events is coherent with sociolinguistic approaches to literacy and learning and is a common analytic unit for research that understands literacy as a social practice (Barton, 1994; Barton & Hamilton, 1998, 2000).

Appropriateness of Research Methods

This approach is also appropriate for a study that seeks to compare what individuals and groups of individuals can do independently when narrating with what they can do in multi-party talk as part of a classroom literacy event. Both perspectives are employed as analytic strategies in this project and the insights gained through the different lenses complement one another by providing a wider perspective on the data when taken together.

The use of elicited narratives and literacy events as data and the strategies to be described as approaches to analysis are appropriate for the research questions and participants in the study. I used the Conversational Map Elicitation Procedure (Peterson & McCabe, 1983) to elicit narratives from the young participants. This procedure in which a researcher conducts semi-structured interviews designed to elicit narratives on topics familiar to the interviewee was designed particularly for work with children (Peterson & McCabe, 1983; McCabe & Bliss, 2003;

McCabe & Rollins, 1994) to assess skills in independent personal narration, and thus is a fit with the goals of this project. The focus on literacy events for the classroom part of the study is common for work within a literacy-as-a-social-practice theoretical framework (e.g., Barton & Hamilton, 1998; 2000). When paired with personal narratives it allows for examination of proficiency in and patterns of using contextualizing language in both an interview and school setting. Examining interaction during literacy events also fits with a language socialization (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986) approach to data which emphasizes in part learning through routine activity over a period of time. Finally, the analytical strategies of interactional sociolinguistics (Goffman, 1981) supply the specific tools helpful in investigating the research questions within narrative interview and literacy event data from a language socialization perspective.

Data for this study include (1) naturalistic ethnographic data from field notes and recordings and (2) elicited data from children's personal experience narratives (Peterson & McCabe, 1983). Elaboration, orientation in narrative (McCabe & Bliss, 2003; Peterson & McCabe, 1983), and reference (Halliday & Hasan, 1976; Martin, 1992; Martin & Rose, 2003) serve as the frameworks for analysis with notions of framing (Tannen, 1993; Tannen & Wallat, 1993) and positioning (Bamberg, 1997; Davies & Harré, 1990) used for additional interpretive purposes. The primary orientation to analysis and presentation is qualitative, supplemented by frequency counts and percentages around specific language and discourse features such as adequate pronominal reference, evaluation, and narrative structure. As mentioned in earlier chapters, the questions being investigated include the following:

1. What patterns of elaboration characterize English and Spanish personal narratives?

Literacy events? What similarities exist between the two contexts and how might those promote academic language and literacy development?

2. What patterns of orientation characterize English and Spanish personal narratives? Literacy events? What similarities exist between the two contexts and how might those promote academic language and literacy development?
3. What patterns of personal and demonstrative reference characterize English and Spanish personal narratives? Literacy events? What similarities exist between the two contexts and how might those promote academic language and literacy development?

The next few pages describe the methods of collecting and analyzing the data with attention to the investigator's own role as participant observer and how this might have shaped the data. The following chapter provides an overview of the related topics of participants, setting, and data.

Data Collection

Data collected were both elicited and naturalistic and analytic techniques were drawn from both narrative and interactional approaches to data analysis. The varied analytic approaches were triangulated to provide overlapping perspectives on the data. Selection of the research site, my role as participant observer, collection of data, sampling and general approaches to analysis are described next. The narratives and literacy events themselves are introduced in chapter four.

Identifying and Gaining Access to the Research Site

For identification of a particular school as the setting for this study, a pool of appropriate programs in the area was identified using a directory of U.S. TWI programs maintained by the Center for Applied Linguistics (<http://www.cal.org/twi/directory>). This pool was narrowed down and a school selected through collaboration with administrators and teachers and compliance with procedures for external research set by the local education agency. The

particular school that ultimately hosted me for my dissertation research was about seven years in to their dual language model and was in the process of trying to grow, improve, and evaluate their programs, thus, they welcomed a visiting researcher's perspective. Based on my research questions that centered on emergent literacy, I requested permission to work in an early elementary classroom and through discussion with school personnel on practical issues of teachers' openness to hosting a researcher and other priorities such as looming standardized tests for other grades, it was decided that kindergarten would be the best assignment.

I entered the research site slowly, first visiting with the dual language coordinator the year before I hoped to collect data there and attending several school meetings about the program and challenges it was facing. After receiving permission from the school district during the first quarter of the next school year to proceed with my research, I gradually introduced myself into the classroom and began to get to know the students and the classroom routines. More on data collection follows in an upcoming section.

The Researcher's Role in Shaping the Data

I entered into the school research site known by the school personnel as a doctoral student doing dissertation research and as a language education professional employed locally by well-known institutions of research and higher education. My more specific roles with respect to the two types of data collected – interview-elicited personal narratives and narrative-focused literacy events – varied a bit depending on the type of data. I'll address the elicited narratives in depth in the current section first and the literacy events second.

The intention of the researchers on whose work the interview protocol I used was modeled (Peterson & McCabe, 1983; McCabe & Bliss, 2003) was to avoid co-constructing the narrative to the extent possible so as to gain an accurate picture of what the child could do

independently for purposes of studying development (Peterson & McCabe, 1983) or for clinical purposes (McCabe & Bliss, 2003). The approach is a fairly typical one for developmental psychologists who are interested in individual performance, development and cognition, although it contrasts with interactional sociolinguistic approaches intended to explain mechanisms of communication as jointly constructed by pairs and groups together through talk.

While both the developmental psychology approach of those who formulated and continue to use the Conversational Map Elicitation procedure (e.g., McCabe & Bliss, 2003; Minami, 2002; Peterson & McCabe, 1983) and the interactional sociolinguistic approach used by other narrative-focused researchers (e.g. Baynham, 2003; De Fina, 2003b; De Fina, 2011; De Fina & King, 2011; Georgakopoulou, 2003) were influenced by the earlier work of Labov (Labov, 1972; Labov & Waletzky, 1967), they have developed in different ways. What is generally not acknowledged in prior literature which describes the interview methods using this developmental psychology approach is the role of the researcher in collecting the data, a concern that has been noted more broadly by interactional sociolinguists for structural approaches to narrative analysis and elicited interview data (De Fina, 2009; De Fina & Perrino, 2011). As the principal investigator and interviewer, I was part of the interview context and am therefore an unavoidable presence in the interview data. My presence is noticeable in the following ways: narrative topics which I suggested, words and phrases from my prompts that were taken up and incorporated into subsequent turns by the narrators, back-channelling cues and prompts for continuation that were interpreted as clarification or elaboration requests and acted upon as such by the narrators, linguistic and interactional phenomena which reflected my status as a second language user of Spanish, and finally, recipient design strategies, a topic which is discussed in chapter six. In short, narrators incorporated my utterances, responded to their interpretations of

my utterances, and in many cases, designed their stories in ways they presumably thought would be comprehensible to me. My status as a second language user of Spanish has potentially important implications for narrators' efforts to communicate effectively with me and my attempts to do likewise with them. When listening to interview recordings and reviewing transcripts, I noted several places where interviewees and I had misunderstood one another, where I missed cues, or where the narrator had likely altered his or her speech to communicate clearly with me as a second language user of Spanish. Thus the interactional nature of the interviews, the relationships between the interviewees and me, and my status as a second language user of Spanish all inevitably helped to shape the data.

While this could be seen as a liability by someone who views naturally-occurring social interaction in non-institutional settings the norm (see discussion in De Fina, 2009, 2011), studies have shown interview data to be equally rich and productive as sites of study (e.g., Koven, 2011) as naturally-occurring narrative data. The elicited interview data for the current study are appropriate for a study of a form of institutional discourse which is dependent on context. During the interviews, the participants were asked to display their competence in narrating about past events. On a scale of sole-constructed to co-constructed narratives like that in Ochs & Capps' (2001) schema, they were expected to construct their narratives more independently than not, though as I discuss in the data chapters of this dissertation, they made use of the scaffolding provided by my prompts and back-channelling responses. This expectation of more or less independent performance is not inconsistent with classroom tasks, though, some of which demand that students perform on demand and in independent ways so that an evaluation of the individual's knowledge and skills can be made.

Thus the elicitation of these narratives in terms of the low levels of co-construction and linguistic support as well as the expectation of individual performance was similar to school tasks the students experienced. The elicitation mode itself should have felt familiar to the students as well. The students in the participating classrooms were accustomed to regular adult visitors other than their parents; the reading specialist, an occasional ESOL teacher, the principal, a teacher intern, and other educational personnel cycled in and out of the classroom to observe, work with students one-on-one in the room, pull students out, and work with groups. They also engaged in reading work, testing, writing instruction, and conversation with the students. From this perspective, my presence and my one-on-one interviews with students, in which they got to assemble puzzles, talk with me, and listen to their voices on the recorder, were not radical departures from naturally-occurring interactions in these two classrooms. Indeed, when I arrived in the morning, students would often ask if it was their turn to *work with* me, the word choice suggesting that students viewed this as another of many educational interactions.

My role in shaping the whole group narrative-focused literacy event data was less direct than with the elicited narratives. While I did work with students more directly during center time literacy activities not analyzed for this particular study, I did not intervene in the whole class, teacher-led shared reading discussions or morning meeting sharing time sessions analyzed for this study, and though my presence undoubtedly had some influence in subtle ways, as others have pointed out in discussions of the Observer's Paradox (Labov, 1972), I am confident the data for the literacy events in general and for the whole group morning news and sharing time literacy events in particular is reasonably representative of what went on daily in this classroom. I make this claim on the basis of both my long-term observations over the course of the school year and multiple data sources. Students were accustomed to my presence by the time I began recording,

my field notes on literacy block routines were constant over time, and teachers confirmed that the routines I was observing were representative during follow-up conversations with them. Thus throughout this study I was both participant and observer, though my role and subsequently my presence in the data varied based on the data type.

Elicitation of Personal Narratives

Narratives of personal experience were elicited from the 20 participants in semi-structured interviews following the Conversational Map Elicitation procedure (Peterson & McCabe, 1983; McCabe & Bliss, 2005). Briefly, the researcher told short, unevaluated narratives to each participant in a one-on-one interview and invited him or her to tell of a similar event in his or her life. Each participant was provided with prompts in both English and Spanish. Half of each group was asked to narrate first in the dominant language and second in the non-dominant language and vice versa in order to counteract any ordering effects that might have arisen. Despite being offered the chance to narrate in both languages, the English-dominant students were largely at the word-level in their production and none could narrate in Spanish yet. All but one of the Spanish-dominant students did narrate in English, though several switched to Spanish after starting narratives in English. During the interviews, the researcher audio-recorded the interactions and made field notes which later aided in transcription and interpretation of the narratives. Participants were offered the option of putting together puzzles during the interview if they so desired, and many did so. Following the interviews, the researcher listened to each recording, made a rough transcription of the entire interview, and then identified narratives and refined the transcripts for the narratives in CHAT format (MacWhinney, 2000) before engaging in analysis as described below.

Observation of Narrative-Focused Literacy Events

The other type of data used for this study was narrative-focused literacy events collected through observation of the literacy blocks in the two classrooms. The participating teachers and other staff knew me as a researcher as I entered the research setting and as mentioned above, the students treated me as another adult of the many school staff members who cycled through their classrooms in a given week. Once I received permission to research in this site, I visited the classroom to observe the literacy block about once a week for the duration of the school year, generally during the morning and generally alternating between the Spanish and English classroom each week.

A typical morning literacy block consisted of seat work, morning meeting, and literacy centers. I'll describe all briefly to give a feel for how the morning meeting events that I analyzed in depth fit in. During the seat work time in which students engaged as all were arriving at school and getting settled in to the classroom, I either interviewed students or interacted with individuals and groups at their tables, sometimes helping with work and sometimes questioning them about it. When the group gathered for morning meeting or shared reading on the rug in the center of the room, I sat at the back of the room taking notes. After three or four visits when the students were accustomed to me, I began placing an audio recorder at the front of the room near where the teacher sat to lead whole class activities and so captured the whole-group literacy events through audio recording as well as field notes. After morning meeting, students broke into assigned groups for reading groups and literacy centers, and at this time I either sat in on a teacher-led reading group at the small kidney-shaped table where it was held, or more commonly, I floated around the room observing, talking with, and assisting students, taking field notes, and recording interactions that were not used as part of this study.

Each visit resulted in approximately two hours of audio recordings and several pages of field notes, which I captured by hand during observations and typed up afterward, often with additional detail and reflection. Further treatment of the raw data is discussed during the description of analytical approaches in the next section of this chapter.

Notes on Data Analysis

This section provides some general notes on data analysis as relevant to all of the three more specific analyses reported in the data chapters, first for the personal narratives and then for the literacy events. The specifics of each analysis are addressed in the relevant data chapters.

Analysis of personal narratives.

An important starting point for discussing the treatment of personal narratives in this study is the definition of narrative. For the elicited narrative interview portion of this study, a narrative was defined as talk about past events of personal experience consisting of at least two events. While this does not necessarily meet the Labovian criteria (Labov, 1972; Labov & Waletzky, 1967) of two completed past tense events with a temporal juncture and a tight structure consisting of an abstract, orientation, complicating action(s), evaluation, resolution, and coda, it is in keeping with contemporary approaches that have altered the definition to fit additional data and purposes for analysis. For example, Georgakopoulou and colleagues (e.g., Bamberg & Georgakopoulou 2008; Georgakopoulou, 2008) have shown that small stories, that is, stories that are short in length as well as non-canonical story genres such as future or hypothetical events and references to shared events merit inclusion in the broad category of narrative types as do narratives which emphasize time, space and orientation rather than action (De Fina, 2003b). The fairly broad definition of narrative for this project was adopted to cast a wide net that would allow for divergent types of narratives and for the longer as well as the

shorter and less canonical narratives that might be produced by young language users. It was intended to be a developmentally appropriate choice and one that avoids imposing a pre-conceived structure on a culturally-variable discourse type.

To re-cap, then, a narrative was defined for purposes of this study as (1) talk about past personal experience, including events in which the narrator was a bystander, (2) consisting of two or more events. I used a multi-step process to identify these in my interview data. First, during the interviews I took field notes on the content of the narratives, linguistic features of delivery, children's non-verbal behavior, and extraneous events in the classroom such as interruptions by other students or school-wide announcements on the public address system that might have impacted the interview data. These notes often pointed to areas where I thought narratives had occurred, and they served as a resource that I consulted as I began to listen to recordings. For each participant, outside of the interview setting I listened to the entire recording and made a rough transcription of all child and adult utterances. I then identified those that fit the definition of narrative for this study, consulting recordings again when necessary, and finally I made a clean and complete transcription of the identified narratives in CHAT (MacWhinney, 2000) format.

Once narratives were transcribed, I used CLAN (MacWhinney, 2000) software for some limited automated analysis that helps to provide a quantitative snapshot of the interviews data. Specifically, I used it to calculate syntactic complexity as the mean length of utterance (MLU) in words using the *MLT* programs. I also used CLAN to help with counting codes related to narrative structure that I entered directly into the transcripts.

Next, I engaged in three sets of reiterative coding processes, one each for elaboration, narrative structure with a focus on orientation (Labov, 1972; McCabe & Bliss, 2005; Peterson &

McCabe, 1983), and pronominal reference (Halliday & Hasan, 1976; Martin, 1992; Martin & Rose, 2003). These processes involved both open coding of relevant trends and more closed coding according to schemas adapted from prior studies (Halliday & Hasan, 1976; Labov, 1972; McCabe & Bliss, 2005; Martin, 1992; Martin & Rose, 2003; Peterson & McCabe, 1983) as described in the relevant data chapters. The results of the open coding were grouped into like trends and written up into memoranda that summarized and exemplified the trends and served as the basis for further comparison and analysis. The results of the closed coding were tallied and reported quantitatively as average frequencies of occurrence per clause or per word, as appropriate to the measure and as noted throughout the data chapters. This reporting in percentages facilitated comparison between samples of different lengths.

Analysis of narrative-focused literacy events.

While I observed a variety of types of literacy events in the classrooms, this analysis is limited to literacy events of a routine, ongoing nature, following the assumption that the repetitive nature of these events plays a role in socializing students into particular literacy practices (Barton, 1994). For this particular analysis, five literacy events were chosen: three from the English classroom featuring the English teacher and English-dominant students and two from the Spanish classroom featuring the Spanish teacher and Spanish-dominant students. Those chosen were all narrative-focused as I assumed that locating links between the language of personal narration and the language of the classroom would be more likely with similar-genre speech events which could all be compared under a generous rubric of narrative. I also narrowed down literacy events for this study to those that involved the teacher interacting with the whole class for several reasons: (1) a relatively uniform participation structure would facilitate comparison, (2) these were the most routine narrative-focused literacy events, and (3) the whole-

class recordings were generally of better technical quality and greater length than literacy events in centers, which allowed for in-depth analysis related to the research questions.

As with the personal narratives, I used CHAT conventions (MacWhinney, 2000) to transcribe the literacy events (see Appendix) with a few exceptions that were appropriate for the data type and analysis (Edwards, 2003). In order to facilitate turn-by-turn analysis of interaction, I used the turn to break lines rather than the clause and since I did not run these through CLAN programs, I avoided some of the formatting conventions necessary for automated analysis but unnecessary for analysis by hand.

Analysis of literacy events proceeded in a fashion similar to the open coding for personal narratives. I looked at each of the five transcripts through three sets of lenses: elaboration, orientation, and reference. Using these lenses as guides one at a time, I labeled each turn in the transcripts with trends and observations with respect to the three analytic frameworks. Following advice for the treatment of qualitative data (e.g., Coffey & Atkinson, 1996; Creswell, 1998), I then grouped and regrouped these comments, wrote memos about emergent themes, revisited transcripts to test hypotheses, and compared results across transcripts and data types.

In summary, the data collection and analysis involved elicited narrative interviews and narrative-focused literacy events and coding around three specific frameworks tied to the research questions. This qualitative approach supported by meaningful quantification that Hymes (1980) calls *counting in context* strengthens the overall analysis by providing complementary perspectives on the data. The three types of linguistic analysis undertaken – narrative clause function, elaboration, and reference – also provide complementary windows into the data and serve as a means of methodological triangulation. These three analytical procedures are addressed more specifically at the beginning of each of the respective analysis chapters as are

specific results associated with each strand of analysis. Before these discussions of analysis-specific results, an overview of data as relevant to all analyses is provided in chapter four.

CHAPTER 4: INTRODUCTION TO SETTING, PARTICIPANTS, AND DATA

This chapter provides a broad overview of data that is relevant to each of the specific strands of analysis discussed in chapters five, six and seven. The dual language school setting is described first and information on the participants and the data itself follow. As explained in chapter three, the complete data set for this study is comprised of data from diverse sources, and both personal narrative and classroom literacy events are described in this overview chapter. A description of the setting sets the context for the rest of the chapter.

Setting

The study took place at Oak Hill Elementary School², a suburban elementary school in the metropolitan area of a large city in the mid-Atlantic region of the United States. Oak Hill has a Spanish-English dual language program strand within the larger set of academic programs at the school and thus had two dual language classrooms at each grade level – one whose primary language of instruction was English and one, Spanish. As stated previously, a dual language setting and in particular the two-way immersion (TWI) type to which the school aspired is appropriate for a consideration of the role of narration in the development of biliteracy because it strives to develop full bilingual, biliterate, and bicultural proficiency in students (Freeman, 1998; Tedick, Christian & Fortune, 2011) and therefore offers possibilities of observing students' negotiation of narrative and literacy demands in both languages. Additionally, as bilingual programs assume that knowledge and skills are available to speakers cross-linguistically, the dual language classroom should provide a context for the observation of the extent to which literacy events allow students to draw on narrative skills in both languages. Finally, since these types of programs are growing in number and popularity (Howard & Christian, 2002), accurate information on learning processes associated with this model would assist the language

² Names of schools and individuals have been changed to protect their identities.

education community in planning for and implementing the TWI model of dual language education.

Local Community

The local jurisdiction in which Oak Hill Elementary School is situated is one of the wealthiest and best educated in the state and at the same time, one of the most diverse. The median household income was \$93,373 between 2006 and 2010 and 56.7% of residents had a bachelor's degree or higher, with 91% holding a high school diploma or its equivalent. According to 2010 census data, it became a majority minority jurisdiction in the first decade of the twenty-first century, with 49% of residents identifying as non-Latino White, 17% as Latino, 14% as of Asian descent, and 17% as African American. Of the total population, 30.9% were born outside of the United States, with 11% of those people coming from Europe, 37% from Asia, 14% from Africa, 36% coming from Latin America, and a small percentage from elsewhere, figures suggestive of a trend toward more diverse populations potentially being involved in two-way immersion programs in the United States as communities become more diverse. A total of 38% of residents age five and older speak a language other than English at home, with 15% of all residents five and older indicating that they speak Spanish at home. Of all residents who speak a language other than English at home, 15% reported speaking English at levels less than *very well* (US Census Bureau, 2012).

School Demographics and Description

The students in the local education agency of which Oak Hill is a part mirror this diversity in the governmental jurisdiction as a whole and it is also known nationally as a school district with successful outcomes for all of its learners overall. Oak Hill Elementary School itself both reflects and diverges from the demographic trends in the surrounding community in several

ways. The school has students of diverse racial backgrounds, though they are not quite in line with overall figures for the local jurisdiction. According to the district's publicly available online data³, 7% is White, 58% is Latino, 26% is African American, and 6% is Asian, with a small percentage of mixed or other racial backgrounds. Of the total school population, 50% of the students are learning English as a second language and 75% qualify for free or reduced lunch. At the time of the data collection during the 2008-2009 school year, the school was making adequate yearly progress (AYP) on its testing and attendance targets, though at the time of this writing it is falling short in the percent of students proficient in reading in the Latino, limited English proficient, free-and-reduced-meal status, and special education sub-groups. Thus while the school benefits from funding and curricular and instructional support from the central offices in a well-resourced and successful local education agency, its students are, on average, poorer and less successful on certain measures of academic outcomes. The school also has a higher percentage of students learning English as a second language and a percentage of Latino and African American students that is higher than average percentages of populations in the surrounding community.

Dual Language Program

According to the school's written information materials and staff members involved, the dual language program at Oak Hill began in the 2001-2002 school with assistance from the teacher education program at a local university. It was modeled on the program at another local elementary school and it was begun with the intention of providing more effective instruction for English language learners. In the first year, 30 students entered the program and it continued to grow in subsequent years. In the early years of the program, staff went through a process of reviewing the literature on two-way immersion education, identifying best practices, adapting

³ Specific citation withheld from reference list to protect the identity of the school and participants.

program types to fit their school and students, and developing program policies. By the time of the data collection for this study during the 2008-2009 school year, the program had been officially recognized by the local education agency, received funding for a dual language program coordinator, and expanded to all grade levels, although the program delivery was structured differently in the upper grade levels.

The officially stated goals of the dual language program at Oak Hill according to its website and publicity brochure include full biliteracy for all students, appreciation of multiculturalism, and a rigorous academic program, goals often associated with two-way immersion type programs (e.g., Freeman, 1998; García, 2009; García & Kleifgen, 2010; Howard & Sugarman, 2007). Admission to the program is based on a lottery system and the school strives to maintain a 50%-50% balance of English- and Spanish-dominant students. Language dominance is determined on school entry through an interview with the dual language coordinator. The school is not a true magnet; rather, only students assigned by the local education agency to that school or one particular neighboring school based on their place of residence are eligible for Oak Hill's dual language program. Due to concerns about parent choice and transfer students who might not be proficient in Spanish upon arrival at, say, third grade, the school maintained a dual language strand only, rather than involving all students in the school in the dual language program.

Despite the fact that not all students were involved in the dual language strand, the school made efforts to value Spanish as well as English in public spaces. For instance, signs and policies were posted around the school in both languages, written correspondence to parents was available in both languages, and the whole school morning routine piped over the public address system by the principal included announcements, motivational messages, and the pledge of

allegiance in English and Spanish on alternating days. Thus policies and practices at the school gave some indication of attempts to support the status of Spanish along with English at an official school-wide level.

At the kindergarten level where this study was conducted, two classrooms were involved in the dual language program and instruction was divided by location, teacher, and time of day. Ms. Nancy Lake provided instruction in English and Ms. Veronica Rosales provided instruction in Spanish. The program aimed for a balance of time in English and Spanish instruction, though in reality students spent a bit more time working in their dominant languages in kindergarten and a bit more in English in the upper grades. In kindergarten, the separation of languages by time and teacher looked as follows in operation:

Block of Time	English Teacher	Spanish Teacher
Start of school day	Mixed language group	Mixed language group
Morning meeting and literacy block	English dominant group	Spanish dominant group
Lunch and recess		
Specials OR Writer's workshop and literacy activities	Mixed language group English dominant group	Mixed language group Spanish dominant group
Afternoon math block, snack time and free choice centers	Mixed language group	Mixed language group

The students alternated between teachers by day in the afternoon mixed language groups.

Participants

Two intact kindergarten classes in the dual language program at Oak Hill Elementary School agreed to participate in this study. The initial pool of participants consisted of those whose parents consented to have their children participate in the study ($n=32$). That group was

narrowed down by eliminating those who were identified with a special education need ($n=2$) during the course of the school year, per agreement with the school district and teachers, as well as those who did not produce narratives of sufficient quality and length for in-depth analysis ($n=5$). Specifically, those who produced no narratives meeting the definition of a minimal narrative for this study ($n=1$) and those whose combined narrative discourse was insufficient for auto-analysis by the CLAN *voc-d* program ($n=4$) were eliminated from the study. From those remaining, 20 were purposefully selected to be as representative as possible of the two classes in terms of gender, language dominance, race and national origin.

The 20 emergent bilinguals whose elicited narrative interview data was used for this part of the study comprised 10 Spanish-dominant and 10 English-dominant students. As previously mentioned, language dominance was determined upon school entry through an interview with the school's dual language coordinator and the results took on considerable importance as they were used as the basis for dividing the kindergarten dual language students into instructional groups. The intake interviews for this particular group had been conducted with school personnel who did not participate in the study and data on the specific methods used to assign language dominance based on the interviews was not available, nor was I granted permission by the school district to administer language proficiency assessments of my own or access student files with standardized test results. Based on the determinations of language dominance by the school, however, students were assigned to classes, taught to read and write initially in primarily one language or the other, made friends in their classes, and generally became known as part of the English- or Spanish-dominant group. Thus the local determinations of language dominance were quite consequential and they took on social importance beyond linguistic proficiency. Using the labels *Spanish-* and *English-dominant* in this study is consistent with an ethnographic

approach that takes local context into consideration, examines phenomena for their meaning and importance in that context, and represents data in ways coherent with and recognizable to participants themselves.

Table 4.2 provides a demographic snapshot of the two groups.

	English-dominant (n = 10)	Spanish-dominant (n = 10)
Age (M, range)	5;8 (5;4-6;2)	5;11 (5;2-7;1)
Gender	3 boys; 7 girls	5 boys; 5 girls
Countries of origin	United States	El Salvador, Dominican Republic, United States
Language(s) spoken in home	English, Spanish, Japanese	Spanish, English
Parents' countries of origin	United States, Venezuela, Virgin Islands	Bolivia, Chile, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico
Parents' years of education (M, range)	15.8 (12-21) ¹	12.5 (5-17) ²
Parents' occupations	attorney, loan officer, electrician mechanic, restaurant manager, social worker, homemaker	dry cleaner, homemaker, waiter, teacher, grocery store worker, domestic, maintenance, kitchen manager, interface specialist, clerk, construction worker

¹Educational data from six sets of parents not reported.

²Educational data from four sets of parents not reported.

The classes at large and the subset of students chosen for this study were diverse in terms of national origin, race, and socioeconomic status. While most families of Spanish-dominant students came from Central America or Mexico, a handful hailed from South America. About half of the children were born in the United States, while others immigrated with their parents in early childhood. The preponderance of occupations reported for parents of Spanish-dominant students would place them as low SES within the U.S., though several held professional

positions, including one parent who was also the teacher in the Spanish language classroom in this study.

Of those who were English-dominant, all were born in the United States and most, though not all, had parents born in the U.S., too. All came from homes in which English was the primary language spoken, though one student's family occasionally used Spanish and another's used some Spanish and some Japanese. Parents engaged in a range of occupation types, and most were skilled trades or professional positions.

Because kindergartners exhibit emergent literacy skills (Whitehurst & Lonigan, 2001) which serve as a foundation for school-based literacy, but are at the outset of their socialization to academic language and literacy behaviors, a dual language kindergarten setting is consistent with the goals of this research project. This point at which students' prior socialization to contextualizing language intersects with the start of school-based biliteracy instruction offers a window through which to view students' initial negotiations of the narrative demands of the classroom using the resources they bring from home.

The Narratives and Narrative-Focused Literacy Events: Overview of the Data

The following paragraphs describe the interview-elicited narratives and the narrative-focused literacy events whose analysis is discussed in greater detail in the remaining chapters of this dissertation. After providing independent descriptions of both data sets, I locate them within a multi-dimensional narrative framework (Ochs & Capps, 2001) that highlights connections and enables comparisons between these two seemingly divergent discourse types.

A Snapshot of the Personal Narratives

In total, 66 narratives make up the corpus for the elicited personal narrative portion of the study. Of this total, 33 are English-language narratives produced by English-dominant

participants and 33 are Spanish-language narratives produced by Spanish-dominant participants, the balance being purely coincidental. They were also comparable in terms of their average length in clauses; English narratives averaged 10.87 clauses and Spanish narratives averaged 11.26 clauses. Topics of narration included the following: medical encounters/injuries, play, sibling/cousin trouble, bee stings, getting lost, spills, vacations, surprises, a stolen item and parties. Most of these were in response to prompts provided I provided as the interviewer, although for some, the child initiated the topic him or herself. Prompts to tell about an injury, doctor, or hospital visit tended to be the most successful of all of the topics in eliciting narratives.

A Portrait of the Literacy Events

A number of routine literacy events were identified for the literacy block in both the English and Spanish classrooms. These include but are not limited to the two types of narrative-focused literacy events selected for analysis in this project: whole group shared reading and morning news. Both took place during what the teacher and students referred to as the morning meeting (field notes, 11/25/08) that occurred shortly after students arrived in the classroom. Both were whole-class teacher-led literacy events and in both classrooms, they took place with students seated in a group on a large color-block mat toward one side of the room in front of the blackboards and with teachers sitting on a chair or standing in front of the group.

While the morning news was largely restricted to the English-medium classroom, the Spanish-medium teacher regularly included more extensive discussion and focused oral language practice in conjunction with the shared reading sessions than did the English-medium teacher. Thus the literacy events analyzed were not carried out in exactly the same manner from classroom to classroom, but their whole-class, teacher-led participation structure and focus on oral language use was similar enough to invite comparison.

The types of literacy events analyzed in greater depth for this study – the whole group morning news and shared reading events – are described in the following sections. These particular event types were chosen instead of the others because they were both narrative and routine in nature. The narrative focus links with the research question related to personal narratives and the routine nature allows for examination of socialization as explained in chapter three. Unexpectedly, relatively few of the literacy events observed in these two classrooms were narrative-focused. In general, the lack of narrative in the classroom was surprising given studies (Flood, Lapp & Flood, 1984; Flood, Lapp & Nagel, 1991) that claimed that the majority of the materials in the kindergarten classroom are narrative in nature. Perhaps the recent emphasis on expository text and testing at higher grade levels has impacted the kindergarten curriculum, or it could be that regional and local variation in text types used in schools limits generalizations from the previous study.

The remainder of this section will be dedicated to a description of the specific literacy events analyzed in depth for this study. As mentioned in chapter three, these particular events were selected to include events that are as similar as possible across the two classrooms, are fairly typical of the literacy event type that they represent, are relatively balanced between English and Spanish, and are of comparable participation structures – in this case, teacher-led – which should facilitate comparison amongst the events and limit the overall participation structures analyzed in this study to two, important for the sake of focusing the analysis. The event types are as follows: (1) Spanish classroom – Shared reading of Gingerbread Man story; (2) English classroom – Shared reading of Three Billy Goats Gruff story; (3) English classroom – two news time sessions; (4) Spanish classroom – Discussion of leprechaun story and extended oral language practice. A brief description of each event type follows.

Shared reading.

During shared reading, the teacher and students would gather on the color block mat near the center of the room. The teacher would sit on her chair and the students would gather on the floor, one student per block. The teacher would hold the book with the print and illustrations facing the class and read aloud from the book, stopping to ask questions, clarify the storyline, and discuss vocabulary along the way. These were participatory events with the students commenting, questioning, responding to the teacher, and reciting familiar repetitive phrases along with the teacher.

The transcript from the Spanish-medium classroom was from a reading of the Gingerbread Man story in early December. The class was focusing on different versions of the same story, and this was the second version of the Gingerbread man tale the students had read. Interestingly, the storybook from which the teacher read was in English, and she translated as she read aloud to students. The content of the story she read/told in Spanish was parallel to what was printed in the book in English, but it was her own on-line translation. Here, then, we have an instance of a narrative-focused biliteracy event in which the talk around printed text actually spans two languages and the story being told is not, strictly speaking, an exact representation of what is printed on the page.

The transcript from the English-medium classroom was a shared reading of the Three Billy Goats Gruff story read in late April. Similar to the Gingerbread Man story, the students had already read another version of the story and so were familiar with the basic plot. The version read during the literacy event under consideration had many repetitive lines such as the sound effects associated with the goats crossing the bridge in the story – trip, trap, trip, trap – and with

the troll wondering aloud about who was crossing his bridge. During these lines, the students recited the words in chorus with the teacher.

Morning news time.

One narrative-focused literacy event that occurred daily during morning meeting in the English classroom was morning news time. After some seat work and morning announcements by the principal over the intercom, the teacher called all students to gather on the large color-block mat at one side of the room. The teacher engaged the students in the morning meeting, a larger unit of activity lasting about 30 minutes and including a morning message, or shared reading of the agenda for the day in the form of a letter on chart paper, a focus lesson, and sometimes a shared reading event. One part of the morning meeting was sharing time.

Those students who had followed procedures to indicate their desire to share had the opportunity to do so, and each student had to wait until all had shared to go again. The teacher enforced norms during the news events, and the students observed these and other norms as indicated in figure 4.1.

Figure 4.1	
<i>Morning News Norms</i>	
Teacher-Enforced Norms	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Students self-select according to teacher-established system • Teacher grants students the floor • Topic open, but must be new information • Teacher prompts adequately detailed, accurate statements in full sentences spoken at an appropriate volume • Audience members must listen carefully and ask relevant questions
Student Behavioral Norms	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Share eagerly in general • Start with abstract-like statement • Wait to be asked for more details • Self-correct for complete sentence use occasionally • Occasionally use “robot voice” similar to careful pronunciation by emergent readers while reading aloud • Usually ask stock questions as audience members

This set of norms and expectations is as orderly and rule-governed as many traditional classroom literacy events involving print. Students generally adhere to the teacher's expectations, in a sense understanding in and sharing the teacher's goal of having them behave as students by enacting what Gee (1996) would call a Discourse, in this sense a Discourse of age-appropriate academic literacy.

When it was a student's turn, he or she would stand up and come to the front of the group by the teacher and facing the class, he or she would recount a recent event, usually in the form of a single sentence and single abstract-like event. The teacher and presenting student would then prompt the class to ask additional questions about the event. Typical examples of student questions included "How did you get there?" and "Who was with you?" The teacher would often prompt for more information as well.

The particular news events analyzed for this study included two separate sessions about two weeks apart in February. Together, this involved six children telling about past events and answering questions from their peers and teacher about the specifics of the events. All six narratives were offered by different girls – Michelle, Adele, Rosey, Tara, Shauna, and Cassie – who recounted events about the following topics: a haircut, a mall visit, family visitors, a loose tooth, a park visit, and a visit to a sister. These events were all multi-party talk that followed a protocol established by the teacher, who allotted turns and kept the children on task and in compliance with the expectations, as will be discussed in the relevant analysis chapter.

Story reading with extended oral language practice.

While the teacher for the Spanish-medium classroom did not regularly hold a morning news session, she did have a regular activity that served a similar purpose of promoting oral language use during a narrative-focused literacy event. These discussions were often, though not

always, preparation for or extensions of themes in stories the group had read. The teacher would model a syntactic construction and then ask students to repeat part of it while filling in another part. The part they filled in often required them to link personal experience to the story read.

The transcript analyzed for this study was from a class in March during which the teacher read a story with the students about a leprechaun finding a pot of gold and deciding what to do with it. After substantial discussion of the story, the teacher asked the students what they would do if they had a pot of gold. Excerpt 4.1 below illustrates.

Excerpt 4.1 (Spanish classroom – leprechaun story discussion, March)

T: Ahora ustedes se dieran con el duende. Vamos a pretender que ustedes se encuentran con el d-duende. (*Now you run into the leprechaun. We are going to pretend that you find the leprechaun.*)

S: Yo veo +/. (*I see*)

T: +^ Ah! Espera un momentito. (*Ah! Wait a moment.*)

S: Yo sé yo sé donde está el bosque. (*I know I know where the forest is.*)

T: ¿Qué le pedirías al duende? (*What would you ask from the leprechaun?*)

Following the teacher's question, students make suggestions that the teacher accepts, contests, and challenges. One sequence involves the teacher clarifying events in the book and another involves her challenging a student on his response to the question – namely, that he'd hit the leprechaun. After this discussion, the teacher asks the students to turn to their partners and tell one another what they would ask of the leprechaun. Finally, the teacher asks the students to go to their seats and complete the following sentence written on a sheet of paper: Yo le pediría a un duende que _____. The students also had the opportunity to illustrate their sentence. Thus the teacher provided scaffolded oral language practice that went from whole group talk about the

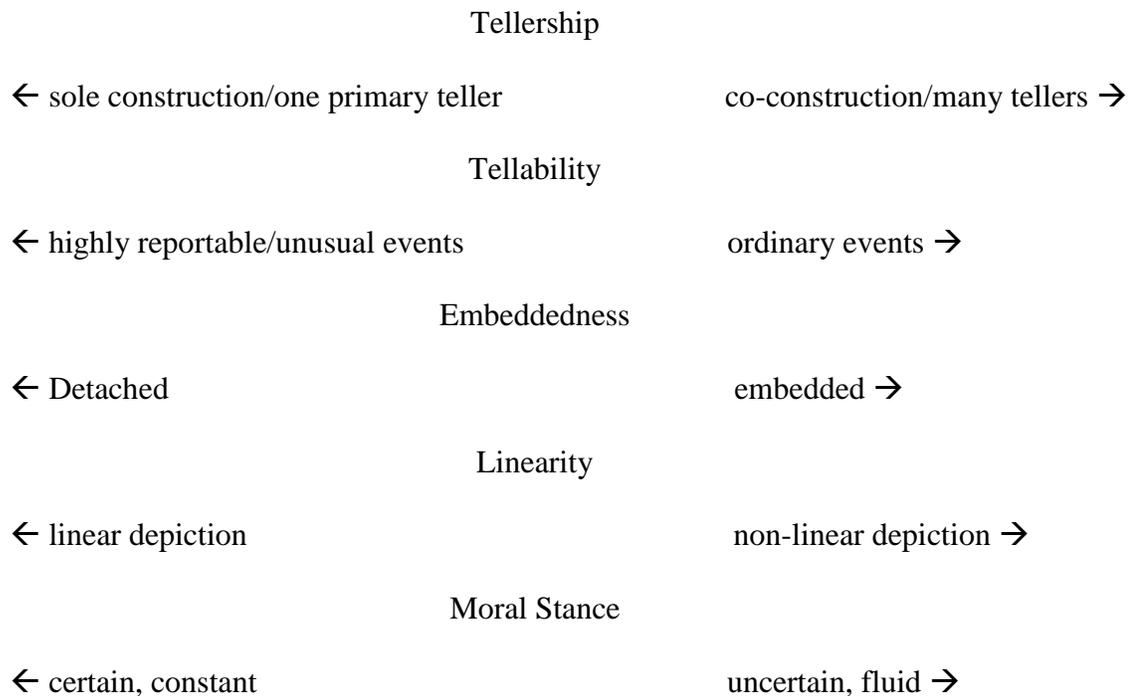
story and personal connections to pair talk about text-to-self connections to individual written work about those same connections. This sequence was used regularly in the Spanish language classroom with other content.

A Framework for Comparing Narratives and Narrative-Focused Literacy Events

Now that both discourse-based data types have been described, it is time to address where they fit in relation to one another with respect to a larger framework for narrative. As a reminder, the research questions address patterns of contextualizing language use in two speech situations – an interview and naturally-occurring literacy events – and mechanisms that link the two and facilitate use of contextualizing language across both for the emergent bilinguals who participated in this study. As such, the nature of the telling itself becomes important, since the different situations in which this narrative discourse was produced have implications for the data. A useful framework for describing these seemingly divergent types of narrative discourse has been formulated by Ochs and Capps (2001). It helps rebut the notion that the two types of narrative discourse analyzed for this project are categorically different and instead portrays them as different by degrees along a set of continua, but within the same broad framework of narrative. As such, it enables comparison between the discourse types by making explicit the contextual factors that differentiate them. This framework consists of five continua by which narratives can be classified as indicated in figure 4.2 below: *Dimensions of Narrative* (adapted from Ochs & Capps, 2001).

Figure 4.2

Dimensions of Narrative (adapted from Ochs & Capps, 2001)



As can be seen from the figure, each dimension consists of two opposite ends, the left side of which is traditionally privileged in institutional discourse, and the right side of which is less so (Ochs & Capps, 2001).

To describe the narratives in the present study with Ochs and Capps' (2001) framework, these narratives had the following properties. In terms of tellership, there was typically one primary teller, the child participant. Indeed, a goal of the Conversational Map Elicitation Procedure (Peterson & McCabe, 1984; McCabe & Bliss, 2003) is to find out what narration the interviewee can produce independently. Admittedly, as addressed in chapter three the narrative prompts themselves and some interaction with the interviewer that went beyond backchannelling and repetition of the child's phrases did lead to a certain degree of joint construction of the

narratives, though for the most part, they can be described as having one primary teller. The tellership of the narrative-focused classroom literacy events was closer to the co-constructed/multiple tellers side. In all three types of narrative-focused literacy events, multiple students and the teacher contributed.

In terms of tellability, the topics in both personal narratives and literacy events tended toward being reportable unusual events, though occasionally a child told about habitual events in the present tense, which were presumably more ordinary. For some personal narratives, tellability was hard to judge because the child provided little contextual information, a point related to both the context of telling and what Ochs and Capps (2001) call *moral stance* and others (e.g., Labov 1967; McCabe & Bliss, 2003) call *evaluation*. Without the narrator's evaluative moves, it can be hard to judge the tellability of a story. With the news events, the teacher imposes the criteria that the telling concern a new topic which the class has not heard before in order to qualify as tellable. With the oral language practice and shared reading, the very situation – a shared reading of the story in class and the teacher's discussion of it afterward – makes the story tellable.

Moving to the next dimension, *embeddedness* is somewhat affected by the method of elicitation. With elicited narratives, the interviewer tells her own brief narrative and then invites the interviewee to narrate on that topic, working hard to connect each topic and avoid abrupt jumps from one topic to the next. As such, the narratives were relatively embedded in a semi-structured interview context. With news events they are, likewise, embedded in surrounding conversation, though in many cases, the narratives were elicited by the teacher. With oral language practice and the shared reading, the narrative talk was also very much embedded in and part of the fabric of the literacy event.

With respect to *linearity*, most narratives in this study were linear, though occasionally anachronisms were evident, either with the effect of rendering the narrative more complicated and mature, as in the case of using an abstract or providing the end first before returning to the beginning, or with the effect of reducing coherence. Non-linear narratives have been termed *leapfrog* narratives in terms of their macrostructure by McCabe and colleagues (Peterson & McCabe, 1983; McCabe & Bliss, 2003).

Moral stance was not a well-developed dimension of many of the narratives analyzed for this study. While some children did clearly evaluate their narratives and their moral stance could be described as certain, many only implied their positions or failed to indicate them at all, resulting in a moral stance that was fluid or uncertain. Likewise the classroom literacy events varied in their location on the continuum of moral stance. The chapter on elaboration provides additional description of the narratives in term of their evaluation and other structural elements.

In closing, this chapter has described in detail the setting, participants and data for this study. It introduced the personal narratives and literacy events analyzed, supplying rich amounts of detail relevant to all three specific strands of analysis used in this project. The next three chapters detail the methods and results of analyses on elaboration, orientation and pronominal reference.

CHAPTER 5: ELABORATION IN PERSONAL NARRATION AND NARRATIVE-FOCUSED LITERACY

EVENTS

As discussed in previous chapters, well-told narratives of personal experience are said to be elaborated enough for someone who wasn't present at the events being detailed to understand what happened (Griffin et al., 1994). Likewise, academic language is said to be explicit and elaborated (Pellegrini, Galda & Rubin, 1984). Little prior work has been done, though, on the ways in which narrative clauses may be elaborated and how this might relate to participation in literacy events in the classroom. This chapter addresses the following questions: What patterns of elaboration characterize English and Spanish personal narratives? Literacy events? What similarities exist between the two contexts and how might those promote academic language and literacy development?

Using relevant quantitative figures and illustrative excerpts from transcripts, this chapter highlights the complementary relationship between elaboration in young language users' personal narratives, on the one hand, and elaboration by teachers and students during narrative-focused classroom literacy events on the other. In short, the participating children produce little independent elaboration but teachers expect and provide support for elaboration during literacy events. To expand just a bit, though elaboration in interview-elicited narratives was not the rule, both self-initiated elaboration and elaboration in apparent response to the interviewer's actions were identified. Likewise in classroom discourse, students provide little elaboration on their own, but teacher prompts for and modeling of it are evident across literacy events in both Spanish language and English language instruction. These results are interpreted throughout the chapter in terms of language socialization (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986).

Methods for the Analysis of Elaboration

As with each linguistic phenomenon being investigated – that is, elaboration, orientation and reference – multiple approaches were adopted, as detailed below, to provide complementary qualitative and quantitative perspectives on the same data. This methodological triangulation at each level strengthens the analysis overall. The investigation of elaboration begins with a look at the three narrative clause functions – action, orientation, and evaluation – identified in the personal narrative interview data. It moves on to address the levels of elaboration found for each narrative of personal experience. Finally, it takes a qualitative look at the elaboration in narrative-focused literacy events involving the teacher and students and compares trends in the two types of data.

With respect to the analysis of elaboration, each personal narrative was first divided into narrative clauses and the function of each clause uttered by a child participant – action, orientation, or evaluation – was coded according to the following scheme:

1. Action: A main clause indicative of the foreground action in the storyworld; e.g. *I spilled my milk.*
2. Orientation: A clause that gives background on time, place, participants as well as ongoing or general/habitual events; e.g. *First after that when we waked up we were playing my playstation.*
3. Evaluation: A clause that gives implicit or explicit affective information; e.g. *y no me pasa nada* (and nothing happened to me). Lists of evaluation types identified in prior research (e.g. Labov, 1972; Peterson & McCabe, 1983) served as guidelines for the identification of evaluation in this project.

4. Other: A non-storyworld utterance such as *I don't know* or *I don't remember*, a minor clause that can't otherwise be categorized such as *yes*, or metalinguistic statements such as *What's the word for that?*

Clauses were coded for both primary and secondary functions. An example of a multiple-function clause is as follows: *&one a long time ago he scratched me right on my foot when I touched him on the head*. This is primarily an action clause conveying the scratching event, but it is also an orientation clause with its information on time and location, and a partially evaluative clause with the gratuitous term *right* in *right on my foot*. When form and function seemingly conflicted, as when a narrator struggled to maintain past tense or conveyed what seemed to be completed foreground actions in the imperfective aspect, function was privileged over form. This first level of coding was used to gain a general picture of how multi-functional a narrative as a whole was as well as an individual clause. This offered a sense of how functionally elaborate a clause was. The variety of functions within each narrative and each clause are addressed below.

The notion of elaboration was also investigated in the sense of information content. In a second round of analysis, clauses were coded according to the extent to which they provided additional new information on an action, item or character beyond what is initially supplied in the original proposition and/or beyond what is strictly necessary for understanding the event. This may be done through explanation, evaluation, or addition of orientation information with both independent and dependent clauses. Examples with elaborated information underlined include the following:

Example 1, Explanation: Tara was fighting because I wanted to have my bunny.

Example 2, Additional Orientation: I went upstairs and go to sleep. Take a nap, a long nap until my mommy came.

Example 3, Evaluation: He slapped me on the arm... Well I told him to. I told him to. Well he didn't even do it hard.

Three levels of elaboration were identified:

1. *Basic*: little to no additional information provided beyond that essential for understanding what happened; could even be missing information and requires significant inference; approximately 0-2 instances of such elaboration.
2. *Emerging*: some additional information provided beyond what is essential for understanding what happened; could take one or more forms of the various subtypes of orientation and evaluation or detailed account of action. Provides additional information about already-mentioned action or orientation; approximately 3-5 instances of such elaboration.
3. *Extensive*: substantial narrator-initiated (not interviewer prompted) additional information that contributes significantly to and enhances understanding of different aspects of the story; generally takes more than one form of the various subtypes of orientation and evaluation and/or provides a substantially detailed account of action; approximately 6+ instances of such elaboration.

Those clauses identified as providing informational elaboration were also examined for indications of whether the narrator had provided the additional information in response to the interlocutor's prompts, or whether he or she had done so unprompted. Finally, transcripts of interaction during narrative-focused literacy events in the classroom were examined for children's and teachers' provision of functionally or informationally elaborate narrative

statements and the teacher’s request for such statements. The following pages report on and discuss the analysis of elaboration from these multiple viewpoints.

Elaboration: Data and Results

Getting Beyond the “What” of a Story: An Analysis of Elaboration in Personal Narratives

This section discusses results in terms of functional elaboration, informational elaboration, and support for elaboration in personal narratives.

Functional elaboration.

Table 5.1 summarizes average percentages of action, evaluation and orientation clauses. As indicated in the table, just under half of the clauses in the narratives relayed the action of the story. Stories in English and Spanish contained about the same amount of action and the small difference was not statistically significant. Recalling that a minimum of two action clauses was necessary to include a narrative in the corpus for this study, one approach to gauging level of elaboration is to look at narrative constituents beyond action as a rough measure of the amount of non-essential information that has been provided in functional terms. Together, about 62% of English narrative clauses and 47% of Spanish narrative clauses function in whole or in part as orientation or evaluation.

Table 5.1 <i>Action, Orientation and Evaluation Clauses as Raw Frequencies and Average Percentage of Total Narrative Clauses¹</i>		
	English-dominant bilinguals (n=10 students)	Spanish-dominant bilinguals (n=10 students)
Action Raw frequency (percentage)	167 (46%)	167 (43%)
Orientation M Raw frequency (percentage)	105 (26%)	109 (31%)
Evaluation ² M Raw frequency (percentage)	143 (36%)	60 (16%)

¹ Percentages do not total 100 because of multi-functional and non-storyworld clauses.

Between a quarter and a third of all clauses contained some orientation, either as an independent clause or embedded within a clause serving another function. Spanish-dominant students did provide slightly more orientation, a phenomenon noted in other studies for Spanish-speaking groups (e.g., McCabe & Bliss, 2003). A striking contrast is evident between the two linguistic groups in the relative proportion of evaluated clauses incorporated into their narratives. English-dominant bilinguals evaluated an average of 36% of their clauses either partially or wholly, while Spanish-dominant bilinguals evaluated an average of 16% of their clauses. This difference is likely related to the higher proportion of chronological narratives provided by Spanish-dominant narrators, as chronological narratives do not contain an evaluated high point (Peterson & McCabe, 1983) and often consist of a series of minimally evaluated action clauses. However, when one looks at the percentage of independent clauses that are fully evaluative, the linguistic groups are more balanced: 9.2% of English narrative clauses were fully evaluative, while 8.9% of Spanish narrative clauses were also. This means that the English-dominant narrators more often used the strategy of embedding evaluation within action or evaluation clauses than did Spanish-dominant narrators and in this way, tended to have more multi-functional clauses. It could be that the Spanish-dominant students, to a greater extent than the English-dominant students, were focused on task completion; that is, they were trying to respond as directly as possible to the interview questions and were less focused on their own interpretations of events or what the actions said about them. The following narrative by a Spanish-dominant boy is illustrative. It starts with my question about whether he had ever gotten lost.

Excerpt 5.1 (sm8, narrative 3)

1. *INV: te has perdido una vez?

2. *INV: te has separa [/] separado +/.
3. *CHI: +< a la feria yo me perdí.
4. *INV: te perdiste a la feria, huh!
5. *INV: me puedes contar?
6. *CHI: y te puedes [///] mi mama me encontró.
7. *INV: tu mama te encontraste [= child coughing]?
8. *INV: que tos!
9. *INV: y qué pasó?
10. *CHI: (.) solo me guardó la mano.
11. *CHI: y despues me llevó mi mami.
12. *INV: ya?
13. *INV: te llevaste.
14. *INV: muy bien.
15. *CHI: y llev [/] mi mami me llevó.
16. *INV: <tu mam> [/] tu mamá te llevaste?

The child responds to the prompt that he got lost at the fair once. Rather than narrate a series of complicating actions to elaborate on and evaluate this point, he goes right to the high point and resolution: that his mom found him. With prompting from me – *can you tell me?* – he provided further resolution, telling me that his mom took his hand and took him away. Other than the gratuitous term *solo* (just) in line 10, the narrative has very few clauses or parts of clauses that seem to function as evaluation. The participant, it seems, was more focused on answering the question about having gotten lost rather than telling me how he felt, what it meant to him, or

what he learned from it. In this way, the interview context itself may have impacted the quantity and quality of the evaluation in which Spanish-speaking narrators engaged.

Informational elaboration in personal narratives.

The analysis of extent of elaboration on basic propositions supplements the functional analysis reported above. On the whole, both linguistic groups under consideration provide basic or emergent levels of elaboration, a finding not unexpected for young children engaging in a speech event – an elicited narrative interview – deliberately designed to avoid co-construction and gauge the narrator’s level of independent narration (McCabe & Bliss, 2003; Peterson & McCabe, 1983) to the extent possible. On the scale of one to three used to rate each narrative holistically for level of elaboration, one being *basic* and three being *extensive*, English narratives scored an average of 1.58 and Spanish narratives scored a mean of 1.4. The bulk of narratives (n=60) were scored as having basic or emerging levels of elaboration, while only six were extensively elaborated.

Excerpt 5.1 above serves as a typical example of a narrative with a basic level of elaboration. This narrative takes the form of a series of action statements that recount four separate actions: (1) I got lost; (2) My mom found me; (3) She took my hand; and (4) She took me away. The child is successful in sequencing these events and even in providing a temporal marker, *después* (then) in line 11, but he misses opportunities to elaborate on getting lost, being found, and other aspects of the narrative despite several investigator invitations to elaborate in lines 5, 10, 11 and 14. This type of unelaborated narrative was fairly common across all speakers.

A typical example of a narrative with an emerging level of elaboration is as follows in a child’s response to a question about a spill:

Excerpt 5.2 (em3, narrative 2)

1. CHI: today I spilled something.
2. CHI: → and it went all over the kitchen floor (be)cause it was a pan drying.
3. INV: a pan drying?
4. CHI: → on the oven.
5. INV: oh on the oven.
6. CHI: → yeah but it wasn't on.
7. INV: oh it wasn't on.
8. INV: what happened?
9. CHI: well my xx told my dad +"/.
10. CHI: +" what is this pan doing?
11. CHI: and he was like +"/.
12. CHI: +" I think it's drying.
13. CHI: and [/] and he said +"/.
14. CHI: +" I can't see.
15. CHI: so I holded it up.
16. CHI: and it spilled.
17. INV: oh it spilled.
18. CHI: uhhuh.
19. INV: and then what?
20. CHI: and then I cleaned it up.
21. INV: you cleaned it up.
22. CHI: → +^ daddy didn't even know that it spilled.

23. CHI: but I just cleaned it up.
24. INV: oh you cleaned it up.
25. INV: (.) anything else?
26. CHI: I don't know.
27. INV: you don't know.
28. INV: well +/.
29. CHI: I was making a egg when that happened.
30. INV: you were making an A?
31. CHI: → +^ a fried egg.
32. INV: oh an egg, a fried egg!
33. INV: yeah?
34. CHI: yeah.

Here where the arrows are in lines 2, 4, 6, 22 and 31 we can see areas where the narrator expanded on a basic proposition. In lines 2, 4, and 6 we can see a chain of elaboration of the narrator's prior utterance. In line 2 the narrator elaborated on the nature of the action – the spill – in the preceding utterance, and then in the subsequent utterance, elaborated by providing locational information on the pan and then finally in line six letting us know that the oven mentioned in line 4 was not on. In line 22, the child elaborated further on the spill by providing evaluative information on his father's lack of knowledge of the spill and finally, in line 31, he elaborated on the nature of the eggs he was making to clarify for his interlocutor. Thus this narrative elaborates on both actions and items through both orientation and evaluation, two common elaboration strategies seen throughout the narratives. While this narrator's story shows emerging levels of elaboration, he still did miss opportunities to provide further information that

would make for a richer, fuller narrative. For example, he could have told about what spilled in lines 1 or 16, the manner in which he held up the pan in line 15, or the tools with which he cleaned up the spill in line 20, to name a few.

Of interest was the tendency for narrators to use multi-functional clauses in elaborating. In addition to elaborating with orientation, another common strategy was providing explanations, which are generally considered a type of evaluation in narrative analysis (e.g., Peterson & McCabe, 1983). The following narrative about a medical encounter is extensively elaborated and uses explanation as one approach to elaboration.

Excerpt 5.3 (em3, narrative 5)

1. INV: no, did you ever get hurt?
2. CHI: yeah.
3. INV: yeah, what happened?
4. CHI: I got um [//] (.) I don't know how like these bumps went on my neck.
5. CHI: and this guy had to scrape them off.
6. INV: he had to scrape them off?
7. CHI: → yeah, and it was bleeding.
8. CHI: and my mom had to get numbing medicine and everything.
9. INV: numbing medicine and everything?
10. CHI: +< yeah.
11. INV: and?
12. CHI: → it really hurt when he took it off.
13. INV: it really hurt when he took it off?
14. CHI: +^ yeah.

15. INV: and then what?
16. CHI: → (.) he gave mommy [?] things because it was bleeding.
17. INV: mm it was bleeding.
18. CHI: → +< <to put> [?] on my neck.
19. INV: mhmm.
20. CHI: → and I went back to Pine Branch, my old school.
21. INV: you went back to Pine Branch, your old school?
22. CHI: → yeah because [/] because I got late from school because I had to test only one bump off.
23. CHI: then after school they took a lot off.
24. INV: a lot off!
25. CHI: and then I went back to school.
26. INV: then you went back to school.

In this excerpt, the elaboration contributes to our understanding of what happened. In line 7, the child provided more information on the results of the medical procedure he previously mentioned and in line 12, he elaborated further by providing his own evaluation of the procedure: it really hurt. In lines 16 and 22, we see the narrator elaborating on action statements via explanation; line 16 gives the doctor's reason for providing the mother with medical supplies and line 22 explains his tardy arrival to school.

In fact, there was a striking tendency for narrators to elaborate via explanations, often causal. In the excerpt below, a child talked about her visits to the beach and attempted to provide information to explain why she could not enter the water. The following excerpt is illustrative:

Excerpt 5.4 (Ef9, narrative 5)

1. *INV: so you went to the beach?
2. *CHI: yeah.
3. *INV: yeah, what happened?
4. *CHI: um I couldn't go in the water.
5. *INV: you couldn't go in the water!
6. *CHI: → (be)cause there's little um bugs swimming in the water.
7. *INV: oh uhhuh?
8. *CHI: → yeah and these seagulls were in the water.
9. *INV: uhhuh.
10. *CHI: → and then and then when [//] if I went in the water <I'll get> [//]I'll get sick.

In this excerpt, the narrator elaborated on her statement that she couldn't go in the water by giving orientation information that gives reasons from her perspective for not being able to do so.

Likewise in the following excerpt, an English-dominant narrator elaborated by providing orientation information about what she framed as an ordinary occasional event in order to explain an argument with her siblings.

Excerpt 5.5 (Ef3, narrative 2)

1. *INV: did you have any arguments over the break with your brothers or sisters?
2. *CHI: yeah because some um sometimes they hit me.

In this example, the narrator responded in the affirmative to the investigator's prompt and provided a causal explanation for the argument that assigned blame to her siblings. In seeking to acquit herself of wrongdoing in this situation, she not only elaborated on her affirmative answer, but she also evaluated the event, suggesting that it was not her fault and positioning herself as victim rather than perpetrator in this interaction with her siblings.

As illustrated by these excerpts, the young emergent bilinguals who told the narratives under consideration in this project did elaborate, though elaboration was not extensive; they missed many opportunities to elaborate and this likely still an area of future growth for them as narrators. One common tendency that resulted in more elaborated narratives was the tendency to explain events that occurred in the story. These explanations frequently also functioned as evaluations through which the narrators conveyed their opinions, clarified what was important to them about the event, or highlighted aspects of the identity which they were taking on. Just as the narrator in excerpt 5.5 (ef3, narrative 2) projected blame onto her siblings for a fight and implicitly portrayed herself as innocent, the narrator below highlighted her role as victim in the events depicted even as she struggled to communicate what happened to precipitate this medical encounter.

Excerpt 5.6 (ef11, narrative 4)

1. *INV: did you ever have to go to the hospital?
2. *CHI: sometimes when my stomach hurts a lot.
3. *INV: yeah what [///] can you think of one time?
4. *CHI: one time I haded to go to the s- children's hospital because (.) <somebody hit me in the &sto> [//] &so some &p people hit me in the stomach a lot.
5. *INV: ooh what happened?
6. *CHI: I needed to go to the &h to the children's hospital because I need <because (.) my> [//] because I (.) <my stomach almost> [//] <my stomach almost> [//] <my stomach almost> [//] (..) <my stomach almost just> [//] my stomach almost hurted a lot.
7. *CHI: but <it &di> [//] it did.
8. *CHI: but a little bit.

9. *INV: uhhuh, oh goodness and then?
10. *CHI: <then I had it> [//] then they had to get an x-ray +/.
11. *INV: uhhuh.
12. *CHI: +, and look in my stomach to see what's going on.
13. *INV: uhhuh.
14. *CHI: but my stomach was red.
15. *INV: (.) uhhuh.
16. *CHI: and somebody had to take care of me.
17. *INV: they took care of you?
18. *CHI: yeah.
19. *INV: that's good.
20. *CHI: +^ that felt a little better [= 00:08:47-1].

While the narrator never directly told us what she thought of this event, the narrative is full of implicit, embedded evaluation that helps her portray herself as a brave victim and the actions of the aggressors as imposing upon her and the medical personnel. Throughout, the child used compulsion words several times; in line four, for example, she stated that she “haded” (sic) to go to the hospital after someone hit her in the stomach. In line six, she evaluated her trip to the hospital by framing it as a necessity: “I needed to go...” Again in lines 10 and 16, she highlighted the imposition on the medical personnel with the compulsion-related term “had to, as in “they had to take an x-ray” and “somebody had to take care of me.” In lines four and six, the narrator highlighted her role as victim in this story through her attempts to explain why she had to go to the hospital, and though not elaborative in and of itself, she used evaluation through

compulsion words in lines four, six, ten and fourteen to highlight the effects on herself and others.

This excerpt as well as others in which the narrator elaborated via explanatory and evaluative mechanisms highlights one of the primary functions of narration: to allow the narrator to make a point, claim an identity, take a stance, or otherwise convey affective information about an event (De Fina, 2003b; Labov, 1972; Labov & Waletzky, 1967; Ochs, 1993; Ochs & Capps, 1996; 2001). The data reviewed in this section for this project show that elicited narratives of personal experience can fulfill this affective function as effectively as those that arise in the course of naturally-occurring conversation, supporting previous claims for the validity of interview data in interactional research (e.g., Koven, 2011). Moreover, they illustrate children's adeptness at a young age with marshalling linguistic resources for identity claims. Explanation serves as a common strategy for elaboration, and in particular, explanation that serves to highlight personal characteristics of the narrator or other characters. As mentioned above, the most common orientation sub-type was for participants; likewise, a very common subject of elaboration and evaluation are narrators and other characters. Also of note is that often narrators would elaborate in service of their own reputations and identities, a tendency that could be developmental. From the perspective of the question of a relationship between narrative and academic language, it is evident that while not all of the narratives are as elaborated as they might be, young narrators are making an attempt to share the information that they think will be helpful for others in interpreting it, particularly when it concerns information about themselves or others in the narrative.

We can now re-visit the research questions for this chapter in light of the data from this section. As a reminder, the aims of the analysis reported in this chapter included finding out what

patterns of elaboration characterize the personal narrative and literacy event data in English and Spanish, and what links might be evident to support and explain the hypothesized relationship between the two types of speech events. I found that in both English and Spanish, young narrators missed opportunities to elaborate, but when they did, elaboration was often accomplished through the use of causal explanations that expanded upon information on the narrator or other characters. These explanations and elaborations of a personal nature often accomplished identity work within the narratives as speakers provided additional detail about themselves. The next section looks specifically at the source of elaboration in the narratives, whether self- or other-initiated.

Self-initiated and other-prompted elaboration in personal narratives.

This analysis also included attention to the source of elaboration in the narratives. That is, it investigated whether narrators provided elaboration in response to prompts from the interlocutor and also whether they did so upon their own initiative. There is evidence that they did both. In the following excerpt, we can see that the narrator took a multi-clause turn that elaborates on the basic proposition she initially provided. Here she was telling about a time her bird, Sylvester, escaped from his cage.

Excerpt 5.7 (sf4, narrative 1)

1. *CHI: um (.) la [//] el Sylvester no [/] no vino a su jaula.
2. *CHI: y de y [/] y todo el tiempo cuando [/] cuando ø le [/] le pone la [?] su mano allí se escapa [//] eh ø se escapaba.
3. *CHI: ø no quería entrar porque que ø quería um [/] um quería [/] quería (.) um [/] um estar caliente.
4. *INV: sí?

In line one, the child made the basic statement that her bird didn't come back to his cage. She then elaborated on this by talking about how he would continually escape when approached and by proposing a possible reason for his not wanting to return to the cage: he wanted to be warm. We can see that this extended turn at talk takes the shape of a relatively monologic narrative in which the narrator provides additional detail unprompted by the interviewer. At the kindergarten stage, then, some children do demonstrate an ability to engage in self-initiated elaboration that can stretch over an extended turn in an interview context.

On the other hand, not all elaboration in the interview narratives examined for this study was self-initiated. As might be expected from the design of the interviews in which the interviewer deliberately tried to avoid co-construction, other-prompted elaboration was not a predominant pattern, but it was present. In the following excerpt, the narrator expanded on basic information about her cousin's choice activity in line two.

Excerpt 5.8 (ef3, narrative 3)

1. *CHI: um a long time ago, um like, yesterday I went to my grandma's house.
2. *CHI: my [/] my cousin, she loves to play.
3. *INV: she does?
4. *CHI: she loves to a lot even in the dark.
5. *INV: really, even in the dark.
6. *CHI: yeah in the house.
7. *INV: yeah, so what happened?

After the narrator suggests that her cousin likes to play in line two, the interviewer offered a neutral response with rising intonation. The child evidently interpreted this as a request for more information and elaborated with information regarding location, a pattern which repeated itself in

the next exchange. This other-initiated prompting, which was a common phenomenon throughout the interview narratives, poses a methodological challenge to the Conversational Map Elicitation Procedure (Peterson & McCabe, 1983; McCabe & Bliss, 2003) used for this project, a concern addressed in greater detail at the conclusion of this chapter.

To sum up the findings on elaboration in personal narratives, the multi-pronged analysis using structural and functional lenses to look at self- and other-initiated elaboration paints a picture of the general state of elaboration in participants' personal narratives. A tally of all non-action storyworld clauses reveals that just over half of the clauses in the corpus orient the interlocutor to participants and items, setting, or timeline or convey the narrator's interpretation of the events. In this sense, a substantial amount of talk is devoted to information that exceeds the basic question of what happened, a phenomenon that could be common to narratives of young children in non-interview contexts, but could also be related to the interview context and the narrator's interpretations of interlocutor utterances as elaboration requests, as discussed above. On the other hand, much of this orientational and evaluative information was mentioned and then the basic proposition – *that this happened yesterday, that the narrator had a dog, that the item was in the closet, etc.* – were not further expanded upon in ways that would provide ample context the way academic language is supposed to. Thus though narrators often take the initiative to elaborate with or without what they perceive as an elaboration request from the interviewer, they do not always do so and in fact often leave their basic propositions unelaborated. This is not surprising given their age and developmental stage and may point to an area in which these young language users would benefit from conversational scaffolding from adults and peers in a way more natural or more deliberate than what was provided in this

interview context. Indeed, in the next section of this chapter, we will see how the teacher was attuned to this need and provided extensive support for elaboration.

Elaboration in Narrative Literacy Events in the Classroom

As a reminder, the research questions targeted in this chapter are the following: What patterns of elaboration characterize English and Spanish personal narratives? Literacy events? What similarities exist between the two contexts and how might those promote academic language and literacy development? The first question regarding personal narratives was addressed in the previous section. This section will address the question with respect to literacy events, and subsequent sections will address the third question. This section is organized into an analysis of elaboration in shared reading and extended reading discussions and another analysis of elaboration in morning news events. A short overview of results precedes the summary of these analyses.

In short, the literacy events examined in this project showed that the classroom context and teaching approaches vary in the way they open up spaces for children to practice and build on the linguistic competencies they display in their narrative discourse. Whether because of the constraints of classroom discourse itself or because of the challenge of transferring tendencies in one context to another, very little spontaneous elaboration by children is evident in the classroom literacy event transcripts examined for this project. On the other hand, teacher prompts for elaboration on events in each morning meeting narrative and story discussion are salient, as is evident in the excerpts in the next section on elaboration in shared reading and reading discussions.

Elaboration in shared reading and extended reading discussions.

Note the teacher requests for elaboration in the following excerpt from the Spanish language class in which the teacher, Ms. Rosales, is reading and simultaneously translating an English-language version of the Gingerbread Man story into Spanish.

Excerpt 5.9 (Spanish literacy event 12-9)

1. T: entonces [>] <el niño de> jengibre (.) vio que había un río muy ancho.
2. S1: <él va a xx> [?] [<]
3. T: (.) pero no se atrevía a saltar.
4. → T: (.) por qué no quería saltar él en el en el [>]<río> [?]
5. Ss: <xx> [<] [= much overlapping talk by students].
6. T: ya hablamos de eso, a ver?
7. S2: &por &por porque no se quiere mojar y y secar [?].
8. → T: no se puede no se quiere mojar. Y por qué no se quiere mojar Milton?
9. S 2: &por por porque
10. M: +/. porque no quiere que se caiga en el agua.
11. S3: no, porque no quiere que se muere.
12. M: [>]<y no quiere que se no quiere que se>
13. → T: <y porque se va a morir> [<]?
14. Ss: xx [= much overlapping talk by students].
15. S4: <yo me> [?] xx a caer porque es detrás la cola .
16. T: no quiere que se derrita.
17. T: no quiere que pasa si el adrallerte [?] de jengibre ponemos en el agua, qué pasa?
18. Ss: <xx> [>] [= overlapping talk]

19. S4: <se rompe> [<]!

20. T: se deshace.

21. T: se derrite.

Near the beginning of the excerpt in line four, Ms. Rosales asked a question that required the children to infer why the gingerbread man does not want to jump in the water. One student volunteered the answer that it is because he does not want to get wet, and in the following turn, line eight, the teacher sought a more elaborated answer by nominating Milton to tell why the gingerbread man wouldn't want to get wet. Milton answered in line 10 that it is because he doesn't want to fall in the water, which is more a restatement of part of his teacher's original question in line four than it is an answer to the more recent question. In the next turn in line 11, another student contradicted Milton and suggested that the gingerbread man does not want to die. This statement was ratified by Ms. Rosales when, in the next turn, she overlapped Milton, who seemed to be trying to repeat his classmate's statement, and asked why the gingerbread man would die. At this point she was still pursuing her original line of questioning in pushing for an explicit, elaborated explanation for the main character's avoidance of the water. In line 17, the teacher finally asked directly what happens if we put gingerbread in water and one student's voice stood out from the chorus as he asserted that it would break. This seems to be the answer she was looking for and she affirmed with near synonyms for the likely outcome: disintegrate and melt.

In this interaction, we can see the initiation-response-evaluation sequence that has been well-described in the literature on classroom discourse (e.g., Mehan, 1979). While many students took the initiative to comment on the story, only a few were officially offered the floor by Ms. Rosales or were loud enough to self-select and earn her ratification as speaker. It is the

contributions of those students who were selected by the teacher or who successfully bid for the floor that became part of the official instructional discussion of the story. Within this teacher-controlled interaction, there is little discursive space for students to spontaneously volunteer comments and elaborate on them, though presumably a student could have provided a fully elaborated answer after the teacher's initial question in line four. As seen in lines four, eight and thirteen, though, the teacher was attuned to explicit, elaborated responses and pursued a line of questioning designed to elicit such a response from her students.

This trend of a lack of elaboration by students, whether due to lack of opportunity or difficulty of the stories being discussed, and elicitation of the elaborated statements by teachers is characteristic of other narrative literacy events in both the Spanish- and English-medium classrooms. One narrative-focused literacy event in the English-medium classroom was a teacher-led read aloud and whole class discussion about a version of the *Three Billy Goats Gruff* story. In the following excerpt from a 24-minute literacy event, notice how the teacher, Ms. Lake, used a variety of strategies to both model and elicit elaborated responses related to lexical items and comprehension. The teacher had just finished settling students on the rug, explaining that this is another version of the same story they have already read, and providing the author and illustrator's name. Then she began to read.

Excerpt 5.10 (English literacy event 4-21)

1. T: (.) Once upon a time there were three billy goats. One was very small, one was middle sized, and one was very large. They were all named Gruff so people simply called them the three billy goats Gruff. <Look at those big eyes> [?]. (.) On a certain morning the three billy goats Gruff were on their way to a distant hillside where the grass was

especially tall and green and tender. What does distant mean? The hillside is distant.

What does that mean? (.) Jon?

2. J: Far.

3. T: It means it's far away. Tara. Move over and back a little bit so you're not bumping anyone. Thank you. Distant means far away. They were over here and the distant hillside was far away over here. But to get to the hillside they had to cross a bridge over a deep swift river. A swift river. What does that mean? (.) Mary?

4. M: It means &all the water's pushing back.

5. T: It means the water in that river was moving very fast. Swift means fast. They must have had a lot of rain and the water was rushing down the river. And under that bridge lived a great big ugly troll.

--Break in excerpt--

64. T: Who can tell me remember when we retell a story we think about what happened at the +...

65. Jon: beginning

66. T: beginning, what happened in the +...

67. Ss: middle

68. T: And what happened at the +...

69. Ss: End.

70. T: End of the story. Who can tell me what happened at the beginning of the story? You don't need any more of that right now. What happened at the beginning of the story Tara?

71. Ta: That &th that the goats were trying to cross the the goats were were supposed to cross the &gra cross the bridge because they were &try they were trying to get fat.

72. → T: How does crossing the bridge make them fat?

73. Ta: Because because &it the long grass was at the at the end of the bridge.

74. T: So they wanted to cross the bridge so they [>]<could> +...

75. Ta: <So they> [<] could eat. So that they could eat the grass.

76. T: Eat the grass and get +...

77. Ta: [>]<fat>.

78. Ss: <fat> [<].

79. → T: Ok. Mary. Hands and eyes. Alright. Who can tell me something that happened in the middle of the story? Oh what else did we learn at the beginning of the story? Why couldn't they just go across the bridge? Adele?

80. A: Because the troll?

81. T: What about the troll?

82. A: He was gonna eat them?

83. T: Because there was a +... (.) troll who who was where? Where was the troll?

84. A: Under the bridge.

85. T: Under the bridge. Why couldn't they &j cross over, just walk over the bridge anyway?

86. A: (.) because (.) xx (.)

87. T: I think you know. They couldn't cross the bridge because there was a troll and what &would [//] what did that troll wanna do?

88. A: Eat them.

89. T: Alright so can you put that all together and say it?
90. A: Because the troll wanted to eat them?
91. T: Ok so they couldn't cross the bridge because under the bridge there was a troll who wanted to eat them. So what happened in the middle of the story? James hands still eyes watching me!
92. T: Mary?
93. M: Um the first billy goat goat Gruff crossed the bridge and um the troll wanted to eat them but wanted to eat &hi him and then he was too small so he waited &so so um so the um so he let the um first billy goat [//] goat Gruff um cross the bridge.
94. T: Alright, so the first billy goat Gruff crossed the bridge and the troll [<] <xx>.
95. M: +/- <and> [<] he waited for the second billy goat Gruff.
96. → T: Ok. Do you wanna add something to that? Samantha what happened next?
97. Sa: Next the second billy goat Gruff came and and &h and he he wanted to <get a> [?] cross the bridge but the um but the troll said no and he told him to wait for the last <big goat> [?].
98. → T: Ok good. Alright. Jon and Samantha and xx. So in the middle of the story the first the smallest billy goat Gruff tried to cross and then the middle sized one and then what happened next Andrew?
99. A: xx
100. T: So the smallest billy goat tried to cross the bridge and the troll said he could go on, the middle sized troll crossed the bridge and the troll said he could go on he would wait for the +... big billy goat and they ate the grass? That was it? I think something very

important happened. After the second billy goat gru Gruff crossed the bridge Andrew,
what happened NEXT?

101. A: Um, (.) xx billy goat Gruff.

102. T: Mhm. And then what happened?

103. A: xx

104. T: Can you hear Andrew?

105. Ss: No.

106. T: Can you &s talk louder so your [>] <friends> can hear?

107. A: <Yes> [<]. Um.

108. T: What happened when the third billy goat Gruff came?

109. A: (.) First um xx.

110. T: <Take this> [?] out of your mouth and say it nice and loud so your friends can
hear.

111. A: Pushed the troll out of the bridge.

112. T: Pushed the troll &ou WHO pushed the troll out of the bridge?

113. A: xx.

114. T: Can you say that whole thing?

115. A: Billy goat Gruff (.)

116. T: The third billy goat Gruff +...

117. A: Pushed the troll into the water.

118. T: The third billy goat Gruff pushed the troll into the water.

Throughout this book-reading interaction, Ms. Lake both modeled and elicited elaboration on definitions during vocabulary-focused exchanges on comprehension-related question during

story-focused exchanges. In line one, for example, she asked about the meaning of *distant*. Jon gave a one-word answer in line two, which the teacher incorporated into her expanded whole-sentence definition in line three. She also gave an illustrative sentence with both the defined and the student's defining term in it.

Ms. Lake's elaboration requests are not limited to the lexical level, however. She also pushed students to give more elaborated and explicit explanations than they started with during several exchanges focused on students' comprehension of the story starting in lines 72, 79, 96, and 98. In line 79, for example, the teacher framed her request for further retelling of the story as a request for an explanation about why the goats couldn't cross the bridge. The student she selected to answer, Adele, responded with the causal connector *because* followed simply by a reference to the antagonist in the story: *the troll*. This was evidently not a sufficient response from the teacher's perspective, and she engaged in an exchange in which she alternately modeled and elicited language from the student. She asked a fairly open-ended question to prompt a more elaborate answer from the student in line 81, to which Adele gave an action-oriented response completed with rising intonation. In line 83, Ms. Lake provided the beginning of the sentence and then used the trailing off and pausing mechanism common to both teachers in this study to invite the student to fill in the answer. When Adele did not take her up on this invitation to speak, the teacher provided the sought-after lexical item herself and then went on to prompt the student for more information. Here she focused on orientation rather than action as she has been in other parts of the shared reading discussion, presumably because place was now integral to the story events being recounted. In line 84, Adele provided orientation information but didn't connect it to the plot and the desired explanation on her own, so in line 85, the teacher re-worded her original question from line 79. Adele began with *because* but did not finish, so the teacher

provided a response that named the antagonist and setting and then handed the floor back to Adele with questioning syntax and rising intonation. Ms. Lake's question here was less open-ended than her last and asked for information that the child had already given, so coupled with her modeling of most of the desired response, she was then providing a high level of linguistic support to Adele. In line 89, the teacher signaled that she wanted all pieces of the response together, and Adele tried to oblige in her next turn but still did not quite get it, after which the teacher finally provided the whole response she was seeking herself.

As with the prior excerpt from the Spanish language classroom, we can see that providing accurate and sufficiently elaborated information on the action, characters, and location of a story is important to the teacher and that the teacher models responses and pursues lines of questioning designed to encourage this. While a few students in the English language classroom excerpt above do successfully work within the traditional IRE classroom discourse structure (Mehan, 1979) and spontaneously provide elaborated responses with minimal support (e.g., lines 93 and 97), others require more linguistic scaffolding from the teacher. It is evident, though that one of the demands of these literacy events is story-related responses that are explicit and that elaborate sufficiently on the character and place elements of stories. When necessary, the participation structure of these literacy events allows students to take advantage of extensive linguistic support from the teacher, who models part or all of the expected responses and uses trailing intonation and pausing to invite students to continue. In this way, teachers in these literacy events make use of intonational and paralinguistic cues to invite elaboration, in addition to explicitly asking for it, they model elaborated observations about the story, and they provide spaces for students to practice their own elaborated responses.

So to recap, the narrative-focused literacy event described above and narratives of personal experience discussed previously are alike and different in several important ways. Elaboration is a theme in both, but the primary agents of elaboration are usually different. Within the classroom, the teacher plays a key role in structuring discourse and in allocating turns at talk that prompt or curtail elaboration. Two students in the excerpt above demonstrated tendencies to elaboration of orientation and evaluative information that were seen for the English and Spanish narratives as a group. Incidentally, both were students recognized within the context of this classroom as amongst the most advanced readers and writers. Other exchanges highlighted difficulties in elaborating by students, and the teacher provided significant support and did most of the elaborating in these exchanges, which served as a model for expected language use for the children. However, the participation structures of these literacy events left little opportunity for the majority of the students to actively practice skills of elaboration demonstrated in other contexts, though they did have the opportunity to observe exchanges amongst the teacher and their peers. The next section continues with this theme of teacher support for elaboration with narrative-focused literacy events of a different type: morning news events.

Elaboration in morning news events.

While contexts for the telling and discussion of narratives vary much from elicited narratives of personal experience to narrative-focused literacy events in a classroom, and these variations in context might contribute to differential opportunities to hear models and practice giving elaboration, a classroom literacy event more similar in most respects to the elicited narrative interview allows for some interesting comparison. As discussed in chapter four, the sharing time routine was a narrative-focused literacy event that happened routinely during morning meeting in the English-medium classroom and it proceeded like this: (1) the teacher

called on a child to share a short summary statement of his or her news, (2) classmates were invited to question the narrator for more information, and (3) the narrator provided more information. While the participation structure of this particular literacy event was also constrained by the teacher's procedures, it allows us to examine how children convey past experiences, what additional information classmates want and how they ask about it, and what the teacher expects during these interactions. As such, sharing time offers a valuable look at an event that is simultaneously narrative and academic in nature.

During sharing time narratives, not much elaboration was spontaneously offered by students, but this seemed to be by design; the teacher encouraged succinct opening statements summarizing a past event, and she enforced similarly to-the-point responses to questions. She herself consistently prompted students to elaborate on their opening statements and she socialized students to engage in this elaboration request, too, by offering prompts such as, "Ask your friends: do you have any questions?" The following excerpt is representative of teacher-student exchanges during sharing time. Explanations are interspersed with the excerpt to facilitate discussion of all the various ways the teacher and students built a reasonably full account of the event together. Notice throughout how the teacher shaped students' contributions through modeling and directly eliciting the type of responses she expected.

Excerpt 5.11 (English morning news, 2-17)

1. T: Let's turn and look this way uh we have three names on our news list today and Michelle you're the first one with news today. Come on up.
2. M: My news is <that I> [?] got a haircut.
3. T: Can you tell them nice and loud in your big voice?
4. M: I had a new haircut.

5. T: You have a new haircut. Do you want to tell us anything more about that?
6. M: (.) No.
7. T: No? I'm wondering some things about that. Ask your friends &d
8. M: Do you have any questions?
9. T: Do you have any questions?
10. M: &D do you have any questions?

In line five, the teacher gave the student a direct request for elaboration. When the student did not initiate the expected response, she made an interesting move. She gave a more specific prompt in line seven that was familiar to the students by the point about halfway through the school year when this literacy event occurred. This prompt included a directive and a sentence starter in the form of the first phoneme of the familiar question. In so doing, she also handed responsibility for getting the desired elaboration over to the students via a request from the speaker herself. From a language socialization perspective (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986), she was socializing her students to value and ask about details in others' personal narratives. She provided the verbal support necessary for her students to participate successfully, here with the abbreviated *&d*, which by this point served as reminder enough to the student of what it is she was supposed to ask. And indeed in line eight, the student took up the prompt and elicited questions from her peers as her teacher intended.

11. T: Ok, let's see. Uh James, what are you wondering?
12. J: When did you get your haircut?
13. T: When? We can use one of those words we were just talking about. *When* did you get your haircut?
14. M: Um (...) I don't remember.

15. T: You don't remember. Did you get it cut *yesterday*? The day right before today, yesterday? &C can you say that &I

16. M: I had um (.) I can't (.) I (got) (..)

17. T: I had my

18. M: hair cut yesterday.

19. T: I had my hair cut yesterday.

20. M: I had &my I had my hair cut yesterday.

In line 12, the child asked a question involving orientation and the teacher emphasized this word with tonic stress, an explicit reference to recent lessons and an explanation of the meaning in lines 13 and 15. Through redundancy, paraphrasing, and prosody the teacher attempted to clarify a vocabulary word so that the student could provide the time-oriented information requested by her classmate. This attention to vocabulary as needed in the service of allowing students to elaborate on orienting and evaluative information came up in the shared reading conversations, and was relevant in the sharing time events, too, as seen in this excerpt. Following the clarification, the teacher and Michelle worked together to build the rest of her narrative statement. In line 19, the teacher modeled how to provide the information in the form of a complete sentence, which Michelle did flawlessly in line 20 after interrupting her first attempt and then starting again with a repetition and the rest of the target sentence. As noted above with the phoneme-long sentence starter, this scaffolding of students' speech via modeling the target performance is a common strategy. The teacher here served as a mediator between the students' experience and her representation of that experience.

21. T: Ok. Um Allen do you want to ask something?

22. A: Um what time did you go there?

23. T: Well Allen is that something that we need to know, is that an important thing to know what time it was when she went? I & bet do & y do you look at the clock when you go to get your haircut and see what time it is? No. Can you think of something else you might want to know? (..) Wanna think a little bit more? Raise your hand if you think of another question? Um, Jasmine.

Here we can see the teacher policing elaboration requests and requiring that students stick to what seem to be more important details. Not only do they need to know how to elaborate and appropriately, but they also need to ask relevant and worthwhile questions.

24. Ja: Wh- How did you get there?

25. M: I went in a car [=quietly]. I went in a car [=louder].

26. T: Ok, a.nd let's see Beth?

27. B: Which hair place did you get your hair cut?

28. M: In (.) in the store,

29. T: In the store? Did you get it & cu your hair cut in a store or at the (.)beauty & p & sh parlor or at the: hair cuttery or at the: (.) hm what would we call that kind of place we get out hair cut, Cassie?

30. C: Hair salon.

31. T: A hair salon. Ooh, that's a good word.

32. M: I think that one.

33. T: You think that one. Can you say I got it cut at a hair salon.

34. M: I got it cut xxx um [=quietly].

35. T: hair s:

36. M: +< hair s

37. T: hair salon

38. M: +< hair salon [= teacher makes hand motion to prompt for whole sentence answer].

39. M: I (.) went into (.) to the hair salon.

40. T: Good I went into to the hair salon. Thank you Michelle, it looks very very nice.

41. M: +^ And my sister Tina and Nicki she cut the hair too.

42. T: Your sister Tina and Nicki had their hair cut too. Everybody got a haircut? How
(a)bout mom, did she get her haircut too?

43. K: +^ No:!

44. T: No, ok.

In line 27, Beth asked a question attuned to location, an orientation-related topic. In line 29, the teacher questioned the accuracy of the student's statement that she got her hair cut in a store and pushed for lexical specificity and accuracy. Together we can see the teacher and students constructing Michelle's ultimate response; after the teacher suggested several alternative sites to *the store*, Cassie volunteered the term *hair salon*. Michelle chose this term, and then the teacher helped her to make a complete statement by alternately modeling and pausing for her to repeat. After Michelle had practiced each portion of the sentence, the teacher used her usual gesture to request a complete sentence. What Michelle provided was not the exact sentence she and the teacher had just constructed, but the teacher evaluated the effort with a *good*, repeated Michelle's sentence, and provided an evaluative coda that moved the interaction from the instructional back to the social realm: *it looks very very nice*.

This move might also have been intended by the teacher to close the narrative and re-claim the floor but interestingly, here the student jumped in quickly with an authentic comment

about her sisters' haircuts. The sanctioned official sharing time is over, but by talking quickly, she regained the floor for at least one more turn with a contribution about details that hadn't been elicited but that were apparently important to her. This is one of several examples of breaks from the fairly constrained participation structures of sharing time and shared reading into students' linguistic productions more akin to those in the elicited personal narrative interviews than to those during typical literacy events.

While in the example above the teacher seemed to stay within a social frame, responding cooperatively by commenting and asking a related question, this was not always the case when these breakthrough narratives came up during an interaction that was otherwise carefully orchestrated by the teacher. In the following excerpt, the teacher followed up on a student's narrative by switching back to an instructional frame and repurposing it for a lesson on concise responses.

Excerpt 5.12 (Classroom literacy event, 2-3-09)

1. James: How did it get loose?
2. Tara: At lunchtime, I was biting I bit into apple sometimes and it &started my tooth hurted a little bit, and I wondered that my tooth was loose and when &I &when when I was &i in (the) school &m- I went to my mom and said mom my tooth feels loose and my mom (would) open a little bit and she &said and she was excited.
3. T: Ok so he asked you how did your tooth get loose, so the answer is I &b
4. Tara: I &bi bit into an apple.
5. T: Ok, that was a hard apple sometimes if y- if your tooth is getting ready to come out it'll make it start to wiggle.

In line one, James asked for his classmate to elaborate on her statement that her tooth was loose yesterday and she provided a complete narrative rather than the shorter answers that are typical for this type of literacy event. She started by providing an orientation to time and a background event – biting into an apple – before naming the complicating action: her tooth started to hurt. She gave a complex and developed narrative with her internal thoughts, constructed dialogue, orientation to place, and an evaluative statement in the form of her mother’s emotions about this loose tooth. However, this rich narrative that provided an elaborated response comprehensible to a naïve interlocutor did not fit with expectations for the sharing time routine and the teacher reminded Tara of the question and began to voice the expected answer to help her re-shape her response into a single succinct abstract-like statement about past experience rather than a full narrative: *I bit into an apple*. Although students are supposed to talk about past events, here answering factually and succinctly is valued and the elaborated narrative format the student used to respond is actually dispreferred.

There are at least two possible explanations for this. First, classroom discourse research at the secondary and post-secondary level has found that narrative approaches to demonstrating knowledge tend to be less expected and respected than other genres. Interestingly, here even during a narrative-focused literacy event, authentic, elaborative narration is discouraged in one instance. It could be that such a trend starts to appear even in early childhood classrooms. Alternatively, this sharing time literacy event could be analyzed as a hybrid discourse type that merges narration of personal experience with more expository discourse types privileged in classrooms with older students. It draws on topics with which students are familiar – past personal events – and uses this content that is meaningful to students to practice with asking questions appropriately and answering questions directly and succinctly, doing presentational

talk and inviting other to comment, and providing information that is new, clear, and just detailed enough for interlocutors. In this way, literacy events such as sharing time could be seen as sites for both narrative and age-appropriate academic discourse that gives students the opportunity to bridge what they know with new skills. It is a site where narrating is not merely facilitative of academic language and literacy development, but is actually constitutive of such development. The teacher deliberately structures the discourse and provides scaffolding for the students, and in this way her actions mediate the academic language development process for students.

Conclusions

To revisit the overarching purpose of this chapter, it answered the following research questions: What patterns of elaboration characterize English and Spanish personal narratives? Literacy events? What similarities exist between the two contexts and how might those promote academic language and literacy development? The first two have been answered fully with the data above and the results are recapped in this section, while the third has been answered implicitly and will be addressed more explicitly in this section.

Regarding patterns of elaboration in personal narration, in personal narratives, just over half of clauses for both English and Spanish narratives functioned to provide information other than action. However, children actually did relatively little expanding on basic propositions, although when they did so it was both with and without prompting from the interlocutor and often functioned to tell more about themselves or others. The data from literacy events shows that teachers may have been attuned to the developmental need for support in this area. While students provided very minimal elaboration on their own during literacy events, elaboration requests and support for the provision of elaboration by students featured prominently in teachers' talk.

Here, then, we see a rich and complicated relationship between elaboration, one aspect of contextualizing discourse, in the contexts of personal narrative and classroom literacy events. With respect to personal narratives, what seems to be important is not the level of elaboration that students provide in and of itself, but the variable conditions within which it is or isn't provided. Clearly elaboration is an area in which kindergarteners need to develop considerably, a fact to which the teachers seem to be attuned. On the surface, it looks as though the minimal elaboration provided by children in narratives would be an area of difference rather than an area of overlap with what is expected in academic settings. Where links between the two contexts become evident, however, is in the linguistic support provided by the interlocutor, whether intentionally or unintentionally. While some elaboration was provided without interviewer prompting in the personal narratives, narrators also made use of interviewer utterances as elaboration requests. Likewise, adult-supported elaboration is salient in narrative-focused classroom literacy events. Thus it is interactional features that provide support and scaffolding for linguistic development that serve as a connection between situations for elaboration as one aspect of contextualizing discourse. Participating in the telling of personal narratives may be facilitative of or even constitutive of academic language development in the presence of a supportive, interactive interlocutor.

Two implications can be drawn from the results presented in this chapter, one instructional and the other methodological. Continuing the line of discussion in the immediately preceding paragraph, an instructional implication revolves around the value of student-teacher interactions of various types in the classroom. Clearly it is valuable for teachers to scaffold students' development of the tendency to elaborate sufficiently and one way to do so is through the tightly controlled participation structures that come with morning news time and whole class

shared reading events. However, as the personal narrative data demonstrated, these young narrators do show an emerging tendency to elaborate independently and to make use of even relatively neutral interlocutor utterances as an invitation to elaborate. It would be valuable to introduce events in which students have time to engage freely in narrative conversation with other students and with the teacher or other adults. A more open participation structure such as this, in which students are expected to carry the greater part of the conversational load, would create the space necessary for students to practice their emerging competence in elaboration while also gaining the linguistic support they need from others.⁴

The other implication is methodological. As the personal narrative data show, the narrative interview method used does not result in data which is wholly representative of the interviewee's independent capabilities. The neutral prompts and sub-prompts that are part of this interviewing method are intended to prevent co-construction of narratives to the extent possible, and data elicited with this interview method has been used to draw conclusions about individuals' and similar groups of individuals' linguistic production (e.g., Peterson & McCabe, 1983; McCabe & Bliss, 2003; Minami, 2002). Minami (2002) describes the perceived advantage of this method clearly:

To maintain conversational interaction and to further facilitate conversation, general subprompts (i.e. non-directive general cues) were also employed... but no specific questions were asked, so that this narrative elicitation could allow for assessment of narrative skills in the absence of adult scaffolding. The interviewer avoided prompts that

⁴ Though the focus of this analysis was whole-class narrative-focused literacy events, there were indeed other literacy event types in these classrooms that allowed students more freedom to practice with language. By emphasizing the importance of including literacy events with various participation structures, I do not mean to suggest that the teachers in this study did not do so.

would lead to a particular pattern of narrative discourse. The narratives elicited from the children were thus relatively monologic in nature. (pp. 58-59)

Data from this project demonstrates, however, that narrators in interview contexts might perceive what is intended by the interviewer as a neutral sub-prompt as a request for elaboration, clarification, repetition, or other function. These interview narratives are thus inescapably dialogic and co-constructed in at least some sense. As Mehan (1979) pointed out in his seminal article on the initiation-reply-evaluation (IRE) sequence common in classrooms, it is important to be aware of the level of support a young language user receives when assessing production and making evaluative judgments. An in-depth analysis of turn-by-turn interaction during elicited narrative interviews such as that done in this project may provide rich information about how narrators build on the speech of their interviewers, and it may also enhance the validity of conclusions drawn about individual linguistic production. Analysis of elicited narrative interview data, then, is strengthened by and conclusions drawn from such data are made more valid through close examination of the extent to which interviewer and narrator co-construct the story.

The next chapter focuses closely on another feature of contextualizing discourse – orientation – and examines patterns in personal narrative, literacy events, and interlocutor support as has this chapter.

CHAPTER 6: ORIENTING SUFFICIENTLY IN NARRATIVES AND NARRATIVE-FOCUSED LITERACY

EVENTS

Both successful narrators and effective academic language users must carefully design their performances to fit the information needs of their audiences. That is, they must balance between providing new information and assuming access to existing information in order to successfully convey their messages. As discussed in chapter two, academic language has been characterized as decontextualized (e.g., Cummins, 1981, Curen-ton & Justice, 2004; Curen-ton, Craig & Flanigan, 2008), explicit and self-contained, and narratives of past personal experience have likewise been characterized as decontextualized in the sense of being told in a time and place removed from occurrence and often in the sense of being told to someone without knowledge of the events (e.g., Curen-ton & Justice, 2004). This chapter examines points in personal narratives in which the participants were attending to the task of adjusting discourse to fit their interlocutor's needs for information about time, place, and characters in the narrative, and it makes comparisons with ways in which these needs are attended to in narrative-focused literacy events. More specifically, it addresses the following question: What patterns of orientation characterize English and Spanish personal narratives? Literacy events? What similarities exist between the two contexts and how might those promote academic language and literacy development?

Using relevant quantification and a series of excerpts from the transcripts, this chapter demonstrates how orientation is salient in both narrative and classroom discourse, though each context provides differential levels of support for child linguistic production, different opportunity for active language use by students, and different sources of monitoring and regulation of children's speech. In personal narratives, a phenomenon I call *backfilling* was

salient. That is, narrators exhibited the tendency to self-monitor and provide the orienting information their interlocutors needed to make sense of their stories. In classroom literacy events, the teachers tended to do more of the monitoring on behalf of students and they regularly supported students' use of orientation.

Analytic Approaches to Orientation

Narratives and narrative-focused literacy events were elicited as described in detail in chapter three. The elicited data was coded for orientation using a protocol modified from that used by Peterson & McCabe (1983, p. 32) as indicated in table 6.1.

Table 6.1 <i>Orientation Types and Explanations</i>	
Orientation type	Explanation
Participants	Naming and describing participants and stating their general or habitual actions that will be followed by a specific instance.
Time	Establishes timeframe of narrative relative to the calendar, clock, or some other imminent event.
Setting	Describes location of people or objects, provides information about the scene of the action, or establishes general conditions prevailing at time of action with respect to the weather, temperature, noise or other sensory phenomena.
Ongoing events	Gives information about ongoing or background actions at the time of the principal events.

Data were tallied according to orientation type and raw frequencies and percentages are displayed later in this chapter to provide a basic quantitative snapshot of how they were distributed in the personal narrative data. Finally, both the elicited and naturalistic data transcripts were coded in reiterative fashion for emergent themes with the above-referenced orientation scheme as a guiding framework and, as explained in chapter three, dominant themes were identified through the recursive processes of comparing, organizing, reorganizing, memo writing, formulating hypotheses about trends and themes, and checking and re-coding as necessary.

Data and Results on Orientation in Personal Narratives and Literacy Events

This section presents data and analysis that answers this chapter's research questions about orientation in personal narratives and literacy events and connections between the two. It starts with a treatment of the personal narratives and then moves on to discuss literacy event data. A full discussion of the results is included in the final section.

Who, When, and Where: An Analysis of Orientation in Kindergarteners' Personal Narratives

This section is organized into two sub-sections: (1) a numeric presentation of data regarding orientation types and (2) a qualitative presentation of data on *backfilling*, a predominant discursive pattern with implications for the questions of orientation that are the focus of this chapter and links between social and academic language that are the overriding focus of this study.

Quantitative Presentation of Orientation Types

As explained above, four different types of orientation were identified in the narratives in this study: orientation related to participants, time, setting, and ongoing events. Table 6.2 below displays the percentage of clauses containing each type of information.

	English	Spanish
Participants Frequency (average)	41 (10%)	50 (15%)
Time Frequency (average)	11 (3%)	14 (4%)
Setting Frequency (average)	49 (13%)	22 (6%)
Ongoing Events Frequency (average)	11 (3%)	17 (6%)
Totals	112	103

When all orientation types are compared, clauses relating to the participants in the story make up the greatest number of orientation statements in Spanish narratives, while those relating to setting make up the greatest number in English narratives. References to time and ongoing events characterize the smallest percentage of clauses in English narratives, and references to time also characterize the smallest percentage of clauses in Spanish narratives. The category of setting differentiates narratives in the two languages to the greatest extent; English speakers tend to provide more information on the location of the events being narrated. The orientation to participants in Spanish narratives is slightly higher than that for English, a trend that has also been noted in for Spanish speakers in similar work (McCabe & Bliss, 2003). The relative frequency of occurrence of references to time and ongoing events was comparable from group to group.

A qualitative analysis of the orientation in these narratives also highlights many similarities in the use of orientation across groups while finding an association between hesitation phenomena and provision of orientation that provides clues as to these young interlocutors' awareness of the need to provide background information which their listeners do not share with them. This analysis is discussed next.

Qualitative Analysis of Orientation: Backfilling as a Window on Young Narrators' Cognition

A qualitative analysis of orientation in the narratives of the emergent bilinguals who participated in this study reveals some level of awareness of their interlocutor's knowledge base. Across speakers in both English and Spanish, there is a consistent and notable co-occurrence of hesitation phenomena and narrator provision of orientation information as well as a tendency to fill in helpful orientation information without overt hesitation. Though there has been no obvious breakdown in communication in many cases, this tendency fits in part what others (e.g., Hlavac,

2011; Kaur, 2011; Reed, 2000; Schegloff, Jefferson, & Sacks, 1977) have described as repair. This tendency for narrators to provide information that helps the interlocutor understand a previous fully- or partially-stated utterance has been termed *backfilling* in this dissertation because it goes beyond repair of an overt error in lexical choice, syntax, phonology, or even fact, areas identified by previous work (e.g., Kaur, 2011, Reed, 2000) as possible targets for correction, and engages in an explicit attempt to supply sufficient information for smooth communication specifically in a narrative context and often before a communication problem has arisen. In the elicited narrative data analyzed for this project, this phenomenon is generally accompanied by hesitation phenomena such as false starts, retracing, self corrections, and filled and unfilled pauses. At times, though, a narrator engages in backfilling with a cataphoric reference or around a complete action statement with an element that needs more explanation to be fully intelligible to a naïve interlocutor. In this case, as discussed in chapter three, that naïve interlocutor was the principal investigator and author of this report.

To start with a simple example of this phenomenon of backfilling, consider the following in which a narrator self-initiates a repair to a potential trouble spot and fills in information which disambiguates the identify of a participant:

Excerpt 6.1 (Ef3, narrative 3)

1. *CHI: → um a long time ago, um like, yesterday I went to my grandma's house.
2. *CHI: my [/] my cousin, she loves to play.
3. *INV: she does?
4. *CHI: she loves to a lot even in the dark.
5. *INV: really, even in the dark.
6. *CHI: yeah in the house.

7. *INV: yeah, so what happened?
8. *CHI: → um &sh uh my mom said to stop running.
9. *CHI: but she didn't listen.

The narrator set the stage by talking about her play date with her cousin and implying that it was at her grandma's house. In line one, she caught herself making an inaccurate statement about the timing of her visit to her grandmother and after a filled pause and the discourse marker *like*, she updated her choice of words with one that fits the actual situation better: *yesterday*. By line eight, she had not yet introduced any characters beyond her cousin and herself. The beginning of the clause in line eight contains a filled pause and a false start, which can be presumed to be the start to the referential term *she*. Rather than finish, the narrator abandoned this lexical item and, after another filled pause, provided an unambiguous reference for the person to whom she was referring: her mother. At this point, the interlocutor had clear information available that helps to establish the identity of an additional participant in the narrative. Both of these repairs were initiated and completed by the narrator herself within the same turn.

The rest of this section provides additional examples of where and how backfilling occurs in the data. These examples build an argument for this phenomenon as an indication of narrators' awareness of the need to provide sufficient orientation information in all of the categories identified – participants, time, setting and ongoing events – and they also demonstrate how there is a tendency toward both self- and other-initiated provision of this information in personal narrative. Throughout and in the discussion section in particular the trends in this data are connected with those in prior research.

As with the example in excerpt 6.1, the narrator of the excerpt below provided the information necessary for retrieving the referent for an otherwise ambiguous reference. Prior to

the utterance in the excerpt below, the child had talked about his brother but had not yet introduced his father in the story. Without the appended phrase in line five, the most likely referent for the “he” is the brother.

Excerpt 6.2 (ef1, narrative 1)

1. *INV: wait now what did your brother do to make a mess in your living room?
2. *CHI: bedroom.
3. *INV: or your bedroom?
4. *CHI: (.) he [/] he pulled out all the clothes because we're [/] we're going to a basketball uh show.
5. *CHI: → he's playing basketball, my dad is.

With the addition of the reference to the father, *he* becomes a cataphoric reference interpretable through what follows. While there are no overt hesitation phenomena here, the narrator nevertheless stops the forward progress of the narrative and steps back to fill in the referent that will clarify the identity of this new character for the interlocutor. It should be noted that this repair occurs in the same turn and was initiated by the narrator herself.

Likewise in the following excerpt, a Spanish-dominant narrator referred to unknown co-actors with a first person plural marker on a verb and then clarified by referring explicitly to his cousin and father.

Excerpt 6.3 (sm2, narrative 4)

1. INV: did you ever get hurt?
2. CHI: mhmm (.) mm (.) yeah.
3. *INV: you did, what happened?
4. *CHI: I was running fast.

5. *CHI: and I [///] [= language switch] me salió tres sangres acá [= language switch] here and my fingers.
6. *INV: +< uhhuh.
7. *INV: ooh your fingers.
8. *INV: and then?
9. *CHI: → we were supposed to go [= language switch] íbamos a ir mi primo y mi papi a comprar unas cosas.
10. *INV: uhhuh.
11. *CHI: pero no fuimos porque porque.
12. *CHI: y mi primo se quedó conmigo en el cuarto de mi mamá.

As Spanish allows for more flexible word order than English and no hesitation phenomena are present to indicate that the child might have been processing some need to clarify or amplify information he was providing, it is difficult to know whether this cataphoric reference could be evidence of the narrator's awareness of the interlocutor's prior knowledge of people and events in this story. However, there is only one other example of cataphoric reference in the 36 pronominal references this narrator makes, so cataphoric reference does seem to be marked for him. Here as with the prior example from an English-dominant narrator, the narrator provided explicit orientation to characters after an action statement involving one or more unnamed participants within the same clause. As is evident in the three examples just discussed, then, taking the initiative on one's own to clarify ambiguous references is one way these young narrators provide enough orientation to participants for a naïve interlocutor to understand the story. While this backfilling is sometimes not accompanied by hesitation phenomena as in two of the three above examples, it often is as in the first and many of the upcoming examples.

While repairs which clarify participants often happen within the same clause, at times they involve multiple clauses or abandoning and restarting clauses with entirely different information. In the excerpt below, a native English speaking girl telling a story about her trip to an amusement park backtracked to provide additional information about a participant in the story.

Excerpt 6.4 (ef3, narrative 4)

1. *CHI: &s and [/] and I told this girl +/.
2. *CHI: (be)cause I was going in [/] in the train.
3. *CHI: she [/] she's the helper on the train.

In line one, she prefaced *girl* with the generic reference *this*, and then self-interrupted to locate herself in the amusement park and establish the identity of the girl with respect to her location. This elaboration provided information that clarified the identity of the participant as an employee of the park and also aggrandized the transgression that the narrator was to recount next. Thus this added orientation not only helped the interlocutor have a clearer understanding of the characters in the narrative, but it also enabled the evaluation of subsequent events by the narrator and interlocutor. While multiple clauses were involved, the repair was initiated and completed within the same turn by the interlocutor herself.

This phenomenon of backfilling spans all of the categories of orientation identified previously in this chapter. Not only do English- and Spanish-dominant narrators display awareness of the need to provide clear information related to the participants in their narratives, but they also make an effort to fill in information related to setting and time. In the lines leading up to the following excerpt, the narrator had just finished describing a medical procedure he had. In the excerpt, he followed up on a prompt for continuation and tried to explain why he was late

for school. The non-chronological nature of this excerpt and word choice that doesn't quite match target forms for adult speakers make it a bit hard to interpret, nevertheless, the excerpt shows the narrator adding an explanation of the situation that seems to be intended to clarify the timeline of events for the interlocutor.

Excerpt 6.5 (em3, narrative 5)

1. *CHI: and I went back to Pine Branch my old school.
2. *INV: you went back to Pine Branch your old school?
3. *CHI: yeah because [/] because I got late from school because I had to test only one bump off.
4. *CHI: then after school they took a lot off.
5. *INV: a lot off!
6. *CHI: and then I went back to school.

After mentioning that he went back to school, the narrator provided additional information about this event: he was late and it was because of a diagnostic medical procedure. This is an example of a narrator filling in time-related information in response to the interlocutor's prompt, and it is illustrative of the attempts the young narrators in this study made to adjust their speech to make it comprehensible and clear to an interlocutor.

Of note are the likely sources of initiation for this backfilling. In line two, the interviewer echoes the narrator's statement nearly verbatim, the purpose of which, according to the interview methodology being used (Peterson & McCabe, 1983) was to encourage the child to continue speaking while at the same time avoiding the provision of substantial direction or content for the child. The repetition strategy was similar to but not the exact same as one other-initiated repair

elicitation strategy described by Schegloff, Jefferson & Sacks (1977), partial repetition, in that it involved near complete repetition versus a short snippet as in study by Schegloff and colleagues. Judging by the narrator's response in line three, the narrator treated my utterance in line two as an elaboration request. Despite the intention to avoid pushing the narrative in any particular direction, it should be noted that here and in other interview interactions, children often interpreted the neutral cues to continue talking as elaboration or clarification requests judging by subsequent turns, as discussed in chapter five. I would argue that this creative interpretation is not wholly self- or other-initiated repair (Schegloff, Jefferson & Sacks, 1977), but a joint effort on the part of both parties.

Moving forward, while the backfilling in the previous example occurred partially in response to the narrator's cues, many of the instances of backfilling were not prompted by the interviewer's repetitions or other backchannelling cues, but rather were self-initiated, which suggests these young language users engaged in self-monitoring as they spoke.

The examples below illustrate a tendency to self-initiate repair as well as the tendency to fill in information about time and place in addition to characters, this last of which has been well-illustrated above. In the examples that follow, narrators often change courses mid-clause and provide more context for what they were about to say regarding time or place. Note excerpt 6.6 below in which a Spanish –dominant girl was talking about giving her mother a gift.

Excerpt 6.6 (sf5, narrative 1)

1. *CHI: le hice un regalo.
2. *CHI: → <y después um cuando fui a casa> [///] estaba en la escuela.
3. *CHI: y cuando fui a casa uh lo enseñé a mi papi y a mi mami.

In line one, the narrator stated that she made her mother a gift and then she began line two with a temporal marker and a dependent clause indicating that she went home. However, she had not previously established a setting for these events, so this statement about movement from an unnamed location to home damaged the coherence of the story a bit. She rectified this by stepping back in time to let the interlocutor know that she was in school when she made the gift. After filling in this information, she moved forward again to talk about what she did once she got home. With this abrupt self-interruption and addition of locational information at the time of the gift-making, the child provided important information that improved coherence and helped the interlocutor make meaning out of what she was saying. She also demonstrated a tendency to monitor and adjust her speech for her interlocutor as necessary.

In the next excerpt we see a similar but even more complicated example of a young language user making an effort to match events with a progression of narrative clauses in a way that makes sense to the interlocutor. In excerpt 6.7, he was in the early stages of recounting a story of a burglary in his home.

Excerpt 6.7 (sm5, narrative 2)

1. *CHI: a las ocho y media yo tenía que ir a dormir.
2. *CHI: <y entonces estaban> [//] y todos estaban durmiendo.
3. *CHI: y de allí escuch [///] y [/] y &s y no estaba durmiendo.

After giving information on his bedtime and stating that all were sleeping, the narrator began to recount that he heard noises. At this point in line three we can see a cluster of hesitation phenomena in the form of a self-interruption, repetitions and a false start before a statement that qualified and updated the information he has supplied about ongoing events. Likely the narrator had realized the inconsistency between his statement that everyone was sleeping and he heard

something, and so he provided the additional information that he was awake to clarify. The end effect is that with the addition of this information in line three, the storyline progressed more smoothly and the narrative was more coherent overall.

Here the narrative genre is providing a site for young language users to practice within a crucial area of development: understanding what interlocutors do and do not know about topics being discussed and matching the nature of the information they provide to this level of understanding in a way adequate for communicating their intended message. Despite concerns that interview-elicited data does not promote recipient-designed stories, (Goodwin, 1997; Schegloff, 1997), in this data we see evidence of young narrators striving to design their narratives in ways that will be understandable for their interlocutor. Narrators must balance this building up of context through explicit provision of information with presumptions of what information is available to interlocutors through shared physical or experiential context, a topic to be discussed in depth in the next chapter using the notion of reference (Halliday & Hasan, 1976; Martin, 1992; Martin & Rose, 2003) as an analytical lens. In any case, it could be argued that this understanding of how to calibrate information provided to information needed or called for by the situation and interlocutor is also a key requirement for language use in academic settings, a point to be discussed further at the conclusion of this chapter.

The prior examples provide a window into these young narrators' thinking about what information is important to provide explicitly to their interlocutors. As discussed above, through the co-occurrence of hesitation phenomena and reformulated or elaborated utterances, we can infer some awareness on the part of narrators of the need to adjust discourse to fit their interlocutor's knowledge base. At least one young Spanish-dominant narrator also provided a

more specific example of this awareness as she stepped out of the narrative frame and spoke directly to her interlocutor.

Excerpt 6.8 (sf5, narrative 2)

1. *CHI: mhmm y despues um yo [///] y mi papi tenía una cosa acá.
2. *CHI: y um [/] um &f um [/] um (.) fui um él lo fue al &hos> +/.
3. →*CHI: uh (.) a quiere decir este.
4. *CHI: um mi papi &s al trabajo se golpió el ojo.

Before this excerpt, the child had been prefacing her story with comments about how she and her sister didn't recall the story well because they were little. In line one, she rather abruptly stopped with this line of comments and provided a statement about her father's physical condition followed by a self-interrupted statement about him going to the hospital. In line three, she stepped out of the story world altogether and addressed the interlocutor with a meta-linguistic statement regarding the meaning of what she was saying. Her statement in line three seems to indicate that she realized that there was room for clarification and elaboration, and she then went on to provide that in line four by relating an event that occurred before that related in line one, chronologically speaking. This direct statement of attention to meaning as well as the repetitions, filled pause, and self-interruption in line two and the filled and unfilled pause in line three together suggest a struggle for the right words and an overt admission of that struggle. Again we see indication of a child's efforts to be clear and to elaborate sufficiently for the interlocutor to understand, characteristics described for both narration and academic language.

To sum up this section on orientation in personal narratives, orientation makes up a notable portion – between 26% and 31% of all narrative clauses – of the overall substance of the narratives analyzed for this project, as it has in corpora for similar studies (e.g., Minami, 2002;

Peterson & McCabe, 1983). In both English and Spanish, narrators provide information on time, place, characters, and ongoing events that establishes the context, enables meaning-making by interlocutors, and enriches the narrative. Here with these categories of orientation is where we see some of the very few differences between contextualizing language in English and in Spanish narratives and narrative-related literacy events; Spanish narratives tended to incorporate more orientation to participants, while English narratives tended to incorporate more orientation to setting.

The results of the in-depth qualitative analysis of orientation suggest that in many cases for both English and Spanish, narrators attend carefully to the process of contextualizing their narratives, sometimes with prompting by the interlocutor but often through self-regulating behavior. The phenomenon of backfilling – that is, the interruption of the temporal flow of the narrative to provide additional orientation, often in conjunction with hesitation phenomena – provides a window into these young narrators’ thinking about what information is important to provide explicitly to their interlocutors. Narrators engage in backfilling to clarify information on characters, place, and time and they do so both with and without interlocutor prompting. The meaning and implications of these findings are discussed in detail at the end of this chapter after an exploration of orientation in literacy events.

Orientation in Narrative-Focused Literacy Events

As with elaboration in chapter five, the teacher-directed participation structure of the narrative-focused classroom literacy events constrained students’ talk and left few opportunities for them to freely provide the orientation information they might feel was needed or relevant. Orientation did feature prominently in several of the literacy events as teachers read stories, asked questions, modeled language, and engaged in discussion with students, however, the extent

to which it became the overt focus of any particular exchange was related to its overall role in narrative meaning-making. In the Spanish Gingerbread Man narrative-focused literacy event, for example, mentions of place and characters occurred as the teacher read the story, but class conversation was focused on the events themselves rather than orientation. In the English *Three Billy Goats Gruff* literacy event, on the other hand, place and time became relevant to the principal focus of the lesson, which was comprehending and retelling the beginning, middle and end of the story, and so the teacher asked about them. Place became relevant as Ms. Lake read the opening pages in which the setting of the story was established. She stopped reading and asked students to explain to the class the meanings of *distant*, in *distant hillside* and *swift* in *swift river*. These actions seem to be related to a proactive focus on meaning making. That is, the teacher anticipated setting-related words that might cause confusion for story comprehension and retelling, and she explained them at the outset. This attention to setting also arose when there was a problem with re-telling the story, as in the following excerpt.

Excerpt 6.9 (English Billy Goats Gruff, 4-21)

1. T: Alright. Who can tell me something that happened in the middle of the story? Oh what else did we learn at the beginning of the story? Why couldn't they just go across the bridge? Adele?
2. A: Because the troll?
3. T: What about the troll?
4. A: He was gonna eat them?
5. T: Because there was a +... (.) +, troll who [/] who was where? Where was the troll?
6. A: Under the bridge.

7. T: Under the bridge. Why couldn't they & j cross over, just walk over the bridge anyway?
8. A: (.) because (.) xx (.)
9. T: I think you know. They couldn't cross the bridge because there was a troll and what & would [/] what did that troll wanna do?
10. A: Eat them.
11. T: Alright so can you put that all together and say it?
12. A: Because the troll wanted to eat them?
13. T: Ok so they couldn't cross the bridge because under the bridge there was a troll who wanted to eat them.

In lines two and four, Adele named a character and motivation, but left out details of the location, which Ms. Lake evidently deemed as central to adequately re-constructing the meaning of the story. She questioned Adele as to the whereabouts of the troll in the story in line five and then in line seven, drew this location in as relevant to the complicating action. Thus here, as at a few other points in the narrative-focused literacy events, orientation became focal when it was involved with overall meaning-making.

In the news events, orientation takes on a more prominent focus, yet still in a way that attends to meaning and is often overtly instructional in nature. Many of the questions students ask after their classmates' short narratives prompts for orientation-related information and the teacher emphasizes time-related vocabulary. The emphases on clarifying meaning and on vocabulary are both evident in the following excerpt from a morning news event in the English-medium classroom. At the point this excerpt starts, Tara had just finished telling about how her

tooth got loose yesterday as she ate an apple and about how her mother looked at it when she got home from school. Cassie asked a question.

Excerpt 6.10 (English morning news, 2-3)

1. Cassie: When did her mom look at her tooth?
2. Teacher: Oh she just told her that Cassie, what did she say.
3. C: Um xx make [?] apple.
4. T: You asked her when did your mom wiggle your tooth and Tara just told us that. What did she say? (.) When she got (..) home from school, she told her mommy and her mommy wiggled it. So when did her mommy wiggle it?
5. C: (.) Yesterday.
6. T: Yesterday when, in the morning?
7. C: In the afternoon.
8. T: In the afternoon. Yesterday afternoon after school.
9. T: Ok, well thank you Tara.

In line two, the Ms. Lake expressed dismay about Cassie's question because Tara had shared that information in her original narrative and another student had already followed up with a question about the same information. She asked Cassie to recall what Tara had just said about the timing of the event, and when Cassie gave an unsatisfactory response, Ms. Lake provided progressively greater amount of linguistic scaffolding in line four. She started with a hint about the source of this information and then asked her to recall what Tara had said. When this question and the following pause did not elicit the desired response, Ms. Lake supplied the first three words of the response herself and then paused a bit longer than in the previous utterance. When this still did not elicit the target information, the teacher supplied the time herself and then immediately

followed up with a question that would check the student's comprehension of what she had just said. Interestingly, Cassie responds with the more general orientation term *yesterday* rather than the more specific reference to after school that Ms. Lake has just supplied for her. Ms. Lake, however, affirmed her answer by repeating it and then requested expansion to include the more specific time.

Through interactions like this, then, we see how orientation does become salient in narrative-focused literacy events in order to pre-empt or correct a potential or actual misunderstanding. This is not completely unlike the situation with backfilling in which the narrator provides additional information or clearer information in response to an actual or perceived need to clarify for the interlocutor. In the case of the literacy events described above, however, the teacher is fulfilling the regulatory function rather than the speakers themselves. Because of the differing participation structures, the narrative interviews afford more opportunity for self-regulation and self-repair, while the literacy events afford more opportunity for teacher modeling, elicitation, and requests for clarification. Implications of these differences are discussed toward the end of the chapter.

As mentioned in chapter four, though, occasionally students did break through the expected participation structure and engage in more extended narration that afforded them the opportunity to engage in self-regulation and backfilling, as in the following morning news narrative where Tara told her loose tooth story.

Excerpt 6.11 (English morning news, 2-3)

1. James: How did it get loose?
2. → Tara: At lunchtime, I <was biting> [//] I bit into apple sometimes and <it started> [///]
→ my tooth hurted a little bit, and I wondered that my tooth was loose and when &I

when [/] when I was & i in the [?] school & my [//] I went to my mom and said mom my tooth feels loose and my mom said [?] open a little bit and she said [///] and she was excited.

3. Teacher: Ok so he asked you how did your tooth get loose, so the answer is I & b

4. Tara: I & b i bit into an apple.

Here she took the opportunity afforded by her classmate's question and told about biting into an apple and showing her mom after school. As indicated by the underlined words at the beginning of Tara's response, she first referred to her tooth as *it* and then stopped and reformulated on her own to the less ambiguous *my tooth*. As with the elicited personal narratives, when given the space to narrate in an extended way, the narrator engaged in the self-regulated behavior of monitoring her speech and providing additional information when needed.

Discussion and Conclusions

As a reminder, this chapter addressed the following research questions: What patterns of orientation characterize English and Spanish personal narratives? Literacy events? What similarities exist between the two contexts and how might those promote academic language and literacy development? To re-cap the results, narrators orient their interlocutors to time, place, characters and ongoing events and they demonstrate awareness of the need to do so through backfilling, which is sometimes prompted by a narrator's interpretation of one of the interviewer's comments, and often initiated by the narrator him or herself. The latter demonstrates a tendency to self-monitoring and regulation of speech, and even the former suggests a level of sensitivity to the interlocutor's information needs. These results were consistent across both Spanish and English narratives. In classroom literacy events, on the other hand, narrators had little opportunity to self-regulate, as the regulation function was largely

fulfilled by the teacher, but they encountered a lot of modeling, elicitation and other scaffolding of linguistic production from the teacher and their peers.

The findings regarding backfilling are important for several reasons. First, this phenomenon has not, to my knowledge, been described in detail for narrative contexts and for the purpose of examining narrators' processes of designing talk for their interlocutors. The notion of backfilling is related to and fits with many points made about repair, but it also differs subtly. Often, studies of disfluency markers such as pauses, false starts and repetition have been associated with retrospective error correction or with pre-emptive word searching (e.g., Heike, 1981). Like other studies though (e.g., Kaur, 2011; Schegloff, Jefferson & Sacks, 1977), the data in this study suggest that repair-related phenomenon need not necessarily correct an overt error, but rather are connected to the narrator's attempt to communicate clearly, or, as Heike (1981) put it in a discussion of two types of hesitation phenomena, the purpose is "the generation of maximally acceptable speech output to assure the most effective communicative interaction" (p. 151). Not only do the instances of backfilling in this data not address overt errors, but they also do not always involve hesitation phenomena that would signal overt recognition of a trouble spot. In this sense, then, backfilling takes another step away from what is typically recognized as repair and focuses more specifically on narrators' attempts to make speech clear and sufficiently informative.

The idea of backfilling is also important because it helps to answer the research question about what narrators do with respect to orientation when narrating independently, and then, crucially, also begins to give a sense of what processes might be implicated in applying competencies with aspects of personal narrative to participation in narrative-focused classroom literacy events. Backfilling provides a window into narrators' thinking about what information is

important to provide to their interlocutor and it allows us to examine when, where and how the narrator integrates new information. While some backfilling could be attributed to narrators' interpretations of their interlocutor's comments and therefore could be described to some degree as other-initiated, much of it occurred in the same clause or turn in which the narrator perceived a problematic statement, and would clearly be considered self-initiated. Through examination of backfilling, then, we can see how young narrators are monitoring and regulating their own speech.

This idea of regulation becomes one important link, then, between making language sufficiently informative in personal narrative and doing so in classroom literacy events. While we know from the data presented in this chapter that children are aware of the need to design their narratives for their interlocutor, and that they self-regulate in their attempts to do so, we also know from the classroom literacy event data that the sources of regulation are different in this context. To be sure, one narrator did manage to demonstrate through backfilling her tendency to self-regulate when she took the opportunity to speak at length, but generally the teachers monitored and limited children's linguistic production and served the regulatory function, either preemptively or in reaction to a problem. Thus in the classroom literacy event data for this project, regulation largely took the form of other-regulation. Presumably, over time and with more opportunity for practice with extended discourse during these literacy events, there would be a shift toward greater incidence of self-regulation.

The role of adults in initiating repair in children's speech or other non-proficient language users' speech and its socialization function in language development have been noted by Schegloff, Jefferson and Sacks (1977) in their seminal article on repair in conversation. In this article, they noted the preference for self-initiation and self-completion of repair in dyadic or

multi-party talk. They also documented the more limited location and manner in which other-initiation or other-repair are performed. However, they acknowledge that the following:

The exception is most apparent in the domain of adult-child interaction... There, other-correction seems to be not as infrequent, and appears to be one vehicle for socialization. If that is so, then it appears that other-correction is not so much an alternative to self-correction in conversation in general, but rather a device for dealing with those who are still learning or being taught to operate with a system which requires, for its routine operation, that they be adequate self-monitors and self-correctors as a condition of competence. (Schegloff, Jefferson & Sacks, 1981, p. 381)

The data in this project bear out their observation. As discussed in the previous paragraph, the classroom discourse data showed a strong tendency toward both other-initiated prompts for orientation information and other-completed repair. The teachers either consciously or subconsciously understood their role as monitors and regulators in the language socialization process. In the personal narrative data, we do not see the interviewer providing overt repair for the narrator by design, but we do see instances of children using what the interlocutor said as other-initiated prompts for orientation information even though it was not necessarily intended that way. It seems these young narrators implicitly understand that exception noted by Schegloff, Jefferson & Sacks (1977) and that they are accustomed to, expect, and make use of other-initiated prompts as cues for when it is appropriate and necessary to fill in more information. In the absence of overt signals that their communication has been problematic, the young language users interpret their interlocutor's speech in a creative manner that facilitates their participation in the speech event at hand.

To conclude, I would like to draw the discussion back to the idea of contextualizing language as one common thread in both personal narrative and academic language. In discussing questions about academic language being (de)contextualized, it is helpful to tease apart the different meanings of the term *context*. It might be more accurate to characterize it as generally lacking in assumptions of shared physical context, but variable in its assumption of interlocutors' shared cultural and experiential knowledge. Just as academic language users must strike a balance between provision and assumption of information for their target audience and for their purposes, so narrators must take into account what information their interlocutors already have access to and what they must provide. It is this commonality that could explain how engaging in narrative could be a form of preparation for academic language use, and in the above examples, we have evidence of students struggling with this as well as evidence of how they attend to the need for it.

The next chapter in this dissertation, which is the third and final data chapter, deals with the topic of personal and pronominal reference in narratives and literacy events. It builds on and expands this idea that narrators and academic language users must both understand the knowledge base and information needs of their interlocutors and adjust their speech accordingly. It also connects that understanding of the knowledge base with the concepts of identity and, more specifically, positioning.

CHAPTER 7: REFERENCE IN PERSONAL NARRATIVE AND CLASSROOM LITERACY EVENTS

The notion of reference, that is to say, items which “instead of being interpreted semantically in their own right... make reference to something else for their interpretation” (Halliday & Hasan, 1976, p. 31) is relevant to an investigation of academic language in general and contextualizing discourse in particular. As discussed previously, both proficient academic language use and personal experience narration require an individual to tailor his or her speech or writing to a fictionalized audience, to provide the context necessary for this fictionalized/naïve interlocutor to understand, and to construct a cohesive, relatively closed text that relies minimally on shared physical or experiential context. In other words, one would expect to see, in both academic language and narratives of personal experience, a preponderance of endophoric reference, that is, references whose meaning can be retrieved from the text. Conversely, there should be less exophora, that is, use of reference whose meaning derives from the situation of the telling, or homophora, that is, references to the context of the culture.

This chapter examines data that addresses the following questions: What patterns of pronominal reference characterize English and Spanish personal narratives? Literacy events? What similarities exist between the two contexts and how might those promote academic language and literacy development? The data in this chapter show that the proportional use of each type of reference was nearly as expected – that is, endophoric reference was indeed common and homophoric reference was indeed least common – for both the English and Spanish personal narratives and literacy events. As addressed below, exophora was also used fairly frequently. More interestingly, though, the young narrators’ use of homophoric and bridging reference serve as a window on their understandings of what I knew as the interviewer and interlocutor during personal narratives and further, constructed dialogue and speaker role

pronouns allow for examination of the learning process with respect to personal reference in classroom interaction. In this chapter, I show that the notion of positioning (Bamberg, 1997, 2004; Davies & Harré, 1990) helps to explain the variability in use of personal references by students and teachers and that the idea of framing (Goffman, 1974; Schiffrin, 1993; Tannen, 1993) is implicated with the socialization function of this variable use of personal reference in classroom discourse. Specifically, this chapter argues that (1) the narrators' attempts to position me as a co-member or non-member of their communities help to explain their use of homophoric and reference and that (2) as teachers effect frame shifts between classroom management discourse, instructional modeling and prompting, reading aloud, and storyworld constructed dialogue, they demand that students reassign meaning to personal pronouns in a way that can serve a socialization function in the classroom over time. Taken together, these two findings suggest further ways in which use of contextualizing language in one setting may be complementary to or facilitative of use in another setting, a topic discussed at the end of the chapter. The following sections work toward that end by providing the necessary background on the data. A quantitative snapshot is followed by a rich qualitative description of the data.

Data and Analysis

Reference by the Numbers: A Quantitative Look at Personal and Pronominal Reference in Personal Narratives

Because of their relevance to building context, being explicit, and signaling person and place in a narrative, the researcher chose personal and demonstrative reference (Halliday & Hasan, 1976; Martin, 1992) as the foci for this analysis. These linguistic elements provide an alternate lens through which to examine similar phenomena as that targeted in the orientation portion of the more structural (Labov, 1972; Peterson & McCabe, 1983; McCabe & Bliss, 2003)

narrative analysis: the who, where and when of the story. Crucially, too, the referential analysis links to the notion of contextualizing and academic language that is the primary concern of this study through what Martin (1992) calls presuming reference. As part of his overarching concept of identification, Martin (1992) distinguishes presenting reference, or that which is which treats the referent as unknown, often through use of indefinite articles, from presuming reference, or that which treats a referent as known and recoverable from either the context of the culture or the context of the situation and which is often signaled by the definite article. An examination of presuming reference in children's narration allows us to take note of what these narrators treat as already known by their interlocutor and where they expect the interlocutor to look to match reference with meaning: (1) within the text, which is endophoric reference, (2) within the immediate physical context, which is exophoric reference, or (3) within the context of the culture, which is homophoric reference.

In the collection of English narratives, reference accounts for about 24% of all words, while in Spanish, reference accounts for about 27% of all words. This is an average of about 1.6 referential items per clause in English and 1.55 in Spanish. All categories and subcategories of personal and demonstrative reference described by Halliday and Hasan (1976) and Martin (1992) appeared. Table 7.1 displays information about the raw frequencies of occurrence and relative percentages of endophoric, exophoric and homophoric reference within the data.

	English (n=10 participants)	Spanish (n=10 participants)
Endophoric reference Frequency (percentage)	303 (46.81%)	214 (39.66%)
Exophoric reference Frequency (percentage)	264 (44.26%)	323 (51.14%)
Homophoric reference Frequency (percentage)	51 (8.94%)	58 (9.20%)
Totals ¹	618	595

¹ Total does not equal 100% due to rounding.

As might be expected, homophoric references make up the smallest percentage of reference types in both the English and Spanish narratives. The specifics on use of homophoric reference are discussed in greater detail below. The use of exophoric and endophoric reference was relatively balanced within the English narratives, though a slightly higher percentage of references were endophoric. In Spanish, exophoric references made up the majority of all references and were used notably more than endophoric references. It is important, however, to look more deeply into the category of exophoric references. The following sections probe more deeply into the types of reference from a qualitative perspective.

A Qualitative Look at Exophoric, Endophoric and Homophoric Reference in Personal Narratives

Exophoric reference.

This category comprised both personal pronouns related to speech role – i.e., *I, you, me, yours, we, our*, etc. – and deictic terms such as *here, there, this, and that* which were generally accompanied by gestures. In short, exophoric references were those that relied in whole or in part on the context of the situation – i.e., mutual understanding of who the *I* or *you* is in face-to-face conversation or pairing of gesture or gaze with a term like *here* – for interpretation. The bulk of exophoric references for both languages were to pronouns related to speech role.

The remaining five out of 264 exophoric references – that is, 1.89% - in English relied on gesture paired with *here* or *there* or current time paired with *now* for interpretation. In the excerpt that follows, an English-dominant boy recounts a time he and his sister got in a fight.

Excerpt 7.1 (em2, narrative 1)

1. *INV: do you ever get in a fight with your brother or sisters?
2. *CHI: yes.
3. *INV: yeah.
4. *INV: can you remember one time?
5. *CHI: yes.
6. *INV: what happened?
7. *CHI: → my sister scratched me right there [=pointing to face].
8. *INV: she scratched you right there on your face?

In line eight, he uses the deictic term *there* while also pointing to his face. The referential term is interpretable because of the narrator's and interlocutor's shared access to physical space that allows for effective use of gesture.

The following is another clear example of a narrator's reliance on gesture to support lexical meaning. It comes from a story about a sibling fight told by an English-dominant girl.

Excerpt 7.2 (Em2a, narrative 1)

1. *CHI: → and &s and then she put her hand right here [= pointing to nose].
2. *CHI: → and she just put it where she right there [= pointing to nose] and scratch it.

While using the adverbial demonstratives related to place, the narrator points to her nose, thereby providing an unambiguous cue to the interlocutor as to her intended meaning. In this way, shared

physical context serves as a resource for meaning making in this and other narratives in corpus used for this project.

The five uses of exophora not related to speech role were limited to three of the 10 English-dominant participants. On the other hand, in Spanish, seven of 10 participants collectively produced the 15 non-speech role references out of a total of 323 exophoric references. These non-speech role exophoric references made up a total of 4.64% of the total exophoric references, which is greater than those for English but still a relatively small percentage. A greater variety of exophoric terms was used in the Spanish narratives when compared with the English narratives: *aquí*, *allí*, *así*, *acá*, *ahora* and *este*, a phenomenon likely related to the finer distinctions in adverbial and nominal demonstratives in Spanish related to gradations in proximity. These tokens of demonstrative exophoric references were also distributed across speakers rather than one type being attributable predominantly to one speaker. They appeared in narratives about medical encounters or injuries, sibling or friend trouble, or misbehaved pets, all of which seem to offer opportunities to point to body parts or use gesture to support discussion of action. It might be here that task effects related with specific narrative topics become important. It seems that some topics lend themselves more to reliance on the physical context for supplying meaning or enriching the message. On the whole, these adverbial demonstratives highlight the interconnectedness of the referential, elaborative and orientation analyses in the sense that they serve to provide orientation information about time, manner and place in a way that at times elaborates on essential information. An example of exophoric demonstrative reference in Spanish follows.

Excerpt 7.3 (sf4, narrative 4)

*CHI: eh solo en la escuela me [/] me [/] me raspé aquí.

As is common for demonstrative exophoric references, the locational part of this utterance is only interpretable when paired with the child's indication of a particular body part.

What is important about exophoric reference in general, and the distinction between personal and demonstrative exophoric reference in particular, is its connection to the idea of context dependence. It is, of course, possible and appropriate to use personal references such as *I, you, me*, etc. to establish the identities of those involved in a face-to-face discussion such as the narrative interviews for this research, just as it is to invoke the shared physical surroundings to make meaning. In academic discourse, however, this same type of local context is often not available or is not a privileged part of the process of encoding and decoding meaning. Here, then, is an area in which proficiency with narrative discourse does not necessarily serve as preparation for literacy if a speaker does not adapt to the changing setting for language use.

What is notable, however, is the relatively minimal use of demonstrative references. While pronominal reference use was heavy, it is intimately and unavoidably linked with the context of the situation – there is really no other conventional way to say *I* and *you* – whereas the locative and temporal adverbs do have lexically explicit alternatives. In relatively few cases ($n = 5$ for English and $n=15$ for Spanish) on the whole did participants actually use terms which required pairing with gestures or other features of the context of the situation for interpretation. This suggests that kindergarteners already can and do use language in explicit ways independent of situational context in both English and Spanish. Thus in this sense, the young narrators in this study demonstrated proficiency in features of academic language through their storytelling.

Endophoric reference.

Endophoric reference makes up the largest single category of reference for the English narratives and the second for the Spanish narratives in this data. Both categories of endophoric

reference described by Halliday and Hasan (1976) – cataphoric, which is reference that points forward toward a referent in the coming text and anaphoric, which is reference that points backward toward a referent in the preceding text – were identified, as were three sources for recovery of anaphoric references – single lexical items, lexical strings, and related lexical items that Martin (1992) calls bridging references. An example of a bridging reference would be a pair of terms that exhibit a part-to-whole relationship such as *boy – head* or a part-to-part relationship such as *stove – sink*. In English, the vast majority – 97% on average – of endophoric references are anaphoric, with the remaining being cataphoric. In Spanish, anaphoric references make up 94% of all endophoric references. In English, anaphoric reference generally (on average 75% of the time) relies on a single linguistic item for the recovery of meaning (e.g., sister - her; mom - she; bunny - it), though often (18% of the time on average) it refers to a lexical string (e.g., and then when it was over I got to have a pi:nk popsicle...and after that I got to go home) and occasionally to a related lexical item associated through means of collocation or other cohesive relations such as those mentioned earlier in this paragraph. Martin (1992) terms this *bridging reference*.

In Spanish, references to a single preceding lexical item make up about 89% of all anaphoric references and extended references make up about 8% of all anaphoric references. Related referential items make up just .9% average of the total words and 4% average of the total reference items. They make up 8.9% of all anaphoric references. Bridging references make up about 4% of all anaphoric refs. That is .3% of all words in Spanish corpus and 1.07% of all Spanish references. In real numbers, that means there are seven bridging references in the entire Spanish corpus, a relatively small amount.

Generally speaking, the instances of anaphoric reference were clear, recoverable, and coherent. Most narrators of most narratives effectively established circumstances – that is, people, places, items – in their narratives and tracked them appropriately using conventions of the referential system. For example, in the following excerpt of a narrative told by an English-dominant girl, we can clearly understand that “she” refers to her previously-mentioned cousin.

Excerpt 7.4 (ef3, narrative 3)

1. *CHI: my [/] my cousin, she loves to play.
2. *INV: she does?
3. *CHI: she loves to a lot even in the dark.

Sometimes, however, anaphoric reference was not employed efficiently and could become confusing for the listener. This tended to be the case when a distance of several narrative clauses or more intervened between the referent and the reference, as exemplified by excerpt 6.5 from a story about an English-dominant boy’s procedure at the doctor’s office. The investigator’s limited contributions to the narrative have been removed for the sake of length.

Excerpt 7.5 (em3, narrative 5)

1. *CHI: I got um [//] (.) I don't know how like these bumps went on my neck.
2. *CHI: and this guy had to scrape them off.
3. *CHI: yeah, and it was bleeding.
4. *CHI: and my mom had to get numbing medicine and everything.
5. *CHI: +< yeah.
6. *CHI: → it really hurt when he took it off.

By the time the pronoun *it* was used in line six, four of the child’s own utterances have elapsed since the use of the original term, *bumps*, and three have elapsed since the last reference to the

bumps, which was the word *them*. This distance, combined with some ambiguity due to the use of *it* in line three to refer to *neck*, complicates interpretation of the speaker's intended meaning.

Anaphoric reference was also used less effectively by some interlocutors who introduced ambiguity into their stories, as can be seen in excerpt 6.5 from a narrative told by an English-dominant girl about her brother making a mess.

Excerpt 7.6 (ef1, narrative 1)

1. *INV: wait now what did your brother do to make a mess in your living room?
2. *CHI: bedroom.
3. *INV: or your bedroom.
4. *CHI: (.) he [/] he pulled out all the clothes because we're [/] we're going to a basketball uh show.
5. *CHI: and he &wa and he's playing basketball, my dad is.
6. *INV: yeah?
7. *CHI: +< and [/] and my uncle [/] uncle.
8. *CHI: → and and he's looking for his shorts.
9. *CHI: and they was up um on [/] on the shelf where the baby book is.
10. *INV: uhhuh.
11. *CHI: +< and [/] and then <he &cli> [//] he brought the stool.
12. *CHI: <then it> [/] then it made a mess.

As indicated by the arrow at line eight, the child uses the personal pronoun *he*. Given her opening statement about her brother making a mess and the succeeding events that reveal this person looking for the shorts made a mess, we can deduce that *he* in line eight refers to the narrator's brother. However, the introduction of two family members – dad and uncle – between

mention of the brother and use of the personal pronoun *he* introduces an element of ambiguity. At this point, the simplest course would be to attach *he* to the uncle or father, but the surrounding context indicates otherwise. The meaning of this anaphoric reference is recoverable, but with some additional work on the part of the interlocutor. The above examples are representative of typical trends in the data: the tendency to use anaphoric reference in a cohesive manner overall coupled with occasional less cohesive uses.

As indicated previously, most of these anaphoric references can be traced back to a particular discrete lexical item or an extended series of items. Occasionally, a reference is related through what Martin (1992) calls a bridging relationship, that is, a pair of lexical items related through mechanisms of lexical cohesion such as collocation, general items, superordinates, or synonyms (Halliday & Hasan, 1976). While the seminal treatment on the topic (Halliday & Hasan, 1976) positions these bridging references as a type of anaphoric reference, it might be more accurate to view them as a hybrid category requiring integration of both textual information and use of greater or lesser degrees of knowledge about the context of the culture. Because of the extra-textual element shared by homophoric and bridging references, the two are discussed together in the next section.

Homophoric and bridging reference: Understanding what is shared knowledge.

While effective anaphoric referencing requires language users to track participants within the text and remember whether and when they have been introduced before, effective use of homophoric reference requires that narrators evaluate their own knowledge of the context and that of interlocutors regarding items to which they are referring. Successful use of bridging and homophoric reference is more complicated and multi-dimensional than mastery of linguistic protocol alone. The use of bridging and homophoric reference in a cohesive manner is intimately

related to a narrator's understanding of his or her own identity and that of the narrator, and relies on the narrator's conceptualization of the degree to which the two are part of a shared community with shared knowledge – and the degree to which a narrator does actually share cultural knowledge with an interlocutor. Analysis of the young emergent bilinguals' use of homophoric and bridging references in this study provides a way to examine their assumptions about knowledge they shared with the person to whom they were relating their stories. In the narrative data, it is evident that these children's understanding of the interlocutor's position as an in- or out-group member of the same community with access to the same cultural knowledge varies. Indeed, this identity and shared community themselves vary in actuality depending on the topic of the narrative and the group which is relevant and invoked at any given moment. The following section discusses how, through presenting and presuming reference, the linguistic choices of the emergent bilinguals in this study positioned the interviewer as knowledgeable or not and as an in-group member of his/her community or not, with varying levels of success. In the discussion below, a progression is tracked from reference to shared culture that is easily retrievable to that which is less so and then to references to people, places or items which ultimately resided only in the narrator's memory rather than in the text or context of culture or situation. Before the actual presentation of data related to this progression, a short explanation of homophoric reference is offered to provide some background for the subsequent analysis.

Halliday and Hasan (1976) include homophora as a special subcategory of exophoric reference, while Martin (1992) distinguishes context of the situation from context of culture and places homophora in a category unto itself. Nevertheless, the two define the phenomenon of homophora in complimentary ways. Drawing from both sources, and to recap what was discussed previously in this chapter's discussion of methodology, homophoric reference is that

which invokes the context of shared culture for retrieval of meaning. It involves items that are adequately specified for the purpose, including generalized references (e.g., the generic *they* as in *they took an x-ray of my arm*), references which are assumed to represent all items in a class (e.g., *the flamingo eats...* as in scientific texts), or references which draw on common cultural knowledge, either because they are understood to be the only in their class (e.g., *the sun, the dark*), to encompass all items in a class (e.g., *the stars*), or to otherwise appeal to shared cultural knowledge (e.g., I went to *the beach* but we couldn't go in *the water...*). Martin and Rose (2003) summarize succinctly by saying that homophora is... “communal reference, whether realized through names or definite nominal groups” (p. 159).

In evaluating the success of a narrator in identifying him and herself as members of the same community and adequately invoking shared knowledge for the retrieval of presuming references, it is helpful to consider the various levels of community. Martin (1992, p. 122) offers the following possibilities in order from more global to more local: English speakers, nations, states, business, offices, and families. Communities invoked by narrators in this data could be named as the following: English speakers, Spanish speakers, members of a religious group, neighborhood, school, family. As the interviewer and interlocutor, I was variably a member or not a member of several of these categories, and so as the young narrators invoked them with their presuming references, they did so with more or less success depending on whether their approach to positioning me matched with the way I identify myself with respect to these categories.

Because the notion of positioning is relevant to the interpretation of the data on homophoric reference, a short discussion of this concept is in order as well. Positioning as defined by Davies & Harré (1990) is “the discursive process whereby selves are located in conversations and

observably and subjectively coherent participants in jointly produced story lines” (p. 48).

Positioning can be reflexive, that is, related to the narrator him or herself, or interactive, that is, related to the interlocutor. Bamberg (1997, 2004) built on this earlier work by formulating a three-layered approach to the analysis of positioning that could be summarized as follows:

- 1) Positioning Level 1: Operates within the storyworld; concerned with the linguistic resources used to describe and identify characters in the story as well as the relations between them
- 2) Positioning level 2: Operates within the interactive setting or storytelling world between interlocutors and involves how they position themselves and one another for their audience; analysis often takes a Conversation-Analytic approach
- 3) Positioning level 3: Operates in the larger social context; concerned with the overall identity narrators are conveying through what they do, and it often relates to pre-existing identities that are theirs or not to take up

This approach unites the micro and macro levels of analysis and tries to address concerns about what Bamberg (1997) presents as two popular but opposing ways of viewing identity: (1) top-down with pre-assigned social identities or (2) bottom-up and completely constructed through interaction. This study primarily uses positioning level 1 and 2 to explain trends in the data as they are most relevant to the linguistic feature in question – pronominal reference – and to the overall unifying theme in this study, namely, contextualizing discourse.

Returning to a discussion of homophoric reference in the data, the first category of homophoric reference to be discussed is generalized reference such as the *they* in *They’re widening the road in front of my house*. Use of such generic references would position both narrator and interlocutor as members of the same community in very broad terms. In the

following excerpt, a Spanish-speaking kindergarten girl talked about her time at a park. Because of the interview context in which this story was elicited, it can be easily inferred that the first person singular references are to herself. However, the first person plural referents are partially unspecified.

Excerpt 7.7 (sf5, narrative 3)

1. *CHI: solo tengo un parque.
2. *INV: &c al parque?
3. *CHI: uhhuh rojo.
4. *INV: +< yeah (.) yeah, yeah yeah?
5. *CHI: mhmm.
6. *INV: que pasó?
7. → *CHI: y después jugamos um el roller coaster.
8. *CHI: y después um lo teníamos hacer así porque um (.) porque <no podíamos> [//] uh [/] uh no sabíamos que jugar.
9. *CHI: y después uh ya sabíamos que jugar.
10. *CHI: y después uh cuando estaba frío <nos fuimos para la casa> [///] no oh una persona fue [=? fuera] a la casa.
11. *CHI: y [/] y [/] y después nosotros nos fuimos a la casa.
12. *INV: sí?

Starting in line seven, the narrator began to recount what she and one or more others did at the park. However, she did not specify who accompanied her in these activities and instead placed relative emphasis on the actions taken. The language choice of the narrator suggests that the participants are either not important or to be understood. This use of reference is consistent with

what Halliday and Hasan (1976) described as homophoric reference which is adequately specified for the occasion. What these theorists do not address, though, is why that reference is adequately specified and understandable. For this, we need to consider Martin's (1992) discussion of communities of shared knowledge. The generalized reference above casts the interlocutor into the wide category of Spanish speakers and human beings who would understand that verbal processes such as *play* and *go into the house* select for animate participants and that in this case, those are likely other people. The exact identities, or even large categories typically related to identity – age, gender, relationship to narrator – are irrelevant and not necessary to understanding the events being discussed and the discourse is still interpretable because of the interlocutor's shared understandings of grammar, which is likely supplemented by a shared experiential knowledge of the word *play*. Thus the narrator has positioned me, the interlocutor, as a co-member of broad discursive and cultural communities.

Likewise, narrators sometimes invoke the shared context of culture construed broadly with generalized third person referents. For example, a Spanish-speaking boy talked about what happened when his dogs had puppies:

Excerpt 7.8 (sm8, narrative 1)

1. *INV: como <te llam> [//] como se llama su perro?
2. *CHI: uno se llama Spot.
3. *CHI: y uno se llama Nancy.
4. *INV: Nancy y Spot.
5. *INV: y tenías dos?
6. *CHI: mm.
7. *INV: ah.

8. *CHI: y antes ø tenía bebes.
9. *CHI: → pero &otr pero ø los vendieron los bebes.
10. *INV: uh, sí?
11. *CHI: +< porque ø eran muchos.

In lines two through eight, the narrator introduced the dogs by name and told us that one of them had babies. Then in line nine, he said that they were sold. Here the agent was left unspecified and we do not know who was doing the selling, but presumably, from the narrator's perspective, that agent was not the focus and was unimportant for interpretation of the story. The reference is interpretable through consultation with knowledge held as a member of the community of Spanish speakers and global citizens, however. If one knows that the process of selling implies a human actor in Spanish, then it is sufficient to imagine an unnamed individual selling off the litter of puppies. In this example, as in the last, the narrator has successfully appealed to his and his interlocutor's joint membership in a community of Spanish speakers and global citizens.

In many other cases, the narrator invokes a context of culture shared on a slightly smaller scale. Consider the following narrative in which an English-dominant girl talks about a medical encounter:

Excerpt 7.9 (ef11, narrative 1)

1. *INV: did you ever have to go to the hospital?
2. *CHI: sometimes when my stomach hurts a lot.
3. *INV: yeah what [///] can you think of one time?
4. *CHI: one time I had to go to the &s children's hospital because (.) <somebody hit me in the &sto> [//] &so some &p people hit me in the stomach a lot.
5. *INV: ooh what happened?

6. *CHI: I needed to go to the &h to the children's hospital because I need <because (.) my> [/] because I (.) <my stomach almost> [/] <my stomach almost> [/] <my stomach almost> [/] (..) <my stomach almost just> [//] my stomach almost hurted a lot.
7. *CHI: but <it &di> [/] it did.
8. *CHI: but a little bit.
9. *INV: uhhuh, oh goodness and then?
10. *CHI: → <then I had it> [//] then they had to get an x-ray +/.
11. *INV: uhhuh.
12. *CHI: +, and look in my stomach to see what's going on.
13. *INV: uhhuh.
14. *CHI: but my stomach was red.
15. *INV: (.) uhhuh.
16. *CHI: and somebody had to take care of me.
17. *INV: they took care of you?
18. *CHI: yeah.
19. *INV: that's good.
20. *CHI: +^ that felt a little better.

In line ten, the young narrator used a pronominal reference without a clear referent which relies as do those in the examples above on the narrator's understanding of generalized references in common situations. It appeals to the interlocutor's co-membership in both a community of English-speakers who would understand that the taking of an x-ray requires a human actor and a community with modern-day medical establishments such as hospitals and procedures such as x-rays. The context established through the narrator's words becomes relevant for the

interpretation of *they* in line ten. Through the interviewer's mention of the hospital in line one and the narrator's in line four, and through the narrator's subsequent discussion of an incident – an assault – and the outcome – a stomach injury – the context for this narrative has been firmly established as a medical encounter. Thus the use of homophoric *they* takes its cue for interpretation not only from the grammar which requires a human actor, but also from the appeal to a context with which the narrator is presuming familiarity on the part of the interlocutor.

This generalized reference retrievable from cultural knowledge is also evident in another narrative from an English-dominant male. Here the interviewer prompts the child to tell about the events surrounding his statement of a problem, namely that he had a splinter, and he responds as follows:

Excerpt 7.10 (em2, narrative 2)

1. *INV: did you ever have to go to the hospital?
2. *CHI: yes once (be)cause a splinter was in my hand right here [= pointing to hand].
3. *INV: a splinter was in your hand right there?
4. *INV: yeah, and what happened?
5. *CHI: → they had to take it out with their um (.) a needle.

As with the prior example, here we have evidence of reference that looks to two sources for interpretation. On the one hand, it could be called generalized homophoric reference that needs no further specification for this particular story. On the other hand, we are also able to interpret *they* because of the previously established setting for this event, the hospital. While no inherent lexical relations exist between pronominal *they* and *hospital* in the sense that they would with the determiner *the* followed by *doctors* or other specific health care workers, *they* is nevertheless interpretable via a sort of extended bridging reference. Given that the context of the narrative is a

hospital with human actors removing a splinter with a needle, combined with cultural and experiential knowledge about hospitals, we can infer the human actors to be medical personnel. Again through a combination of knowledge of the context of culture and of the English language, the interlocutor is able to interpret the references in this story. The narrator has effectively positioned himself and the interlocutor as members of the same community of English speakers and citizens of a modern community who share experiences with medical encounters.

Examples of homophoric and bridging reference which presumes that the context evoked through lexical items in the text coupled with common knowledge will be sufficient for interpretation are fairly common across the narratives collected for this study. For example, one narrator mentioned his sister and a few lines later said that she got hit in the head (excerpt 6.12 below). Although *the* is used with the first mention of *head*, it is coherent because of our common understanding of the part-to-whole relationship between a human and parts of the body. Likewise, several narrators set the scene for their stories as the hospital and shortly thereafter referred in a non-specified way to medical care providers, who were an apparently known entity who needed no explicit introduction. In another example, an English-dominant girl mentions that she's been to the beach and subsequently refers to the water.

Excerpt 7.11 (ef8ae, narrative 4)

1. *INV: did you ever go to the beach?
2. *CHI: yes.
3. *INV: yeah?
4. *CHI: → +< but I didn't go [//] get to go in the water.

Again, based on common knowledge gained through first-hand or vicarious experience of beaches, we associate *water* with the *beach* and are not surprised to find the latter invoked as

known information after hearing the former mentioned as the setting. The two terms also stand in a part-to-whole relationship with one another and as such, are in a bridging relationship in addition to activating schema based on common knowledge or prior experience for the beach and therefore being in a homophoric relationship. In this case, the child has again successfully claimed co-membership in a fairly broad community of English language users and global citizens.

In another example of homophoric reference that requires referral to the context of the culture for retrieval of meaning, a Spanish-speaking girl packaged a reference to a Roman Catholic religious figure as a known entity on first mention. In this narrative, she was talking about how her bird escaped from the cage and went into her room and up to a religious statue.

Excerpt 7.12 (sf4, narrative 1)

*CHI: y se fue a la estatua de la Virgencita que nosotros tenemos que <hacer> [?] cuadrado.

The lexical choices in this utterance presume familiarity with *la Virgencita*, the Virgin Mary, and by doing so they position both of us as co-members of a community of individuals familiar with Western religious practices. In this case her positioning of me was coherent with my own and so the end result was that this part of the narrative was coherent for me.

While narrators in the proceeding examples effectively calibrated their utterances to the level of shared understanding between themselves and the interviewer, others were not as successful either because of challenges with tracking references or because of presumed knowledge that I as the interlocutor did not actually have. Progressively less accessible examples requiring greater amounts of inference and heavier reliance on background knowledge are found in the data and shared in the following paragraphs.

While the speaker who used the culturally-associated reference to *la Virgencita* successfully positioned me as a co-member of the community of those familiar with this figure, another child did not do the same with his culture-specific reference. In the following excerpt, a narrator introduces a creature believed by children in some Spanish-speaking countries to bring money when teeth fall out, *Ratón Perez*, as *un ratón*, and then refers again to him as *el ratoncito*. Excerpt 7.13 (sm1, narrative 4)

1. *INV: que [/] que pasó después cuando se cayó el diente?
2. *INV: que pasó después?
3. *CHI: +< &t (..) saliendo sangre [=pointing to mouth].
4. *INV: siendo sangre.
5. *CHI: → y un ratón traeme plata.
6. *INV: tienes plata.
7. *INV: quién te trajo plata?
8. *CHI: → te trae [?] la (.) ratoncito.
9. *INV: la rancito.
10. *CHI: sí.

Though the child followed the grammatical protocol for English presenting and presuming references by introducing the character with the indefinite article *un* in line five, and therefore not presuming I knew what he was talking about, he missed the authentic prompt for repair that I gave in line seven as I struggled to make sense of what he had said as a person unfamiliar with this cultural concept. In line eight, then, he referred again to *Ratoncito Perez*, this time with the presuming reference *la*, possibly not realizing that his interlocutor was struggling to assign meaning to his utterances. While this is certainly understandable for a kindergartener, her we

have an interesting instance of a miscommunication that arose when a narrator incorrectly assumed more knowledge on the part of his interlocutor than she had in reality.

Other trouble spots also arose as a result of mismatches between the narrator's interactive positioning of the interlocutor and the interlocutor's actual membership in the community being invoked. In the following excerpt, the interviewer had just asked the child about the recent presidential inauguration and the child, an English-dominant male, mentioned that his grandma watched it and then began to list other activities from the day. Note the reference to *the babies* and *the ball*.

Excerpt 7.14 (em2, narrative 4)

1. *CHI: only my grandma watched it on TV.
2. *INV: oh your grandma watched it on TV.
3. *INV: oh I bet she enjoyed it.
4. *INV: yeah?
5. *INV: well +/.
6. *CHI: →she had to put two of the babies to sleep.
7. *INV: she had to put two of the babies to sleep.
8. *CHI: so she can cook.
9. *INV: so she can cook.
10. *CHI: <when she was> [/] when she was &bak- [//] um <making this &lit> [//] making my little &bro [//] cousin Ellie &slee [//] to make her go to sleep.
11. *INV: mhmm.
12. *CHI: me and my sisters went outside to play monkey in the middle.
13. *INV: to play monkey in the middle?

14. *INV: yeah?
15. *INV: and?
16. *CHI: and +/-.
17. *INV: what happened?
18. *CHI: → my sister got hit in the head.
19. *CHI: and then she had to be monkey in the middle again.
20. *INV: ooh she got hit in the head.
21. *INV: and had to be monkey in the middle again?
22. *INV: and?
23. *CHI: →and I could when I [//] my sister Amy throw the ball to me.
24. *CHI: I caught it.
25. *CHI: and I and I was making &s something &s so I don't catch it.
26. *CHI: and then I throwed it over to my other sister.

In line six, the narrator referred to *the babies*, using the definite article on first mention without having introduced them before. As his interlocutor, I was not familiar with his family and did not know that he had babies in the family. I was able to follow easily enough, but the use of the determiner which signals that information is available from context suggests that the narrator assumed that I am familiar with his family and casted me as a family member or close friend who would know to which set of babies he was referring. The second example in this excerpt requires the interlocutor to draw on social knowledge of the children's game *monkey in the middle*, in which at least two people stand some distance apart tossing a ball back and forth between them while one or more others stand in the middle trying to intercept the ball. The narrator mentions the game several times and then refers to *the ball*. Someone who has seen or

played this game before can easily draw on his or her prior knowledge to make meaning out of this text, but someone unfamiliar with the game might find the story less cohesive and even confusing. This narrator assumed correctly that I had sufficient experiential context to retrieve the reference for the definite article *the* preceding *ball* accurately in this case. In this excerpt, then, we see mixed success by the narrator at constructing the two of us as members of the same community. Since we were not, in fact, members of the same family or group of close friends, the reference to *the babies*, which presumed knowledge of his family, was not fully appropriate or effective, while the reference to the popular childhood ball game successfully appealed to my knowledge gained through experience as a co-member in the community of children who grow up in the United States playing similar neighborhood games.

Still other instances of *the* on first mention seem to refer to a scene in the narrator's head and are neither truly recoverable from shared social context, physical or experiential, or from the text. For example, in excerpt 7.6 above, the narrator, an English-dominant girl, mentions looking for clothes and subsequently mentions *the shelf*, *the baby book*, and *the stool*. This choice of words and our knowledge of where clothes can be stored allows us to picture without too much difficulty the scene that the narrator might have been envisioning as she talked: a high shelf in a closet with various items, including a baby book and clothing. This is not made explicit, however, and the referential choices of the narrator seem to suggest that the interlocutor ought to be able to interpret what is being said with reference to social context. It seems, then, that the narrator thought the interlocutor was already familiar with the setting and storyline, or she assumed that the information she was providing in the text was enough, positioning me as a family member or close friend familiar with her living space. Here again is an area in which narration and academic language do not always overlap. While this narrator can rely on her

interlocutor filling in some of the gaps and making inferences, and while this is not inappropriate for a personal narrative, such assumptions do not hold for academic English language, in which culturally-retrievable homophoric references and required inferences are not tolerated to the same extent.

Indeed, academic language seems to disallow some types of homophoric reference in that it demands a fictionalized recipient of the language who may share some general cultural knowledge with the language user, but not particularistic details. To use Martin's (1992) concept of communities here, a speaker or writer in an academic context would want to position his or her target audience as co-members of fairly broad macro-oriented categories of community rather than more narrow micro-oriented categories unless he or she has specific evidence supporting a narrower category of positioning. To do this is to inhabit a particular identity as student or scholar and to create an ideal but fictionalized interlocutor who shares membership in this community.

To return to the discussion of the relative success of narrators in using homophoric reference, sometimes the lack of specification is more problematic than in the prior examples from the naïve interlocutor's perspective. In these cases, the problems do seem to stem from an assumption on the part of the narrator that the referent was known and accessible to the interlocutor. The following narrative from a Spanish-speaking boy illustrates the confusion in tracking his human and animal participants throughout the narrative:

Excerpt 7.15 (sm1, narrative 1)

1. *CHI: +< &pa (..) mi mano [//] mi hermano German?
2. *INV: uhhuh.
3. *CHI: él limpia el guinea pig.

4. *INV: limpia el guinea pig?
5. *CHI: y yo limpia a la pajarito.
6. *INV: uhhuh y?
7. *CHI: y mi papa y mi mama ayudanmi.
8. *INV: yeah.
9. *CHI: y la pajarito hizo poopoo.
10. *INV: uhoh.
11. *CHI: <y este> [/] y este hace un huevo.
12. *INV: +< uhhuh.
13. *CHI: → y ø compró un (..) un net?
14. *INV: uhhuh.
15. *CHI: y.
16. *INV: una red, uhhuh.
17. *CHI: → +< y ø compró todo.
18. *CHI: y otro uno &e él no compró.
19. *INV: no, mm.
20. *CHI: hizo un huevo.
21. *INV: oh mm.

In line 13, the narrator mentioned a process – purchasing – that would ordinarily require a human participant. Thus the closest noun, a bird, would be ruled out as the logical referent. This leaves the mom and dad, mentioned together six lines previous, and the narrator’s brother, mentioned 12 lines before. The mother and father are not likely referents as they are mentioned as a pair and would have required a plural noun ending if acting in that pair. The brother, then, is the logical

referent, but the distance makes retrieval difficult without time to reflect on the matter. Here, then, is an example in which a child's lexical and syntactic choices seem to position the interlocutor as someone who co-experienced the events in question and who could, therefore, follow his story with minimal orientation and re-orientation to participants.

In sum, the English and Spanish narratives elicited during interviews featured endophoric and exophoric reference used most heavily and homophoric reference used less frequently. The incidence of non-speech role exophoric references which required accompanying gesture for interpretation were fairly minimal, suggesting that young narrators are already fairly lexically explicit as are more mature academic language users, even in cases where a physical context is available for conveying meaning. Endophoric references were generally anaphoric, and anaphoric references were generally easily retrievable with some exceptions related to distance and ambiguity. Homophoric and bridging references highlight one of the key demands of the contextualizing discourse that is common to both narratives and the language of schooling, namely, understanding the intended recipient's knowledge base and designing language accordingly. The notion of positioning helps to explain the relative success of the narrative; as the interlocutor, I perceived narratives to be more coherent when the narrator had positioned me as a co-member of a community to which I myself would also ascribe membership. The next section carries the themes of reference and positioning into the analysis of classroom literacy events, and to these analytical tools, it also adds the concept of framing.

Reference in Classroom Literacy Events

As with the analyses of elaboration and orientation presented in chapters four and five, respectively, of this dissertation, the participation structure of the narrative-focused classroom literacy events analyzed for this study differed from that in the personal narrative interviews and

so afforded different opportunities for students in the way of work with personal and pronominal reference. Whereas with the narrative interviews, the children were expected to do most of the talking and the adult in the situation deliberately reserved her contributions and gave children fairly free reign in responding to narrative prompts as they saw fit, in the literacy events, the teachers did most of the talking, orchestrated the overall flow of the interaction, and generally channeled students' verbal contributions in directions they deemed appropriate for the task and objectives at hand. While students did produce pronominal reference of all three types in classroom literacy events in this data as they did in the personal narratives, what is salient in the literacy event interactions is not students' efforts to position their interlocutors as in- or out-group members, but students' and teachers' joint use of personal pronouns that were variably exophoric or endophoric depending on the nature of the interaction at the moment. This section will show how pronominal reference related to (1) using presenting and presuming reference appropriately, (2) tracking participants, (3) following re-assigned speech role pronouns through constructed dialogue, and (4) following re-assigned speech role pronouns through frame shifts places linguistic demands on students while at the same time, coupled with the teachers' verbal behavior, it socializes them into uses of language expected of students during literacy events. I first provide a brief overview of all reference types in the literacy event data and then move into an in-depth analysis of the shifting contexts for interpretation – that is, the context of the situation and the context of the text – of personal and demonstrative references in this data. The latter discussion is organized into the four themes just mentioned.

Endophoric, exophoric and homophoric reference in literacy events.

All three types of reference identified by Halliday and Hasan (1976) and Martin (1992) occurred in student and teacher talk throughout the literacy events analyzed for this project, just

as they did in the personal narratives. As would be expected, the context for the interactions made a difference in the patterns of reference. Exophoric reference was prevalent in the literacy event data, likely due to the large group, multi-party nature of the classroom interactions which required the teachers to engage in classroom management discourse and which also naturally involved the context of the situation in talk. Endophoric reference was particularly evident in story book read aloud sequences and vocabulary teaching sequences. To a lesser extent, homophoric reference also appeared during both shared reading and morning news events. Specific examples of these reference types and their functions is to be found in subsequent sections. The discussion of the data is organized by four themes representing areas of linguistic demand on students with respect to pronominal reference as well as areas of opportunity for teachers to socialize students into expected uses of reference in the classroom. The excerpts provided allow us to view, on the micro-interactional level, the process of the emergent bilingual children in these classrooms learning how to be students in a linguistic sense.

Using presenting and presuming reference appropriately.

One clear pattern in English and Spanish narrative literacy events was implicit modeling and socialization from the teacher to the students of expected ways using indefinite and definite articles appropriately as presenting and presuming references. In each of the story reading sessions, the story read modeled the use of the indefinite on first mention and the definite on second and subsequent mention and the teacher often did likewise in the English morning news events. The new/known pattern was particularly evident in the shared reading interaction involving the Gingerbread Man story in the Spanish medium classroom. This story is particularly suited to the investigation of this pattern because in it, new characters are introduced regularly and are referred to again repeatedly in a refrain that closes each episode of the story. In this story,

printed in English but translated on the spot into Spanish during the read aloud by the teacher, Ms. Rosales, each new character is introduced faithfully with the presenting reference *un* or *una* (a) and then referred to again later with the presuming reference *el* or *la* (the). Not only do students take the hearer role with respect to these linguistic features, but they also take the speaker role at the invitation of their teacher, as is evident in the following excerpt.

Excerpt 7.16 (Spanish Gingerbread Man story, 12-9)

1. T: Vieron el niño de jengibre. (.) Y el niño y el [/] y los granjeros le dijeron a él que paren. Pero el &ni el [/] el niño de jengibre le dijo me escapé de la +...
2. Ss: Viejecita
3. T: Viejecita, me escapé del [>] <viejecito, me escapé>
4. Ss: <viejecito, me escapé> [<] de la vaca, me escapé del caballo, [>] <y me puedo escapar de ti>!
5. T: <y me puedo escapar de> [<] de ustedes. De ustedes porque ellos son cuatro. Entonces ellos se &tra se echaron a correr detrás del hombre <de> [/] del niño de jengibre tratando de agarrarlo también.

In line one, the teacher was reading the story and when she came to the repetitive refrain, she used a trailing intonation familiar to the students to signal that they should chime in, which they did. Line four, which was uttered in chorus by multiple students, features the definite articles *la* and *el* (the) to refer to previously introduced characters. Ms. Rosales' modeling of presenting and presuming reference via the read aloud coupled with her invitation to the students to recite the familiar line work together to scaffold students' use of this particular aspect of the referential system. Incidentally, the teacher's instruction in line five that students should use the plural *ustedes* (you) rather than the singular *ti* (you) because there were four characters is the singular

example of explicit attention to grammar in the data examined for this project. In sum, in this excerpt, we have an example of language socialization at work during a narrative-focused literacy event.

Tracking participants over time.

Not only did the classroom literacy events socialize students to the proper use of presenting and presuming references, but they also afforded opportunities for students to practice tracking participants over an extended period of time via pronominal reference. This challenge arose primarily in the whole class read aloud events. During these read aloud events, it could be said that the teacher stayed in the story telling frame for extended periods of time. On an interactional level, she was reading a story aloud to students while they were listening and on a textual level, she was building up a storyworld full of characters, places and events. This process of creating the storyworld through the words on the page being read aloud required that students assign meaning to anaphoric personal pronouns on the basis of what had come before, and then that they track those references over a particular stretch of narrative space. In the following excerpt, the teacher in the English-medium classroom finished asking a student to predict what would happen next and then began reading aloud from a version of the Three Billy Goats Gruff folktale.

Excerpt 7.17 (English Three Billy Goats Gruff story 4-21)

1. T: Shauna what's gonna happen next?
2. Shauna: um the big billy goat is going to <eat up> [?] the xx.
3. T: The big billy goat's gonna xx. Now oh what look how big those horns are for the biggest billy goat gruff. Did you notice that? Roger in this story? Then the biggest billy goat stamped onto the bridge trip [>] <trap trip trap trip trap> [=very loud]!

4. Ss: <trap trip trap trip trap> [<] !
5. T: and again the troll roared in his loudest voice [>] <who's that tripping over my bridge> [=very loud]?
6. Ss: <who's that tripping over my bridge> [<] [=students laughing]?
7. T: It's me the biggest billy goat gruff! shouted the billy goat in a voice almost as loud as the troll's. Whoever you are I'm going to eat you up right now! roared the troll. And he climbed on to the top of the bridge.

In line three, Ms. Lake shifts from discussing the story to reading again. The story picks up with a presuming references for a character – the biggest billy goat – and setting – the bridge. Both were introduced previously, and here students are expected to recognize them from prior text. In line five, the definite article *the* serves as an anaphoric reference to another previously introduced character, the troll, and the possessive pronoun *his* replaces the noun within the same clause. Again in line seven, we see a presuming reference to the character the troll, and then reference to the same character with the pronominal reference *he* in the next clause. Finally, in line seven, we have another presuming reference to place again – the bridge – and a bridging reference to one part, the top. These demonstrative and pronominal references presume that the students as intended hearers of the message have held the scene and characters in mind since they were first introduced and that they can connect what is currently being said with these established entities. Thus we could say that the teacher's use of the text in this shared reading interaction demands that students identify and track references over time for successful participation in this academic interaction. This particular excerpt also involves constructed dialogue, which adds another layer of demand to this and similar literacy event episodes. The demands involved with constructed dialogue are addressed in the next section.

Producing and comprehending speech role re-assignments through constructed dialogue.

Not only do students need to track participants through pronominal and demonstrative reference over time during shared reading, but due to the use of constructed dialogue, they must also follow shifts in speaker roles (Goffman, 1981) that have implications for the interpretation of pronominal references. This is evident in excerpt 7.16 from the Spanish Gingerbread Man story interaction in which the teacher animated the Gingerbread Man, who would be the principal speaker, and invited the students to do so as well. While the teacher was animating the narrator as principal just prior, the Gingerbread Man was referred to in the third person. During the constructed dialogue, however, as principal the Gingerbread Man was referred to in the first person and students had to assign this new speech role to an existing character in order to successfully follow the storyline.

We can see a similar trend in excerpt 7.17 above. In line five, Ms. Lake read a line of dialogue from the story and in so doing, voiced the troll character. While the students had just heard the troll referred to with the third person possessive pronoun *his*, the constructed dialogue required them to assign the meaning of the first person possessive pronoun *my* to the same referent, the troll. In line seven, the principal of the constructed dialogue shifted to be the biggest billy goat and the first person object pronoun *me* was used to refer to the billy goat. The shift back to the narrator as principal involved a concomitant shift back to a third person presuming reference to the character, which was immediately followed by a shift to constructed dialogue with the troll in the principal speaker role. This bit of constructed dialogue required that students now assign the meaning of the second person pronoun *you* to the billy goat who had just been referred to in the first and third person, and at the same time to assign the meaning of the first person pronoun *I* to the troll. Finally, as the narrator shifted back into the principal speaker role,

the third person pronoun *he* was used to refer to troll. Thus in the space of several lines, constructed dialogue required that students assign and reassign several meaning to referential items in order to successfully interpret what was going on in the story.

Clearly, then, the notion of speech role helps to explain the linguistic demands associated with constructed dialogue in a narrative story reading frame. During shared reading classroom literacy events, though, the narrative story reading frame is not maintained exclusively for long stretches of time. Rather, the teachers shift between classroom management, instructional, and narrative story reading or narrative morning news events fairly rapidly, which creates additional demands and learning opportunities associated with pronominal and demonstrative reference. This idea of the demands associated with shifting frames is the focus of the next section.

Following frame shifts.

Let's return again to the familiar excerpt 7.17. At the start of this excerpt in line one, it is evident that Ms. Lake and the students are working within an instructional frame. Her objective in this lesson was to have students re-tell the beginning, middle and end of the story and at the beginning of this excerpt, she asked a student to re-cap what happened next in the middle of the story. In a three-part interaction that fits the familiar IRE pattern (Mehan, 1979), Ms. Lake asked a question and gave Shauna the floor, Shauna answered, and Ms. Lake reaffirmed her answer by repeating her, essentially becoming the animator for a statement for which Shauna is the author and principal. Within the same turn in line three, the teacher turned her attention from the story content to the context of the situation, which was signaled partially through a second person reference and then the use of a name to directly address a student present in the room. For the moment the most salient frame seems to be the broad interactional frame of teacher managing a class full of students rather than the narrower instructional frame. That is, the teacher was

momentarily stepping away from objectives-related instruction to call one of her students' attention to the task at hand. She then switched to the narrative story-reading frame which she maintained for the remainder of the excerpt. This particular set of frame shifts requires students to use three different frames to assign meaning to two different types of reference – (1) demonstrative *the* signaling anaphorically a third person reference and (2) second person *you* and a name which were both being used exophorically and required interpretation with respect to physical classroom context.

The inter-relatedness of referential demands of literacy events and frame shifts is even more apparent in the following excerpt from the English-medium classroom during morning news time. Notice how constructed dialogue, frame shifts, and flexible speech roles all come together in this interaction that both places linguistic demands on students and socializes them to appropriate use of reference in such narrative-focused literacy events. The excerpt is broken up into sections in order to facilitate discussion.

Excerpt 7.18 (English morning news time, 2-3)

1. T: Alright, I don't see anybody's name on the news list today so I guess nobody has any news. Let's +/.
2. S: I have news.
3. T: Some people have news? Oh, well then your names should be on the news chart.
4. S: [<] I do [=several students start to move toward news chart].
5. T: Whoa whoa, whoa, whoa, whoa, uh-uh. Mm-m. &Let's sit down. I saw Shauna and Adele and Tara raise their hands, you may come up and put your name on, (.) Cassie you have news today?
6. C: Yes. Can I put my name on?

7. T: Ruth I think you're gonna have to &s save your news for tomorrow.

In this opening segment, the teacher was clearly operating within a classroom management frame as she was enforcing procedures related to morning news time. Most of the references were exophoric references related to speech roles: I, you, your, my, etc. Clearly this exchange is oriented to what is happening in the context of the situation, that is, the classroom with its rules, procedures, and expectations for students and teacher roles. Through an analysis of level two positioning, we can see Ms. Lake positioning herself as in charge and students as subject to directions and procedures. In line six, we also see an example of a student, Cassie, asking a question which shows she is positioning herself as a follower of those rules and the teacher as the one who has the authority to decide on her participation. The overall effect from a level three positioning vantage point is that the teacher and students are subscribing to their institutionally assigned and sanctioned roles of the teacher who is in authority and the students who are subject to rules.

As the students and teacher begin to engage in the familiar morning news routine, there is a sudden switch to a narrating-the-morning-news frame.

8. T: (..) All right. Tara what's your news?

9. Tara: I have a loose tooth.

10. T: Ok, do you want to tell us something more about that?

11. Tara: (..) Yesterday I found out that my tooth was loose. (.) I said [?] that my tooth was loose yesterday and my mom wiggled it a little &but [/] and she [/] she was excited.

12. T: It is exciting! Is that your first loose tooth?

13. Tara: Yes.

14. T: Ok &s &no and ask your friends +...

15. Tara: Do you have any questions?

Here it is evident from Ms. Lake's invitations to Tara to share and elaborate on her news and then to involve her classmates in questioning that the interaction was still operating within the larger institutional frame in which she was the teacher and the others were students, but at this point there was an additional narrative story telling frame operating within that larger frame. We still see a lot of reference to speech roles, but we also have Tara's short narrative in line 11 that introduced non-present characters and used anaphoric reference to the narrator's mother. In line 14, the teacher provided the first part to what was almost an adjacency pair during morning news events in this classroom. She began to prompt Tara to ask her classmates for questions, but by this time in the school year sometimes Ms. Lake did not need to construct the question for the student, positioning herself as author and animator and the student as principal. Instead the student provided the second part in line 15, positioning herself competently as principal, author and animator.

As the interaction continues, we can see another shift, this time to what is more fully an instructional frame.

16. T: Jasmine?

17. J: When did it come?

18. T: Well wait a minute. Stop and think Jasmine she & said [///] did she say her tooth came out? What did she say? She has a +/.

19. J: <loose tooth> [?].

20. T: A loose tooth.

21. J: +^ Loose tooth.

22. T: +^ What does that mean if your tooth is loose? (..) Does it mean it already came out or does it mean it's starting to wiggle?

23. J: Wiggle [?].

24. T: She didn't say that it had already come out.

Based on the question Jasmine asks in line 17, Ms. Lake assumed that Jasmine had misunderstood Tara's story about her loose tooth, and she set out to correct that misunderstanding by concentrating on the meaning of *loose tooth*. In the instructional frame, Ms. Lake used the generalized homophoric reference *your* and the anaphoric references *it* in line 22, and then again the exophoric reference *she* in line 24 to refer back to Tara, a classmate present in the context of the situation, as well as the referential term *it*, which refers not to the generic tooth in line 22, but back to Tara's tooth mentioned in lines nine and eleven within the previous narrative frame. Within the instructional frame, then, the teacher made use of all three types of reference and students had to follow and assign meaning by drawing on the range of contexts of reference available to them.

In the next part of this interaction, the teacher stayed within the instructional frame to correct another misinterpretation and then momentarily the classroom management frame moved to the foreground as the teacher praised a student for good listening. The next part of the excerpt skipped ahead a few lines and picked up where James was asking a question of his classmate Tara.

34. T: James?

35. J: Uh. (.) How did it came out?

36. T: Did she say her loose [//] her tooth came out or did she say it was wiggly? It was loose. So do you want to know how did it get loose? You could ask her that. How +.

37. J: How did it get loose?

38. Tara: At lunchtime, I <was biting> [//] I bit into apple sometimes and <it started> [///]
my tooth hurted a little bit, and I wondered that my tooth was loose and when &I when
[/] when I was &i in the [?] school &my [//] I went to my mom and said mom my tooth
feels loose and my mom said [?] open a little bit and she said [///] and she was excited.

39. T: Ok so he asked you how did your tooth get loose, so the answer is I &b

40. Tara: I &bi- bit into an apple.

41. T: Ok, that was a hard apple sometimes if y- if your tooth is getting ready to come out
it'll make it start to wiggle.

In line 36, the teacher again corrected a misperception and then used constructed dialogue to provide the first part of an appropriate question for James. In terms of the participation framework, the teacher was taking on the speaker roles of both author and animator while positioning the student as the principal. In line 37, the student himself took up the beginning of the question and completed it himself. Interestingly, we can see that the teacher provided necessary scaffolding by suggesting a topic in the form of a question and animating the start of the question in line 36. In line 37, though, the student positions himself as a competent language user and participant in this routine interaction by taking up the role of principal and animator of the question. It might accurately be said that the teacher, by providing all of the necessary language in the previous turn, was the author of his question. This contrasts with the case several turns later.

In response to James' question, Tara shifted the frame from an instructional one in which the participation framework allowed the teacher to take a directing role to a narrative one in which she could speak at greater length. She gave an extended narrative statement about her

tooth getting loose which involved the use of both exophoric and endophoric references about past events a non-present character. Such a narrative was one that might given outside of this classroom setting and indeed bears a resemblance to those given in the elicited narrative interviews for this project. It evidently did not fit with Ms. Lake's expectations for sharing time, though, as she helped Tara reframe her response to one that better fit the narrating-during-morning-meeting frame. In line 39, Ms. Lake re-stated James' question and then animated the first part of the expected response. Tara picked up on this start to her answer, repeated it, and then completed it with he own words in line 40. This is different from James' case because while Ms. Lake was the author of his response, the response Tara gives was jointly authored by the her and the teacher. Thus Tara's reflexive positioning as competent student and participant in this literacy event was slightly stronger than James' because she more fully inhabited all three speaker roles – author, animator and principal. And indeed within this classroom, Tara was known as a strong reader and strong student, while James was a less advanced reader who often needed greater levels of support to participate successfully.

Discussion and Conclusions

To summarize results from the analysis of personal narratives, homophoric reference appeared in smaller proportion than endophoric and exophoric reference, which were used in roughly comparable proportions. The bulk of the exophoric references were actually to the speech roles *you* and *I*, and remarkably few references required consultation with the physical context for interpretation, suggesting that young narrators often choose lexically explicit ways of expressing themselves even when shared physical context is available for conveying meaning. For both English and Spanish narratives, the bulk of endophoric references were anaphoric, and these were generally used appropriately in ways that communicated a clear message, with the

exception of occasional instances in which lexical ambiguity surfaced or distance between reference and referent was too great. It was with homophoric references that the most interesting results in the analysis of reference in narrative interviews appeared. These provided a window into narrator's assumptions about what information I shared with them and also accounted for the majority of the trouble spots in terms of overall cohesion. Through narrators' use of presuming reference, it was evident where they were in effect positioning both of us as co-members of a community, whether broadly or narrowly construed, and therefore me as someone who should be in possession of the requisite knowledge for assigning meaning to a reference as intended. The less successful narratives, from my point of view as the interlocutor for whom they were intended, were those that positioned me as a member of a community to which I myself would not ascribe membership.

In the literacy events, what was salient was not the students' efforts to position others, but the teachers' efforts to position them as competent students and their own efforts to position themselves likewise. This was observed through close scrutiny of the students' negotiations of the linguistic demands associated with reference – using presenting and presuming reference appropriately, tracking participants, following re-assigned speech role pronouns through constructed dialogue, and following re-assigned speech role pronouns through frame shifts – and the support teachers provided by enacting various speech roles along the way. Table 7.2 below uses the notion of frames and speech roles to summarize the variable participation frameworks of these literacy events in terms of the role the speaker takes on.

Frames and Sub-Frames	Speaker Roles		
	Principal	Author	Animator
Classroom management	Teacher	Teacher	Teacher
Instruction	Teacher	Teacher	Teacher
Shared reading of narrative story			
-teacher reading as narrator	Narrator	Author of book	Teacher
-teacher reading constructed dialogue	Character	Author of book	Teacher
-teacher modeling discussion response	Student	Teacher	Teacher
-student repeating discussion response	Student	Teacher	Student
-student responding independently	Student	Student	Student
-teacher repeating student utterance in affirmation	Student	Student	Teacher
Morning news narratives			
-student narrating	Student	Student	Student
-student asking question	Student	Student	Student
-teacher modeling utterance	Student	Teacher	Teacher
-student repeating utterance	Student	Teacher	Student
-teacher repeating student utterance in affirmation	Student	Student	Teacher

Within this characterization of the literacy events, the frames can be seen as embedded within one another from the top down. That is, the overarching frame present in all literacy events was one associated with classroom management in which the teachers directed the flow of the interactions during the literacy events. At times when this frame alone was salient, the teacher was usually enacting all three speaking roles herself. Embedded within this and also quite prevalent is an instructional frame in which the teacher was defining a lexical item, helping students to differentiate between versions of a story, or explaining a grammar point, to name a few from this data. In that frame, too, the teachers generally fulfilled all three speaker roles.

Further embedded within these two frames were the two different types of literacy events analyzed, the shared reading and the morning news. The hybrid nature of these events – that is, events that also happen in non-school settings taking place here within an explicitly instructional

frame – recalls what Goffman (1981) wrote about the embedded nature of participation frameworks:

...we quite routinely ritualize participation frameworks; that is, we selfconsciously transplant the participation arrangement that is natural in one social situation into an interactional environment in which it isn't. In linguistic terms, we not only embed utterances, we embed interaction arrangements. (p. 153)

The embedding of storybook reading and personal narrative events within an instructional frame has interesting implications for how the participants take up various speech roles as they interact with one another. We can see that when working predominantly in the classroom management frame or instructional frame, at least for the whole-group literacy events analyzed in this study, the teacher is the sanctioned user of all three speech roles. When reading a story aloud, various other speakers' voices are involved in ways that require students to be flexible in their assignment of meaning to personal pronouns as discussed above. With the elicited narrative interviews and indeed briefly with the morning news narratives, we commonly see the young participants in this study taking on all three speaker roles. However, with the morning news narratives and the story reading also being part of the ongoing instructional frame, we can see how, on turn-by-turn basis, teachers and students position themselves in ways that reflect their societally-accorded roles.

A quick look at the speaker roles associated with the embedded literacy events in table 7.2 shows that the principal in most is the student, while the author and animator vary between teacher and student. Even when the teacher is the author and animator of an utterance in many of these exchanges, the intended principal is the student. Put another way, the teacher is speaking for the students for the purpose of providing them the language needed to participate. Prior

studies have documented spouses, neighbors, interviewees (Schiffrin, 1993) and pet owners (Tannen, 2004) speaking for others for purposes of showing solidarity, controlling the conversation (Schiffrin, 1993), mediating family conflict, and building a sense of family (Tannen, 2004). In this case, the speaking for is both a powerful move on a micro-interactional level – the teacher positions the student as principal, in effect committing him or her to the content of an utterance and obliging him or her to take it up in the next move – and also a supportive one in which the teacher fulfills her institutional charge of ensuring that students participate successfully in academically-focused classroom interactions. Over time, it is partially through events like this that students are socialized into expected ways of enacting their institutionally-assigned roles as student. Through the analysis of micro-level interactions such as the ones discussed in this chapter, we can see them in the process of learning to be students in a linguistic sense.

This discussion has now thoroughly reviewed findings related to the first part of the research question addressed in this chapter with the foregoing discussion about patterns of reference used by students and teachers in literacy events, and that leaves the second part of the question about links between narration and academic language. Recall that we have said that contextualizing discourse is common to both according to the literature, a proposition has been borne out by the data in this study, and that maintaining clear and explicit reference for an interlocutor would be one aspect of this contextualizing discourse. Here the notion of positioning becomes central in answering the question about the links between the two discourse types with respect to reference. Through the lens of positioning we can see young narrators signaling to their interlocutors where and how to retrieve information central to meaning making, and

through this same lens coupled with the idea of speech roles as an analytic tool, we can see them positioning themselves and being positioned as participatory students.

This idea of positioning, then, points to a key similarity between engaging in narration and engaging in age-appropriate academic language use at the kindergarten level. In both contexts, language users must maintain a delicate balance between positioning themselves and others in ways that result in coherent communication within the local interaction while also enacting the larger identities they would like to or are expected to take on. The care taken by narrators to simultaneously provide sufficient information for their interlocutors and at the same time position the interlocutor as one for whom this information should be appropriate is a task that will be replicated again in academic contexts, at first in interactive literacy events such as those analyzed in this study and then likely in situations where the intended recipient of the message is less familiar, non-present, and partially fictionalized in the sense of a generic collective audience. These classroom literacy events, then, provide a bridge into academic language use by allowing students to practice that positioning of self and others with a known audience in a linguistically supportive environment.

CHAPTER 8: IMPLICATIONS, APPLICATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

This dissertation set out to describe the linguistic nature of emergent bilinguals' personal narratives and classroom literacy events in two dual language classrooms. More specifically, it sought to determine whether contextualizing features of language expected based on prior research adequately characterized this particular data and if so, how patterns of contextualizing language in narrative discourse might facilitate participation in narrative-focused literacy events. Those questions have been addressed and answered in great detail in the previous chapters and what remains is, to use a term familiar from work in personal narrative, the evaluation of these results. The following pages summarize the results and then discuss what they mean for research and practice in classrooms with linguistically diverse students. In doing so, they come full circle to address the original motivation for this study as explained in the first chapter: differential schooling outcomes for diverse populations.

Analyses of Elaboration, Orientation, Reference: Summary of Findings

The notion of contextualizing language was used as an entry point for examining the proposition that in both narrating past experience and in using language for engaging in academic tasks in the classroom, emergent bilinguals must be explicit, provide sufficient information for a naïve interlocutor, and in general take the perspective of the interlocutor in designing their language production with its recipients in mind. Specifically, contextualizing language was investigated through use of elaboration, orientation, and reference as methodological lenses. The results of the three sets of analyses are summarized in the following paragraphs.

First, though just over half of both English-dominant and Spanish-dominant emergent bilinguals' personal narrative clauses provided background information that functioned as

orientation or evaluation, they engaged in relatively little elaboration on the basic propositions in their stories, an unsurprising finding given that prior literature reports that at age six, children's narrative discourse is still undergoing development toward more adult norms (e.g., Berman & Slobin, 1994; Labov, 1972; Peterson & McCabe, 1983). Moreover, participants tended to provide little unprompted elaboration during literacy events. This could be due to factors such as the developmental levels just discussed as well as to the participation structure in which the teacher selects speakers, generally controls the floor, and limits the range of acceptable contributions to the discourse of the literacy event. On the other hand, the teachers modeled and elicited narration consistently, tendencies which are interpretable through the lens of language socialization theory (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986). Viewed from this perspective, the teachers seem to be attuned to areas of development for students and they are providing the scaffolding necessary in the form of modeling and elicitation for students to begin to provide more of that spontaneously over the course of time. Thus teacher scaffolding is one mechanism in the process of academic language development. It is largely what links what students have just begun to do independently with the support they need to continue to develop competence during school tasks.

Second, orientation was a salient feature of both elicited narratives and narrative-focused literacy events in English and Spanish, although the context for the interaction made a difference. Narratives of personal experience contained child-generated orientation in terms of participants, places, time and ongoing events and while there were some small differences in percentage of clauses of each orientation type – orientation to participants tended to be the dominant type in Spanish narratives while orientation to setting was the most notable in English narratives, for example – the differences were not remarkable. The real story with orientation has to do with self- and other-initiated repair of potential, perceived, or actual communication breakdowns at

the discourse level. In narratives of personal experience, there was a notable co-occurrence of disfluency, hesitation and repair phenomena on the one hand, and provision of orientation information on the other. In narrative literacy events, emergent bilinguals had few opportunities to talk at length, thus, backfilling was relatively rare, although it did occur a few times when students broke out of the expected participation structure. Interestingly, though, the teacher attended to the aspects of orientation – participants, place, time, ongoing events – found in personal narrative as she modeled and elicited orientation-related information for and from students.

The phenomenon of backfilling suggests that the emergent bilinguals in this study consciously or unconsciously realized the need to design talk for the recipient by taking his or her perspective and making linguistic and informational adjustments accordingly. Sometimes these backfilling episodes appeared to be other-initiated, but more often they were self-initiated, following a preference noted for self-initiated repair in conversation more broadly (Schegloff, Jefferson & Sacks, 1977). This observation makes a contribution to the literature on repair by placing it within a narrative framework and showing how repair phenomena can function to allow not only repair of phonological, lexical and syntactic mistakes (Kaur, 2011), but also of discourse-level problems that affect comprehensibility. It also sheds light on one of the overall questions asked in this study, namely, that of how narrative discourse might serve as a link to academic language for young children. As the speakers monitor their production and are monitored by others, they occasionally notice apparent miscommunications and take steps to correct them. Thus monitoring can be seen as a mediating force in the production of clear, explicit, sufficiently informational utterances in the two types speech situations examined in this study. While it is not a mechanism that would push a one-way transfer of competencies

developed through narrative discourse to application in academic discourse, it is a phenomenon common to narrative discourse in both situations that enables examination of and seems to mediate this complex process of developing the ability to contextualize events through language.

Third and finally, the analysis of reference revealed that in both English and Spanish, narrators used personal and demonstrative reference in terms of *phora* largely as described for English data by Halliday and Hasan (1976) and others (e.g., Martin, 1992; Martin & Rose, 2003). Use of demonstrative exophoric references in personal narratives was fairly minimal, which was notable because the interview context allowed for reference to the physical context. This suggests that by kindergarten, narrators are already adept at using lexically explicit means of reference, which is important for being able to contextualize information in ways expected for narrative and academic discourse.

The distinction between presenting and presuming reference (Martin, 1992) was a productive one for this data. Presuming references in general, and homophoric references in particular, provided a window into narrators' assumptions about what information was already known to their interlocutors. Narrators sometimes used presenting reference in ways coherent with my expectations as an interlocutor and other times, in ways that left me inferring or confused about the intended meaning. The notion of positioning (Bamberg, 1997; 2004; Davies & Harré, 1990) helps to explain these differences. In designing their talk to fit what they apparently assumed to be my knowledge base, children often positioned the two of us as co-members of a broad or narrow community adjusted their language accordingly. When their assessment of my membership in a community did not fit my own, the reference tended to be distracting or confusing.

In the narrative-focused literacy, events, children did not get to talk freely at length in general, and there was correspondingly less opportunity for them to generate references. When they did, students generally positioned their classmates, classroom visitor and teacher accurately as co-members of the neighborhood community with references such as the park. They did, however, gain exposure to a lot of modeling and some elicitation of appropriate references by the teacher, particularly through the use of constructed dialogue. In following switches from the teacher's here-and-now management-related statements to the narrative voice of the storyworld to constructed dialogue, the children had to flexibly and rapidly re-interpret the same referential terms as frames of reference shifted. Thus we can conclude that as phenomena present in both elicited narratives and classroom literacy events, both positioning and framing signal overlap in the two discourse types and serve as windows into use of contextualizing language as it is used by young language users.

A summary of all findings is below in table 8.1.

	Contextualizing language patterns in elicited narratives	Contextualizing language patterns in literacy events	Linking mechanisms
Elaboration	Limited elaboration	Little opportunity for unprompted elaboration; consistent modeling and elicitation by teacher	Teacher linguistic support
Orientation	Occurrence of four types as expected; self- and other-initiated backfilling	Little opportunity for unprompted orientation; consistent modeling and elicitation of types by teacher	Self- and other-regulation
Reference	Types of phora used as expected in English and Spanish; presenting and presuming references highlighted narrator's positioning of me as an	Read aloud stories and use of constructed dialogue require children to track references throughout the narrative and accommodate shifts	Teacher linguistic support; positioning; framing

	in- or out-group member	in speaker role accompanied by frame shifts; teacher modeling of correct use of personal references	
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To revisit the questions originally asked at the start of the dissertation, contextualizing language does characterize both the personal narratives and literacy events analyzed for this study and patterns of elaboration, orientation and reference are as summarized above. The situation is more complex than that, though. While narrators and participants in literacy events do tend to be explicit, clear, and provide sufficient information for their interlocutors, what counts as effective contextualization varies with the interlocutor. With a known interlocutor such as the interviewer during the elicited interviews, the task of adjusting speech to fit may be a bit easier than in other situations. When the students were addressing an entire group, as with the whole class, teacher, and interviewer during literacy events, they had to construct a fictionalized ideal interlocutor, maintain this construct consistently throughout their interaction, and make linguistic adjustments accordingly. Indeed this requirement of a fictionalized ideal interlocutor is also required of much academic writing and is not only a linguistic challenge, but also a cognitive and developmental one.

Moving on to the comparative aspects of the research questions, there is need to address both the two languages incorporated into this study as well as the two speech situations. As this research was motivated in part by a substantial body of research on culture-specific discourse patterns (e.g., Heath, 1983; Melzi & Caspe, 2005; Minami, 2002, 2008), I expected to find noticeable differences between patterns of contextualizing language use in English and Spanish narratives and literacy events. This, however, was not the case. While some minor differences

existed, they were not outstanding and it was the speech situation that seemed to make a bigger difference.

In turn, the participant structure of each speech situation – interview or literacy event – made a big difference in the amounts of opportunity to speak freely versus the opportunity to hear examples and learn through a teacher’s elicitation. Other research has also documented the constraints (e.g., Phillips, 1983) and opportunities (e.g., Hadi-Tabassum, 2006) for student participation associated with varying participation structures. It is important to note that the literacy events analyzed for this study made up only a portion of the overall literacy events in the classroom. Others, such center time, seat work, and small teacher-led reading groups, had their own participation structures that afforded greater free talk with other students and more dialogic, as opposed to multi-party, talk between students and teachers. This is important for two reasons: first, I wish to avoid characterizing the participating teacher and classrooms as inadequate sites for students to develop their language and content knowledge and second, because a balance affords students access to both practice and modeling and scaffolding, all important ingredients for language development. This point will be expanded in the discussion of culturally- and linguistically-responsive teaching below.

The final question that addressed a major gap identified in the research had to do with whether and how engaging in narrative discourse serves as preparation for academic language and literacy. The answer is that yes, the former can indeed function as preparation for the latter at least in part because of the common element of contextualizing discourse. Mechanisms associated with the appropriate demonstration of this contextualizing discourse in both settings include linguistic scaffolding by teachers, modeling, self- and other-regulation, positioning, framing and constructed dialogue. In addition, the notion of positioning serves as an explanatory

mechanism for student's variable use of presenting and presuming reference. The answer to the question of narrative serving as preparation for literacy is taken up in more detail below in relation to theoretical implications.

Implications for Theory and Educational Practice

Emergent Academic Language

The results of this research hold both theoretical and practical implications for topics in language and literacy education. While much past work on academic language and literacy and English for academic purposes tended to be concerned with post-secondary (e.g. Byrnes & Maxim, 2004) or secondary-level students (e.g. Schleppegrell, 2004), it has recently come into focus more in the elementary grades, particularly with respect to policy and assessment. The WIDA Consortium (2011b), for example, has formulated kindergarten-level standards for social and instructional language and the language of various content areas. An emerging performance-based assessment for use in teacher preparation, the Teacher Performance Assessment (TPA) developed by Teacher Performance Assessment Consortium, focuses in part on teacher candidate knowledge of academic language at both the secondary and elementary levels (Pearson, 2011).

It is important, then, to have a clear idea of what academic language looks like at the elementary level. What this study adds is data to justify considering academic language an emergent construct that is both age-appropriate and not necessarily a radical departure from what is typically considered social language. This study has shown that a set of features known collectively as contextualizing language are common to both personal narrative and classroom discourse. Not only do they appear in literacy events, but they are also present in personal narration, which is usually classified as a genre of social language. Thus using contextualizing language in one setting logically serves as practice for applying it in another. Unless, however,

we are to insist that it is setting alone – in this case, teacher-led school-based activities versus activities of a more social nature – that determines what is social as opposed to academic language, we need to look at the features of the language itself. Just as scholars of early literacy have pointed out that definitions of literacy should be developmental and age-appropriate (Pellegrini, 1996) and should involve being, doing and valuing (Gee, 1996, 2001) as much as discrete skills, so definitions of academic language could be enriched by using a developmental lens that includes a variety of behaviors and linguistic features that fall somewhere on the path toward target or mature usage and also somewhere on a continuum of more social to more academic uses.

The constructs of social and academic language, originally proposed as basic interpersonal communication skills (BICS) and cognitive academic language proficiency (CALP) by Cummins (1980; 1981), have been critiqued by other scholars (e.g., Edelsky et al., 1983; Martin-Jones & Romaine, 1986; Scarcella, 2003; Schleppegrell, 2004) and updated by Cummins (2000) as reviewed in prior chapters, but the categorical distinction remains in the popular understanding of many language educators. Rather than ascribe to a binary view of social versus academic language, I would like to advocate for a more nuanced understanding that teases apart features of language, relationships between interlocutors, and contexts of usage. In this sense, engaging in personal narrative could better be viewed as constitutive of, rather than facilitative of, emergent academic language use. This theoretical distinction is important for both an accurate understanding of the construct and development of academic language and for instructional approaches that view language as a resource rather than a problem (Ruiz, 1984).

Sociolinguistically-Informed Educational Practice

To return to the discussion in the introductory chapter, theories explaining differential achievement by various groups based on racial, social, and linguistic group membership abound (e.g., Nieto, 2005). While those that view language and culture as a problem inherent within individuals, families, or other groups are unhelpful for improving educational processes and outcomes, those that value deep understanding of the social and linguistic practices of families, communities and schools and subsequent incorporation of these practices into the classroom hold potential for improving education for culturally and linguistically diverse populations.

As mentioned previously in this chapter, contrary to expectations, this study did not find notable differences between Spanish and English users in terms of contextualizing language use in personal narratives and narrative-focused literacy events. This result has interesting implications for explanations for the achievement gap problem. As discussed in the opening chapter, many sociolinguistic studies of language use at home and school (e.g., Heath, 1983; Michaels, 1981; Phillips, 1983, Scollon & Scollon, 1981) find differences between groups and mismatches for students from homes where a language other than Standard English is spoken. The current study instead provides evidence of similarities between groups as well as hybridity involving classroom interactions that merge what are typically seen as social with those typically seen as academic. These hybrid literacy events hold potential for addressing the achievement gap by ascribing to a language-as-resource (Ruiz, 1984) ideology and finding and exploiting areas of overlap rather than dwelling on differences. They allow a legitimate space for students to exercise existing areas of competence while also providing the linguistic support necessary to expand on this competence.

This study shows evidence that 20 children from diverse linguistic and socioeconomic backgrounds and with a variety of national origins came to kindergarten each day with linguistic competencies foundational for academic language. The teachers provided additional support in areas where the children were less developed – providing elaboration independently – and reinforced areas in which many children were already demonstrating proficiency independently – referencing clearly, explicitly, and consistently and orienting interlocutors to participants and places in a story, for example. By addressing areas of linguistic weakness and building on areas of linguistic strength, materials and instruction enact that language-as-resource orientation and advantage children in their classroom interactions and oral and written performances.

It is worth noting that one would expect a well-implemented dual language program to advantage all children in just this way. With an explicit focus on bilingualism, biliteracy, and biculturalism and a goal of promoting positive academic outcomes for all students through the use of two languages in the classroom (Freeman, 1998; García, 2009; García & Kleifgen, 2010; Howard & Sugarman, 2007), dual language education is ideally positioned to avoid many of the problems described in the literature that finds mismatches between home and school patterns of interaction and language use (e.g., Heath, 1983, Michaels, 1981; Phillips, 1983; Scollon & Scollon, 1981).

So rather than highlight major differences, this study documents similarities in at least one set of linguistic features – contextualizing language – between Spanish and English users and highlights how students’ capacities with aspects of contextualizing language are integrated into the classroom discourse and supported by the teachers, thereby aligning itself with those that identify productive applications of knowledge on various sociolinguistic groups (e.g., Tharp, 1987). The results do not support the mismatch hypothesis, but they do acknowledge the

possibility that sociolinguistic explanations for differential school success have much to contribute to efforts to improve schooling outcomes for emergent bilinguals and other groups. Sociolinguistically-informed education, whether at the program level as with bilingual education or at the interactional level as with the hybridized literacy events documented in this study, could be key in promoting positive schooling outcomes for all students.

Sociolinguistically-informed teaching can also acknowledge the interrelatedness of language and cognition and the developmental challenges children face in both of these areas. As this study has illustrated, contextualizing discourse requires language users to design their speech for their known or imagined interlocutors. Explicitly helping children take the perspective of others, position the interlocutor in ways coherent with the interlocutor's own self-perceptions, and adjust their speech accordingly through modeling, scaffolding, and opportunities for practice and application via extended talk in a variety of contexts would be another example of sociolinguistically-informed teaching. Understanding emergent bilinguals' linguistic strengths and needs can serve, as Gay (2010) writes, as a tool for engaging in culturally and linguistically responsive instruction that leads to successful outcomes.

Conclusions and Future Directions

This discussion now comes full circle back to the ultimate problem this study intends to address: the differential schooling outcomes between students of different cultural, racial, socioeconomic and linguistic backgrounds in the United States. This study is a small step, and in and of itself, an inadequate one due in part to its inherent limitations in scope. This study examined processes of academic language development in two specific classrooms in one corner of a much larger city, state, country and global community. Given different students, teachers, languages, etc., the results could differ. Furthermore, the study did not investigate patterns of

narrative interaction or contextualizing language use in the students' homes and instead relied on an elicited narrative interview as a proxy for culture-specific narration. It is quite probable that the elicited narrative task, appropriate in part for a study of the language of schooling because it mimicked school-based assessments in which students are expected to demonstrate what they can do independently, also turned up a narrower range of patterns. An analysis of naturally-occurring discourse in the home would likely have highlighted a wider variety of narrative styles and contextualizing language strategies that might have pointed to the culture- and language-specific differences others have reported (e.g., Melzi, 2000; Melzi & Caspe, 2005; Michaels, 1981). An in-depth case study of one or more children during their participation in literacy events across the course of the school year might have highlighted the development of features of academic language throughout the school year and thus shed more light on the processes and mechanisms by which engaging in narration is constitutive of emergent academic language.

Despite these limitations, this study was a first step toward the goal of addressing the concern of differential schooling outcomes and one whose results are coherent with well-supported theories of interaction and learning. As referenced throughout the project, I found connections with concepts from language socialization and interactional sociolinguistic work that helped to explain the data and answer the focal questions posed at the start of the research project. These areas of coherence with prior work strengthen the findings reported for this data.

Next steps follow from the theoretical limitations discussed above and extend to pedagogical efforts that will apply lessons learned from research. The examination of a wider variety of literacy events in other classroom settings will challenge, reinforce, or expand upon the findings of this study. Likewise, the examination of contextualizing discourse across settings both inside and outside of school should contribute to research and practice in terms of a stronger

understanding of this aspect of academic language as well as the mechanisms by which young speakers are supported in using it. Finally, gaining a better understanding of theoretical constructs and developmental processes is only half of the quest for someone who hopes to use their research to make a positive impact on schooling outcomes. Next steps must also include inquiry into how this information can be applied productively as culturally- and linguistically-responsive teaching in the classroom. Such attention to praxis – in this case, sociolinguistically-grounded and informed pedagogical choices – holds promise for improving educational outcomes for emergent bilinguals and others in our elementary and secondary schools.

APPENDIX

Transcription Conventions (MacWhinney, 2000)

- . declarative statement
- ? question
- , continuing intonation
- ! imperative or emphatic statement
- +... trailing off
- +/. interruption
- +^ quick uptake
- +< overlaps with previous turn
- / retracing without correction
- // retracing with correction
- /// reformulation
- (.) short pause
- (..) long pause
- [?] unclear word or phrase; best guess transcription
- (un)til common shortenings; parenthetical information left unstated
- & false start
- <xyz> sign following bracketed material applies to all material in brackets
- xx unintelligible speech
- : following vowel, elongation
- [= xyz] explanatory information

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