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Introduction

Twenty-three manuscripts conform these Proceedings of the IV International Colloquium on Languages, Cultures, Identity, in Schools and Society, held in Soria, Spain, July 4-6, 2018. Dealing with different themes and sporting different angles, they all address the three main topics of the event.

Why language, culture and identity? Because, despite language seemingly being the factor most individuals associate with relocation-related issues, the impact of culture on individuals' sense of self cannot be overlooked. In fact, all three ingredients combine to make us who we really are.

Olga Misechko, Pallavi Pallavi, and Francisco Javier Olmedo, María José Latorre and Francisco Mateos address issues related to the presence of languages in contact in three different contexts: Ukraine, India, and Ceuta, the latter an autonomous Spanish city in northern Africa. Analyses of existing tensions related to the implementation and use of majority and minority languages in societal and educational environments are presented, as are conclusions about the sociopolitical implications and repercussions on the educational achievements of the respective student populations.

Three manuscripts describe the efforts of as many universities to facilitate the integration of minority students into their institutions. Thus, Melanie Flores, Saunti Knauth and Jason Stegemoller created online modules and instituted lunch sessions aimed at raising culturally sustaining awareness among faculty to help foster students' maintenance and development of their unique identities, strengths and talents. Amarilis Hidalgo describes the various programs developed by her institution to integrate and retain the increasing numbers of Latino students and heritage language speakers in Pennsylvania, while Fabiola Ehlers-Zavala describes similar efforts to accommodate the needs of university Pathway students in Colorado. The latter are international students showing potential for success despite falling short of meeting direct-entry requirements related to English proficiency and/or GPA scores.

Two articles focus on different aspects of teacher preparation programs. Danielle Freitas investigates the inner workings of a TESOL certificate program in Canada, zeroing in on how and whether plurilingualism is effectively incorporated into it, while Lottie Baker examines the beliefs about English Learners of mainstream teachers enrolled in a graduate certification program.

Dianne Excell describes the system used in the UK to identify and monitor the progress of learners of English as an Additional Language (EAL) and explains how the use of texts in students' L1 can help them develop literacy in English. This is also the main purpose of Marion Milton's suggestions for regular classroom teachers working with EAL learners in Australia. For her part, Gabrielle Jones addresses the limitations of cross-cultural and sociocultural analyses of Deaf reading practices in China, and how they can affect children. Lastly, two articles investigate students' translanguaging practices. Loan Cao does so with Vietnamese students learning Russian in a bilingual Russian-English program in Vietnam, while Kathy Bussert-Webb and Hannah Masso describe practices and strategies of Latinx children when writing texts and explore students' perceptions of Spanish.

In the context of classroom activities and strategies to increase student achievement, collaboration, and second language development, Marta Díaz examines the socialization practices of 4- and 5-year old children while they count words and letters during assembly time in class. Taryn U'Halie describes students' collaborative practices in Science and English Language Arts lessons, referencing a previous case study by Smith and Anderson. Pablo Celada, Altamira López, and Andrés González highlight the importance of debates in students' development of their oral skills and present the results of one such program aimed at fostering students' oral skills in English. Along the same lines, Francisco José Francisco explains his use of WhatsApp to help his students improve their knowledge of English vocabulary and grammar, as well as their reading skills. Alan Crawford walks readers through the main principles of the Natural Approach, one of the most successful approaches in second language acquisition since its development four decades years ago. Finally, Carlos López, Sylvia Celedón-

Pattichis, Ibrahim Demir, José Antonio Lecea and Mario Pattichis investigated Latinx students' attitudes toward computer programming and Math, finding out that collaboration can positively impact students' self-confidence and attitudes toward these subjects. These practices may be beneficial for Texas middle and high school teachers working in the dual language immersion programs described by Sheryl Santos-Hatchett.

Jelle Krol's, Adrián Martínez', and Aitor Ibarrola's manuscripts focus on language minority writers. Thus, Jelle Krol examines the work of four European authors using lesser-used languages in an attempt to give them the relevance they deserve; Adrián Martínez reflects on the linguistic and political implications of the publication of a Judeo-Spanish newspaper in Turkey; and Aitor Ibarrola dissects the use of English-Creole code-switching in a book by Haitian-American author Edwidge Danticat.

I would like to acknowledge the work put into their manuscripts by their authors, as well as the passion and dedication of all the participants in the Colloquium. Every year the event gives me the opportunity to meet many extraordinary individuals and learn so much from, and about, them. For this I am extremely grateful. It is in this spirit that the event will continue for years to come. Thank you all. Hoping to see you again in the future!

Francisco Ramos, Editor and Colloquium Director

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Choice of a Second/Foreign Language as a Socio-Political Issue

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It is increasingly acknowledged that national policies on second/foreign language education are developing in a certain socio-political context. Reasons for the choice of languages to be taught in primary, secondary and tertiary schools are not purely linguistic, but also socially, politically and ideologically biased. Some languages may be resented because of the previous negative experience of political domination of the language-native country. Other languages may be promoted instead, as a counterbalance to the past history. This article deals with the historical and contemporary second/foreign language teaching landscape in Ukraine, where most people are bilingual in Ukrainian and Russian, and the language situation is strongly determined by socio-political factors.

Keywords: Native language, second language, foreign language, bilingualism, Ukraine

Introduction

"All my life I was Russian-speaking, but in the early 2000s I switched to the Ukrainian language. When I entered the institute, I deliberately chose topics about the Cossacks, about Ukrainian cultural figures, and the glaze descended from my eyes, and I began to wonder why the Soviet and Russian figures were always in the first place, and my countrymen were completely forgotten and underestimated. Then, my child was born, and I decided that I want her to speak Ukrainian. That's how I started to learn the language with her" (Iryna Krasina, Mykolayiv).

"All my life I was Russian-speaking and I did not know Ukrainian at all, only Ukrainian songs. But in 2008 Russia attacked a small Georgia. My hair just stood on end on what was happening. And then I accidentally saw a documentary about how everything really was there, and realized that we would follow. [...] That is, since 2008 I started to speak Ukrainian" (Tetyana Semenova, the village of Sergievka, Odessa region).

"I was born in a Russian-speaking family. When Putin started to say 'they do not speak Russian here', I thought that he was mistaken, because in Russian it was possible to speak just freely, but the Ukrainian language needed defense. Subsequently, I realized that we should position ourselves more like Ukrainians, because the Soviet Union took our roots away from us".[...] Gradually, I began to use Ukrainian in everyday life" (Volodymyr Sergienko, Kramatorsk, Donetsk region).

All these quotations belong to the people who, until very recently, were talking exclusively Russian. But at some point, each of them understood: "I want to switch to the Ukrainian language". Someone was agitated by crucial events inside and outside Ukraine, someone - by the linguistic situation in the country, and someone just realized that he was a Ukrainian. They told about it to Radio Liberty (March 28, 2018).

In bilingual or multilingual countries like Ukraine, people are constantly balancing between the first (or their heritage language - in case of ethnic minorities) and the second language, facing the question of which language to use in what communicative situation. Factors that influence the choice are various: state language policy, language of instruction in educational institutions, family tradition, personal feeling of identity, surrounding community of practiced language, corporative language norms, business contact needs, etc. Situations are not rare that participants of the same interaction can talk to each other in different languages.

Moreover, straightforward definitions of the concepts "first language", "second Language", "foreign language" in the countries where more than one language is used become rather problematic. As Bloomfield put it, "the first language a human being learns to speak is his native language", adding that the child acquires this language from people around (Bloomfield, 1984, p. 43). Today, in a bilingual or multilingual country, the first language the child learns to speak is not limited so much to the language of his/her inbred group as it happened to be less than a hundred years ago. Contemporary linguistic environment of the child is strongly affected by the sounds poring on him/her from different technical equipment, like TV, radio, digital devices, etc. As the child grows up, another strong determinant is added - language of pre-school/school instruction. Both the educational institutions and broadcasting technologies are social products that mediate certain social message of their owners. In terms of language, they may provide a second linguistic environment that may be different from the first language spoken by the child's inbred group. That is, the language used as the official language of education and state/business communication might be different from the native language of the child.

When the language of education and social media is regulated by the state, the choice of a second language in use becomes the matter of the state's social policy. It may be determined by strong opposition of the state to alien political and cultural influences (e.g. quite recent restrictions in the use of English in France). Or some languages may be resented because of the previous negative experience of political domination of the language-native country (e.g. attitude towards Russian in most post-Soviet states).

Very likewise, when the study of some foreign language/ languages is officially promoted by the state, it reflects the vectors of the state's interests in international relations. With increasing economical, political and cultural interaction between both neighboring and faraway countries, the necessity to enhance economic and political competitiveness of the state, to promote national interests, to foster mutual understanding propels the countries towards more responsible and fruitful border-crossing communication. Thus, foreign language education policies and practices are carried out in favor of the languages with the largest "global capital" or the languages of the target countries with most promising markets, or geopolitically preferable partners.

There is also a personal perspective that should be accounted for. Very often the co-existence of the first and second languages in individual communicative practice is not peaceful at all, and a person has to decide in favor of one of them as self-identifying. This is connected with the fact that each of the languages in use has its very special socio-cultural context, and together with domination of one of them in everyday life, certain socio-cultural values acquire prior importance in the mind of the language-use.

The above considerations support the arguments of those second/foreign language teaching scholars who suggest that language education is a political action, whenever it is "tied up with the most crucial educational, cultural and political issues of our time" (Pennycook, 1999), invites the learners to see themselves as agents of social transformation (Freire, 1970), emphasises cultural politics and citizenship education (Guilhereme, 2002), becomes a form of capital in globalised cultural and economic exchange (Luke, 2004), and "recognises its political and social responsibilities" (Byram, 2008). From a socio-political perspective, Ukraine poses a rather complicated case of history-deep roots of contemporary native/second/foreign language situation.

Historical Background of the First/Second Language Policy in Ukraine

It has been historically established that the state and native language in this country for many people are not identical concepts, and ignorance of the meaning of these concepts leads to misunderstandings and speculation. Almost 100 years ago, Tesnièr, while estimating the approximate number of largest speech communities in the world, ranked Russian as the third largest. It is noteworthy that he divided the figure of nearly 120 million native speakers of the language between Great Russian (80 million), Little Russian (Ukrainian, 34 million) and White Russian (Belarusian, 6 ¹/₂ million), considering them as "mutually intelligible varieties, about as different as British and American English" (as cited in Bloomfield, 1984). This widespread misconception about the relations between the Ukrainian and Russian languages actually reflects the dominant position of the Russian language in political, social and cultural dimensions in the former Soviet Union as an inheritance of the language policy of tsarist Russia and throws light on a paradoxical discourse of Ukrainian and Russian as the first and second languages in Ukraine.

Discrimination of the Ukrainian language as the first language of a huge group of ethnic Ukrainians who lived on the Ukrainian lands joined to the Russian Empire in the middle of the 17th century began already in the next century. For example, yet in 1720, the Russian tsar Peter I issued a decree prohibiting book printing in Ukrainian and extracting Ukrainian texts from church books (Ohienko, 1942). The next decades and centuries of imperial history of the Ukrainian lands offers immense evidence of sustaining attempts of the ruling power to ban the first language of a huge ethno-cultural group and replace it with Russian, close all Ukrainian-language schools, prohibit printing and import from abroad of any Ukrainian literature, etc.

As a result of the artificial inhibition of the possibilities to use the native language in vital spheres, a spike in self-identification of Ukrainians through the language took place during the liberation struggles of 1917-1920. The newly formed Ukrainian People's Republic directed all its efforts to return the status of the state language to Ukrainian, to restore its public use, open Ukrainian-language schools and universities, print literature and periodicals in Ukrainian.

The language processes that took place in the USSR after the complete establishment of the Soviet power on the lands of the former Russian Empire developed under the slogans of Marx's idea of the future world-wide unification of nations and, consequently, the fusion of national languages. Concentrating in its hands all the power and subjecting total control to all spheres of life, the Bolshevik Party carried out linguistic and cultural assimilation of non-Russian ethnic minorities. The Russian nation began to be positioned as the elder and wiser brother of all the large and small national groups of the Soviet Union. A possession of all media enabled the state power to promote Russian as the main language of interethnic communication in the multinational USSR under the slogans of the "single family of peoples", "fraternal friendship", and "proletarian internationalism".

At the end of the 1950s, the idea was popularized in linguistic literature and journalism that the use of Russian in the USSR was no longer limited to the means of interethnic communication - it was proclaimed the second native language of the non-Russian nations of the USSR. In 1961, it was canonized by Nikita Khrushchev in his report on the new Program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union at the XXII Party Congress. As to the development of national languages, he noted that it should lead to the rapprochement of nations. Furthermore, he stressed that the voluntary study of the Russian language by non-Russian peoples would have a positive effect on the development of interethnic cooperation. In other words, he connected the program proposed by the congress on the construction of communism with the strengthening of the role of Russian as a second native language in the USSR (Doklad, 1961). According to Masenko (2005), the tenet about Russian as a second native language, despite the obvious impossibility of its scientific substantiation, became mandatory in the official linguistics of the Soviet Republics. In fact, this tenet marked the beginning of official bilingualism in the Soviet Union.

Further program documents of the state authorities of the USSR continued to wash away the concept of "native language" in the minds of non-Russian minorities. The process of "Russification" of various ethnic groups only intensified. In the early 1970s, the political leadership of the USSR announced the completion of "erasing national differences" and creation of a new historical community - "the Soviet people". The priority of the Russian language prevailed in all spheres - state administration, education, mass media, literature, theater, etc. The Soviet regime consistently formed complex of inferiority in attitudes of non-Russians to their mother tongue and culture.

As an outcome of social pressure that has occurred together with official domination of Russian, native languages became a subject of ridicule as "peasant languages". In his comparison of the social status of Russian and Ukrainian at that time, Subtelny (1988) draw the following picture: "The world of big cities – the political, economic, scientific elite, the world of modernity in general - is basically Russian. The world of village - collective farmers, national customs - is mostly Ukrainian" (Subtelny, 1988, p. 642). No wonder that reduction of social attractiveness of Ukrainian undermined its position in education. In Ukraine, the number of native-language schools has started to decrease in cities and towns. In the largest cities there remained very few such schools - the Ukrainian language of instruction became the prerogative of rural schools.

On the eve of the collapse of the Soviet Union, the peculiarity of the linguistic situation in Ukraine was that Russian, although the second language from the ethnic perspective, dominated in state power and everyday use, as a sign of socio-political loyalty to the Soviet regime.

Language Pendulum in the Last Decades

According to the last Soviet 1989 census, 87.8% of Ukrainians confirmed Ukrainian to be their native language. In fact, it might be rather an emotional declaration then a conscious choice, since in practice they were using Russian in most linguistic situations. The restoration of Ukraine's independence in 1991 did not lead to a significant reduction in the use of the Russian language. Instead, the situation turned into a language pendulum swinging back and forth in the Ukrainian-Russian bilingual environment.

The trouble was that people who came to power in Ukraine continued to publicly promote official bilingualism, which, in reality, turned out to be anti-Ukrainian policy because it further hampered the consolidation of the society on the idea of supporting the Ukrainian language as a state-building factor, protecting the nation as a community and serving as its immune system from empiresubordinate syndrome.

The Constitution of Ukraine (1996) proclaimed Ukrainian the only state language and assigned to the state the duty to ensure the comprehensive development and functioning of the Ukrainian language in all spheres of public life throughout the country. However, a series of further laws and draft documents formulating the principles of state language policy and advocating a broader functioning of the Ukrainian language as a state language have not managed yet to become a turning point in overcoming the centuries-old deformation of the language environment in the country. Moreover, the language issue of Ukrainian-Russian bilingualism is usually pushed forward from its position of relative equilibrium in times when political struggle escalates ahead of presidential or parliamentary elections. It is used then by various political groups in their own interests to gain the attachment of pro-Russian or pro-Ukrainian electorate.

Progressive disbalance regarding the reduction of the Ukrainian language usage is well demonstrated by the ratio of the Ukrainian-speaking people and ethnic Ukrainians. According to the last All-Ukrainian Population Census of 2001, Ukrainians constituted 77.8% of the population of Ukraine, while the Ukrainian language was recognized as the native language only by 67.5%. The data was proved by the 2005 all-Ukrainian poll conducted by the Institute of Sociology of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine: Ukrainian was considered the mother tongue by 64.3% of the respondents, Russian by 34.4%, and another language by 1.5% (Ukrainska). Less than in a decade, the number of people confirming Ukrainian as their native language has still decreased (56.2% of 2,760 participants of the public opinion poll conducted by the Kyiv International Institute of Sociology in February-March 2013), while the amount of Russian-native respondents has increased to 39.6% (Dumky, 2013).

At the same time, attempts are regularly made to legitimize Ukrainian-Russian bilingualism as a state language policy. The activity of these attempts depends entirely on the orientation of the country's leadership towards Russia or the West. During the periods of the pro-Russian leadership, there is all possible assistance in spreading Russian. Proposals are gaining strength to make the Russian language a second state language or a second regional language in certain territories inhabited by a significant number of Russian-speaking Ukrainians. When pro-Western leaders come to power, the tendency of Ukrainianization of the social, cultural, and educational spheres of life is increasing.

Similarly, the views of scholars are polarized. Some scholars (Azarova, 2015; Bondar, 2003; Masenko, 2005) argue that multilingualism or bilingualism at the state level is a destructive process for the country, since mass bilingualism, deformation of the linguistic situation, communication conflicts can lead to a loss of social consolidation and dangerous processes of assimilation, both linguistic and national-cultural. Ivanenko and Bereshchuk (2012) admit that legitimized bilingualism in the conditions of the domination of the Russian language during the Soviet era and the policy of language nihilism during the years of independence led to a global national degradation of the Ukrainian people. Other researchers (Pashkov, 2010) insist that the process of development of natural bilingualism in Ukraine is significantly complicated and deformed by ideological and political factors, and the artificial limitation of the functioning of the Russian language inhibits the development of the country, impoverishes communication between people, and undermines the role of the word.

In the course of discussions about the status of Ukrainian and Russian languages, the terms "titular nation" and "indigenous nation" became activated, since the term "native language" in the sense of "the first language that a person possessed in an early childhood" was doubted as inaccurate and incorrect to describe the linguistic situation in Ukraine (Vysnovok, 2012).

It is important to point out that the events of the last 4 years associated with the Russian annexation of the Crimea, Ukraine's struggle against Russian aggression and separatist forces in the East of the country, which brought significant human and economic losses, have intensified Ukrainian selfidentification in terms of language. A sociological survey carried out by the Razumkov Center (Konsolidatsia, 2016) proves that these processes have affected the linguistic situation in Ukraine as well. In particular, the number of citizens who consider Ukrainian as their mother tongue has increased (69% in 2016 versus 61% in 2011); regarding Russian as a native language, this figure has decreased (27% vs. 36%). At the same time, the home use of languages has changed less noteworthy: the use of Ukrainian has slightly increased (55% vs. 52% in 2011), and Russian has decreased (41% vs. 45%). Consequently, more visible changes have taken place in the language identity of citizens than in language practices, which proved to be more stable.

Although the use of Russian at home and in the streets is still high, there is a tendency towards a decrease in the number of schoolchildren willing to study Russian. However, even under such a condition, it stays omnipresent in everyday life because of powerful mass media support (from Russia including), pop culture, fiction and professional literature and periodicals, language habits and environment. Surprisingly, children who have never studied Russian at school understand and communicate in it pretty well due to its presence everywhere.

Foreign Languages vs. Russian

Complex interplay between politics and practice in the second language education and use in Ukraine is closely connected with foreign language education policy. Since 1932, foreign language (German, French, English or, since 1947, Spanish) officially became a compulsory component of school curriculum, and now it is a state-required subject at primary, secondary, and tertiary educational levels. It is also mandatory for post-graduate programs, and a B2 level certificate in a foreign language is a requirement for gaining a professor diploma.

In some regions of Ukraine that border on Central European states, the languages of neighbours with whom Ukrainians share many historical developments, national roots and cultural traditions are popular - Polish, Romanian, Hungarian. In other regions of the state, languages of ethnic groups that have inhabited the country for centuries are taught: Crimean-Tatar, Moldavian, Bulgarian, Romaic, Slovak, Turkish, Greek etc. Apart from schools, cultural-educational centres or Sunday schools take care of minority languages. The status of regional and minority languages as native, heritage, second or foreign languages cannot be strictly defined, since it depends on individual motives and priorities, family traditions, local language situations, etc. For example, a Ukrainian-native child may study Polish as a foreign language together with classmates for whom Polish is a heritage language. However, the commitment to provide education in regional and minority languages wherever desired by parents and pupils has a deep social potential and significance for building a democratic multicultural state with respect for cultural and linguistic diversity.

In 2013, at the time of the pro-Russian president Yanukovych, the Ministry of Education and Science issued an order for compulsory study in schools from the 5th grade of a second foreign language. It was specified that it could be any foreign language, or Russian, or another language of national minorities. The Education Department has gathered preliminary information on what kind of language 5th grade pupils would study as a second foreign language in each school. According to these data, 52% of schools have chosen German; 23%, Russian; 14%, French; 8%, English; 2%, Polish; 1% Spanish (Rossiyska, 2013). As educators themselves

have told, at various meetings they were strongly encouraged to choose Russian as a second foreign language. For some schools, especially in villages, due to the lack of specialists who knew European languages, the choice of Russian as the second foreign could become the only way out. The public and representatives of Parliament immediately expressed their disagreement. They argued that such an order was another manipulation of public consciousness, and emphasized that instead of a second foreign language, the school-children would learn the language they already knew well. Thus, the Ministry actually narrowed, not extended, their starting life possibilities.

After the Revolution of Dignity in 2014 and new Presidential and Parliament elections, the focus in the state language policy was shifted in the direction of English as the second language in importance after the official (Ukrainian) language. At the moment, there was a vast industry of foreign-language teaching in Ukraine with clearly evident dedication to the English language learning, and a generation of motivated English-language learners. English was studied by about 90% of all schoolchildren. Thus, as a counterbalance to attempts to reinforce the status of Russian through posing it as a second foreign language, calls were made for the introduction of English as a second language, a language that would help Ukrainians better to get to know other cultures instead of Soviet and post-Soviet. The Minister of Education and Science in the new government stressed that the state should create conditions for any language to develop, but the government would intend to pay special attention to the state language and English.

The year 2016 was declared the Year of the English language in Ukraine, as stated in the Decree, "considering the role of English as a language of international communication, in order to facilitate its study to increase citizens' access to world economic, social, educational and cultural opportunities that the knowledge and use of English opens up, ensuring the integration of Ukraine into the European political, economic and scientific and educational area, in support of the Go Global program, which defines the study of English as one of the priorities of the developmental strategy" (Ukaz, 2016). The position of English as a global language that helps Ukraine in its aspiration to integrate with the democratic world is steadily growing - especially from the perspective of its role as a counterbalance to Russian as the language of a hostile country that actually contributes to the collapse of Ukraine as an independent state and fuels fighting in Eastern Ukraine, being directly involved in it.

Conclusions

As the case of Ukraine proves, both at the state and individual levels, the choice of a second or foreign language for educational purposes is strongly intertwined with the state politics and ideologies, inter-state relations, national selfidentification strivings. It is a very delicate sphere able to hide or reveal identity conflicts.

Historical experience shows that an attempt to replace the native language with a second language by, for example, artificial creation of a strange concept of "the second native language", may for some time cause a serious dissonance in the national identity of the whole nation living in a totalitarian state regime. However, if the society chooses a democratic way of development, such a policy can lead to the rejection of the language imposed in this way not only as a state language, but generally as a means of daily communication.

Foreign language education, as well as education in regional and minority languages, helps learners to reflect on their own and others' social and cultural identity, and serves as a good counterbalance to addiction to domination of one imposed language.

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Ideologies in Practice: Understanding the Case of Multilingual Migrants in Classrooms of Delhi

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The city of Delhi, which receives the highest number of migrants among states of India, offers a unique opportunity to study issues related to language, education and diversity. This paper looks at migration, its impact on Delhi's linguistic profile and its role within educational scenarios. Data collected from government schools of Delhi shows that teaching and learning in Indian classrooms is guided by monolingual ideologies that translate into separatist pedagogies and affect negatively the natural translanguaging practices of multilingual migrants. This paper argues that the education system fores student and teachers to "play monolingual" within classrooms, thus promoting linguistic homogenization.

Key words: Migration, multilingualism, education, policy and classroom practices.

Introduction

The capital of India, Delhi, has attracted people from all parts of the country throughout history. In post-independent India, Delhi has emerged as the city of hope for those young citizens who are looking for better occupational opportunities and higher standards of living. A comparative analysis of reports of census of India show that the percentage of migrants increased from a mere 8.76% in 1971 to 22.22% by the year 2001. This expansion in the migrant population has resulted, on the one hand, in culturally and linguistically diversified demography of the city; on the other, in a number of systemic challenges in terms of provisions for adequate housing facilities, job opportunities, and education.

A study conducted on "Counter Magnet Areas to Delhi and NCR" (National Capital Regions) by the Ministry of Housing and Urban Affairs of India (n. d.) argues that most of the people who migrate from other states of India to Delhi work as semi-skilled laborers. These laborers come to the city after giving up their traditional agriculture-related occupations due to low returns. The 2001 census report shows that, in addition to reasons related to work and employment (37.56%), a large group of migrants move to the city with their household (36.78%). The latter group of migrants is comprised primarily of women who might stay at home to take care of children or work as semi-skilled laborers, and of children who are admitted to no cost/low cost government schools once they arrive in the city.

These demographic realities reflect directly in the classrooms of schools situated in Delhi. The composition of classrooms of the government schools is heterogeneous, marked by plurality of cultures and linguistic practices. This paper aims to study how languages that are brought to classrooms are negotiated within interactions between students and teachers. India's education policy calls for the use of multilingualism as a resource in the process of teaching and learning. It provides for teaching and learning of at least three languages at schools, including children's mother tongue. In the presence of several mother tongues within every classroom, understanding how the policy translates into practice becomes an important issue for both language educators and policy makers. This paper will focus on the processes that are involved in translation of the policy into practice and argue that monolingual ideology that governs India's education system at underlying level results in suppression of multilingualism, and encourages migrants to accommodate into majority languages.

Methodology

The study was conducted in three government schools situated in the city of Delhi. The data was collected from grades 1, 4, 6, 8 and 11. The data consisted of seventyfive hours of classroom observations, voice recordings of classroom conversations, semi-structured interviews of teachers, and a survey in which students were asked to report about the language practices used at their homes. The data was analyzed using discourse analysis.

It must be clarified that the term migration in this paper refers to inter-state movement of people on seasonal or permanent basis for voluntary or involuntary reasons. This paper will not discuss issues related to migration from or to India from other countries of the world. The paper has been delimited to study linguistic and educational implication of temporary or permanent migration of people into the city of Delhi from other states of India. For ethical reasons, pseudonyms have been assigned to the participants in the data that will be presented in this paper.

Migration and Delhi

Migration is one of the bitter realities of third-world countries like India, where development has remained largely urban centric. Industrialization and upsurge of metropolitan cities has generated a large scale need of skilled and semi-skilled laborers, whereas rural India has been witnessing a gradual decrease in returns from traditional agriculture-related works and concomitant loss of people's inclination towards such occupations. This trend, which has functioned to motivate migration into cities, is apparent in the reports of census of India, which show that almost 29% of the people who moved to Delhi in the decade 2001-2011 migrated in search of better work-related opportunities. In the decade 1991-2001, 64.25% of the migrants belonged to Uttar Pradesh and Bihar, two of the poorest states of the country. The "Study on Counter Magnate Areas to Delhi and NCR" (n. d.) argues that a large portion of migrant population settles in temporary shelters called *jhuggi-jhopri* (slum) clusters near railway stations, bus terminals, construction cities, and wholesale market areas that provide source of livelihood to these migrants.

Ideologies in Practice

These densely populated temporary settlements do not always have access to facilities such as clean water or proper sanitation, but they are dynamic sites that are highly multicultural, where people belonging to different parts of the country, different religions, speaking different languages, live in close proximity to each other. These migrants also maintain a regular social contact with their relatives, parents, friends and significant others whom they leave in their native places. The "Study on Counter Magnate Areas to Delhi and NCR" (n. d.) shows that more than 55 percent of the migrants pay at least one visit to their native town every year, while another 20 percent to 30 percent visit their native towns twice in a year.

Linguistically, this state of the situation seems to point at a larger case, which is that of additive (if not dynamic) multilingualism, that must be at play in the context of migrants in Delhi. Additive multilingualism refers to increase of one's linguistic repertoire by the means of learning a new language(s), without losing languages which were learnt earlier. People who migrate into Delhi often add Hindi, which is the named language spoken by 81 percent of people living in Delhi, to their linguistic repertoire (Census, 2001). Data from the census of India 2011 shows the presence of speakers of all 22 languages, which have been listed in the eighth schedule of the Indian constitution, in Delhi. It is needless to state that classrooms in Delhi, especially those that cater to the educational needs of lower income groups, are highly multilingual and multicultural.

Migration, Education and Languaging

A survey conducted to draw linguistic profiles of student participants at the initial stages of this research study showed that despite this scenario, most of the students studying in the three government schools of Delhi reported Hindi as the only language that they know and/or that is spoken at their home. Astonishingly, even some of the South-Indian and Muslim students stated Hindi to be their home language in the survey, despite the fact that the communities to which they belong have shown a strong sense of linguistic, cultural and/or religious identity, and have opposed the promotion of Hindi in the past.

The researcher had also come across instances where students were observed speaking a variety of standard Hindi with their parents who dropped them to the school in the morning or picked them up in the evening; however, when asked to report the languages/language varieties that are spoken at their homes, students said that they use exactly the same language that is spoken at the school at their homes. Theoretically, linguists have problematized Hindi by claiming to be an umbrella term that has been assigned to a number of language varieties in government reports such as the census (Khan, 2006). In these classrooms, even when the researcher encouraged the students to report about their real linguistic practices by specifying if they speak/understand a particular variety of Hindi, or of any other named language, students often hesitated and shied away from talking about multiplicity of their language practices. Consider the following conversation for instance:

Conversation 1: The researcher calls a grade 4 student and encourages her to talk about the language(s) that is spoken at her home. The researcher had noticed that the student's mother uses a variety of Hindi with her when she arrived at the school in the morning.

Researcher: Idhar aao. Aapke ghar me kaun si bhasha me baat karte ha
Garima: Pata nahi. Hindi me hi karte hai, jaise aap karte ho.
Researcher: Hindi me to nahi karte. Mummy papa apas me kisi or bhasha me bolte hai na?
Garima: Gaun ki.
Researcher: Kaun si bhasha hai aapko pata ha
Garima: Mere ko to aati bhi nahi.
Researcher: Aati bhi nahi apko? Samajh me to aati hogi.
Garima: Samajh me bhi nahi aati.
Researcher: Arre! Mere mummy papa jis me bolte hai mereko samajh me to aa jati hai. Bolni to nahi aati.
Garima: Aap bade ho na isiliye.
Researcher: Achha!Garima: Nahi to nahi aati (mumbles and goes away).

Translation

Researcher: Come here. Which language is used at your home?
Garima: I don't know. (We) talk in Hindi, just like you do.
Researcher: It's not Hindi. Mom dad talk in another language, don't they?
Garima: The village's.
Researcher: Which language is it, do you know?
Garima: I don't even use it.
Researcher: You don't even use it? You do understand it.
Garima: I don't even understand it.
Researcher: Oh. I understand the language that my mom and dad talk in, although I can't speak it.
Garima: You are a grown up, that's why.
Researcher: Really!
Garima: Otherwise you wouldn't have (mumbles and goes away).'

In the above example, students' unwillingness to talk about their real language practices is evident in the fact that Garima refuses to accept that her parents speak in a language that is different from the one that is spoken at school. After accepting that some other language is spoken by her parents at her home, she attempts to deny that she can understand or speak it at all. Her use of the lexeme "*bhi*" (even) emphasizes the fact that she does not want to share the name of the language or acknowledge that she knows it. When the researcher attempts to make her feel comfortable by talking

about her own language practices in a very informal way, the student tries to pursue a new line of argument to save herself from having a discussion on this topic.

Conversations such as these happened several times during the process of data collection. Appendix A presents a list of languages that were reported by the students as being spoken at their homes in the first instance, and researcher's superscript that was added later, after approaching some of the students personally, engaging with them in a discussion, and encouraging them to report about their real language practices irrespective of the standards. Despite all this, the table shows that only a few named majority languages have been able to enter the list.

Hence, although students were observed to be constantly engaging in translanguaging, that is, fluid and dynamic ways in which multilinguals use the totality of their linguistic repertoire (Garcia, 2009; Otheguy et al., 2015), outside the premises of the school, they rarely engaged in such linguistic practices inside classrooms. This indicates that classrooms are restrictive spaces that add to the processes of linguistic homogenization that migrants often go through in the context of Delhi. The fact that participants hesitate to name the languages that are spoken at their homes, and they rather choose to name the standard language of the school as their home language, implies that the school is a system that is not conducive to plurality of languages, let alone plurality and hybridity of language practices that is being supported in the literature on translanguaging (Canagarajah, 2014).

Factors Affecting Linguistic Homogenization

A number of factors, such as the policy of education, curriculum, teachers' perceptions, their ideology, market forces and parents' expectations, function in tacit ways to contribute to the processes of linguistic homogenization that shapes migrant students' linguistic practices within classrooms. These variables will be discussed in detail in this section.

The foreword of India's National Curriculum Framework (2005) states that "mother tongue is a critical conduit, (and) that social, economic and ethnic backgrounds are important for enabling children to construct their own knowledge" (para. 2). India's education policy (1986) also states that multilingualism should be seen as a resource in the process of teaching and learning. The strategy that the education policy advocates for order to promote multilingualism is the three-language formula. The formula proposes that the first language to be taught and learnt at school should be the mother tongue or the regional language, the second language should be a modern Indian language or English, and the third language should be a modern Indian language or English in three languages rather than multilingualism (Pallavi, 2016). The policy does not take into account the fact that terms such as mother tongue, first language, second language, developed in monolingual contexts where languages are learnt sequentially; in highly multilingual contexts such as India, where children

learn several languages concurrently and use them in dynamic ways by translanguaging, these terms hardly hold any relevance. The policy is being guided by a monolingual ideology that uses monolingual ways of using a language as a standard to explain the nature of language practices of multilinguals (Mohanty, 2009).

On the other hand, despite the child-centric pedagogy that is advocated within policies, in third world countries such as India, classrooms have remained largely teacher-centric in nature. How stated curriculum translates into practice is often guided by teacher's ideology and her perceptions about the process of teaching and learning, rather than by the policy. The data of this research study shows that the perceptions that teachers hold regarding languages affect the kind of multilingualism that manifests in classrooms in tacit ways. Put more specifically, teachers make certain assumptions regarding student's language use, and communication of these assumptions to students function to demarcate what is expected of them within classrooms. The following conversation exemplifies this process:

Conversation 2 (Grade 11; Subject: Home Science; Italics: Hindi; Bold: English). The teacher asks Gargi to come in the front of the class and read a chapter from her textbook. Gargi reads the heading of the chapter aloud.

Teacher: Mujhe de do ek book. (Dipika gives a book to the teacher. The teacher looks into the book. Gargi reads the heading again.)
Teacher: Aswasthata! Kya padha tha aswasthata ko tumne? Dhang se Hindi bhi padni nahi aati? (Gargi remains quiet.) Ruganta, aswasthata or bimari. Yani ki ruganta ya bimari ka bhi sharirik pushti or rogyata par asar padta hai.

Translation

Agar hum bimar honge...

Teacher: Give me a book. (Dipika gives a book to the teacher. The teacher looks into the book. Gargi reads the heading again.)
Teacher: Illness! What did you read illness as? Don't you even know how to read Hindi? (Gargi remains quiet) Sickness, illness or disease. This means, sickness or disease also affects bodily health and ability. If we get ill...'

The example shows that Hindi is perceived by the teacher as a language that every student should be proficient in. Remarks such as the one made by the teacher reinforces amongst the students the perception of Hindi as being "the language" of communication in Delhi, naturalizing and establishing higher status of Hindi in the context. What must also be studied are the effects that such perceptions have on multilingual language practices of students. It is because of these perceptions that named languages other than Hindi, as well as numerous varieties of Hindi that students bring with themselves to the school, fail to find adequate space in classrooms. Communication of such perceptions not only alienates migrants who might still be

struggling with Hindi, but also puts forth the expectation that the school has from students, that is, to learn Hindi.

In addition, market forces have given languages such as Hindi and English a status that ensures high returns in terms of employment opportunities. It is not surprising that in this context parent's often demand that children learn prestigious languages as quickly as possible. It has already been well documented how government schools in India had to change their language education policy to introduce English from grade 1 (instead of grade 6), because of parents' demand and tough competition from lowcost English medium private schools (Nambissan, 2012). The data of this research study also illustrates the dominance of these two languages in the context of Delhi, since in seventy-five hours of conversational data that was recorded, it was only twice that any other language than Hindi and English was heard being spoken on the school premises. The other languages, Marwadi and Punjabi, were used by students to pass comments on each other on the playground.

Teachers were never observed to be using any other language than Hindi and English while teaching. Many teachers attempted to keep even Hindi and English segregated within classrooms, scolding students whenever they shuffled between the two (refer to Pallavi, 2016, for a detailed discussion on this). Students were expected to choose a medium of instruction, which could either be Hindi or English, from grade one onwards, and all the written work they submitted, including their answers in examinations, had to be produced in that language only. Given this context, students had no choice than to suppress their multilingualism and "play monolingual" in classrooms.

Language practices that migrants bring with themselves into classrooms apparently had no space within this system. A combined result of the education policy, pedagogy, monolingual ideology, market forces and perceptions of stakeholders, was linguistic homogenization. It is needless to state that this kind of homogenization functions to suppress pluralities and multiplicities. It discriminates against that marginalized section of the society which is forced to move from one place to another in search of source(s) of livelihood, while benefitting those who own linguistic capital and have better chances to secure stable employment to support their lives.

Conclusion

In conclusion, it can be stated that although India's education policy states that it is committed to the goal of multilingualism, heterogeneity of languages or language practices is rejected and suppressed in classrooms of Delhi. A number of factors, such as an underlying monolingual ideology that guides the policy, the curriculum, teacher's pedagogy, their perceptions, market forces and parents' expectations, work in tacit ways to shape the linguistic practices of multilingual students. Migrants, who may not possess linguistic capital that is encapsulated in dominant languages, formulate the group that is affected negatively by this process of linguistic homogenization.

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Appendix A

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Influencia del Lenguaje en el Rendimiento Académico en Contextos Multiculturales

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Este proyecto se centra en un estudio realizado en el contexto multicultural de la Ciudad Autónoma de Ceuta, un escenario lingüístico en el que entran en contacto una lengua, la oficial y un dialedo. Una situación que engloba a cuatro culturas, siendo mayoritarias las que representan a cristianos y musulmanes. De ahí que, en el caso del desarrollo lingüístico, se presentan datos que confirman la influencia del darija (lengua materna-musulmanes) en los logros académicos de estos alumnos y la importancia de los modelos familiares adheridos a cada cultura partiendo del valor de la educación infantil asociado al desarrollo evolutivo en este período.

Palabras clave: Cultura, lengua materna, familia, educación infantil

Fundamentación Teórica

El término cultura, en un sentido etnográfico, es un todo complejo que incluye el conocimiento, las creencias, la moral, el derecho, las costumbres, otros hábitos y capacidades adquiridas por el hombre como miembro de una sociedad (Tylor, 1871). Según Williams (1994), entendido todo como un modo de vida diferenciado. Una concepción equilibrada de "cultura" requiere la creación de un modelo educativo en el que se puedan promover la interculturalidad, con un lugar especial para las identidades que permitan al individuo mantener una idea de su propia identidad y tradición. En consecuencia, el actual escenario social y educativo demanda principios éticos universales que garanticen la cohesión social, sin que las discrepancias se trastoquen en irreductibles e inconmensurables, y a favor de que se ocasionen nuevos mestizajes (Demorgon, 2005). Por ello, la identidad sería fruto de la identificación del individuo con un grupo (*endógeno*) y la comparación con otro (*exógeno*), es decir, está basada en la pertenencia a un grupo y en su diferenciación con los demás (Jiménez y Aguado, 2002).

Estas situaciones sociales demandan el conocimiento de los términos "pluriculturalidad", "multiculturalidad" e "interculturalidad", conceptos que comparten como núcleo central la diversidad cultural y que, en ocasiones, se utilizan como sinónimos, sin tener en cuenta que difieren entre sí a la hora de conceptualizarlos

según las relaciones sociales e institucionales, incluyendo la educación. Es importante conocer el significado de estas expresiones para comprender qué implicación tendrán en la organización de la vida social y en los planteamientos educativos centrados en la diversidad cultural (García, 2004). Un medio, el escolar, que debe asumir los objetivos propios de la educación intercultural, respondiendo al desafío de educar a diversos grupos sobre las discrepancias de cada uno a favor de un desarrollo igualitario y equitativo para todos, sin eliminar las características diferenciales de los alumnos teniendo en cuenta aspectos centrales relacionados con actitudes, valores, procedimientos, currículum manifiesto y oculto, características de los alumnos, de sus familiares, de la comunidad, etc. Toda propuesta de educación intercultural tiene como objetivos básicos reconocer y aceptar la diversidad cultural, aplicar principios democráticos que favorezcan la participación, analizar las desigualdades, facilitar el éxito académico de todos ellos, promover interacciones entre grupos, adquirir estrategias interculturales en los procesos de enseñanza-aprendizaje, formar a profesores en la multiculturalidad, etc. (Galino y Escribano, 1990; Grant y Sleeter, 1986; Nieto, 2004).

Es preciso resaltar que en muchas ocasiones esta diversidad cultural plantea un escenario de pluralidad lingüística. Para Roa (2006), una sociedad multicultural "no está exenta de variadas y complejas dificultades, entre las que destacaríamos la del lenguaje, por ser este un elemento socialmente integrador y de convivencia" (p. 2). Una segunda lengua de contacto que puede estar influenciada por el desarrollo en la infancia en un contexto determinado, que favorece hábitos de pensamientos asociados a su conducta lingüística, y en coexistencia con lenguas diferentes en el ámbito familiar, escolar, oficial y de los medios (Olmedo, 2017).

El Desarrollo del Lenguaje

En este período, el desarrollo del lenguaje se presenta como uno de los principales logros, una habilidad que facilita la inserción en las acciones y permite el paso del mundo de la experimentación al mundo de la deducción. Por ello, no podemos dejar de lado que debido a aspectos didácticos tenemos que separar la exposición del desarrollo evolutivo en varias áreas, aunque sin perder de vista el proceso global. Una evolución determinada por diferentes capacidades lingüísticas (Stanley y Greenspan, 2000) que pueden condicionar el avance del proceso de aprendizaje escolar en este periodo. Para Nelson, Denninger, Bonvillian, Kaplan y Baker (1984) la adquisición del lenguaje es el resultado de la interrelación entre los comportamientos adultos, que facilitan el ajuste lingüístico y la disposición interna. Para otros, los niños y niñas están más centrados en escucharse a sí mismos que en si les entienden los demás; por eso Piaget (1988) lo define como un idioma egocéntrico.

La adquisición del desarrollo lingüístico se asienta en el desarrollo específico de los mecanismos para su procesamiento, y no en su origen (Fitch, Hauser y Chomsky, 2005). Un sistema comunicativo de doble dirección, donde se expresan y reciben intenciones producidas a través de los medios disponibles, un instrumento para la

intercomunicación del sujeto con su entorno social y regulador de las interacciones con los demás (Vygotsky, 1978).

Halliday (1983) demostró la importancia del entorno socio-ambiental que rodea al sujeto en el desarrollo del lenguaje, donde influyen la calidad de los elementos y objetos manejables en su experimentación personal (Wild, 2011). Los distintos ambientes lingüísticos y los modelos culturales originarán diferentes estilos cognitivos y, en consecuencia, distintos estilos de aprendizaje (Latorre, Mateos, Olmedo y Esteba, 2018). Gopnik y Meltzoff (1999) consideran la presencia de una relación bidireccional entre el desarrollo del lenguaje y el desarrollo cognitivo. Estas habilidades pueden ser importantes para la comprensión misma de la "teoría de la mente" como un argumento para explicar el desarrollo de una teoría de la mente integrada.

Resulta complicado explicar a los niños conceptos relacionados con la diversidad porque, aunque desde los cuatro años tengan habilidades para observar las diferencias humanas y construir su mundo desde esta observación, no manejan aún conceptos abstractos sino concretos, período en el que se produce un gran cambio para el niño, pasando de la cultura familiar a la escolar. En consecuencia, están organizando constantemente su percepción y su experiencia del mundo social y físico en estructuras cognitivas, un desarrollo que no puede acelerarse, pero sí extenderse a nuevas áreas. De ahí que, en las últimas décadas, se ha despertado un amplio interés por la adquisición de hábitos y técnicas eficaces que actúen efectivamente y mejoren el rendimiento académico. Dada su influencia en los resultados académicos, este es considerado uno de los temas prioritarios en el proceso educativo (La Paro, Pianta y Cox, 2000).

Lenguaje y Rendimiento

Una de las principales preocupaciones del sistema educativo es el nivel de rendimiento del alumnado de Infantil, donde encontramos problemas en relación directa con el origen de sectores socioculturales. Para Boehm (1980) las decadencias al comienzo de la escolarización (Educación Infantil) mantienen las diferencias entre el alumnado e incluso las acentúan a lo largo de la escolaridad si no se pone remedio. Es preciso encontrar un método que prevenga esta situación en el futuro, partiendo de la importancia de este período en la incorporación a una nueva etapa (Educación Primaria) y su implicación en la reducción del fracaso a largo plazo.

Laudrillard (1979) resalta que el acto de aprender debe ser estudiado en el contexto en el cual se produce el aprendizaje, siendo este un proceso dependiente de otros factores que influyen en la estimulación del niño y que guardan una estrecha relación con su rendimiento. En consecuencia, este concepto es un complejo mundo que envuelve las cualidades individuales, socio-familiares y una realidad escolar. De ahí, que puedan depender tanto del sujeto de la educación como de la consideración analítica de los elementos que intervienen en el proceso educativo. Para Fernández (1976), una valoración del rendimiento debería contemplar "los diversos ámbitos en que la personalidad del sujeto ha de ser educada, formada y enseñada" (p. 11). Igualmente, diferentes investigaciones han demostrado que existen tendencias hacia ciertos estilos de aprendizaje acordes a sus características y habilidades personales (Blumen, Rivero y Guerrero, 2011; Evans, Cools y Charlesworth, 2010). Por consiguiente, en contextos que presenten una diversidad cultural se debe tener en cuenta que los estilos de aprendizaje están relacionados con los grupos culturales (Ramírez y Castañeda, 1974). Asimismo, para la formación de hábitos, los progenitores cumplen un rol importante, creando un ambiente propicio y eficaz que puedan favorecer el rendimiento académico de los estudiantes (Ortega, 2008; Vigo, 2007).

Esta situación convierte a la diversidad cultural en uno de los principales promotores del acuciante cambio en la estructura social y educativa, colocándola como uno de los focos vitales para la reflexión pedagógica. Dados los preocupantes datos de fracaso escolar y en aras a conseguir prevenirlos, resulta crucial atender a las necesidades de esta primera etapa y analizar la manera de mejorar el rendimiento académico desde edades tempranas (Alexander, Entwistley Kabbani, 2001) siendo esta un marcador del posterior desarrollo escolar del sujeto.

Método

Esta investigación, de índole transversal y descriptiva, se ha realizado con una única medición sobre el rendimiento de los alumnos de la muestra a la que se ha aplicado un procedimiento explicativo para interpretar las variaciones de los resultados académicos sin profundizar en comprobaciones causales.

Participantes

La muestra de alumnos se seleccionó de centros públicos y concertados de la Ciudad Autónoma de Ceuta. La población estaba conformada por 1.277 alumnos pertenecientes al tercer curso del segundo ciclo de infantil y los padres de estos. De ellos se obtuvo una muestra productora de 332 alumnos y 256 padres (1- α = 0,95; e=3,2% y P=50), comprendidos entre los 4 y 5 años, de los que el 54,76% son niños y el 45,24% son niñas, el 36,12% tienen el castellano como lengua materna y el 63,88% la lengua materna darija. En el caso de los padres, el 69,1% son mujeres y el 30,9% hombres; de estos, el 69,4% son de religión islámica y el 30,6% católicos. En todo momento, la muestra seleccionada para este estudio fue representativa en función de la diversidad cultural que representan los distintos centros escolares y las familias.

Instrumentos

Los instrumentos para valorar el rendimiento y los modelos culturales se han construido expresamente para esta investigación. El de rendimiento consta de 54 ítems y el cultural de 65 ítems, a los que se responde siguiendo una escala de Likert de cuatro categorías ("nunca", "a veces", "a menudo", "siempre"), que recogen el grado de adquisición de los aspectos competenciales que miden las distintas variables que abarcan las áreas de comunicación y lenguaje (comprensión oral, expresión oral, expresión escrita, conciencia fonética, y lenguaje matemático), de habilidades sociales (estado emocional, la actitud ante los compañeros, la actitud ante el trabajo, ante el juego, así como los hábitos) y, finalmente, el área motriz para el primero. En el caso de los modelos culturales, las dimensiones están relacionadas con la dinámica social, familiar, hábito y expectativas.

Procedimiento

La fiabilidad de los instrumentos se obtuvo mediante el cálculo del alpha de Cronbach, que arrojó un índice de 0,912 y de 0,968 respectivamente, datos que avalan la consistencia (George y Mallery, 2003). Seguidamente, se procedió a la validez de constructo, hecha a través de un análisis factorial confirmatorio; una vez que calculamos la medida de adecuación muestral (KMO: .959; P< .001) y el valor del nivel de significación en la prueba de esfericidad de Barlett que es 0, aplicamos un método de rotación oblicua (Oblimin normal) que nos confirma una estructura de 4 factores para el instrumento de rendimiento académico y de 5 factores en el caso de los modelos culturales.

Los datos obtenidos a través de los cuestionarios fueron sometidos a análisis estadístico con el paquete informático SPSS versión 22, determinando como principales variables en el rendimiento la lengua materna y, en el caso de la familia, el origen cultural de la misma. Para valorar las distintas singularidades que describen la muestra se realizaron representaciones gráficas (barras) a partir de los datos obtenidos de las frecuencias de porcentajes y medias. De igual modo, se concretó la homogeneidad en relación a clasificaciones de las variables lengua materna y religión, además de utilizar estadísticos de contraste (ANOVA) que nos permitieron conocer la existencia de diferencias significativas de las variables independientes seleccionadas.

Resultados

En la siguiente figura podemos observar los valores de las medias obtenidas en relación a unas dimensiones que identifican las principales característica del núcleo familiar en función de la religión que profesa, clasificando en este caso a cristianos y musulmanes.

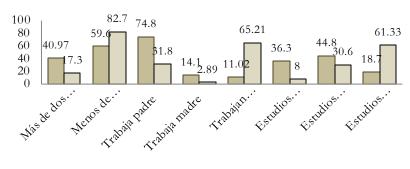


Figura 1. Características de los progenitores en función de la religión que profesan

■ MUSULMAN ■ CRISTIANO

La figura 1 presenta aquellos valores con mayor relevancia en relación con los modelos que establecen los progenitores. En consecuencia, podemos observar cómo, en todas las variables expuestas, las medias tienen un valor superior para los musulmanes en el número de hijos (40,97%), en este caso más de dos, los padres que trabajan (74,8%) y los niveles de estudios primarios (36,3%). En cambio, los cristianos suelen tener menos de dos hijos (82,7%), trabajan los dos progenitores (65,21%) y tienen estudios superiores (61,33%).

Tabla 1. Hábitos y dinámica familiar según religiónModelo culturalMediaMusulmanes CristianoRazón FSig.3.653.94la lectura3.593.784.328*

Domina la lengua oficial	3.65	3.94	9.527	**
Valora la lectura	3,59	3,78	4,328	*
Normas y horarios	3,52	3,79	7,581	**
Utiliza lengua no oficial en ámbito familiar	2,30	1,12	133,574	***
Utiliza lengua no oficial en ámbito social	2,29	1,17	96,980	***
En casa viven más de 5 personas	2.09	1.36	16.220	***

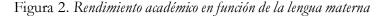
Nota. *valores significativos p < .05; **valores muy significativos p < .01; ***valores altamente significativos p < .001.

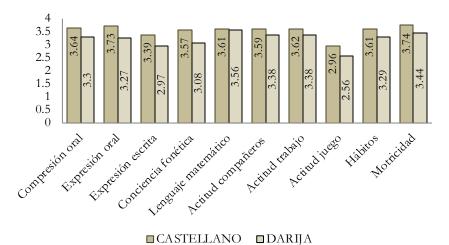
Seguidamente, la tabla 1 nos revela los datos con mayor significación asociados a modelos que establecen la cultura en función de la religión que profesa. En este sentido, las variables reflejan que existe una total significación y una gran divergencia entre estos grupos, valorando que la variable que presenta más heterogeneidad es "utiliza una lengua no oficial en el ámbito familiar" F:(133,574); "utiliza una lengua no oficial en el ámbito familiar" F:(133,574); "utiliza una lengua no oficial en el ámbito familiar" F:(133,574); "utiliza una lengua no oficial en el ámbito social" F:(96,980), y "en casa viven más de 5 personas" F:(16,220) con un valor de p=.000. También encontramos valores muy significativos para las dimensiones "domina la lengua oficial" y "normas y horarios", con un valor p < .01, un valor de F:(9,527) y (7,581), y valores de media para el grupo de cristianos de (3,94) y (3,79) frente a los musulmanes con (3,65) y (3,52). En relación a la última dimensión, "valora la lectura", los cristianos obtienen una media más alta (3,78) que los musulmanes (3,59).

Para finalizar, la figura 2 presenta los valores de las medias obtenidas relacionadas con las dimensiones de comunicación y lenguaje, habilidades sociales y motricidad según su lengua materna. En el caso de las medias de rendimientos generales en las dimensiones de comunicación y lenguaje, todas las variables que constituyen el grupo con lengua materna castellana obtienen puntuaciones más altas que el de darija en todas las categorías, destacando que los valores con mayor puntuación media representan a los alumnos de lengua materna castellana en las categorías de "comprensión oral" (3,64) y "expresión oral" (3,73). En cambio, las variables con los valores más bajos pertenecen a los alumnos de lengua materna darija en las categorías de "conciencia fonética" (3,08) y "expresión escrita" (2,97). Asimismo, en las dimensiones de habilidades sociales y motricidad podemos observar cómo se repite la

misma dinámica que en la dimensión anterior, de manera que todas las medias son superiores en los alumnos de lengua materna castellana, quedando latente que las medias más altas siguen a favor del alumnado de lengua materna castellana para las variables de "motricidad" (3,74) y "actitud ante el trabajo" (3,62). Por el contrario, las medias que tienen los valores más bajos representan las categorías de "hábitos" (3,29) y "actitud ante el juego" (2,56) a favor de los alumnos de lengua materna darija, aunque es preciso destacar que esta última media la comparten con los de lengua materna castellana como una de las que tienen un valor más bajo.

Destacando una mayor diferencia de medias en las de los castellanoparlantes y darijaparlantes en las áreas de conciencia fonética (-0,49), expresión oral (-0,46) y expresión escrita (-0,42), en cambio, la universalidad del lenguaje matemático distingue la menor divergencia entre las medias (-0,05).





Conclusión

La influencia en la infancia de la figura de los adultos condiciona un modelo de conducta que diferencia el aprendizaje global de los niños. Por ello, las características familiares asociadas a cada cultura ponen de relieve en el caso de los musulmanes cómo la lengua materna se convierte en la piedra angular, siendo esta la principal línea comunicativa en el ámbito socio-familiar que nutre el habla infantil, un acto sociocultural condicionado que traslada a un segundo escalón la lengua oficial. Indiscutiblemente, se convierte en un aspecto a considerar a la hora de determinar la influencia que los hábitos familiares ejercen en el rendimiento académico de estos alumnos, sin descartar el nivel cultural, la natalidad y estructura familiar que definen a estos dos grupos. Por tanto, la relación que existe entre el desarrollo psicológico y las habilidades lingüísticas convierten al lenguaje en la base esencial del crecimiento cognitivo y eje central para el proceso educativo. Razón por la cual las diferencias lingüísticas presentes en el vocabulario, la precisión y el desempeño simbólico se traducen en una transición más lenta e incompleta de los modos concretos (comprensión oral) a los abstractos (expresión escrita) en cuanto al pensamiento y la comprensión en una etapa clave para el progreso comunicativo, tanto a nivel social y cultural, como uno de los instrumentos más importantes para el conocimiento de la realidad y de sí mismos.

En definitiva, podemos atribuir estas diferencias en el rendimiento académico a características socioculturales que definen los modelos familiares, en el que se presenta la lengua cultural (darija) como la principal marca identitaria que interfiere en estas discrepancias.

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Developing an Institutional Approach to Culturally Sustaining Practices at a Hispanic-Serving Institution

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This paper discusses an initiative to develop an intentional approach to implementing culturally and linguistically sustaining practices at a Hispanic Serving Institution in the United States. Such practices are vital because students who identify with languages and cultures that have been marginalized societally often face similar marginalization within universities. To drive the development, a cultural competence survey was created and administered to university faculty and staff to measure changes that take place after professional development. The work is facilitated by a process of culturally relevant professional development and data gathering in which insights gained from faculty, staff, and students inform further iterations of the survey. The process of developing and administering the survey, and iterating it according to discussion and data, cultivates our institutional conversation and knowledge base about culturally sustaining practice and moves toward a climate in which all students feel that their unique identities are welcomed and validated.

Keywords: Hispanic-Serving Institutions, universities, culture, culturally relevant pedagogy, surveys

Institutions of higher education within the United States play a vital role in economic attainment since the majority of new jobs require post-secondary education (Carnevale, Jayasundera, and Gulish, 2016), especially in the fields of science, technology, engineering, and mathematics (STEM) (Carnevale, Smith, and Melton, 2011). Universities must ensure that institutions are welcoming environments for students from all linguistic and cultural backgrounds. Thus, as the demographics of the United States continue to diversify, institutions of learning must also evolve in order to educate the "new mainstream" (Enright, 2011). According to the 2017 U.S. Census, the Hispanic and Latino population is estimated to be 55 million people, comprising about 17% of the total population (U.S. Census, 2017). Latina/o students' attainment of bachelor's degrees, 21%, lags behind that of white students, 45%, and black students, 32% (Carnevale & Fasules, 2017). In order to address this disparity, the United States Department of Education provides grants to Hispanic-Serving

Institutions (HSI) to strengthen programs in order to increase opportunities for Latina/o students and other underrepresented students. The Department of Education defines HIS's as institutions that have "an enrollment of undergraduate full-time equivalent that is at least 25% Hispanic students" (U.S. Department of Education).

This article describes our university's intentional approach to preparing faculty to educate the new mainstream. The mission of National Louis University is Access, Innovation and Excellence. NLU was founded in 1886 and is one of the oldest and most progressive universities in Chicago. NLU is a broad access, four-year private, non-profit, Hispanic-Serving Institution. National Louis University is one of the largest teacher preparation institutions in Chicago and is comprised of the National College of Education, the College of Professional Studies and Advancement and the emerging Undergraduate College. The institution operates within a distributed structure across six campuses in Illinois and in Florida.

In 2017, NLU began implementing its HSI STEM Grant, which works toward increasing Latina/os and other underrepresented minorities in STEM fields as well as working towards increasing faculty and staff use of culturally sustaining practices at the institution. To achieve this, the HSI team developed a tool to measure the use of culturally sustaining practices as well as designed professional development workshops. This article describes our process, shares initial findings, and provides recommendations for implementing the tool, or adapting it for use at other institutions. The tool is available at http://bit.ly/nluculture.

Defining Culturally Sustaining Practices

Gloria Ladson-Billings (1994) published the landmark article *Toward a Theory of Culturally Relevant Pedagogy*, which has become the foundation for pedagogy that "empowers students intellectually, socially, emotionally, and politically using cultural referents to impart knowledge, skills, and attitudes" (pp. 16-17). For the purposes of our work at NLU, culture is viewed broadly as "a set of non-genetic information that is available (i.e., information exists), accessible (i.e., information can be acquired), and applicable (i.e., information is usable) to a group of people" (Kashima, 2014, p. 25).

This cognitivist definition of culture, along with Ladson-Billings work, drove the development of the survey instrument to measure the extent to which culturally sustaining practices are implemented within the institution. Culture is also very much a social process which, as Bantz (1993) explains, "is an outcome and a process that arises in the meaningful activity of people. As action becomes meaningful, members of a culture develop expectations about the activities of members... These patterns of expectations include norms, roles, agendas, motives, and styles" (p. 25). Because culture is made up of contextualized practices, it is beneficial to develop tools that aid in the creation of multiple, contextualized definitions of culture. Our work operationalizes culturally sustaining practices as those that exhibit two primary goals:

to increase the cultural competence of NLU faculty and staff and to create an approach to culturally relevant practice that is situated within the NLU university context.

Culturally Sustaining Programming at NLU

The professional development program was developed by the third author, who is an associate professor in English as a second language and bilingual education in NLU's college of education. The program consisted of two components: an online component consisting of three modules about culturally relevant practice, and a series of three face-to-face meetings. He created the online modules, called eNuggets, in consultation with the assistant provost at the time, the director of the HSI grant, the first author of the paper, and a technical specialist in charge of creating the graphics and design elements. The discussions about the topics of the eNuggets resulted in the following three topics, which were also the topics of each of the in-person meetings:

- 1. Meaning: What does it mean for NLU to be an HSI?
- 2. Implications: What is the role of positive campus climate and classrooms in persistence, retention, and graduation?
- 3. Methods: What are culturally responsive practices, and what do they look like in teaching, advising, coaching, and program/development management at NLU?

The in-person meetings were called the HSI Professional Development Series on Culturally Relevant Pedagogy. The meetings, called Lunch and Learns, took place once in December, January, and April, for one hour at noon on NLU's Chicago campus. The sessions were led by the third author, and they consisted of a presentation supplemented with a PowerPoint and a subsequent discussion among the attendees about the topics in the presentations. They were also broadcast via videoconferencing for those who could not attend in person, recorded, and stored in a university repository that faculty could access along with some relevant articles.

In the first Lunch and Learn, the following working definition of culturally relevant pedagogy (Prater & Devereaus, 2009; Ladson-Billings, 2001) was presented to provide a basis for beginning discussion:

University faculty and staff who teach and engage in culturally relevant ways:

- 1. understand and value the role of diversity
- 2. can infuse cultural knowledge, students' experiences, important issues and languages/dialects
- 3. can adapt curricula, programming, and pedagogy to the dynamics of differences in the classroom (Prater & Devereaux, 2009)
- 4. "understand culture and its role in education"
- 5. "take responsibility for learning about students' culture and community"6. "use student culture as a basis for learning"
- 6. "promote a flexible use of students' local and global culture" (Ladson Billings, 2001, p. 98).

Through discussions during and after the workshops, the working definition evolved to incorporate the concept of culturally sustaining practices (Paris, 2012). Culturally sustaining practices strive to encourage students to maintain and develop their unique identities, strengths and talents. The following questions were discussed in small groups during each of the Lunch and Learns:

- Lunch and Learn 1:
 - How can institutional agents use their knowledge and roles on behalf of Hispanic students and other students of color at NLU?
- Lunch and Learn 2:
 - o What is CRP?
 - What is the purpose of CRP?
 - o Do the questions in the survey effectively represent CRP?
 - o What should NLU's approach to CRP be?
- Lunch and Learn 3:
 - o How relevant is the working definition of culturally relevant practice?
 - How would the definition of culturally relevant practice play out at NLU?
 - o How could the definition be made more relevant?
 - o What do students' experiences tell us about CR/S Practice at NLU?
 - What do faculty, staff experiences tell us about CR/S Practice at NLU?

The professional development series reached over 80 individuals in the university community. Before the first Lunch and Learn, 43 people had completed the eNuggets, 88% of whom were adjunct faculty; the remaining 12% were professors, instructors, and staff. Each Lunch & Learn had an average of 35 registrants composed of adjunct faculty, instructors, staff, administrators, and faculty from both the College of Education, and the College of Profession Studies and Advancement.

After participating in the sessions and engaging with faculty and staff, participants indicated in evaluations that it was helpful to come together and engage in discussion. However, participants shared that more resources are needed, and it is important to continue conversations and further discussions to a deeper level and create more concrete culturally relevant and sustaining practices.

In the professional development dialogue sessions, faculty and staff continued to dissect the HSI team's tool and provided insights on their experience using culturally relevant pedagogy. They also expressed practices they would like to apply in their classroom and in coaching and mentoring students.

Methodology

The HSI team's goal is to increase the use of culturally sustaining practices by 20%. However, this goal was proposed without a clear system to measure the increase. In a sense, the team was working on a rationale of measurement as a driver of change. In other words, the process of developing and implementing a tool that defined and measured culturally sustaining practices would be a positive force for dialogue and consensus and would inform the work of faculty and staff.

There have been significant efforts to measure cross-cultural competence (Matsumoto and Hwang, 2013), but fewer resources for considering culturally sustaining practices in higher education. The process began by asking the external evaluator on the HSI grant, Dr. Ann Mullis, to review existing tools and draft a survey to use. She drew across several tools and compiled items under the domains of cross-cultural empathy (Wang et al. 2003); self-efficacy (Ang, Van Dyne, Koh, & Ng, 2004; Schwarzer & Jerusalem, 1995); cross-cultural openness (Webster & Kruglanski, 1994); and teaching strategies and knowledge. As noted by the evaluator, no tool was found that focused specifically on practices in higher education. To further develop the tool for that context, faculty and staff with experience in promoting culturally responsive pedagogy in k-12 settings and higher education settings were convened. That group brought in items used but not yet validated in k-12 settings.

The resulting tool focused on two domains: 1) beliefs and experiences, with items drawn largely from those compiled by the evaluator's review; and 2) strategies and approaches, drawn from less formal surveys used in K-12 settings and the experience base of faculty and staff. Five categories of strategies were identified: use of materials, actions to understand diversity, actions to connect to students' culture, creating a respectful environment, and specific teaching strategies to respond to cultural diversity. The response scales for the strategies was revised to match that used in regularly administered surveys of campus climate. In those surveys, respondents are asked about their satisfaction with aspects of climate, and the importance to them of that aspect (Levitz, 2015). This allows for a "gap analysis" of satisfaction with items considered most important. For the tool, faculty and staff were asked to rate both how often they used a strategy, and how important they felt the strategy was to serving students effectively.

The resulting tool was piloted with a small group of faculty members, and slight revisions were made for clarity of items. The survey was then administered at a faculty meeting of the College of Education and to all participants prior to a professional development session.

A two-pronged approach to developing and using the tool then began and is currently continuing. First, the HIS team will continue to convene conversations and carry out qualitative data collection about the items in the survey and related CRP topics. Throughout the remaining three years of the HSI grant, it is expected that the tool will be iterated based on these activities. For example, the team will want to keep hearing from students on what pedagogical practices and approaches allow for student voice and full representation of their experiences. It is expected that iterating based on data from students will result in a tool that reflects NLU context. Second, the team will determine a version of the tool that will remain constant for the life of the grant in order to capture change on the related performance measure. The tool will be revised in the summer of 2018 based on the first wave of administration and other data sources. The HSI project evaluator will administer that version in Fall term of each year of the grant.

Findings

Overall, the faculty in the National College of Education at NLU felt confident in their abilities to practice culturally relevant pedagogy. Over half (68%) faculty of the eighty-four faculty members who took the survey feel that it is very like them to have experience in teaching students from a culture other than their own. When asked how confident they are that they understand the cultures that their students come from, 57% reported that they feel confident. The survey also showed that 44% of NLU faculty indicated a need for support or training in effectively working with students from diverse cultures. Table 1 shows the results of the section of the survey that asks about faculty's beliefs and experiences in response to the question: "Please rate each of the following statement based on how 'like you' or 'not like you' the statement is."

	Table 1	: Faculty	Beliefs and	l Experient	æs		
	Like						Not like
	me						me
	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
1. I am confident of my ability to communicate well with students from all	32%	43%	15%	7%	1%	0%	1%
kinds of ethnic & cultural backgrounds.							
2. I have experience teaching students who come from a different culture than	68%	22%	5%	2%	0%	2%	0%
my own. 3. I am aware of how	69%	21%	6%	2%	0%	0%	1%
culture can influence communication.							
4. I am confident I understand the diverse cultures from which my students	27%	30%	27%	11%	1%	1%	2%
come. 5. I enjoy working with students from cultures that are unfamiliar to me	34%	19%	5%	1%	0%	0%	1%

Table 1: Faculty Beliefs and Experiences

	Like me						Not like me
	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
6. I believe students are partners in the teaching/learning process and may have expertise in some areas.	81%	12%	5%	1%	0%	0%	1%
7. In my area of work, I have been able to support my students' success without emphasizing my students' cultural backgrounds.	6%	27%	14%	7%	7%	6%	2%
8. In my career, I have had support and/or training in how to effectively work with students from diverse cultures.	3%	29%	17%	8%	6%	5%	2%
9. I feel I currently need support and/or training in how to effectively work with students from diverse cultures.	18%	26%	20%	11%	8%	13%	14%

In addition to the quantitative results, it was discovered that this tool also resulted in a high level of interest among the higher education community. The process of developing this tool was presented at the Alliance for Hispanic Serving Institutions' Best Practices Conference and it was found that there are additional faculty and staff working at other Hispanic-Serving Institutions were interested in the measurement tool and how this practice could be implemented at their institutions.

Some next steps are to collaborate with other institutions to share the development process of the measurement tool as well as design professional development around culturally sustaining practices for their own institution.

Recommendations

We are finding the measurement of culturally relevant and sustaining practices to be a useful process for building shared understanding and practice at our university. We developed the below planning guide as recommendations for individuals at other institutions who are interested in the process of implementing a tool to measure CRP. National Louis University's tool can be accessed at http://bit.ly/nluculture.

- 1. Convene a work group (members may play different roles)
 - a. Development:
 - i. HSI Director, staff
 - ii. Measurement expertise
 - iii. Research expertise on culturally responsive pedagogy
 - iv. Teaching experience
 - v. Other
 - b. Review:
 - i. University leadership
 - ii. Institutional effectiveness
 - iii. Office of Teaching and Learning/Professional Development
 - iv. Student representatives
- 2. Designate responsibility for gathering relevant data
 - a. Current/past measurements of teaching strategies and effectiveness
 - b. Collect student views (e.g. course evaluations, climate surveys, other)
 - c. HSI data evaluations
 - d. Definitions of culturally sustaining practices
- 3. Initial Discussions with stakeholders
 - a. Do you have a definition of culturally responsive pedagogy at your institution? If yes, what is it? Does it need revision?
 - b. What do you know so far in relation to your definition?
 - c. How do you expect to use the survey?
 - i. To inform Professional Development?
 - ii. Other University discussion?
 - d. How does it link to HSI efforts?
 - e. Possibly reviewing current tool, or others as a starting point: Does it capture current practices and needs at your institution?
- 4. Development team reviews further instruments
- 5. Draft and Pilot Instrument
- 6. Review pilot data (full team)

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Integrando al Estudiante Latino en los Programas de Español Universitarios

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En este trabajo se hace un estudio de los distintos programas establecidos en Bloomsburg University of Pennsylvania dirigidos a la integración y retención de estudiantes latinos en la institución. Como base de análisis se hace referencia a estadísticas de población latina en el estado de Pensilvania, la región del noreste de Pensilvania, las distintas universidades públicas del estado de Pensilvania y Bloomsburg University of Pennsylvania.

A partir de la década de 1990, la población latina de los Estados Unidos ha ido creciendo paulatinamente. Muchos han sido los factores para que se haya dado este estancamiento poblacional: declive en la población de inmigrantes debido a las estrictas leyes de emigración y deportación, bajas tazas de nacimiento/fertilidad y otros factores que, en cierta medida, han sido parte fundamental del proceso. Mas, a pesar de estos factores, la población latina en los Estados Unidos, sigue estable ya que, según the Pew Research Center, "The annual growth rate of the U.S. Hispanic population remained flat between 2016 and 2017, but Hispanics continue to account for more of the nation's overall population growth than any other race or ethnicity" (Pew Research, 2018). En el caso de Pensilvania, esta población en el 2017-2018 ascendió a 692,011 personas entre 2017 y parte del 2018.

Años	Población	Edad para estar matriculado como estudiante
15-17 años	20,660	Escuela secundaria
18-24 años	44, 865	Universidad
25-29 años	29, 130	No tradicional

Tabla 1 Datos demográficos del estado de Pensilvania

De esta población, 20,665 están en edad de cursar estudios en escuelas secundarias, 44,885 están en edad de cursar estudios universitarios y 29,130 podrían estar matriculados como estudiantes no-tradicionales en universidades. Más sin embargo, la realidad es otra. Muchos jóvenes latinos son desertores escolares y aunque el número de estudiantes en las universidades estatales pensilvanianas y de los Estados Unidos en general se ha incrementado, aún hay mucho que hacer para integrar a este estudiantado en los programas universitarios norteamericanos. En el caso del sistema universitario público de Pensilvania, solo un 2% de la población universitaria es de origen latino. Este 2% de estudiantes está distribuido entre 14 universidades, de las cuales forma parte Bloomsburg University of Pennsylvania.

Como se puede apreciar en la Tabla 2, en Pensilvania solamente tres universidades públicas cuentan con una población estudiantil estable de origen latino de entre el 8 y el 11%. A estas les siguen cuatro universidades con un porcentaje de entre 4.6% y 5.9%, mientras que el resto de las universidades, siete en su totalidad, tienen entre un 2.3% y un 3.5%. En el caso de Bloomsburg University of Pennsylvania solo un 5.9 % de la población estudiantil es de origen latino y alrededor de un 20% de ellos están matriculados en clases avanzadas de español. De ellos, una minoría domina completamente el idioma y el resto de los estudiantes oscila entre nativos con deficiencias lingüísticas, falsos nativos/estudiantes que entienden el idioma y no lo pueden producir verbalmente o estudiantes (una pequeña minoría) que se identifican culturalmente con la cultura latina de sus padres pero no tienen conocimiento del idioma español. La gran mayoría de estos pertenecen a una segunda o tercera generación de latinos en Pensilvania, o vienen de familias bi-raciales, en donde nunca se habló español.

PASHE System	Matrícula de estudiantes de origen latino
Pennsylvania Higher Ed. System	2017-2018
Bloomsburg	5.9%
California	2.8%
Cheyney	5.2%
Clarion	2.5%
East Stroudsburg	11.2%
Lock Haven	2.4%
Millersville	8.9%
Indiana University of PA	4.6%
West Chester	5.5%
Shppensburg	5.3%
Sliperry Rock	2.3%
Edinboro	3.1%
Kutztown	8.2%
Mansfield	3.5%

Tabla 2 Matricula de estudiantes de origen latino en Pensilvania

De acuerdo con los últimos censos poblacionales y otros estudios sobre emigración en el noreste de Pennsylvania, la población latina se ha ido incrementando, por lo que las comunidades han tenido que desarrollar planes comunitarios para proveer a esta comunidad de servicios, incluyendo religiosos, escolares y comunitarios, en español. De igual modo, más y más son los jóvenes de extracción latina que están ingresando en las escuelas secundarias de la zona cuyo primer idioma es el español. Teniendo en cuenta la poca asistencia de estudiantes latinos en la institución, se ha creado un esfuerzo para reclutar estudiantes latinos mediante programas específicos dirigidos a ellos. Estos programas van desde crear una experiencia universitaria para estudiantes de décimo y undécimo grado de escuela secundaria hasta crear un programa para estudiantes de primer ingreso universitario y desarrollar una carrera universitaria en español para estudiantes conocidos como "Heritage Speakers". Este trabajo se centra en la discusión de los distintos programas para el reclutamiento y retención de estudiantes de origen latino en Bloomsburg University of Pennsylvania.

English-Spanish Summer Enrichment (ESSE) Program: A Summer Academic Experience for Latino High School Students

En la primavera de 2015 un grupo de profesores y directores de oficinas en la Universidad de Bloomsburg en Pennsylvania sometieron una propuesta al programa de becas del "Presidential Strategic Planning Grant" para establecer un programa de verano para hispanohablantes de secundaria. Fue un programa colaborativo de dos semanas entre entidades universitarias y escuelas secundarias de la región. Por razones estratégicas, los departamentos participantes en el proyecto se relacionaban directamente con la enseñanza u orientación de jóvenes latinos en la universidad. Los departamentos participantes en el programa fueron Audiology and Speech Pathology, Education, English, and Languages and Cultures. También colaboraron la Office of Admissions y la Office of Multicultural Affairs at Bloomsburg University. Los estudiantes fueron escogidos por orientadores en sus respectivas escuelas y entrevistados por tres de los colaboradores principales del proyecto. La meta era escoger 30 estudiantes latinos de décimo y undécimo grado para que vivieran, estudiaran e interactuaran con otros estudiantes y profesores en el campus universitario y mejoraran sus capacidades lingüísticas a la vez que se exponían a una apreciación por su cultura y la lengua española. De igual modo, el programa sirvió para entrenar estudiantes de los departamentos de educación, inglés, lenguas y culturas y patología del habla y audiología.

La selección de los participantes, según Christopher Donahue y Bettina Ermizinger, "will be based on their academic interest and potential, but also considered will be the need for the development of their English reading, speaking and writing skills as a means of increasing academic potential" (English-Spanish Summer Enrichment).

Las clases impartidas en el programa fueron: español para hispanohablantes, inglés general mezclado con creación literaria, inglés remedial/como segundo idioma y tutorías de educación. Asimismo varios profesores de la universidad impartieron lecciones de cursos de empresariales, comunicaciones, ciencias/ingeniería, lenguas (profesores y estudiantes impartieron mini-lecciones de alemán, árabe, chino, francés, italiano, lenguaje de señas, ucraniano y ruso). También se les impartió un mini-curso de como solicitar entrada a la universidad y solicitar asistencia económica.

	domingo	lunes	martes	miércoles	jueves	viernes	sábado
Primer Domingo	Llegada y ubicación				·		
Desayuno		8-9	8-9	8-9	8-9	8-9	7-8
ESL		9-10:15	9-10	9-10	9-10	9-10	9-4
							Viaje de estudio
Inglés		10:30-	10:30-	10:30-	10:30-	10:30-	
0		11:45	11:45	11:45	11:45	11:45	
Almuerzo		12-1	12-1	12-1	12-1	12-1	
Español para		1-1:45	1-1:45	1-1:45	1-1:45	1-1:45	
hispanoahablante s							
Exposición a carreras universitarias/ Tutorías		2-3	2-3	2-3	2-3	2-4 Piscina y pasadia	9-4 Viaje de estudio
Cena	5-6	5-6	5-6	5-6	5-6	5-6	
Actividades/ tutoría	6:30-8:30	6:30-8:30	6:30- 8:30	6:30-8:30	6:30- 8:30	Fiesta	
	9-11 Graduación Regreso a casa						

Tabla 3 Horario de clases del programa de verano para estudiantes bilingües

Las metas del programa eran reconectar al estudiante con su trasfondo cultural y lingüístico; generar interés por estudios universitarios, distintas carreras universitarias y mejorar su inglés; proveer experiencias de mentor y enseñanza a los estudiantes de la universidad que colaboran con el programa (entre ellos estudiantes hispanohablantes u otro estudiante cuya primera lengua no era el inglés o cuya segunda lengua nativa era otro idioma o eran estudiantes de idiomas). En general el desarrollo del programa estaba encaminado a identificar a Bloomsburg University of Pennsylvania como un centro regional universitario para estudiantes latinos dado el aumento de la presencia latina en el área. La evaluación del programa se hizo a través de cuestionarios dados a los estudiantes y las evaluaciones que del programa hicieron los profesores y estudiantes mentores de la universidad.

Mi Segunda Casa: Learning Community

Para Shannon Munsgrove y Madelyn Rodríguez siempre ha sido una inquietud desarrollar programas dirigidos a aumentar la presencia de minorías en el campus universitario de Bloomsburg University of Pennsylvania. Ambas son productos del sistema público universitario de Pensilvania y pertenecen a una generación de primer ingreso universitario. Tanto Munsgrove como Rodríguez (y su hermana) pertenecen a un limitado grupo de estudiantes minoría que vinieron a estudiar a Bloomsburg University of Pennsylvania en las décadas de 1980, 1990 y 2000. En esta época la

presencia de estudiantes latinos en el campus era muy limitada. Según Rodríguez, "si no hubiera sido por los profesores y programas de español, no hubiéramos sobrevivido" (Comunicación personal, 30 de septiembre del 2005). Esta experiencia de aislamiento cultural siempre fue un aliciente para Rodríguez, quien terminó trabajando en la Oficina de Students' Affairs y luego dirigiendo la oficina de Multicultural Affairs de la universidad. Munsgrove, por otra parte, comenzó su carrera profesional en Mainsfield University of Pennsylvania y de ahí pasó a trabajar como reclutadora de admisiones de minorías en Bloomsburg University of Pennsylvania.

Debido a sus trasfondos culturales y lingüístico, en el caso de Rodríguez, ambas profesionales se dieron a la tarea de desarrollar el programa universitario para hispanohablantes "Mi Segunda Casa" como parte de uno de los objetivos de los "Learning Communities" de la universidad. Para ello desarrollaron cursos específicos que los estudiantes tomarían en grupo, los cuales servirían como base principal en el desarrollo de futuros programas.

Tabla 4 Cursos grupales para	el programa de Mi segunda casa
Cursos Grupales	
Primer Grupo 2016-2017	<u>Segundo Grupo 2017-2018</u>
Spanish for Heritage Speakers	Comparative Cultures
US Latino Literature	Multicultural Education

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Misión. La misión del programa era establecer una comunidad educativa para jóvenes latinos en la que pudieran explorar su cultura y segundo idioma, a la vez que sirvieran como mentores de una segunda generación de estudiantes en el programa.

Metas y evaluación. Las metas centrales del programa eran la de identificar recursos a nivel universitario que pudieran integrarse en los estudios universitarios de jóvenes latinos y así poder ayudarlos para que terminaran sus estudios universitarios. La evaluación del programa se haría a través de cuestionarios dados a los estudiantes al final del programa; un trabajo reflexivo sobre su experiencia universitaria en su primer año de estudios; exploración cultural de los estudiantes en las clases de grupo y viajes; participación de los estudiantes en la organización de las celebraciones del mes de la hispanidad en la universidad; y la creación de un grupo de estudiantes que sirvieran como mentores al segundo grupo de estudiantes que entraría en la universidad el siguiente año académico.

Carrera de Español para Estudiantes Hispanohablantes

Teniendo en cuenta los números reducidos de estudiantes hispanohablantes en Bloomsburg University of Pennsylvania y tratando de ayudarlos a integrarse a la cultura estudiantil de la universidad, se crearon programas de intercambio estudiantil con la Universidad de Puerto Rico, Cayey Campus, la Universidad Complutense de Madrid y la Universidad Veracruzana, Xalapa, México. El fin de estos programas era el de enviar estudiantes de origen latino junto con otros estudiantes de la institución a estos países y el de recibir estudiantes de esas instituciones que se convertirian en estudiantes mentores de los "Heritage Speakers" para así crear una comunidad de apoyo estudiantil internacional y nacional para el estudiantado. De igual modo, se estableció un internado o pasantía en orfelinatos en Puerto Rico, a través del United Way Program, en el cual los "heritage speakers", acompañados de estudiantes no nativos, harían trabajo voluntario.

Todos estos programas sentaron las bases para desarrollar cursos de español de gramática, cultura y lectura orientados hacia los "Heritage Speakers" en los cuales se han integrado estudiantes "Heritage Speakers" o "Cultural Heritage Speakers" con estudiantes no nativos cuyo nivel de español es bastante avanzado. De esta forma, se han ido transformando poco a poco los cursos de "Heritage Speakers learners" en el Departamento de Lenguas y Culturas hasta llegar a crear una carrera de español con cursos específicos para el estudiante hispanohablante.

Misión. Educar al estudiante hispanohablante dentro de contextos de usos profesionales del idioma. Preparar al estudiante en posibles carreras de traducción, interpretación, trabajos sociales u otro tipo carrera en la que el español se convierta en una herramienta de trabajo.

Metas y evaluación. Las metas del programa son las de ofrecerle al estudiante hispanohablante la opción de añadir a su programa de estudios una segunda carrera de español para las profesiones.

Pre-requisito	Inmersión	Cursos Requeridos	Electivas de Español	Cursos
	0-9 créditos	18 créditos	para profesiones	Generales
			/cultura 6 créditos	6 créditos
Examen de Colocación (Plaœment Exam)	Servicio de aprendizaje (Service Learning Language)	Spanish III Spanish IV o CLEP*	Spanish for the Medical Profession Spanish for Social Services Commercial Spanish	Comparative Cultures
*CLEP Español 101-204: 3-12 créditos (College Level Examinaion Program)	Study Abroad	Spanish for Heritage Speakers I Spanish for Heritage Speakers II	Spanish Culture and Civilization Spanish American Culture and Civilization Hispanics in the US Hispanic Culture and Civilization; otras electivas	Language Studies
	Internship	Conversadon Avanzada Hispanic Literature		

Tabla 5 Programa universitario español de la Universidad de Bloomsburg de Pensilvania

Conclusión

Ha sido un largo trayecto el que se ha tenido que caminar en las universidades norteamericanas para educar a los estudiantes hispanohablantes e integrarlos dentro de los currículos tradicionales de los programas de español. En el caso de Pensilvania, la población de origen hispano ha ido creciendo y expandiéndose hacia zonas rurales y ciudades pequeñas en las que los emigrantes han sido rechazados en algunas instancias o han sido integrados en otras, a las comunidades ya existente de emigrantes. En ambos casos, las instituciones educativas y universitarias se han visto obligadas a crear programas de educación para integrar al estudiante latino. Bloomsburg University of Pennsylvania no ha sido una excepción. Desde hace años el Departamento de Lenguas y Culturas, junto con la Oficina de Admisiones y la Oficina de Servicios Multiculturales, han ido replanteándose el hecho de cómo integrar a este estudiantado en la universidad y, más que nada, retenerlo. Para ello se han creado una serie de programas piloto, que si bien no han sido ni son perfectos ni han funcionado de la manera en que se esperaba, han servido para replantearse la nueva dirección que debe seguir la institución en cuanto a servicios universitarios disponibles para esta población y su retención universitaria. Sin duda alguna, Bloomsburg University of Pennsylvania, teniendo en cuenta el perfil lingüístico y sociocultural de este grupo de estudiantes, cuyas necesidades pedagógicas son tan distintas, con la ayuda del Departamento de Lenguas y Culturas (facultad de español), Departamento de Inglés, Departamento de Patología del habla/Audiología (división de TESOL) la Oficina de Admisiones y la Oficina de Asuntos Multiculturales, ha creado y mejorado programas cuya misión fundamental es la de retener e integrar al estudiante de origen latino en la institución.

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Pathway Student Identity and Support Systems for Their Success in US Higher Education

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International student mobility, together with the more aggressive approach towards the internationalization of university campuses, has led to the recruitment of a new type of international student, known as a pathway (PW). In this paper, I examine some of the challenges and opportunities connected to this initiative in the US. I describe institutional strategies in place to support PW students in this process and offer suggestions.

Keywords: US, Higher Education, English Learners, Pathways

The US remains a top destination for international students (see Ehlers-Zavala, Didier, & Berry, 2017 citing the Open Doors Report). International student mobility, together with a greater and more significant approach towards the internationalization of university campuses, has led to the recruitment of a new type of international student, known as a pathway (PW) student (other labels include: gateway students, bridge students, international year-one students). In this context, PW students are also English learners (ELs). In this paper, I begin by defining what a PW program is in the US in the context of international education. I describe PW programs and their students. Then, I go on to problematize the concept of PW student identity. I also discuss challenges and opportunities. Finally, I offer suggestions.

Programs and Pathway Students at CSU and INTO CSU Background

In 2012, Colorado State University (CSU) entered a public-private partnership with INTO University Partnerships (IUP) (UK-based provider of recruitment services) to enhance its efforts in international recruitment as part of a larger comprehensive internationalization strategy. With the advent of INTO CSU, the development and introduction of PW programs (at the undergraduate and graduate level) came along and they became signature programs. A PW program (at the undergraduate level) is also known as *International Year One*, as the curriculum largely corresponds to the university core-curriculum that all students must fulfill in their first year.

Pathway programs and students

A PW program constitutes an alternative route for international ELs to enter an institution of higher education. Thus, it is intended to work with another type of ELs that otherwise would not be typically served by institutions of higher education based

on published direct-entry requirements. PW programs are namely intended to capture a student that falls short of meeting direct-entry requirements in the areas of English language proficiency (as measured by standardized tests, such as TOEFL iBT/PBT or IELTS, etc.) and/or GPA. PW students are therefore students that are deemed by university evaluators to show potential for success (i.e., positive academic trends related to performance as reflected on transcripts; other relevant educational and professional experiences). Table 1 shows a comparative example of entry requirements at CSU and INTO CSU's undergraduate PW program.

Entry	Clear Direct Entry	International Year One or PW		
Requirements				
		2-semester	1-semester	
GPA	3.0	2.3	2.3	
(4.0 scale)				
Holistic Review	Yes	No	No	
Language Test				
0 0				
TOEFLiBT	79	60	75-79	
IELTS	6.5	5.5	6.0-6.5	
PTEA	53	44	50-53	
Password	Not accepted	6	7	
Other	SAT or ACT			
	(for competitive mayors)			

Table 1. CSU and INTO CSU's Undergraduate Entry Requirements

It is important to note, however, that at times PW programs can and do serve students that meet direct-entry criteria, but desire to have additional support in their first year or semester of university studies to transition more effectively into the university.

PW programs constitute a more expensive educational alternative because they provide students with additional and highly individualized sources of academic support as well as co-curricular and extra-curricular programming to ensure success. Students' performance is also closely monitored by dedicated academic advisors who have the task of deploying tutors when signs of additional support are detected. These additional sources of academic and experiential support help ensure student achievement and proper integration of the ELs to their new environment.

An important technicality central to the main topic of this paper is that, in most contexts (if not all), a PW student is not "fully" a university student despite having access to all benefits CSU students have (e.g., library, gym, cafeterias, dorms, clubs and student organizations). In order to become a CSU student, a PW student needs to successfully complete a PW program by meeting university requirements known as

"progression requirements" at the completion of their PW program. Progression requirements are established by the College and/or academic unit involved in offering a PW program. Here is an example of progression requirements for our undergraduate PW program in Engineering (INTO CSU Brochure, 2018-2019, p. 22):

- 3.0 CSU GPA
- Grade of "C" or better in all classes
- B or better in Math 160 or 161 [Calculus], Ph 141, and/or CHEM 111
- No unresolved "W" or "I" or "U" grades

Therefore, when the student meets all of these requirements, s/he can apply to be considered for matriculation in the engineering program at CSU. Matriculation for students who meet all of the requirements is guaranteed by the host institution. For those who may fall short of these progression requirements, alternatives may be considered before a student is not allowed to continue at the host institution (e.g., extension of a PW program to retake coursework). When a student has not met progression requirements and all reasonable alternatives have been exhausted, the student then has two options: (1) return home or (2) transfer to another institution that offers admission.

Finally, at our institution, a PW program represents a step above what most academic English programs accomplish because, from the start, a PW program welcomes international students with a higher level of language proficiency than Academic English programs (intended to welcome students with lower levels of English language proficiency-iBT lower than 60; IELTS lower than 5.5). The level of English and academic skills that PW programs aim at developing are also more advanced. PW programs (a) offer English for Academic Purposes classes that are more advanced than the highest level of English in our Academic English program; and (b) integrate ELs with direct-entry students at the host institutions from the start.

Problematizing PW Student Identity

Institutional challenges and opportunities

Learner identity has been an important topic in the literature pertaining to ELs, especially in K-12 education (see Cummins, 2001). But it is certainly not exclusive to that particular context. Others have examined the lives of highly successful multiliterate individuals and their journeys to become successful professionals (see Belcher & Connor, 2001). With the advent of new labels to refer to ELs, such as the PW label, there is also a necessity to examine topics that relate to (a) how PW students negotiate their identity in university campuses; (b) how the institution positively contributes to that process, and (c) the potential unintended consequences of such new terminology (i.e., the term PW).

Identity negotiation of PW students

It is important to develop an understanding of how the identity of a PW student is negotiated. As Cummins (2001) stated, this is "fundamental to the academic success of culturally diverse students" (p. 2). PW students are not the exception. For PW students, identity construction is key to their success in the process of teaching and learning as well as of integration to the new academic and social environment. As others have pointed out, "it is through participation that we begin to negotiate and renegotiate our identities within the group" (Nelson & Temples, 2011, p. 64). For PW students, this process can vary in terms of ease. For some (those with more gregarious personalities), it may be a relatively easy endeavor. For others (who are more shy and introverted), the process of integrating to the new environment may be more taxing.

Co-curricular Interventions to Ease Integration and Identity Negotiation INTO CSU's Global Village

At CSU, we have taken very deliberate steps to address the needs of PW students to help them succeed, as we acknowledge that international student engagement matters for academic success and as a social practice (see Kettle 2017 for a discussion on international student engagement in higher education). A signature initiative of INTO CSU is Global Village (GV). GV is an intentional living and learning community for PW students to ensure that integration is unfolding properly, and it is one of the many living and learning communities CSU has. Therefore, it is based on other examples of student experience success at CSU. GV brings together PW students and direct-entry students to take university courses together and participate in co-curricular programing from the start of the PW program. They also live in the same dorm to facilitate the integration process. Direct-entry students who wish to participate in GV typically have an interest in meeting international students. They apply to be considered for participation in GV, and from the pool of applicants, participants are selected. INTO CSU leaders who coordinate GV also have a body of student ambassadors that contribute to the programming. Thus, GV is a way to create intentional opportunities for students to study together, live together, and develop bonds that will transcend the university experience! For PW students, being able to successfully participate in this community constitutes a social and educational achievement in its own right. Many of our students who have been part of GV while in the PW program return to GV after matriculation to serve as GV ambassadors. This is perhaps one of the greatest testimonies of success beyond educational statistics (over 80% of student satisfaction), that demonstrate the PW program is successful.

The Inherent Risks of the PW Label: The Other Side of the Coin

For every great development and initiative in this world, there is almost inevitably something that is not so positive. The PW label, as is the case of any word or acronym, is both arbitrary and conventional. Yet, at the same time, its definition is loaded with descriptors that, to those who are negatively predisposed, largely highlight deficiencies rather than positive attributes. Below I describe some of the challenges I have experienced as an administrator of PW programs at my university.

Othering of PW students and of the INTO CSU Center

Using the PW label has inevitably led to an unfortunate consequence: the *othering* of both the PW student and of the Center (INTO CSU) that serves these students. Basically, for those less attached to the INTO CSU operation, but with strong opinions about bringing ELs below direct-entry requirements, it has come down to the following understanding: PW student equals INTO student, which in turn equals lower student quality. This perception is not sustained on facts. It is usually a biased uninformed opinion that has not been correlated with the academic and student success (over 70% progression rates, for undergraduate PW students and 85% for graduate PW students in AY 16-17; over 82% overall student satisfaction peri-Grad survey/international student barometer results in 16-17, higher than the INTO North America average). Those who hold this opinion typically are reluctant to accept the facts and/or tend to generalize from specific cases, which is problematic.

The othering of the PW student is a problem as it has the potential to lead to the marginalization of a group of students who have chosen our institution to develop the skills and knowledge necessary to reach their personal, professional, and social goals just like any other direct-entry student. This type of marginalization, regardless of intentionality, is not exclusive to individuals with limited international experience. Sometimes, it comes from other internationals who experienced student life and academics at a different historical point in time when they (as international students in the US) had to overcome a higher level of barriers to reach success. While this may be understood as a natural human response, the question becomes: Is this an appropriate response in the context of an institution committed to diversity and to providing educational access to all in order to lessen societal inequalities both here and around the globe?

Monolingual mindset and the deficit perspective

Another institutional challenge is one that was prevalent in the research and work I conducted in my previous academic appointment preparing bilingual/bicultural K-12 teachers in the US. As it is well-documented in the literature related to US bilingual education research, the prevalent monolingual mindset of individuals, which compares the EL to the native speaker in the area of both linguistic competence and performance, within and outside academic contexts in the US has not helped the views of ELs in a number of educational contexts. What I am finding in the context of PW programs is that higher education is not the exception. The monolingual perspective in social and educational places of learning is alive and well (Canagarajah, 2013), despite years of sound research that have questioned this assumption and demonstrated the problems associated with these ideologies (see Cook, 1997; Cummins, 2000, Cummins, 2001). I would like to point out that the monolingual perspective is not exclusive to monolingual individuals. This is also found among proficient bilinguals/multilinguals. It is a personal ideology-a way of thinking prevalent among those who are not versed in bilingual/multilingual research.

This monolingual ideology and deficit perspective attached to PW students without sound research, as our numbers have been modest, have kept many from being active supporters and collaborators of the PW initiative. Many of my colleagues oftentimes are reluctant to help us expand the repertoire of PW offerings at CSU and they strongly voice a lack of desire to work with PW students because they look at them from a deficit perspective rather than the enrichment perspective they contribute to our community on and off campus. Consistent with Cook (1997), I have argued (with varying degrees of success) that PW students like other second language learners "are not failed monolinguals, but successes in their own right" (p. 46). The challenge however remains: Colleagues expect PW students to use English in the same way native speakers do (or other highly proficient ELs), ignoring the rich linguistic/cultural capital they contribute to our community. After all, our PW students are, at least, bilingual/multilingual learners who have already mastered languages other than English.

Myths about PW students' underperformance

I have yet to encounter an institutional setting that is not vulnerable to student attrition at some level. In fact, I would venture to say that it is practically impossible to reach 100% student retention in any educational college setting. Yet, in my personal professional experience, I find myself constantly addressing the myths about PW student performance as I interact with colleagues who express deep concern about these PW students and who call for an evaluation of faculty and student perception of the success of the "INTO" program. There are of course some who have changed their minds and have begun to see the incredible work that is unfolding at INTO CSU. They have gone from resisting this programmatic offering to helping ensure PW student success (see Ehlers-Zavala & Maciejewski, 2017; Ehlers-Zavala & Maciejewski, 2016). As shown earlier in this paper, the vast majority of our students who complete the PW program, both at the undergraduate and graduate level, go on to matriculate at CSU, and many of them have already been graduating from CSU as the program has been in existence for over five years. Some of them are already enjoying exciting professional opportunities (i.e., securing jobs in Fortune 500 Companies in the US or abroad). Others have gone on to secure other educational opportunities (i.e., pursuing masters and doctoral programs at CSU or elsewhere). The stories of success are abundant.

Recommendations for Institutions of Higher Education with PW Programs and a Global Educational Goal

For decades, we have been communicating to prospective students that our institutions provide a world-class education, and that, in doing so, we are participating

at a global scale in providing access to our students on campus to the world by engaging in a multiplicity of activities. At times, we take students abroad; other times we bring the world to them through the welcoming of international scholars and students to our campuses. This effort is at the core of the work that we all feel is necessary to build and maintain a world-class university. A world-class university is another denomination for institutions where the most prestigious research unfolds and it is deemed as "essential in developing a nation's competitiveness in the global knowledge economy" (Wang, Cheng, & Liu, 2013).

In this final section, I offer recommendations for world-class universities to embrace and maximize success of PW initiatives that they may have in place or consider developing. I firmly believe that the success of PW programs will be minimally contingent upon all of the following actions:

- Advocate on behalf of PW programs and students. Advocacy must be an active enterprise that is executed at all levels of the institution. Develop explicit strategies and set aside resources to accomplish an internal marketing plan.
- Help faculty and staff develop positive human relationships with PW students in the same ways they would with all others as this is critical for the success of PW students.
- Guide faculty and staff in reaching the following understanding: We all share in the responsibility for contributing to student success (in and out of the classroom environment).
- Work to maximize integration of PW students with direct-entry students through deliberate curricular and co-curricular activities. High achieving students are excellent role models for students who are learning to navigate a new and, literally, foreign environment.
- Highlight the assets that PW students contribute to the university community by celebrating their personal cultural and linguistic backgrounds.
- Scan the university physical environment, and (if necessary) work to transform the cultural and linguistic university landscape so that it can truly speak: international! Visibly celebrate and embrace cultural and linguistic diversity on campus.

Final Remarks

As we welcome PW students to our university campuses in today's era of PW programs, we must undertake this new educational enterprise with a deep sense of institutional responsibility. Initiatives of the PW sort require sound and strong institutional support to bring the faculty and staff on board. This is a long-term effort. Challenges must be identified, acknowledged, and addressed. This effort requires active involvement of leaders and supporters of linguistic and cultural diversity on

university campuses. If we are true to our collective desire of preparing our graduates for a global world, we must adjust to the new exigencies of what it means to work in a diverse environment. This environment cannot view students of diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds from a deficit perspective. These students must be welcomed and attended to as needed to prepare them for success. This effort will require resources, but most importantly this will require a strong sense of belief in the richness PW students can and do contribute to our campus community and to the community at large. There is no question that student achievement is mediated by many factors as vastly accounted in the literature pertaining to learners and ELs, but there is one ingredient that is essential: Faith in the potential that a student who is in the process of learning English has for success as long as a supportive academic and social environment is provided.

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Plurilingualism in TESL Programs? Are we there yet?

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With the emergence of a plurilingual paradigm shift in language teaching, questions concerning the extent to which language teacher education programs are effectively preparing language teachers to teach in our messy, heteroglossic, and multilingual world (Pavlenko, 2005) have assumed immediate relevance in the training and education of teachers. Despite the considerable number of TESOL/TESL programs qualifying teachers around the world, little is known about how these programs have adapted their pedagogy to meet the current reality of a plurilingual paradigm shift in language teaching. This research investigated the curriculum and pedagogy of a TESL Certificate course in Canada.

Keywords: TESOL/TESL programs, language teacher education, teacher learning, plurilingualism

Introduction

In classrooms all around the world children, adolescents and adults are involved in the study of English (McKay, 2008). As such, English has become not only an issue of concern to educators, but also a matter of social and political relevance for countries worldwide (McKay, 2008). According to Burns & Richards (2009), in order for countries to actively participate in the global economy as well as have access to information and knowledge which provide the foundation for social and economic development, English language skills are considered vital. In this scenario, Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL)/Teaching English as a Second Language (TESL) programs have assumed a central role in qualifying English language teachers for the English Language Teaching (ELT) industry worldwide as they are an especially popular avenue of entry into the profession and attract thousands of people every year (Ferguson & Donno, 2003).

However, despite the considerable impact TESOL/TESL training courses have exerted on ELT globally, little is known about how these programs have adapted their pedagogy to the current reality of "rapid globalization of economic opportunities" and the "geopolitical changes" of increasing multilingualism, displacement and migration (Kramsch & Whiteside, 2007), or if there has been indeed any adaptation at all. Each year, thousands of teachers are qualified to teach English in ever-increasingly culturally and linguistically diverse landscapes "as migrating populations bring with them a wealth of languages and cultures, which come into contact with the languages of their host countries" (Piccardo, 2013, p. 601). Even though there is a recognition of how relevant this diverse multilingual environment is for language teacher education, mainly with calls for a plurilingual paradigm shift in TESOL (Piccardo, 2013), research in the field still needs to be further extended to include a plurilingual perspective.

In this paper, therefore, I investigate a TESL Canada certificate program and focus on its language learning and teaching theoretical underpinnings as well as on a trainee teacher's (Kate) learning journey during her coursework in order to find out how her past learning experiences and beliefs about language learning and teaching were reinforced or rejected/modified by the program. I use the term "plurilingual(ism)" and "multicultural(ism)" as Marshall and Moore use it, i.e., "plurilingual(ism) to refer to the unique aspects of individual repertoires and agency, and multilingual(ism) to refer to broader social language context/contact(s) and the coexistence of several languages in a particular situation" (2013, p. 474). I also use the term "trainee teachers" and "teacher trainer" due to the focus placed on training and the development of practical teaching skills in TESOL/TESL training courses.

I start this paper with a concise review of the literature on second language teacher education (SLTE), mapping the main paradigm shifts during its sixty-four years. I then focus on Kate and her learning in the TESL Canada course to examine how the program's theoretical underpinnings reinforced her prior learning experiences and beliefs. A discussion of such theoretical underpinnings is followed by a conclusion, in which I draw some implications for the future of TESOL/TESL training programs.

A Plurilingual Paradigm Shift in Second Language Teacher Education

The field of SLTE is relatively new, with its origins dating back to 1960s when short teacher training certificates began to prepare teachers to have the necessary practical classroom skills to teach English with new methods, e.g., Audiolingualism and Situational Language Teaching (Burns & Richards, 2009). Throughout the 70s, TESOL became a field of study, with higher education courses and degrees; disciplines such as linguistics, applied linguistics, second language acquisition and psychology were also incorporated into the field in attempts to provide a professional identity for language teachers and legitimise the teaching profession. (Freeman & Richards, 1996; Freeman, 2009). During the 80s, a new body of research, in which teachers' behaviors were shaped by their cognitive processes, i.e., the teachers' thoughts, judgments and decisions, came to be known as teacher cognition, teacher thinking, or teacher knowledge (Borg, 2006; Clark & Peterson, 1986; Shavelson & Stern, 1981).

It was in the 1990s, though, that the scope of SLTE moved beyond the languagelearning-teaching framework and focused on not only *what* teachers should learn, but increasingly on *how* they should do it (Freeman, 2009). A shift from cognitive to situated, social views of learning consolidated and expanded the body of research on L2 teacher cognition, which began to conceptualise "L2 teacher learning as normative and lifelong, as emerging out of and through experiences in social context" (Johnson, 2009, p. 239). The advancements of the 1990s laid the foundations for a sociocultural turn in SLTE in 2000s. Developments in teacher learning since then have witnessed a concern within the broader context of community, institution, policy, and profession; the reconceptualization of the knowledge base of L2 teacher education; the recognition of the legitimacy of practitioner knowledge; broadening the definition of language and SLA; teacher identity; and the changing the nature of what constitutes professional development (Borg, 2006; Johnson, 2009).

In 2013, a seminal article by Piccardo advocating a plurilingualism paradigm shift in TESOL laid the groundwork for embracing plurilingualism and plurilingual pedagogies. In a special Plurilingualism issue of TESOL Quarterly, Piccardo (2013) challenged traditional views of language, learning and teaching, claiming that a paradigm shift from pureness to plurality is supported by three theoretical domains, i.e. psychocognitive, sociocultural, pedagogical. Since then, Piccardo's call for the adoption of plurilingualism and plurilingual pedagogies has been embraced by several scholars (Abiria, Early, & Kendrick, 2013; Cenoz & Gorter, 2013; Ellis, 2013; Lin, 2013; Lotherington, 2013; Marshall & Moore, 2013; Silver, & Bokhorst-Heng, 2013; Stille & Cummins, 2013; White, Hailemariam, & Ogbay, 2013). However, there is still a dearth of research focusing on plurilingualism in TESOL/TESL programs. Therefore, this paper intends to contribute to the body of research focusing on plurilingualism in the TESOL/SLTE fields.

The Research Methodology

As Johnson (2006) suggests, an interpretative paradigm is now viewed as better suited to investigating the complexities and various dimensions of teachers' professional lives. Thus, this research adopts a qualitative orientation, grounded in an interpretivist worldview, and uses a case study methodology "to gain an in-depth understanding of the situation and meaning for those involved" in the activity of second language learning and teaching (Merriam, 1998, p. 19).

The data set used as the basis of the analysis for this paper was drawn from a larger set -over 200 hours of audio- and video-recorded interviews and classroom observations from the author's MA thesis. In addition to the recorded material, I collected data from assignments, lesson plans, lesson plan evaluations, post-lesson reflections, diaries, and informal conversations. In this paper, I focus on Kate, a trainee teacher in a TESL Canada course in Southern Ontario, Canada.

The certificate course was a 4-week full-time program, recognised by the TESL Canada Federation and internationally accepted. The program content was delivered mainly in a lecture format by one teacher trainer, and Jeremy Harmer's *How to Teach English* manual was adopted as the course book. It was particularly common for the teacher trainer to assign substantial amounts of worksheet exercises to cover language content, i.e., grammar, pronunciation. Sporadically, student-centred classroom activities such as lesson planning would be carried out. Trainee teachers were expected to take notes of a considerable amount of input during the lectures.

According to the syllabus of the program, trainee teachers had to adopt Harmer's (2007) engage, study, activate (ESA) approach for the practicum lessons. During her lectures, the teacher trainer, Juliana, constantly referred to Harmer's book as her guide. She explicitly prohibited L1 use in her classroom as she adopted the school's English Only policy. She also required trainee teachers to follow the school's policy during their practicum lessons, that is, to prohibit students from using their L1s. In addition, throughout the course, the use of L1 in the classroom was presented as a hindrance, and a variety of techniques was taught in order to avoid its use. For instance, trainee teachers were taught to pair students from different nationalities together so they could not use their L1s in class. Juliana also held strong views about the best way to learm English. In her words, "they [students] have to practise it; use English as much as they can and avoid speaking with their friends in their own languages" (Informal conversation, 10/09/12).

Trainee teachers also learned about first and second language acquisition (FLA & SLA) during the program. In particular, Stephen Krashen's theory was presented in a handout as "widely accepted in the language learning community" and a discussion about his quotation, i.e., "In the real world, conversations with sympathetic native speakers who are willing to help the acquirer understand are very helpful" took place to explain second learning acquisition.

Kate's Past Learning Experiences and Beliefs

Kate held strong views about language learning and teaching. She constantly referred to her past learning experiences as a French learner to make sense of what she was learning in the course. In her diary, she wrote, "I'm so grateful that I still speak some French. It lets me understand some of the obstacles that ESL students have and the general differences between English & other languages" (Diary, 30/08/12). As she learned French in school, she identified with her students and knew exactly what they should do in order to learn a language. When asked about the best way to learn a language, she answered,

...kind of shutting down your brain to your first language and letting this new second one flow into your brain, and it's almost like you have to become obsessed with it to almost perfect it. If you're willing to put the time into it, it can be done, there's no reason not to, but if you keep flip flopping between your first, you know, trying to learn your second language, it will be just like mishmash of the two. I think that it was like from my personal experience, that was the biggest thing, just shutting off my brain in English and really opening up to the French... (Interview, 22/08/12; italics my emphasis).

Kate was also adamant about how students should strive to learn pronunciation to sound like native speakers. She believed the best way to do so was to be immersed in the language and interact with native speakers. However, according to Kate, such immersion could not be in any place where the language is spoken, as there are a lot of places with native speakers with "bad" accents. In an informal conversation, Kate strongly advised the author not to go to Quebec in order to learn French as theirs is a terrible accent and also have a mishmash of English and French words. She mentioned the author should go to France as their French is perfect and she would learn it correctly. Kate was at one time an exchange student in France and believed that her experience there helped her to improve her pronunciation a great deal.

Discussion

The data presented above reveal the language learning and teaching theoretical underpinnings of the TESL Canada program investigated in this paper, that is, a standard notion of language and a monolingual model. It also illustrates how Kate's prior learning experiences and beliefs were reinforced by this standard view of language and this monolingual approach to teaching.

The course material and the teacher trainer's input clearly show that language was seen as a stable and homogenous system governed by a set of rules which individuals are born with (innate). Views of language learning and teaching can also be seen by the explicit prohibition of L1 use in the classroom and the adoption of a teaching methodology which neglects the role of L1 in class. In addition, a monolingual disposition (Gogolin, 1994; Piccardo, 2013) is clearly observed on the emphasis placed on the dichotomy between native and non-native speakers throughout the course, mainly with the idea that children acquire a language by listening to the native speakers around them and the idea of sympathetic native speakers who can help learners. As Ludi and Py (2009) observe, this is a twentieth century monolingual model of language "based on... individual languages considered on their own terms" in which "the boundaries of each language seem clear, allowing organised forms to be brought together within one homogenous system" (p. 154). The logical consequence of seeing languages in this way is that any deviations from the stable and homogenous system are considered errors or "bastard forms" that must be resisted or fixed (Ludi & Py, 2009), and the use of L1 is seen as a deterrent to the language acquisition process. Therefore, language is viewed as a uniformed, fixed and pure entity that is spoken by a homogenous speech community, and language contact and variation as a hindrance that must be overcome. As a result, the monolingual individual who knows and speaks this standard language becomes the norm, and their language the object of study.

However, as Piccardo (2013) points out, "[w]e are now increasingly aware that such a perfect individual does not exist, no more than a stable and perfectly known language exists" (p. 604). More current views of language have rejected the notion of a standard language and offered the notion of variation. Variation occurs in the way speakers use the language, e.g., sound (phonetics), structural (grammar), and social variation (men v. women). This means that languages are no longer considered stable and pure entities, but "composita" (Piccardo, 2013; Wandruszka, 1979), that is, multilayered sites of linguistics resources. Language variation is then seen in the way these multiple layers overlap or superimpose each other, forming one dynamic, heterogeneous, and in-constant-process-of-modification totality.

This more current conceptualization of language clearly rejects the monolingual model and opens up a space for "the normality and inevitability of plurilingualism" (Piccardo, 2013, p. 605). A plurilingual model of language is, therefore, able to account for language variation and demystify "the false vision of linguistic homogeneity and pureness" (Piccardo, 2013, p. 605). Moreover, it conceptualizes language as a repertoire of language varieties composed of an endless and open set of grammatical and syntactic microsystem, which can derive from "different varieties of a language from various languages, as well as from diverse discourse experiences" (Ludi & Py, 2009, p. 157). In this way, a plurilingual model of language does not consider L1 "interference" as an obstacle to the acquisition of languages since "every (new) language acquisition modifies the global language competence of individuals and shapes their linguistic repertoires" and "pre-existing linguistic knowledge and competence is taken into consideration" (Piccardo, 2013, p. 603). On the contrary, L1 plays a crucial role in the language learning and teaching process in that the transfer of knowledge, skills and metalinguistic awareness not only enhances learning, but can also be encouraged and taught in the classroom.

Conclusion

The importance of TESOL/TESL programs in qualifying English language teachers to the ELT profession can no longer be consider marginal. Even though these training programs have been qualifying English language teachers for the ELT industry for more than 60 years, research studies exploring such courses are rare (Ferguson & Donno, 2003; Freitas, 2013). This study is an attempt to address the scarcity of literature on TESL Canada programs by investigating the underlying theoretical foundations about language learning and teaching behind such a course. The analysis of the data revealed how the program supported its trainee teacher's past French learning experiences and also reinforced her strongly held monolingual beliefs about learning and teaching. Kate's success in the course can also be seen as evidence of how her prior learning experiences and beliefs were in agreement with the course underpinnings.

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Developing Asset-Based Understandings: A Discourse Analysis of Teachers' Reflections on English Learners

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This qualitative study examines 20 U.S. mainstream teachers' perceptions regarding their English learners (EL) through a discourse analysis of written reflections. Consistent with Gee's (2011) discourse analysis theory, the ways teachers communicate about their students enact particular kinds of identities and relationships. Themes are discussed in terms of how teachers construct identities for ELs and how they perceive their relationship to students. Findings suggest that this group of teachers demonstrates emergent asset-based understandings of ELs and their first languages. They acknowledge the complex, multifarious roles they hold and express a commitment to educating ELs. Implications for professional development are provided.

Keywords: English learners, discourse analysis, teacher education

As U.S. immigrant families migrate from urban centers to suburban and rural areas, previously-monolingual classrooms are now filled with English learners (ELs), or students who speak another language at home. With a growth rate of 60% in the last decade (Batalova et al., 2006), ELs account for nearly 10% of all students nationwide (U.S. Department of Education, 2015). These students face the challenge of learning rigorous academic content alongside English, which means they "must perform double the work of native English speakers" (Short & Fitzsimmons, 2007, p. 1), no small task for even the brightest of individuals.

Traditionally, schools have delegated the work of teaching ELs to language specialists who "pulled out" ELs to receive instruction separate from -and often inferior to- that provided to their native English-speaking peers. More recently, a political climate of accountability has shifted paradigms for teaching ELs to inclusion models, which give the ambitious charge of teaching ELs to mainstream teachers who have specializations in disciplinary expertise, but not necessarily in language pedagogy. In fact, these so-called "mainstream" teachers are now more likely than not to encounter ELs in their classroom (NCES, 2012), regardless of their backgrounds.

It is within this context that I sought to understand the ideas that mainstream teachers hold regarding ELs in their classroom. Given the impact that teachers' attitudes can have on student performance (Pettit, 2011), it behooves us to explore the perspectives of teachers with whom ELs spend the majority of their day. These understandings can inform professional development that will ultimately lead to improved schooling for ELs. Following, I briefly summarize literature and theoretical

assumptions that guided the study. I describe the methodology and then outline thematic findings prior to concluding with a discussion and recommendations.

Literature Review

Our knowledge about mainstream teachers' perspectives regarding ELs represents both qualitative designs, such as interviews and case studies (Clair, 1995; Gitlin, Buendía, Crosland, & Doumbia, 2003) that deeply investigate particular contexts, as well as survey methods (Byrnes, Kiger, & Manning, 1997; Penfield, 1987; Reeves, 2006; Walker, Shafer, & Liams, 2004; Youngs & Youngs, 2001) that reveal understandings of larger groups. Findings consistently suggest that mainstream teachers feel unprepared to teach ELs (Gándara, Maxwell-Jolly, & Driscoll, 2005; Penfield, 1987; Reeves, 2006) and are at times reluctant to take ownership of ELs, ceding the responsibility of educating ELs to the ESL teacher (Walker et al., 2004). Professional development and cross-cultural experiences seemed to impact teachers' attitudes (Byrnes et al., 1997; Youngs & Youngs, 2001), a hopeful sign for the potential of professional learning to instigate change in teachers. Despite the growing numbers of ELs in mainstream classrooms, recent work demonstrates that teachers persist in deficit ideologies and misunderstandings about ELs (Hansen- Thomas & Cavagnnett 2010; Salerno & Kibler, 2013).

This study documents teachers' attitudes towards ELs revealed through their written reflections in online discussions. Unlike many previous studies, these teachers discuss ELs in the context of a voluntary online course, evidence of a sense of investment in educating ELs.

Theoretical Framework

I ascribe to the sociocultural notion that engagement with others leads to meaningmaking (Vygotsky, 1978), which includes identity, or "being recognized as a certain 'kind of person' in a given context" (Gee, 2000, p. 99). A contextually-bound conceptualization of identity rejects a biological understanding of a "core" identity that progresses along a predictable trajectory (e.g., Erikson) and instead acknowledges the multiple, dynamic identities that we each possess. These identities morph and grow in uneven patterns based on our interactions with others in the world. Language is key in understanding identity from this perspective; it is not only the medium of the interactions we have with others, but it also transforms the very nature of the meaning we make. As Gutiérrez, Gutiérrez, Baquedano-López, and Turner (1997) explain, language is "fundamental to construction of self and is at the core of our social, emotional, and cognitive experiences" (p. 369).

Language emerges as a powerful lever for enacting teacher and student relationships. The words, phrases, and sentences that teachers use are pregnant with social context and underlying assumptions that construct meaning. Discourse analysis of language choices therefore reveals the ways in which social understandings are built, sustained, or transformed. This study focuses on how teachers describe ELs, which then play a part in enacting student and teacher identities. With this premise in mind, the following research questions guided this discourse analysis: How do teachers describe ELs? What identities and relationships do these descriptions enact?

Method

Participants

Participants were 20 in-service educators in a graduate certificate program on teaching ELs. Prior to the program, participants had only occasional short-term training in working with ELs. Seventeen (85%) educators were from one suburban school district with 16% ELs overall. In two of participants' schools, ELs comprised over half the study body. The three other participants worked at different districts, each of which had a growing number of ELs. Only 14 of the 20 participants were classroom teachers; the others held specialist or administrative positions, and some worked across multiple schools. I refer to the participants in the course as either "teachers" or "educators," with the assumption that all participants.

Table 1. Participant Characteristics					
Level	Number of Participants				
Elementary	2				
Secondary-Middle	7				
Secondary-High	8				
Multiple	3				
Role	Number of Participants				
Classroom Teacher	14				
Coach	2				
Specialist	4				
Content (Secondary Level)	Number of Participants				
English Language Arts (ELA)	3				
Math	1				
Social Studies	2				
Science	1				
Spanish	3				
Other	2				

Table 1. Participant Characteristics

Data Sources

Teachers responded to weekly discussion board prompts as part of a semesterlong course. Many of these responses included reflections about the ELs in their school. While findings represent posts from a variety of course topics, relevant data emerged from two prompts that elicited teachers' personal reflections: (a) an introductory post: "What is your teaching context? Who are your students?" and (b) a post on native language (L1) use: "Have you incorporated students' first language in your classroom? Have you seen effective examples of other teachers doing this?"

Data Analysis

Data analysis was an iterative process resulting in codes that were then compiled into themes (Bogdan & Biklen, 2003). Subsequent to the course, I re-read all responses, assigned emic codes that addressed the research questions, and developed cross-case matrices to identify areas of prevalence. In analyzing responses, I used Gee's identity-building tool, asking "what socially recognizable identity or identities the speaker is trying to enact or get others to recognize" and "what sorts of identities the speaker recognizes for others in relationship to his or her own... how the speaker is positioning others [and] what identities the speaker is 'inviting' them to take up" (Gee, 2011, p. 110). I examined both the content of the responses, as well as lexical and grammatical devices that teachers chose.

Limitations

Multiple factors limited this analysis. First, the topics in the discussion prompts and peers' responses likely impacted the language teachers used in their responses. Second, the context of the online class likely led to a degree of social desirability bias, wherein teachers wrote in particular ways to earn a favorable grade. Third, written discourse does not reveal the extralinguistic cues or spontaneity that goes along with oral language.

Findings

Findings provide insight into teachers' conceptualizations of ELs and their relationship to ELs. Three themes are explored in this manuscript: (a) ELs as expert L1 speakers; (b) teachers as intermediaries; and (c) teachers as allies.

"A wealth of knowledge": Positioning ELs as L1 experts in the classroom

Teachers recognized ELs' L1 as a central part of their identity, taking up progressive discourses that value bilingualism. For these teachers, ELs' ability to speak two languages positioned them as experts in the classroom. However, these assetbased understandings were sometimes superficial and limited to the classroom. As an example, a high school teacher wrote that his ELs "have a wealth of knowledge about their language, and they need to feel like it is an asset in learning and life, which it is." In this statement, the teacher forefronts ELs' "perception" of their L1 as an asset, with the phrase "which it is" coming as an afterthought. This teacher did not expand on exactly "how" knowledge about language is an asset, beyond mentioning that students of the same language background sometimes "translate for each other [which] means they're helping each other learn." The individuals who realize the asset that this teacher mentions are not the ELs who use the L1, but their peers who need help, or possibly the teacher himself who benefits from the ELs who translate course content to beginning-level ELs.

Another teacher from the same school explained how students with low-incidence L1s could assist each other. He wrote that his knowledge of Spanish enabled him to point out cognates for ELs, but he had "a much harder time doing this in certain other languages." In these cases, he paired ELs of the L1, writing, "they have a way even beyond sharing a language, of explaining things to each other in ways that teachers can't." When read in context of the teacher's ability to explain cognates in Spanish, we see that the expertise "beyond sharing a language" is only granted to ELs who share each other's native language. ELs have the opportunity to "explain things to each other in ways that teachers can't" only when they hold linguistic knowledge that the teacher does not possess.

One teacher summarized how her sole Arabic-speaking student taught monolingual English-speakers in the class about Arabic. She said, "all of the students agree that Arabic is beautiful but don't know how people write it. [Student] had a field day teaching all the other students a few basics. It blew their mind that it is written right to left as well." The student's ability to speak Arabic marks him as exceptional for the teacher and other students. While this comment demonstrates a positive connotation towards the L1 ("Arabic is beautiful"), the response normalizes the experiences and perspectives of "all the other" monolingual students. This statement risks reifying other students' assumptions about the exoticism of non-English languages.

"Bag of tricks:" Teachers as implementers of strategies

Teachers deployed mechanical language to position themselves as intermediaries between strategies or materials and ELs. In the introductory post, 16 (80%) teachers referred to "strategies" in the context of helping ELs. Comments included, "I've found some of the strategies have been helpful," "I'm focused on trying new strategies to help teach my ELs," or "my professional goal is to use vocabulary strategies...to help better meet the needs of my students."

Teachers described themselves as technicians who apply ready-made strategies that can be "found" or "learned." When describing strategies, one teacher used the metaphor of a "bag of tricks" and another teacher referred to adding to her "toolkit," both metaphors invoking tangible images of strategies. The relationships teachers enacted here recall economic models of specialization, wherein teachers apply technical skills to operate instructional mechanisms (e.g., strategies or materials) that then lead to learning for ELs.

Participants also described themselves as providers of tangible materials for ELs. Even though the second prompt explicitly queried teachers about their actions (i.e., Have you incorporated students' first language in your classroom?), four of the ten teachers who responded focused on materials. Two teachers explained how they "provided" ELs with bilingual dictionaries, and one teacher described her struggle "to

order Arabic posters." A specialist wrote that she felt "ill-equipped to provide resources to the teachers in [her] schools who are struggling to support ELLs." The implication in her comment is that her role in supporting teachers is to "provide resources." In these cases, teachers delegated the work of incorporating students' languages to materials that they bring into the classroom.

A few participants distanced themselves from the process of implementing strategies through passive voice, granting the grammatical subject to the strategy or material. For instance, one teacher explained that "word walls and graphic organizers are helpful to give ELs prompts when trying to respond to a question." Another teacher said about his classes, "there are about five or so students... that need stronger scaffolding and accommodations to help them access the content." These comments underscore the value of the strategy and implicitly assume the role of teachers as channels to deliver these techniques.

"A Passion for Working with ELs:" Teachers as Allies

In a turn from the mechanical language about implementing strategies, participants also invoked emotion to express their commitment to ELs. The majority of teachers took ownership of ELs, describing them as "my students" or "my ELs," with only one elementary teacher saying that ELs "were placed" in her classroom. A high school teacher wrote that his administrators placed newly-arrived immigrants in his class, but instead of perceiving the ELs as a burden, he explained, "I feel blessed to be given this responsibility." Other teachers used the terms "lucky" and "privileged" to describe their roles at schools with large numbers of ELs.

Teachers also used emotional language to ally themselves with ELs. A Spanish teacher described "how much [ELs] matter to us," and a high school teacher wrote, "I love the population here. It has its own challenges but I could not see myself anywhere else." Likewise, a specialist explained feeling "overwhelmed" when learning about ELs but then countered, "I've found that I have a passion for working with newcomers and ELs in general. I'm not sure I'd ever want to go back to teaching at a school with few ELs!" These participants pair the "challenges" that come with teaching ELs with "love" and "passion." Exemplifying the dynamic and multiple nature of professional identities, these teachers who spoke of their emotional connections to ELs are some of the same ones who wrote of strategies and materials in relatively detached language.

Further, participants generally wrote positive comments about their colleagues' capacity to work with ELs. For instance, a high school Spanish teacher wrote, "I have the privilege of working with monolingual English educators that effectively teach ELL students ... these incredible colleagues simply exude genuine care and willingness to stablish a positive human connection with their students." Instead of concrete strategies or materials, this teacher points to affective characteristics ("genuine care and willingness") that serve ELs. Only two comments indicated other teachers held negative attitudes towards ELs. First, one high school teacher referred to "the blindness of some of my colleagues ... who have not considered life at home for these

students or just don't care." Second, in describing pressures at home for ELs, a specialist said, "there are many teachers (and by no means all) that expect these students to bring in their homework. They can't understand why they are unable to do just four problems at night." Both of these comments reveal the participants' assumptions that "care" and "understanding" are essential to meeting ELs' needs. Unfortunately, the comments also demonstrate that many teachers still hold deficit views towards EL. Participants are able to recognize negative attitudes, a first step in combatting them.

Discussion

This study explored the perspectives of 20 mainstream teachers regarding ELs through discourse analysis. Findings suggest reasons to be cautiously optimistic about ELs' education in mainstream classes.

First, the ways teachers extolled ELs' L1 is hopeful in the face of English-only policies and messages hostile towards immigrants. However, despite well-intentioned desires, teachers' efforts to elevate the status of ELs' L1 risk turning into hollow euphemisms. Descriptions of ELs' first languages do not disrupt school norms, and in fact may support existing structures designed for monolingual speakers. For instance, L1 emerged in the classroom largely to facilitate content-learning in English, or else to display the differences between languages (i.e., EL teaching peers "a few basics" of Arabic). No teachers articulated translanguaging philosophies (Otheguy, García, & Reid, 2015), which acknowledge porous boundaries among languages and normalizes the use of multiple languages within the classroom.

Second, teachers demonstrated a complex understanding of their roles as teachers of ELs, which points towards an awareness of the sophisticated endeavor of teaching ELs. Reflecting multiple, simultaneous identities, the same teachers who drew on affect to describe their role towards ELs also conceived themselves as practitioners to implement strategies. While lists of best practices often promulgated on websites and in textbooks are helpful for improving EL education, they are not enough on their own. Teachers in this group articulated a sense of caring "for" ELs, beyond simply caring "about" them, not unlike the care that Valenzuela (1999) discussed in her ethnography of Latinx students in Texas. These dispositions can act as powerful motivators for these teachers to advocate for ELs.

Implications

One implication from this study is to harness the enthusiasm and emotional commitment that mainstream teachers of ELs may hold. Professional development can develop EL leaders by first identifying educators who are invested in the wellbeing of ELs and then preparing them as not only effective teachers for ELs, but effective leaders and advocates for change. Beyond a focus on practical step-by-step strategies, teacher educators might challenge these teachers to reflect on their assumptions about ELs and their position in school. Such critical, and potentially uncomfortable, conversations can empower teachers to disrupt status quo practices at schools that implicitly maintain monolingual norms.

Real change for ELs also requires reforms at a systemic level. For instance, established curricula and assessments can thwart teachers from integrating students' L1s in meaningful ways; high-stakes exams are all in English, and ELs are held accountable for moving "up" in English proficiency levels, regardless of their L1 development. Further, teacher evaluation revolves around objective, observable instructional strategies that teachers can implement rather than development of dispositions that indicate commitment and the kind of "caring for" that Valenzuela (1999) describes. Current educational contexts in the U.S. hold little incentive for teachers to create multilingual classrooms that uplift ELs and challenge norms. While structural change requires time and resources, this study demonstrates that the will to undertake this work may lie within particular mainstream teachers devoted to ELs. The task for professional development is to develop within these teachers the deep knowledge and critical consciousness necessary to emerge as leaders for ELs.

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Using Identity Texts to Boost the Confidence and Attainment of EAL Learners

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In January 2017 there were over 1.5 million students in UK schools with a first language other than English (DfE Census, 2017) and the number is increasing year on year. They have to learn the content of the national curriculum whilst learning the English language. Drawing on research and many years of experience teaching students with English as an Additional Language (EAL), the author demonstrates tried and tested approaches which encourage EAL pupils, at different stages of English proficiency, to use their identities and prior knowledge to gain confidence, raise self-esteem, accelerate English acquisition, and ultimately improve their attainment.

Keywords: EAL learners, prior knowledge, effective teaching strategies, attainment

Introduction

For more than 16 years, the author was the English as an Additional Language (EAL) and Literacy Coordinator in a British state-funded Muslim girls' high school in the City of Bradford, in the industrial north of England. Most students, aged between 11 and 18, were born in Bradford and have had all their education in the English state system. However, their ethnic origins are mostly in Pakistan, India and Bangladesh, and most have English as an additional language to at least two others, such as Urdu, Panjabi, Hindko, Pashto, Mirpuri, and Bengali, as well as Arabic, the language of Islam. Thus, they are regarded as "more advanced bilingual learners" (DCSF, 2009), although some of their languages are only spoken and many students are only literate in English yet have little experience of academic English in their home environment. Most staff are English-born but from similar ethnic origins to the students and about half are non-Muslim, including the author.

Compared with some Bradford secondary schools, relatively few students are totally new-to-English but, throughout each year, a few students are admitted from a variety of overseas countries, such as Algeria, Hong Kong, Iraq, Japan, Jordan, Libya, Saudi Arabia, Sudan and Tanzania. In recent years three new arrivals were refugees from Syria and two were Somali Oromo speakers from a refugee camp in Kenya. The school values their diverse cultural backgrounds, varying experiences and first language (L1) skills. According to NALDIC, the (British) national subject association for EAL, five principles underpin good practice for pupils learning EAL (Table 1):

Table 1 NALDIC Principles of Good Practice (South, 1999)

- 1. Activating prior knowledge
- 2. Providing a rich contextual background to make the input comprehensible
- 3. Actively encouraging comprehensible output
- 4. Drawing the learner's attention to the relationship between form and function
- 5. Developing learner independence

This paper demonstrates some of the ways these basic principles have been integrated into mainstream teaching and learning to enable both EAL and more advanced bilingual learners to gain confidence and raise self-esteem, accelerate English acquisition and ultimately attain more of their potential.

Initial Assessment

As part of the admission process, the new arrival's listening, speaking, reading and writing skills in her L1 are assessed by a teacher, learning support assistant (LSA) or older student with a shared L1. Where no such support is available, the EAL teacher is usually able to assess how advanced a student's L1 literacy skills are by observing the speed of writing, fluency, quantity, size and neatness when asked to write in L1 about herself. Where necessary, careful question and answer techniques, gestures and pictures are used to ascertain what has been written in L1. A student with some English skills will be asked to write the same story in English (Figure 1 below). These language assessments are then recorded as starting points on a framework of language steps such as: Bell Foundation, (2018) or NASSEA (2015), linked to the UK English Proficiency codes (DfE, 2017):

- Code A: New to English
- Code B: Early Acquisition
- Code C: Developing Competence
- Code D: Competent
- Code E: Fluent

The descriptors on the frameworks are then used to set targets for language development and recorded to show progress.

In Figure 1(a), "my live" is an indication that Al-Maha from Saudi Arabia has age appropriate literacy skills in Arabic, whereas in Figure 1(b), Samiya's L1 written work indicates weaker skills in Bengali. Their translated versions indicate weak areas in English skills for both students. Al-Maha's English proficiency could be recorded as within Code B and Samiya's between Codes A and B. This information is shared with mainstream colleagues along with an Individual Language Plan (ILP) using targets for progression from the descriptors in the EAL Assessment Framework.

Initial Development Stages

If there is a written version of a student's L1, she is given a bilingual and/or illustrated dictionary to use as reference at home as well as at school. *The 100 Word Exercise Book* series by GW Publishing (2006), with versions in, e.g. Arabic, Urdu, and Panjabi, has helpful flash cards and scenarios about school, home, clothes, body parts, etc. in both English and first language. Digital tools such as *Google Translate* might also be employed although, beyond single words and phrases, its use may be limited (Excell, 2015).

my line حباتى I was living In sudia Areda لأما كت عيشة في السعود? ولمة هاك Idorum in sudia and I really love my cuntrey النا الحب بلدي كل شي متوضر مناك ونسي أسوق كشريعنها مركز shop I have & really غرناطه عبر بنده كارتسور شولان bag school we learn العكير لانع أناكت ادرى ف english and a little bed مدارس أهيله كانت ممتمهم مرأ باللغم of French then one الأشطير وقللمن السفه الغرب day my dod came والبانية ميعد ماءاكوي وقال and sid that we going رجنروم لمرجعاتها زعلغا خليلا ولكن to angland we was happy aillian C then I go to crove-وذمت الى قروف حوم مكول hues- school then ورسا فيغزنيم سكول Ferrir sham colla .

Figure 1 Two Initial Assessments: (a) Al-Maha; (b) Samiya

(a)

abita ata GHAISM CASTER 2115/10 FASTONFOR 241519 84 2017 0 7 213 ansity sity Atas at a costa alland travel Arsis Abodd outa 2116 21-115751 ## 7176-51 antes attatant STG CERAN ATTASA MANNA My name is somiya My FOMOLY is Big. I HAVE & FOUTSELF BHHACE BALTON MY MOLHETS NAME is M (1575) BOJUM. My Dad's name was Ali but he has died. Ilike Wretchg Flike MY 200 & Frend Haved Tike BATAR FOR & BELQUSE OHES HATSATS TAKE WA ANS The vegettest & is collect

(b)

The school library has many bilingual story books and digital resources, which also aid language acquisition in the initial stages. Reading skills in both L1 and English can be assessed as the student reads both versions of the text and encouragement can be given by praising the student's ability to switch between languages, especially if the teacher or LSA only speaks English.

LSAs and other students who share a L1 are invaluable for instant translation to aid access to teaching and learning in mainstream classes. LSAs may also use L1 in 1:1 sessions used to either prepare a student for future lessons or to consolidate what has been taught, thus ensuring that the student understands both the work and the homework set.

Case Study: Use of L1 and Identity Texts with a Reluctant English Learner

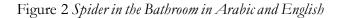
May came to Bradford from Saudi Arabia when aged 10. After one year in primary school, she was still within the "Early Acquisition" stage (Code B) of English Proficiency. Lack of cultural vocabulary hindered development in listening, so instructions such as "draw", "colour" and "tick", prepositions and colours posed problems. Speaking was restricted to short understandable responses using single words and phrases and pronunciation was inaccurate. With support, she could read short pieces of text aloud, although her refusal to use phonics reduced her ability to decode and she often reversed words. Her writing in English was immature compared to her fluent Arabic. She could copy words but confused "bp" and "bd". With support, she was beginning to recognise some English grammar and syntax in sentences. Her lack of achievement suggested that she may have learning difficulties. However, although she was a reluctant English learner, she was able to achieve an A* in Arabic GCSE when aged 13.

After not making expected progress in the mainstream, she was withdrawn for language support during timetabled Arabic lessons, which were too basic for her. The EAL teacher had successfully used stories from Gordon Ward's (2007) 'Racing to English' CD with previous EAL learners. Written in simple language by newly arrived children from many countries, these stories share their own experiences. Beginning with a story and picture to read and discuss, the four-sided booklets contain several enjoyable related activities which follow NALDIC's five basic principles:

- 1. sequencing the story cut into strips ready to re-order;
- 2. key words, based on the story, which can be translated;
- 3. questions requiring "Yes" or "No" answers (orally);
- 4. questions requiring "Yes I have" or "No, I haven't" (orally);
- 5. questions requiring a longer answer (rehearsed orally, scaffolding answers before the student writes them);
- 6. longer writing task, encouraging students to write in their home language and English;
- 7. a wordsearch of key words;
- 8. making up questions which don't have an answer in the story;

9. writing a longer story, using the new questions to add detail.

The Spider in the Shoe story had been particularly popular with students from diverse linguistic backgrounds because all had prior knowledge of spiders, so May was encouraged to read the story with an EAL teacher who used gestures and illustrations to provide context to aid understanding. Afterwards, activities 1 to 5 in Gordon Ward's sequence were completed. For activity 6, May was asked whether she had ever been frightened by a spider. She said she had, so the teacher actively encouraged comprehensible output by discussing the experience with her in English, using actions and prompting answers with "who?", "where?", "when?", to ensure that she understood May's story. When writing her story in Arabic, May wrote quickly, neatly and fluently. After more questioning to elicit the story, the teacher scribed the English version of *Spider in the Bathroom*, making the grammatical elements explicit. Later, the Arabic teacher confirmed that the English translation of the Arabic story was accurate (Figure 2). Bernhard and Cummins (2004) (slide 14) refer to the creation of such stories as "Identity Texts" which "hold a mirror up to the students in which his or her identity is reflected back in a positive light".





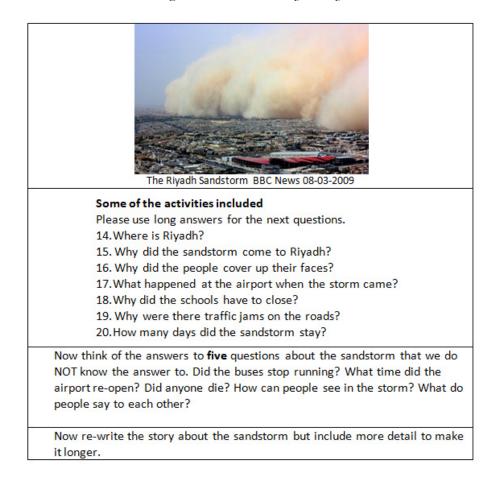
May was pleased with her achievement and was keen to type up the story in Arabic and English. At that stage she was reluctant to use phonics for letters so, as she typed, the teacher spelled out the words phonically and the only errors were with vowels. To extend May's English cultural knowledge, the EAL teacher explained the nursery rhyme *Little Miss Muffet*, about a spider. She enjoyed the story so much that she typed it up, finding illustrations on the internet. Mounting her efforts on a wall display raised her self-esteem. She selected key words in the story to create a wordsearch and solution, developing learner independence. Her English teacher made copies for the other students in the class to solve.

Active learning continued with "When I hurt my brother", a story in Arabic and English, about a time when May's parents were angry that she had fought with her brother when he took her mobile phone. Without encouragement she was eager follow Gordon Ward's (2007) sequence of related activities. Bernhard and Cummins (2004) (Slide 11) explain that, by "promoting active learning", the teacher allowed May to take "ownership of the learning process", investing her identity in the outcome of her learning, which suggests that "the resulting understanding will be deeper than when learning is passive".

The stimulus for the activities in Figure 3 was a true BBC news story (March 2009) about a sandstorm in May's home city of Riyadh-something she had experienced many times. Building on prior knowledge and supported by the EAL teacher she read the news page and wrote a simplified version of the story in English with minimal help. She was encouraged to rehearse the sentences out loud at each stage so that they could be corrected and typed. Her ICT skills enabled her to add a few pictures from the BBC story. The booklet that followed included all the features in Gordon Ward's –sequence, key words, longer questions and some extra activities, including the Arabic version of the story- which was evidence of how much she had progressed into English Proficiency Code C.

Bernhard and Cummins (2004) (Slide 14) state that: "When students share identity texts with multiple audiences (peers, teachers, parents and grandparents) they are likely to receive positive feedback and affirmation of self in interaction with these audiences." This certainly was the case when the finished versions were shown to May's English teacher. She asked her to teach the whole class about the sandstorm in both languages -which she did very confidently, leading the activities. As a consequence, all the students in the group wanted to write their own stories. The English teacher changed her lesson plans to allow the students to produce similar books and the EAL teacher supported individuals in the same way as she had with May.

Figure 3 BBC News story activity



Although many students only had spoken knowledge of their first language, they still managed to include relevant L1 vocabulary such as places and people's names. They used their ICT skills to integrate pictures and WordArt titles. As Bernhard and Cummins say, "Technology can increase the audience for the students' books and provide reinforcement for students' literacy practices." The students took turns to "teach" the rest of the class about their language and culture. From Pakistan there was a Factfile which included cities, mountains, languages, currency; fashions such as salwar kameez, dupatta and chunni; foods such as naan, gulab jamun, jalebi, halwa and chapattis; flooding events which involved place names Attock, Balochistan and Turbat; and weddings with nakkah, mehndi, matai and rukasti. From Bangladesh students learned about Cyclone Sidr and Dhaka -using Sylheti; how to write Bengali letters; foods such as paratha, rasmalai, thoya, khoi, lassi, panta; and Bengali poetry. They also learned about the school day in Saudi Arabia with students such as Abdulatef, place names including Jeddah and Mecca and festivals such as Id ul-fitr. As

a "Literacy Specialist" said (Bernhard and Cummins, Slide 19) "...they shared it with the class and they just beamed. They were so excited to show their book and felt so proud."

The Development of More Identity Texts

The EAL teacher worked with a group of students from Bangladesh, Libya, Pakistan, Qatar and Saudi Arabia, working within English Proficiency Code C, "Becoming Competent," to produce PowerPoint Identity Texts about their home countries. The students decided on the slide titles to explain aspects such as scenery, climate, animals, cities, government, food and clothes. This was detailed, meaningful, cross-curricular work involving independent learning. Internet searches and other ICT skills allowed them to check spellings and grammar, although teacher-supported if necessary. These were shared with their classes as PowerPoint presentations and then with the rest of the school and visitors (via plasma screens) with the same sense of excitement and pride.

An innovative programme of learning making form and function explicit was developed from a British Council competition "Old Tales Retold", for a 100-word story which included 10 words in L1 or another language (Table 2). This provided Year 8 students with an opportunity to use their identities and L1 creatively in a range of English schemes of work -creative writing, play scripts, persuasive writing, collaborative group work, speaking and listening, drama... allowing students in English Proficiency Codes B and C to progress to Code D, Competent.

- Stage 1 of this activity involved creative writing: individual students choose a traditional story; rewrite the story changing the context, setting, names etc; use 10 key words in another language; write a glossary; share the story with the class; explain the moral of the story; create an activity to consolidate the learning (e.g. quiz, word search, gap fill...)
- Stage 2: Convert the story into a playscript
- Stage 3: Advertise the play with a poster
- Stage 4: Collaborative Group work to choose one playscript to dramatise with stage directions, music, costumes, props...; rehearse; perform; vote for best playscript, play, actor, costumes, make up etc; role play an academy awards ceremony; video the performance and include Oscars, red carpet, vox pop, 'and the winner is...'

Some members of the school's senior management were invited to the final outcome of Stage 4 and were astonished by the language learning that had taken place and the self-esteem gained by the students.

 Table 2 Old Tales Retold. Can You Guess the Original?

- The Elves and the Curry Maker
- Akbar's New Clothes
- Yusuf and His Grandfather
- Salma and her Silly Slipper
- Arooj the Slave Girl
- Hamza and the Cornfield
- Hoicconip
- Ruby in Dubai
- Badsha Akbar and the Ice Touch
- Dumpunzel
- Killing and Karma (Macbeth)
- Harris and Amirrah (Romeo and Juliet)

Identity texts allowing students in English Proficiency Codes C and D to progress to Code E, Fluent, came through the literacy charity "First Story", whose strap line is "Changing lives through writing." A writer-in-residence is provided to work with a group of students as an extra-curricular activity, eventually leading to the production of a professionally published anthology of their best work celebrated by an official launch and book signing event (Figure 4). The Anthology titles were chosen democratically by the students: "Into Our World", "Where Thoughts Can Lead", "The Boombox of Words", "Spilt Ink". The blurb always reads: "First Story believes that there is dignity and power in every person's story and here you'll find young people expressing themselves in their unique voices."

Figure 4 Examples of 'First Story" anthologies



Throughout the year there are other stimulating opportunities -events with other schools in universities, galleries, museums, competitions, residentials,... Student

experiences, identities, concerns, opinions etc. are encouraged and explored in the writing activities (Figure 5).

Figure 5 Poem by a Year 8 Student Revealing Her Thoughts on Being a Muslim

	Into our world
Walk with us	and see what the truth is behind the veil
Don't judge	us, we will surprise you.
The truth is i	really different from your stereotypical view.
Our mind ha	s dark secrets but not what you expect.
At every turn	n you will see something new.
Don't block	us out, we always find a way to break down those walls
by showing o	our true thoughts.
A question a	rises in my mind.
We have our	r own belief but are linked in a way that is unknown to
humanity so	tell me
why the disc	rimination?
Why the isol	ation?
Look for the	correlation.
Me and you	what is the difference?
Our DNA ma	y not match but we all have a heart.
Let me show	you the real truth.
Not what yo	u perceive to believe.
Your eyes sh	ow a blanket of mystery but behind it is curiosity.
Curiosity w	/hat for?
We hold no :	secrets
but that is w	hat you choose to ignore.

Confidence and attainment are evidenced by several students having been winners or runners up in national writing competitions; some students have read their work on the stage in university lecture theatres, the O2 Arena in London, primetime on BBC Radio 4 and one student was invited to a reception at 10 Downing Street, residence of the British Prime Minister.

Bernhard and Cummins (2007) explain on slide 19 that in identity texts, the essential elements are that "children see themselves" and "talk about themselves." There is "identity investment" and "increased pride," which develops an "affective bond to literacy" and "cognitive engagement." It is therefore rewarding to see that other English teachers have now included identity texts into the Year 9 curriculum in the form of holiday brochures, information posters and persuasive texts to advertise features of their home countries. Self-esteem is created when students identify with work displayed on classroom walls or more widely on the plasma screens around the school. Furthermore, a Heritage Project in Year 7 English uses group work to explore Pakistan's Heritage, as part of Southeast Asia, ranging from The Harappans, Silk

Routes, Spread of Islam, Mughal Emperors, The East India Company, The Raj and Independence. For these, an additional audience has been created by taking groups of students out to local primary schools to "teach" them about their shared heritage and recently two students were filmed for a Teachers' TV programme on Community Cohesion, (Dickey, B. 2010).

Evidence of attainment is demonstrated by the school's ability to unlock the potential in its students as shown in Figure 6. Students arriving in Year 7 have achieved below national average scores in the final primary school assessment tests (KS2SATs). Five years later, in GCSE exams, their progress is well above the national average.

Figure 6 Student-Created Graph to Show Cohort Improvement Over 5 Years



Conclusions

Effective and successful classroom interventions in a school predominantly containing EAL students have been presented and discussed. Evidence of the effectiveness has also been presented. Experience of this type at the working face of the education system is essential in developing strategies for developing the performance of this increasingly important class of students.

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How Can a Regular Class Teacher Recognise and Develop an English Learner's Literacy?

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This paper discusses issues for teachers of regular classes that include English learners. Researchbased strategies are considered for teaching students who speak English as an Additional Language (EAL). The implications for teachers in regular classes include recognizing the academic language demands of the subject and the texts, including abstract concepts, technical terms, genres and grammar. Further, understanding the literacy and language skills the students bring to the classroom are discussed along with strategies that can be employed to assist student learning.

Keywords: English as an additional language; English literacy; EAL learning needs; scaffolded literacy learning; regular class teaching

Este artículo discute asuntos para los profesores de clases regulares que incluyen estudiantes de inglés. Se consideran estrategias basadas en la investigación para enseñar a los estudiantes que hablan Inglés como un Idioma Adicional (EAL). Las implicaciones para los profesores en las clases regulares incluyen el reconocimiento de las demandas del lenguaje académico del tema y los textos, incluyendo conceptos abstractos, términos técnicos, géneros y gramática. Se discuten además la comprensión de la alfabetización y las habilidades lingüísticas que los estudiantes traen al aula, junto con las estrategias que se pueden emplear para ayudar al aprendizaje del estudiante.

Palabras clave: Inglés como idioma adicional, literacidad en inglés, necesidades en el aprendizaje de EAL, andamiaje en el aprendizaje de la literacidad, enseñanza en clases regulares

Introduction

The impact of the global movement of people means that many students need to learn English to operate in the modern world. However, English language classes with specialist teachers are not always provided for students with little English, which results in English as an Additional Language (EAL) learners placed in regular classes' struggle to understand. EAL students need support to fully understand the language of their texts and the classroom. Students who learnt English as a foreign language or who were born in their adopted country often have good oral language skills and may speak with the local accent, so that teachers do not recognise their struggle with the complex English language understandings required within the classroom. The demands of other curriculum subjects, including the language for abstract concepts, technical terms, genres and grammar will also be unfamiliar. With this in mind, this paper will address the following: Recognizing EAL students' literacy and language learning needs; identifying the language demands embedded in subjects and lessons; how to scaffold EAL learning; and useful literacy strategies.

Problems Faced by Teachers

Regular class teachers are faced with multiple difficulties. Frequently there are many different languages spoken by a range of students. Students can be from different economic backgrounds with differing levels of parent support. There will be different levels of understanding in English. Added to this, literacy itself has changed. Technology is inherent in society, so to be literate a student needs to be digitally competent. Literacy is required in every subject in the curriculum, even Mathematics, so a student's capability in English will impact on learning and all outcomes. Teachers also have to deal with a packed curriculum. Added to all of these factors most regular class teachers have insufficient training in how to teach EAL students, as many teacher training courses only include one subject about that area, and in some cases this is a non-compulsory, selective subject.

The Australian Context

In Australia, one in four school students are from a non-English background, according to the most recent Australian census (ABS, 2016). Students new to Australia are provided with one to two years of intensive English classes. However, not all new arrivals take advantage of the specialist classes either through being uninformed, the distance required for students to travel or other reasons. In many cases students are enrolled in their local schools within a regular class. In any regular Australian classroom there can be speakers from ten or more different language backgrounds, with students who have lived in Australia for differing periods of time ranging from their whole lives to a few months (Gibbons, 2002). Even those born in Australia, may not have been exposed to Standard Australian English at home, which impacts on their depth of understanding of English. Further, they may speak different English has its own set of grammatical rules and vocabulary meanings which differ from Standard English. This can easily lead to miscommunication in the classroom.

Regular Class Teacher Knowledge

Students with parents in the professions who value education will frequently see expert reading and writing practices modelled in the home. The parents have similar expectations of their children and are able to create a bridge between home literacy practices and their children's formal learning. Students come to school well prepared for schooling and find the transition to the literacy demands of schooling within their capabilities (O'Neill & Gish, 2008). Children from families in which schooling is not highly regarded, with parents who did not undertake secondary schooling, or who are living in poverty will be less well prepared to take advantage of schooling, especially at the secondary level. While these factors also apply to monolingual English students, it is amplified for students who are undertaking their schooling in another language (Gibbons, 2009). The home language of the

students can also impact on literacy development. For example, there are differences in sentence constructions, pronoun types (*she, him, it, them*), verbs (*to throw, skipping, said*) and prepositions (*in, above, around*) and the way they are used in different languages. The impact can be recognised by looking carefully at an English learner's writing and noting unusual sentences that a monolingual student would not use. Other clues include trouble following directions or using words incorrectly when speaking during classroom tasks. English learners can usually understand more aurally than they can speak and read at a more complex level than they can write. They understand and use the content words, i.e., nouns (*flower, Geography*), verbs (*hop, bounce*), adjectives (*large, colourful*) and adverbs (*quickly, joyfulb*) more easily than function words, e.g. prepositions (*in, on beside*), conjunctions (*and, so, but*), or articles (*the, an an*), as most of the meaning is contained in the content words; however, the function words are often critical to elucidate meaning.

Research into the language of English learners in the elementary grades found they use little descriptive language; confused tenses; sentences lacked complexity; they had difficulties with auxiliaries, articles and pronouns. In reading, they overrelied on visual cues and missed key words, and comprehension was literal and incomplete. Prediction and inference were also difficult (Hook, 2009). Secondary English learners had lower levels of vocabulary knowledge, expressions lacked precision, and they misunderstood cultural references. Also, their writing had grammatical errors and lacked cohesion (McKay, 2000).

As well as recognising the English language skills and learning needs of EAL learners, teachers need to recognize the academic language demands of the subject and the texts, including abstract concepts, technical terms, genres and grammar. For example, the language used in subject area texts is often abstract and dense, with uncommon words and the passive tense (Cummins, 2007; Cummins & Man Yee Fun, 2007). Use of the passive voice tends to turn verbs into nouns ("use" becomes "utilisation", "hibernate" becomes "hibernation"). These nominalisations are often used to pack more information into a sentence with the result that they add to the lexical density and complexity of a text. Language tasks include predicting, hypothesising, classifying, explaining, describing, generalising and inferring (Gibbons, 2005). Students also need to keep abreast of changes in English with new vocabulary, symbols and discourse conventions evolving via new communication media (Lotherington, 2007). Hammond (2006) discusses the "double field" that exists in each school subject (the subject and the language) and the need for explicit teaching of both. While most subject teachers spend some time on new and technical vocabulary they may not explicitly teach the range of English needed for academic literacy. Academic literacy encompasses knowledge and understanding of the terminology of the subject, understanding of complex grammatical constructs and language functions and the ability to read with understanding and accurately utilise those understandings in oral and written discussions of ideas and concepts. Further, if the teacher frequently uses idioms, such as "pigs might fly" and colloquialisms, for example, "no worries", it will add to EAL students' difficulty in learning English. Further, speaking rapidly and using complex sentence patterns with embedded clauses or giving complex verbal directions make the job of learning very difficult for EAL students. Audio

recording and reviewing a lesson is a good way to identify the ways in which teachers might be making lessons difficult.

Monolingual students in upper elementary and secondary classrooms, on the other hand, understand the local accent, cultural and idiomatic language and are learning new content at a fast rate. They are aware of the cultural and social nuances around language use and are able to bootstrap the new knowledge and academic language onto their current knowledge and language base, often without specific instruction about how to do so. However, EAL/D students may not see a way to do this without explicit teaching because it may not be obvious to them how their understandings about their own culture and home language relate to academic English and subject content (Milton, 2013).

Academic Language Demands and Teaching Strategies

Teachers of EAL learners in regular schools need to ensure that they provide scaffolding and opportunities for repeated practice in different contexts, as those students have more to learn than their monolingual and fully bilingual peers. One strategy that provides repeated practice is "Jigsaw", in which small mixed groups of students research and develop knowledge about one question or aspect of the content being studied. Groups reform, with one student from each original group in the new groups. Each student becomes an "expert" and tells the others about the area researched by his/her group. Another common practice that provides repeated practice is "Think, Pair, Share", which can be both oral and written. "Collaborative Problem Solving" is an effective way to combine targeted topic content knowledge in oral and written forms as students work together to solve a problem. The small group and whole class discussion provide English language modelling and repeated practice.

Teachers need these understandings along with knowledge about suitable research-based strategies that can be employed to assist student learning. Thorough planning for English learners is necessary in a regular class environment. For example, those students could be given a list of new terms and meanings to learn prior to the whole class lesson. Then they could work in a mixed team, with monolingual and bilingual peers, followed by teacher-led small group work. With the diversity of the student population, the variety of Englishes they speak, and the range of language backgrounds, developing the English language skills needed in the classroom alongside subject knowledge and understanding is complex. According to Cummins and Man Yee Fun (2007), English learners become adept at social, everyday, language within 1-2 years; however it takes them at least 5 to 7 years to learn academic literacy. For students who have had interrupted schooling, it can take longer than this (Brown, Miller & Mitchell, 2006). What some regular class teachers do not recognise is that English learners will have knowledge they gained through their first language and life experiences and may have literacy skills in other areas, e.g., translating and blogging, which teachers can build on to develop students' academic literacy.

Subjects such as Mathematics and Science not only have distinct vocabularies. To understand the content of those subjects, it is necessary to understand the associated vocabulary. Hirsh and Coxhead (2010) examined the way we use words in different contexts to provide different meanings. In an examination of the language in secondary tests in Mathematics it was noted that words such as "face", "die", "mean", and "product" have completely different meanings to those in their everyday usage. Some of these words can have more than one meaning within the subject and a word such as "square" can have different functions when used as a noun, a verb, or an adjective. Often, several different words can be used to denote the same thing, such as "multiply", "times", and "product". In Mathematics, students also need to understand the meaning of a number of prefixes such as "bi", "di", "sex" and "hex", as in "bisect", "diagonal", "sextet", "hexagon", all of which adds to the complexity of the language they need to understand to successfully complete mathematical problems (Quinnell & Carter, 2010). In Science, many high frequency technical words are common across different fields such as Biology, Chemistry and Geology, so learning those words, their meanings and applications would be beneficial especially as there is not enough class time to teach all of the new terms needed by students (Hirsh & Coxhead, 2010).

The vocabulary students need to learn in the subject areas has an important role, as "using the appropriate terminology is integral to the concepts being learned" and enables students "to express concisely and precisely the complex ideas and concepts that are embedded in the subject and that are essential for learning in that subject" (Gibbons, 2009, p. 5). Two strategies to teach vocabulary are semantic webs and semantic grids in which students suggest words related to the topic that are written in the form of a spider's web or grid. These activities can be undertaken by the whole group as a brainstorm at the beginning of a topic, or part way through to provide repeated practice and sharing of knowledge, then at the end as a check of accuracy and understanding.

The type or genres of text found in the subject need to be identified and the inherent language structures analysed. For example, "Procedure" and "Report" are often used in Science, as in a procedure for conducting an experiment and a report for presenting the outcomes of the experiment, whereas in English, students are more likely to encounter narratives and a range of fiction genres. In western culture there is a tendency to use particular genres in certain ways that seem natural to those enculturated into it; however, students from other cultures will not automatically pick it up. They may not, therefore gain full meaning from reading the text, nor be able to write that type of text at an age-appropriate level.

Teachers need to identify subject genres the students have to read and write. For example, are the students reading narratives but writing arguments? What if they are reading mixed genres, for example an information report on the coal industry that includes both a timeline and an exposition on the impact on the environment (Gibbons, 2005)? The teacher then needs to determine the students' familiarity with the genre and decide the level of support to be provided. For example, do they simply need to read several examples of the genre, or does the teacher need to deconstruct it and model how to write it (Derewianka, 2007)? Further, different texts and genres may have different top-level structures within them, depending on the purpose of the text. The top-level structure is the organization of the text at the paragraph level, and can be identified through finding the signal words, as distinct from the grammar which is the organization

of the text at the sentence level. The top-level structure of a report on climate change, for example, may be Cause/Effect, and can be identified through the signal words "because of this", "as a result of", "the cause... the effect". Other top-level structures include Problem/Solution, Compare/Contrast, Time Order, List, and Description. Being able to recognise the top-level structure will assist students in comprehending the text, especially as it is often difficult to understand or explain the meanings of some of the signal words and yet they are integral to making meaning in the text. Examples of the signal words used in a text with a Time Order top-level structure are "first", "next", "then", "following that", and "finally". For Compare/Contrast some signal words are "however", "although", "while", or "whereas" (Meyer, 1975).

Each genre also tends to have particular language forms or grammar that goes with it. For example, a narrative usually uses simple past tense verbs, i.e., walked, said, whilst a procedure uses timeless present tense verbs as imperatives or commands, such as blend or adjust. A procedure also uses instructions such as "next" or "then", and elements of time such as "stir for 3 minutes", which has the same meaning as "combine for 3 minutes" or "mix for 3 minutes". First language English speakers will understand the meanings through a tacit understanding of the grammatical functions of words in a range of contexts. This means that even though first language English speakers may not be able to tell that a procedure uses the timeless present as an imperative, they will be able to follow the procedure correctly and understand that words such as stir, combine, and mix, have the same meaning in this context and may have different meanings in everyday contexts. It cannot be assumed that an EAL student will have the same understanding and therefore may not be able to follow the procedure correctly. This could be problematic in Science experiments. A strategy to teach text type and structure is Genre Analysis.

Planning Lessons

In order to plan a lesson, teachers need to assess the subject content, vocabulary to be learned, oral tasks, reading tasks, writing tasks, online component, creation, product/output. They then need to decide which tasks will be done with the whole class, in small groups, in pairs or individually. Finally, to plan for EAL learners, teachers should ask:

- Is a meta-language (language to talk about language) needed?
- Is there an opportunity for repeated practice in different contexts?
- What are the best strategies to ensure EAL learning?

Further, teachers need to ensure that while the content is cognitively demanding and age appropriate, the learning is thoroughly supported at every level. Cummins (2007) indicated that teachers often teach the class without any extra support for EAL learners, and when those students have difficulty in understanding, teachers give them easier material and demand less. Students then become bored and stuck at lower levels of achievement. Milton (2017) suggests that teachers begin with cognitively demanding, but highly supported material and lessons, and ensure that there are sufficient supports at every stage of a lesson, from oral to pair and group work through to individual written work.

Conclusion

While there are many demands on regular classroom teachers who have EAL students in their classes, investigating the language and literacy skills students bring to the classroom and understanding the language demands of each lesson are essential before planning lessons and choosing strategies. Several useful and research-based strategies have been highlighted, but teachers also need to ensure the content is cognitively appropriate and challenging and provide visual supports, printed vocabulary or key words, graphic outlines, definitions or procedures for EAL students.

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Reframing Literacy from a Deaf Chinese Lens: Practice and Implications

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The study will address the cross-cultural and sociocultural analysis of Deaf reading practices in China, how Chinese reading instruction takes on a Hearing-centric approach which may not benefit all deaf children, and the visual strategies used by Deaf teachers to address pedagogical and language concerns. Using grounded theory, principles themes are extracted from qualitative data (classroom observations and deaf teacher interviews) to unravel the sociocultural context that exists in reading instruction. Implications and recommendations are discussed.

Key words: Deaf education, China, reading instruction, Deaf practices, sociocultural practices

Introduction

Learning to read is a socio-culturally based practice that involves the interplay between language and meaning making strategies. Each country has its own languages and print representation. English readers are exposed to an alphabetic script that adopts a letter to sound mapping strategy. While English is by far the most complex in the letter to sound spectrum, mapping differentiation differ across alphabetic language (Share, 1995). Chinese, however, is a morpho-syllabic language where each character represents a morpheme and a syllable. Chinese is not only a tonal language, but is represented through two written orthographies (Pinyin and characters) in elementary school. The question is, how do deaf children learn to read Chinese?

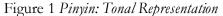
Learning to read is not typically an isolated experience. Rather, it is a task that is shared and learned within a social context. An expert reader shares skills and strategies in learning to read, guiding the novice reader into paying attention to details in the script and into making connections with what the novice already knows about the world, about the language, and about the script. These skills are passed on from generation to generation, from community to community, from adults to children, and from teachers to students as well as from students to students. Literacy practices, patterned literacy events or occurrences are repeated within a community or social group (Scribner & Cole, 1981). Such intellectual and linguistic mediation has turned into a social practice. How those reading skills are taught inherently includes the teacher's beliefs about how print is constructed, manipulated and conveyed. This fascinating teaching process has piqued the interest of researchers for years and is an important part of the investigation into the relationship between the spoken language and the writing system.

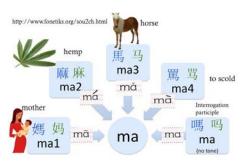
With two fundamentally different written scripts, how do deaf teachers frame reading instruction and facilitate meaning making experiences in sign language? The issues are compounded by the fact that teacher practices have been hearing based and no deaf education teacher credentialed program exist in China. By exploring cultural, linguistic and practical strategies familiar to Deaf teachers, we can begin to grasp the complexity of reading practices from a visual perspective and within the context of sign language. Further investigation between the relationship between sign language and written print in reading practices are pursued.

Context for Pinyin Usage in Reading Instruction

Throughout China, with over 500 dialects, the Chinese government selected Mandarin (Putonghua) as standard language of instruction for all Chinese schools. To facilitate literacy, romanization of Chinese characters was not to replace characters, but to teach correct pronunciation (Sheridan, 1990). Pinyin is introduced intensively within the first ten weeks of first grade and gradually dropped by third grade (Shu, Chen, Anderson, Wu, & Xuan, 2003).

Putonghua Chinese has four different tones: high pitch (tone 1), rising (tone 2), descending-rising (tone 3), descending (tone 4). The fifth one is a neutral sound with no number. Diacritic markings are also used to disambiguate tone differences, e.g. /ma/, /ma/,





Pinyin: Tonal representation

The auditory feedback loop provides hearing Chinese a way to self-correct by making associations between the spoken word and the character. For a deaf person, however if you were to lip-read the word "ma", the mouth movements are the same for all tones. Characters show stroke differences requiring visual skills to identify strokes (Shu, 2003; Luo, Chen, Deacon, Zhang, & Yin, 2013). Overall, Chinese students have demonstrated better visual distinction compared to American students

when identifying characters. The comparison between hearing peers with deaf peers show enhanced visual skills in writing characters (Fok et al., 1991).

In spoken Chinese, homophones are predominant where a variety of sounds are similar, but in writing mean different things. The word /mǎ/, has several characters 马, 玛, 蚂, 码, 犸, 杩. Homophony is not a challenge for deaf children in this case. Sign homophony may exist but we do not have research yet.

Learning Characters, a Visual-Spatial Script

Characters are composed of strokes stringed together to create a complete form. In each form, radicals either represent meaning or sound. Meaning is shown in the left and bottom area of the character and sound is shown at the top and right side.

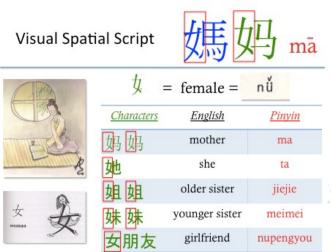


Figure 2 Characters as Visual Spatial Script

Figure #2 illustrates characters and Pinyin equivalence. The traditional characters are in blue with an average of 10 to 12 strokes no longer used since 1950s except for Hong Kong and Taiwan. The simplified characters are in green with 5-7 strokes on average, which is mandated by all schools.

The left semantic radical for the word 'mā', (mother), has a left radical 女, when standing alone, is pronounced "nü," (female). The chart next illustrates five words that all share the female semantic radical; however, there are some words that share the radical, but do not represent female (e.g., strive 努, anger/rage 怒). While each of the subsequent characters includes the "female" radical, the phonetic component of "nü" is clearly not obligatory in pronunciation. Only the word for "girlfriend" ("nüpengyou") contains "nü"; all the rest carry a completely different phonetic Pinyin representation for the entire character. In short, one cannot assume that any character with the "emale" semantic radical will have "nü" in its pronunciation.

When learning to read, children must memorize the assigned syllable with the character. In that sense, phonological mapping becomes the auditory feedback needed to verify associations and correspondences. Identification of characters rely heavily on memorization. Chinese children process script using morphological strategies (Shu et al., 2003). Within the characters are embedded meaning such as \mathfrak{B} "nán" (man), which is a combination of \mathfrak{H} "tián" (field), and \mathfrak{H} "li" (power), indicating that a man uses force or power when working in the field. Notice how each character has a different pronunciation and when combined, a new pronunciation is provided (i.e., the pronunciation is not "tian-li", but "nán").

Studies have suggested that morphological awareness co-evolves with Chinese literacy and carries an important role in learning to read Chinese (Anderson et al., 2005; Li, Anderson, Nagy & Zhang, 2002; Ku et al., 2003). Morphological awareness has recently become an instructional strategy in understanding the structure of Chinese (Anderson, 2003; Nagy, Kuo-Koe, Wu, Li, Anderson, & Chen, 2002) and strongly facilitates character word recognition (McBride-Chang, Shu, Zhou, Wat, & Wagern, 2003). On the other hand, Perfetti and Liu (2005) maintain that phonological processing does occur among Chinese readers who associate the spoken word with its written character.

Eighty percent of Chinese characters are semantic-phonetic compounds, with a phonetic radical (portion) providing some information about pronunciation and a semantic radical, conveying its meaning (Kuo & Anderson, 2010; Hoosain, 1991). The reader memorizes the compounds to recognize the word. The spaces between characters are evenly distributed throughout the text requiring young readers to identify words based on the syllable order (Lin, Anderson, Ku, Christianson, & Packard, 2011). No spacing in Chinese requires a Chinese reader to be familiar with each character and its single or compound representations (Luo, Chen, Deacon, Zhang, & Yin, 2013). Young readers are to identify both the phonetic and semantic radicals within the character. Forty-seven per cent of the phonetic radicals are predictable whereas the rest are not. The tones are not shown directly in the characters.

The interplay between spoken language and print is already quite a complicated phenomenon given the large number of homophones in Chinese. How does a deaf child learn to read a tonal language that is commonly used by hearing children and what is the role of sign language in meaning making strategies? The research questions are the following:

- Does the nature of script and language influence instructional strategies used with deaf children?
- What do deaf teachers attend to when teaching Deaf children to read Chinese script?
- What are the sociocultural factors in China that influence deaf children's literacy?

Methodology

School site and Participants

This study was conducted in a bilingual school for the deaf in a small town in the Chinese countryside. The staff were 52 % hearing and 47% deaf. Two-hour interviews with six Deaf teachers (2 males and 4 females) were accomplished in Chinese Sign Language, with open ended questions about their personal experiences in school and literacy. Backgrounds regarding schooling, language experience, and literacy were addressed. To validate the interviews and explore the sociocultural context for reading instruction, three elementary classrooms were selected, two hearing teachers taught first and second grade while the one deaf teacher taught third grade.

Researcher's stance: As an American/European Deaf researcher who has learned several alphabetic languages and Chinese, the purpose of this study is to incorporate a Deaf-centered perspective at the research protocol level and, in the interpretation of findings, research engagement to bring back to the Deaf communities and build fostering bonds of trust between the researcher, the deaf participants and deaf community (Harris, Holmes & Mertens, 2009).

Results of study

Mapping strategy is dependent on the nature of script

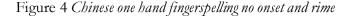
Based on the classroom observations and teacher interviews, differentiation between alphabetic and morpho-syllabic script requires different gestural/sign output. Mapping strategy is dependent on the nature of script. When Pinyin is used in writing, the "in the air" representation is shown using the finger syllabary or fingerspelling. The way finger syllabary is constructed is based on the onset and rime of a character/morpheme/syllable (see Figure 3). Each character has a syllable and the onset is shown with an initial handshape preceding the rime handshape.

Figure 3 Chinese One Hand Finger Syllabary with onset and rim

using onset and rime in sequential manner Chinese characters: 老师好 Pinyin: lăoshī hăo Literal translation in English: teacher good 老 好 师 So A Tone movement with index finger after syllabic construction

TYPE 1: Chinese One Hand Fingersyllabary

Hearing teachers use finger syllabary to follow the national standard of syllabic identification. The Chinese tones are shown using the index finger in movement to represent the diacritic after displaying the onset and rime handshapes. In the past, two hands were used to differentiate between onset and rime and now has evolved to using only one hand with sequential order. Chinese fingerspelling (see Figure 4) represents each letter of the syllable with a handshape. Deaf teachers found this to be essential to help students write the order of Pinyin letters. This visual feedback loop assures orthographic accuracy.



Chinese characters: 老师好 Pinyin: lǎoshī hǎo Literal translation in English: teacher good								
老			师			好		
N	, J	。 (鬥	SH SH	, In	н 🖗	, È	同	
Tone movement following the handshape	\bigcirc					\cup		

TYPE 2: Chinese One Hand Fingerspelling

When pointing to the Chinese characters, the output was in signs. Signed Chinese was used to follow the syllable order but were not conceptually accurate. Indigenous signs would provide the accurate concept representation. The former comes from the approved Sign Chinese that is now being 80% revised.

Deaf teacher practices in vocabulary instruction

The vocabulary instruction embeds a multi-sequential process combining both Pinyin and characters. These expectations are established to follow through with the stipulations of Chinese curriculum (Anderson, Ku, Li, Chen, Wu, & Shu, 2013; Wang & Andrews, 2017). The written order starts with the root of the character, which does not always have meaning. The root can be spoken as a syllable but no sign equivalent is given. Deaf students are requested to simply memorize its structure by tracing the character in the air and recognize the semantic radicals, not the phonetic radical, and then translate the embedded root in the compound in sign language. Two different compounds are provided where the character is shown at the beginning or end of the compound construction.

Textbooks carry both Pinyin and characters in the early elementary school years. Chaining activities occur with pointing to the Pinyin using fingerspelling/fingersyllabary with tone movement, then pointing to the characters to sign its meaning equivalence, then lastly pointing to the character. This chaining is more prolonged than the alphabetic script in the US (Humphries & MacDougall, 1999). The unspaced text allow Deaf teachers to use two fingers to bracket the compounds when pointing to a "word" to help deaf students identify concepts. Underlining compound words is often used to provide the translation into sign.

What are the sociocultural factors in China that influence deaf children's literacy?

The sociocultural context in China emphasizes speech over sign to belong in Chinese society (Jones, 2018 in press). The emphasis on spoken language and Pinyin in the education of deaf children continues to this day (Wang & Andrews, 2017). The ideology of spoken language puts Deaf teachers at a disadvantage creating an inequitable environment where they are not seen as valuable contributors to academic discourse (Yang, 2006; 2008). All but one Deaf teacher is credentialed, the rest graduated with computer science majors. No formal Deaf education programs to train Deaf teachers exist (Jones, 2013). When asked about what they would change to improve reading instruction for deaf children, all but two out of six referred to hearing credentialed teachers for recommendations. This fact reinforces the common belief that hearing people know better in determining what's best for deaf children and the belief that their contribution is not valued. The two deaf teachers recommended that content be taught in indigenous sign language of the deaf community to provide the groundwork for cognitive development to analyze scripts.

Indigenous sign language has been a topic of dismissal, considered inferior compared to Signed Chinese and this heated debate continues to dominate Chinese deaf education.

Implications and Recommendations

The complexities of language and literacy learning for deaf children in China require the Deaf teacher community to evaluate the effectiveness of teaching practices. The instruction of Pinyin to reinforce spoken language, when not used within the Chinese Deaf community raises concerns. The usefulness of Pinyin in reading instruction for d/Deaf students may help with the syllable identification in the order of the compound words. This is a challenge for deaf students, as they often reverse the compound order sequence.

The question is why? What can we learn from those errors? Is it the lack of consistency of language exposure that prevents them to self-correct or could this be remedied through morphological and visual skills instruction in sign language? With the importance of visual skills development (Zhou, McBride-Chang, & Wong, 2014), visual discrimination, visual spatial skills, visual form constancy and visual memory are all relevant in reading acquisition. The arbitrary visual verbal paired associate learning could very well function in the same way for spoken language with sign language. Sign

language provides meaning to characters fostering students' morphology and orthographic structure awareness. More research is needed to explore this area.

The reading process is clearly one that is embedded in linguistic, cultural and educational systems that reflects the greater society's values and traditions. Does intensive training on word morphology and orthographic structure awareness suffice in reading acquisition through indigenous sign language? This can only be answered through a team culturally and linguistically aware of researchers and Deaf Chinese teachers.

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The Effects of Students' L1 on Learning English Linguistics at USSH-HCMC, Vietnam

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The use of students' L1 in an EFL context has always been controversial. This paper reports how the moderate use of students' L1 in the classroom can actually enhance their understanding of the subject matter. It describes the learning process of a class of 44 students majoring in Russian with a minor in English, taking an Introduction to Linguistics course at the University of Social Sciences and Humanities - HCMC in Vietnam for fifteen weeks (60 periods). The students' translanguaging practices proved to be effective in assisting their acquisition of the subject material.

Keywords: *CLL*, *EFL context*, *translanguaging*

Introduction

This paper describes a linguistics course taught in an EFL context. In HoChiMinh City, Vietnam, Vietnamese is, by law, the official language, though in many aspects, HoChiMinh City can be considered as a bilingual city. Since the enactment of the economic open-door policy "đôi mói" by the government of Vietnam in 1986, English has become increasingly popular (Denham, 1992; Mydans, 1995; Nguyên, 1992, Shapiro, 1995; Wilson, 1993a, b). In contrast, Russian lost its popularity after unification in 1975 and enrollment of students majoring in the Russian language has decreased remarkably. In an effort to increase enrollment for the faculty of Russian Linguistics and Literature, a bilingual Russian-English program came into existence. It is a five-year program and, after graduation, students receive a Bachelor in the Russian Language and an Associate Degree in the English Language.

In the bilingual Russian-English program, students are required to take Introduction to Linguistics in English. Even though they have studied General Linguistics in Vietnamese and Russian, studying this subject matter in the English language proves challenging for them. This paper argues that using translanguaging as pedagogy proved to be beneficial in assisting students' acquisition of the subject material.

Background and Context

This course is a "theoretical course of sixty hours which provides students with an overview of the origin of language, and the framework of phonology and phonetics, morphology, syntax, semantics, and pragmatics" (course syllabus by Faculty of English Linguistics and Literature). Students taking this course should have a basic knowledge of Linguistics and have completed all basic language skills courses. The required textbook is the first ten chapters of the book "The study of language" (4th ed.), by George Yule (2010). There are two main assessments: the midterm, which makes up thirty percent of the final grade, and the final test, which makes up seventy percent of the final grade. The midterm score is further divided into a written midterm test which makes up sixty percent of the grade, an oral presentation which makes up twenty percent and participation and exercises which make up the remaining twenty percent of the grade. For the oral group presentation, students are required to summarize and synthesize the key points from the assigned readings. Their presentations should be fifteen minutes in length and the presenting group is also responsible for answering questions related to the readings. The aim of the midterm test and final exam is to check if students have obtained a good understanding of the overview of the origin of language, are familiar with common terms of phonology and phonetics, morphology, syntax, semantics, and pragmatics, and can apply basic knowledge of language in using language. The format of the mid-term test is two or three theory questions, and three practice questions, and lasts about 30-45 minutes. The format of the final exam is thirty percent theory questions on the history and function of language, seventy percent practice questions on using language, such as phonetics, phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics, pragmatics, and lasts about 60-90 minutes.

Translanguaging as Pedagogy

Translanguaging can be considered as "a distinct pedagogic theory and practice that varies the language of input and output but with 'dual-language' processing for deeper learning" (Williams, 2012, as cited in García & Wei, 2014, p. 91).

"Teacher-directed translanguaging" can also be a "transformative pedagogy" in the way that teachers can engage students holistically and individually "to ensure that all students are being cognitively, socially and creatively challenged, while receiving the appropriate linguistic input and producing adequate linguistic output in meaningful interactions and collaborative dialogue" (García & Wei, 2014, p. 92). "Teacher-directed translanguaging" is crucial in allowing students to learn meaningfully and to keep their "dynamic languaging" (Creese & Blackledge, 2010). Creese and Blackledge (2010, p. 108) contend

Both languages are needed simultaneously to convey the information,... each language is used to convey a different informational message, but it is in the bilingualism of the text that the full message is conveyed.

The combination of the two languages can keep "the task moving forward" (Creese and Blackledge, 2010: 110).

When translanguaging is used "strategically as a scaffolding approach" (García & Wei, 2014, p. 92), it can enable students to "engage with rigorous content, access difficult texts". As García and Wei (2014, p. 93) point out, "translanguaging as pedagogy involves leveraging, that is, deliberately and simultaneously merging students' repertoires of practice". In this way, translanguaging makes the learner take control of his/her language practices to access texts and knowledge. On the contrary, teachers yield their authority role in the classroom and become facilitators "to set up the project-based instruction and collaborative groupings that maximize translanguaging to learn" (2014, p. 93). Translanguaging hence has "pedagogical value", since it is used "both as part of [teachers] linguistic toolkit for academic content learning and to valorize and promote pride in students' ethnolinguistic identities" (Sayer, 2008, p. 110, as cited in García & Wei, 2014, p. 93)

Method

Our interest in this topic was triggered by the information obtained from the weekly feedback of the group of 44 students in the bilingual Russian-English program. Since this is the students' last year, they were not very motivated in learning, but more interested in getting a good grade. That is why they did all they could to achieve good marks.

The policy of the Faculty of English Linguistics and Literature is that teachers should use English as the medium of instruction. The objective of this is to expose students to the target language as much as possible. However, in the feedback in the second week of the course, the students asked me to use Vietnamese so that they could understand the concepts better. From then on, I usually asked them whether they understood what was going on in class or not; if not, I switched to Vietnamese to explain the linguistic concepts.

Results

Below are the results of the midterm test (see appendix 1) and final exam (see appendix 2) of this group. Both were graded with 10 being the maximum grade.

Scores	Midterm test	Percentage	Final exam	Percentage
9-10	2	4.5		
8-8.9	4	9	13	29.5
7-7.9	14	32	18	41
6-6.9	9	20	9	20
5-5.9	9	20	3	7

4-4.9	4	9	1	2.3
3-3.9				
2-2.9	2	4.5		

As can be seen from the above table, students did much better in their final exam. Only one student did not pass the final exam while six of them did not pass the midterm test. Though none of them got 9 in the final test, the number of those who got 7-8.9 rose remarkably from 41% to 70%. The good results in the final exam seem to be related to the effectiveness of translanguaging approach to this complicated and theoretical subject of Linguistics.

Conclusion

Adopting translanguaging to teach in this context appears to significantly assist students in acquiring the content of Linguistics in the English language. The evidence from the students' feedback and the results of their grades affirm that moderate use of L1 in an EFL classroom can maximize students' understanding of a complex subject.

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Appendix 1 Midterm test

University of Social Sciences and Humanities Name: Faculty of English Linguistics and Literature ID number:

MID-TERM in INTRODUCTION TO ENGLISH LINGUISTICS Duration: 45 minutes

I. Decide whether the following statements are true (T) or false (F) (2m)

1	 The innateness hypothesis proposes that human infants are
	born with a special capacity for language not shared with any
	other creature and that this capacity is genetically determined.
2	This process whereby a language is passed on from one
	 generation to the next is described as cultural transmission.
3	 Reflexivity accounts for the fact that human beings can use
	language to communicate.
4	 /v/can be defined as a voiceless labiodentals fricative.
5	 Arbitrariness is the case that there is "natural" connection
	between a linguistic form and its meaning.
6	 Communicative signals are not synonymous to unintentionally
	informative signals.
7	 Displacement is the property that allows language users to talk
	about things and events present in the immediate environment.
8	Phonotactics refer to the constraints in the types of sound
	 combinations permitted in a language.
	1 00

II. Which written English words are usually pronounced as they are transcribed here? (1.5m)

1. /	3.	5. /
2.	4.	6. /

III. Write a basic phonetic transcription of the most common pronunciation of the following words. (1.5m)

1. host	3. machine	5. pleasure	
2.coffee	4. varied	6. knowledge	

IV. Give 4 words that begin with a voiceless alveolar sound and end with a nasal sound. (1m)
1_____ 2___ 3____ 4____

V. Which of the following words would be treated as minimal pairs? (1m) bag, debt, farm, fun, had, hut, head, palm, set, sang, said.

1_____ 2____ 3____ 4____

VI. Identify the manner of articulation of the initial sounds in the following words (stop, fricative, etc.) (1m)
1snap _____ 2. park _____ 3. judge _____ 4. misty

VII. Identify the different word-formation processes involved in producing each of the underlined words in the following sentences. (1m) 1. I asked the waitress for another spork.

2. This is <u>waterproof</u>.

3. What did the <u>doc</u> say?._____

4. Their <u>counterargument</u> is annoying.

VIII. Consider the following examples: what do you think the corresponding Indonesian words would be for "honest", "happy", "just/fair" and "satisfied"? (1m)

ketidakjujuran ("disho	onesty")	
ketidaksenangan	("unhappiness")	
ketidakadilan	("injustice")	
ketidakpuasan ("dissa	tisfaction")	

NO DICTIONARY OR MATERIAL IS ALLOWED

Appendix 2 Final Exam

VIETNAM NATIONAL UNIVERSITY-HO CHI MINH CITY	Student Name:
E UNIVERSITY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES AND HUMANITIES	Student ID:
FACULTY OF ENGLISH LINGUISTICS & LITERATURE	Class:
DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH LINGUISTICS	

Final Exam in INTRODUCTION TO ENGLISH LINGUISTICS

Time allowed: 60 minutes

Test date:

Approved by Dept. Chair (name & signature)	Lecturer(s) (name)	1 (CBCT 1) (name එං	Proctor 2 (CBCT 2) (name & signature)	(name ở	Written project	Final exam	Total score 100%
Notes:	No materials o						

Students write their answers in the same test paper.

I. Decide whether the following statements are true (T) or false (F). (2 marks)

1. _____ Duality is a property of human language that states human language is organized at two levels or layers simultaneously.

- 2. _____ The genetic source proposes that human beings are born with a special capacity to acquire language.
- 3. _____ Substituting one allophone for another changes both pronunciation and meaning.
- 4. _____/g/ is a voiced velar liquid.
- 5. _____ Etymology is "the study of the origins and histories of words".
- 6. _____ Derivational morphemes are bound morphemes that are used make new words or to make words of a different grammatical category from the stem.
- 7. _____ Grammatical gender is based on sex of nouns.
- 8. _____ Metonymy is based on implicit comparison of words.

- II. For each of the following symbols provide the correct phonetic label and a word that begins with that sound. The first one has been done as an example. (1 mark)
 - 0. /n/: a voiced alveolar nasal. Example: nice

1. /s/:	
2. /b/:	
3. / f/:	
4. /1/:	

III. Find another word to finish the minimal pairs. The first one has been done as an example. (1 mark)

	0.	<u>sh</u> eep leap
	1.	c <u>ar</u> t
	2.	ri p
	3.	ra <u>ce</u>
	4.	<u>wr</u> ong
IV.		fy the word-formation process(es) involved in producing of the underlined words in the following sentences. (1 mark)
	1.	Long time no see, <u>hru</u> ?
	2.	Could you please <u>upload</u> the materials you use in class?
	3.	What did the <u>prof</u> say?
	4.	Yeah, <u>karaoke</u> time.
V.		lentify the number of morphemes in each of the given words. mark)
	E.g. ch	eaper <u>2</u>
		1. children
		2. ran
		3. description

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4. inseparability ______
5. inquiries ______
6. retake ______
7. retire ______
8. spaciously ______

VI. Identify all the parts of speech used in this sentence. (1 mark)

E.g. woman = noun

We recognize that the problems that confront us will not be overcome immediately, so be patient.

We: ______ recognize: ______ that: ______ the: ______ problems: ______ that: ______

confront: _____

us: _____

will:

not: _____

be:_____

overcome:
immediately:
so:
be:
patient:

VII. The following sentence is ambiguous. Paraphrase the sentence in 2 different ways OR draw tree diagrams to show the ambiguity involved. (1 mark)

Visiting friends can be fun.

1.	
2.	

VIII. What is the basic lexical relation between each pair of words listed here? (1 mark)

1. tree – pine
2. stingy – mean
3. pale – pail
4. smart – stupid
What is one obvious presupposition of a speaker who says: (1 mark)
1. Nobody thought it was that easy.
2. What did he say?
3. Tom's house is pretty.
4. What did they do when you arrived at their place?

END OF TEST

Latinx Children's Spanish and Translanguaging Perceptions and Strategies for Writing

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Hannah Masso University of Texas Rio Grande Valley

This qualitative study focuses on 19 Latinx children's Spanish and translanguaging perceptions and strategies regarding writing. Sources included artifacts, surveys, reflections, and interviews in a Texas colonia. Using grounded theory for data analysis and the language ideology framework, we found children resisted Spanish and translanguaged writing, but used English as an aid for less-developed Spanish writing. They used few Spanish aids in English writing. Implications relate to supporting children's full linguistic repertoires.

Keywords: Latinx, translanguaging, Spanish, writing, bilingual, children

Este estudio cualitativo se enfoca en las percepciones y estrategias de 19 niños en la escritura en español y en "translanguaging". Los datos incluyeron artefactos, encuestas, reflexiones, y entrevistas en un barrio Latino de Texas. Utilizando la ideología de lenguaje como teoría y un análisis cualitativo, encontramos que los niños se resistieron a escribir en español y al uso de "translanguaging". Sin embargo, usaran el inglés para apoyar la escritura en español menos desarrollada. Las implicaciones se relacionan con el apoyo de repertorios lingüísticos de los niños.

Palabras clave: Latino/a, translanguaging, español, escritura, bilingüe, niños

Introduction

Our study focuses on Latinx children's Spanish and translanguaging perceptions and strategies for writing. Many non-dominant languages face marginalization in highpowered spheres, perhaps schools (Fishman, 2001). Thus, studying perceptions and strategies of children who live near Mexico can provide insight into language ideology and identity processes. We asked, "What are bilingual children's dispositions and strategies regarding Spanish and translanguaging in writing?"

Framework

Humans internalize, embody, and articulate language ideologies (Kroskrity, 2004) and dominant groups engage in power-laden discourses to promote their interests over others (Woolard, 1998). Language ideologies include instruction and curriculum (Poza, 2016). Also, children's writing reflects teachers' beliefs, resources, practices, and

assessments (DeFord, 1981). Much code-based U.S. education for low-income emergent bilinguals relates to English-focused high-stakes tests (Poza, 2016). Bracketing is another ideology that attempts to segment languages in time and space (García, 2009).

Conversely, translanguaging ideology honors bilingualism (Mazak, 2016). Translanguaging, common in bilingual continua (Hornberger & Link, 2012), relates to language ideology because people adopt or contest normative language beliefs and practices (Anzaldúa, 2007), such as bracketing, while others have varying degrees of awareness (Kroskrity, 2004).

Translanguaging constitutes a linguistic strength for sense-making (García, 2009). Perceiving language as a right and a resource represents a shift from the dichotomous, monoglossic ideology of minoritized languaging as a problem (García & Sylvan, 2011; Ruíz, 1984). Translanguaging is part of borderland people's identities and practices in a liminal space, not quite the USA, not quite Mexico. This liminality pulsates through our research site (Anzaldúa, 2007).

Language ideologies connect to socio-political-historical contexts, also. "... For generations of border residents, Spanish literacy has been banished from school as early as possible" (Smith & Murillo, 2012, p. 637). Yet, leaving our cultures and languages proves difficult. As Stewart and Hansen-Thomas (2016) stated about a high school student from Mexico,

Paula cannot be defined as a citizen of just one country, a speaker of one language, or a member of one cultural group ... Translanguaging represents her complete transnational being (p. 465).

Velasco and García (2010) studied five translanguaged writing samples and found translanguaging helped children with writing development, usage, audience awareness, and self-regulation. Next, Canagarajah (2011) explored the translanguaging of Buthainah. This graduate student code-meshed to persuade her readers and to challenge biases about Saudi Arabia; Buthainah demonstrated metalinguistic awareness regarding why she translanguaged.

Methods

Setting

This study occurred in a South Texas colonia, an unincorporated U.S./Mexico border settlement lacking basic services, e.g., paved roads (U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, 2017). This colonia represents the poorest neighborhood for its size; 99% are native Spanish-speaking and Latinx (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010). Within this colonia, *Grace*, an after-school tutorial agency, serves children who attend for homework help. (All names are pseudonyms.)

We focus on data from Bussert-Webb's 2017 summer class at *Grace*. During this 2017 site-based course, TCs taught children, provided homework assistance, and helped youth create an electronic newsletter. Each child wrote an article in Spanish,

English, and then purposeful translanguaging; we wanted to ascertain languaging experiences, dispositions, and strategies.

Participants

Respondents included 19 children, ages 6 through 13 (12 females and 7 males). One child had attended school in Mexico, but others attended only U.S. schools. Also participating were their eight mothers, *Grace's* two female staff members, and TCs (12 female and 3 male). Parents, children, and *Grace's* coordinator lived in the colonia. All participants were Latinx from Spanish-speaking homes. Bussert-Webb and Masso are Spanish/English bilingual, but Masso is Latinx and grew up speaking Spanish.

Data collection

Data gathering for this case-study took place in a bounded place (a colonia) and bounded time (May and June of 2017). Bussert-Webb kept detailed field notes of participant observation. Child sources included: daily electronic learning logs and newsletter articles, handwritten hobby essays (see Figure 1), a 5-question language motivation survey (on a 5-point Likert scale), and a 15-question rapport-building activity with TCs. We audio-recorded and transcribed semi-structured child interviews (with 15 questions) and a 9-question TC focus group. Parents and staff completed different 10-question surveys. Data sources, open-ended, focused on children's language, literacy, and schooling experiences and dispositions.

For member-checking, we and asked participants for changes, deletions, or additions to our transcriptions. For peer debriefing, our field notes included conversations with *Grace* staff and each other.

Data analysis

Because we explored children's perceptions and strategies for writing, we chose to use the grounded theory methodology of data analysis (Corbin & Strauss, 2008). We open-coded data, highlighted initial themes, re-read all data, joined related concepts, and compared similarities and differences vis-à-vis our framework until key themes reoccurred.

Our study abided by Lincoln's and Guba's (1985) trustworthiness guidelines of credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability. We read data and manuscripts separately and together, included member-checking and peer debriefing, read and included diverse literature, and explained our methodological processes.

Findings

Spanish writing perceptions

Surveys showed 84% of the children reported disliking writing in Spanish. Many expressed unease, characterized Spanish as difficult, complained about writing in Spanish, and wrote less in Spanish than in English; see Table 2. Their negative Spanish language ideologies related to their reports of English-focused practices in school.

Moreover, we saw no homework assignments or notes to parents in Spanish. Although homework does not present the full curricular landscape, it can influence children's language ideologies. Monoglossic pedagogies strip students of voice and reproduce "racial normativity by expecting language-minoritized students to model their linguistic practices after the white speaking subject" (Flores & Rosa, 2015, p. 151).

Although most mentioned participating in bilingual education, only two children said they read and wrote in Spanish in U.S. schools. Similarly, Smith and Murillo (2012) found schools did not support colonia children's writing in Spanish; thus, parents were "less inclined to resist English-only instruction or advocate for Spanish instruction in their children's schools" (p. 647). Parents may believe their children's U.S. academic success depends on mastering English at the expense of other languages; this relates to schooling and socio-historical contexts (Bussert-Webb, Díaz, & Yanez, 2017).

However, Eliza, age 11, who attended kindergarten in Mexico, told Bussert-Webb, "I love writing in Spanish." Eliza learned to read and write in Spanish during kindergarten. This experience appeared to shape Eliza's positive Spanish-language ideology. Indeed, we internalize, embody, and articulate what we have experienced, heard, and felt, and Eliza's one year in a Mexican school may have influenced her positive articulation of Spanish writing. Furthermore, Eliza's case demonstrates *Grace's* children possessed divergent language ideologies (Kroskrity, 2004).

Translanguaged-writing perceptions

The children's perceptions of written translanguaging appeared negative. They reported feeling uncomfortable because they said teachers told them not to mix languages when speaking and writing. Perceptions are important aspects of language ideology (Kroskrity, 2004). Red, age 12, associated written translanguaging with punishment. He said his bilingual-education teacher wanted his Spanish essay to contain only Spanish. She made him rewrite his entire essays if she found translanguaged words, such as *trocka* [truck] and *lonche* [lunch]. Red said this caused him to feel "*mal*" [bad].

When asked how she felt about written translanguaging, JoJo, age 9, said "I don't like it because the STAAR test might now know it." JoJo believed she would get a lower essay score on this Texas standardized test if she translanguaged. Her statement demonstrates how high-stakes testing, bracketing, and correctness ideologies influenced her translanguaging ideology. Poké, 10, also internalized this correctness ideology. When asked what he thought of written translanguaging, Poké said, "I feel kinda nervous because I might mess up." Messing up relates to lower-order concerns.

The children appeared to equate writing with correctness, an ideology one might internalize in classrooms focused on decodable texts (phonics) and related activities (DeFord, 1981). Vic, 8, consistently brought passages to read aloud for speed, not comprehension. Most homework we saw consisted of English test-preparation and discrete-skills worksheets in English.

Blue, age 13, conveyed a negative translanguaging ideology; he made a distasteful face and called it "Spanglish." Some reported not liking translanguaging "because sometimes [we] get confused when reading it" and others "felt weird writing it," but did not know why. Perhaps they felt weird engaging in purposeful translanguaging because they reported experiencing monoglossic ideologies in school.

Languaging strategies

Although most reported disliking translanguaging, they used English as an aid for their Spanish hobby essays and newsletter articles. Their language strategies include: context and conciseness, using one language to help another, and correctness ideology. We focused on these strategies: syntactic (grammar, verb conjugations, and sentence structure), orthographic (spelling), semantic (meaning), and lexical (word used).

Context and conciseness. The children's written translanguaging appeared connected to context and conciseness. Regarding the context of academic vocabulary, Blue wrote in his newsletter article, "*Estos elementos acen atoms*" [These elements make atoms]. Perhaps he used "atoms" versus "*átomos*" because he did not know the chemistry term in Spanish since his science classes were taught in English.

Next, some youth may have used English words to save time, which relates to conciseness. Writing "dodgeball" is more efficient than explaining it in Spanish. In her Spanish hobby essay (see Figure 1), Ele wrote: "*A mi me gusta jugar and pl DogeBall in hm jugar con mi familia*" [I like to play dodgeball and play with my family]. *In* could be an orthographic and/or semantic influence of *and* e.g., "Ann -n- Bob." Ele attempted and then crossed out "and pla" [play], which indicates her initial thinking in English.

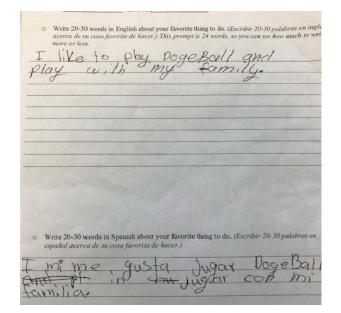


Figure 1. Ele's English and Spanish Hobby Essays

Likewise, Fula wrote in her Spanish essay, "Me gasta jugar football, learer, audar a mi mama, audar a mi papa, y mirar basketball" [I like to play football, read, help my mom, help my dad, and watch basketball]. She engaged in lexical-translanguaging, e.g., football and basketball. Next, *leer* means read, but Fula wrote *learer*, which may constitute orthographic influences from English (e.g., learn or read). Her writing choice may relate to knowing how to spell *read* and *learn*.

Furthermore, *mirar basketball* may be lexical translanguaging. In English we would say *watch basketball*, but in Spanish we might say *ver baloncesto*. Similarly, Fula wrote in her Spanish newsletter article, "... En futbol tienes que calcular la correcta fuerza y ángulo en orden para hacer el touchdown. Las yard lines también involucran matemáticas porque van por decenas" [In football you have to calculate the correct force and angle to make a touchdown. The yard lines also involve math because they go by tens]. Fula used lexical translanguaging, e.g., "touchdown ... yard lines." She may have searched on her iPad for some terms, e.g., decenas. However, Fula kept "touchdown" and "yard lines" in English, perhaps because Spanish explanations take longer. See Table 1 for more examples. Participants used their full linguistic resources for sense-making (García, 2009). These young sociolinguists showed their resourcefulness because most said they did not learn how to write in Spanish when they entered school.

Pseudonym	English Influence in	English Words in Spanish
-	Spanish Essay	Essay
Bat	<i>"Mey mam</i> " may be English orthographic and lexical influences.	"I like to be with my family too when I get out of school i see my mom happy too and I happy too I love my mom too and gamau too Ke ko mey mam."
Sofi	English orthographic knowledge may have influenced "belota" versus " <i>pelota</i> ." The onset begins with [b], as in "ball."	Bollyboll, bolly, volleyboll
Supa WW	"My ola mama." " <i>Me gusta a salir</i> " may be influenced by English syntax, e.g., "I like to play."	Му

Table 1. Translanguaging in Participants' Spanish Hobby Essays

Using one language to help another. Inadequate Spanish literacy instruction may explain the children's stated struggles with writing in Spanish and translanguaging. Usually, one's mother tongue is stronger and assists one's target-language (Cummins, 2007). We expected more translanguaging in the children's English writing because participants grew up in Spanish-speaking homes and in 99% Spanish-speaking neighborhood. However, most children reported being stronger in English reading and writing. Thus, when the children wrote in Spanish, they used English to help their lesser-developed Spanish writing skills.

When JoJo wrote her hobby essay in Spanish, she used "I am" in English as a jumping-off spot, "*I am me gusta comer y me gusta cosas*" [I like to eat and I like things]. English lexical items and syntax also emerged in her newsletter article:

Mi favorito canción para bailar es Ariana Grande's canción llamada es Problems. Desde que tenía 7 años yo danzado a Ariana Grande's música con mi familia y amigos [My favorite song to dance to is Ariana Grande's "Problems." Since I was 7, I danced to [this] music with my family and friends].

While "danzar" is similar to "bailar," "danzar" is more common in the arts. JoJo's use of danzado, similar to "dance" in English, appears to be lexical translanguaging. JoJo also used English syntax, e.g., es [is] before Problems and favorito (versus favorita) before (versus after) canción. Interestingly, the pop song, Problems, is in English by Ariana Grande, demonstrating an out-of-school English influence in pop music.

We noticed some Spanish-influenced lexical items when children wrote in English. Ele wrote: "I learn kids need ... activities and about my news" (versus news article). In Spanish, one would say, "*mi noticia*. "In the English hobby essays, we noted one case of syntax-related translanguaging, Supa wrote, "I like eat." Standard English is: "I like eating" or "I like to eat." In Spanish, this would be, "*Me gusta comer*". Similarly, Edelsky (2006) found little lexical translanguaging in bilingual children's English writing, but more translanguaging in their Spanish essays.

Monoglossic and correctness moves. Most of the children's English essays lacked voice. Blue and Free, both 13, wrote on separate occasions: "Run, play, fun, happy" and "I like to sing and dance. It is fun." Similarly, Garan (2004) discussed two second grade Latinx; the boy in a discrete-skills classroom wrote simple sentences, e.g., "The dog is good." (p. 114). The boy in a holistic classroom wrote a cohesive account of his dog, "His name is spade and he gots brown dots" (p. 114).

We analyzed erasures in the hand-written hobby essays. Erasures can reflect children's language moves, correctness ideologies, and writing confidence. Saliani (2016) defined erasure as erasing or crossing-out letters or words and then changing spelling, punctuation, or other conventions. In Table 2, participants' erasures focused on usage and spelling; this suggests they internalized strict rules regarding appropriateness, the converse of risk-taking, creativity, and complexity (Flores & Rosa, 2015). Participants had 40 erasures in English and 55 in Spanish. They wrote 464 words in English, but only 375 in Spanish; see Table 2. Although quantity may not

determine quality, Table 2 may demonstrate participants' confidence and skill in written English over Spanish.

Pseudonym and Age	Word Attempt- English Essay	Word Attempt- Spanish Essay	Erasure- English Essay	Erasure- Spanish Essay	Spanish Influence- English essay	English Influence - Spanish Essay	Spanish Words in English Essay	English Words in Spanish Essay
Bat, 7	29	4	1	0	0	38	0	36
Blue, 13	20	19	0	3	0	0	0	0
Día, 10	8	11	3	5	0	1	0	1
Ele, 9	10	11	0	3	0	4	0	3
Eliza, 11	27	28	1	0	0	1	0	1
Free, 13	23	21	0	1	0	0	0	0
Fula, 10	16	16	1	1	0	3	0	2
JoJo, 9	30	38	4	2	0	12	0	12
Messi, 11	14	13	7	1	0	1	0	0
Moa, 9	22	16	2	1	0	0	0	0
Pink, 8	14	15	6	3	0	1	0	0
Poké, 10	98	74	6	17	0	0	0	0
Red, 12	27	25	1	2	0	1	0	1
Rena, 8	26	31	3	12	0	1	0	1
Sofi, 10	38	39	0	3	0	4	0	3
Supa, 6	7	3	1	1	2	1	0	1
Sup, 7	12	0	4	NA	0	NA	0	NA
Vic, 8	22	0	0	NA	0	NA	0	NA
WW, 8	21	11	0	0	0	1	0	0
Total	464	375	40	55	2	69	0	61

Table 2. Erasures and Language Influences

Conclusions and Implications

Most children participants internalized beliefs that English was superior to Spanish. When they wrote in English, they had few errors in lower-order concerns.

However, most of their English essays lacked voice, demonstrating an appropriateness ideology (Flores & Rosa, 2015).

Although spoken translanguaging is common in our region, most children participants adopted bracketing and English-only ideologies from their schools (Smith & Murillo, 2012). When asked to purposefully translanguage, they expressed difficulty and discomfort, perhaps perceiving translanguaging was incorrect. However, they engaged in written translanguaging (perhaps not realizing it) to assist their lesser-developed Spanish writing.

We recommend interviewing parents and teachers regarding language ideologies. Moreover, exploring translanguaging multimodal literacies with children and parents can be beneficial.

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Socialización Bilingüe en Galicia: Enumeración de Contribuciones en un Aula de Educación Infantil

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Este trabajo, realizado en una escuela pública en un ambiente con bilingüismo gallego-castellano, se centra en analizar subsecuencias que tienen lugar durante una rutina escolar y en las que los niños, guiados por la maestra, deben contar cuántas palabras llevan propuestas con una determinada letra, cuántas les faltan, etc. Esta pequeña actividad quedaría enmarcada dentro de las actividades alfabetizadoras que tienen lugar en un aula de Educación Infantil, en las que la profesora emplea el gallego como código base, con alternancias al castellano. Para ello, empleamos un total de 11 grabaciones obtenidas durante los dos años del trabajo de campo (cursos 2015-2016 y 2016-2017).

Palabras clave: Interacción, rutina, escuela, socialización bilingüe infantil, análisis del discurso.

Introducción

Esta comunicación procede de mi tesis doctoral en curso sobre la socialización bilingüe infantil en Galicia y toma como punto de partida la teoría de la interacción social de Vygotsky de los años veinte (Duranti, Ochs y Schieffelin, 2014; Ely y Berko Gleason, 1996; Kulick y Schieffelin, 2006; Ochs y Schieffelin, 1995).

El trabajo de campo se realizó en un colegio público en las afueras de la ciudad de Vigo en una zona predominantemente de habla castellana; seleccionamos las aulas correspondientes a Educación Infantil y concretamente las de 4 y 5 años, durante los cursos escolares 2015-2016 y 2016-2017. El seguimiento fue hecho a los mismos veinticinco niños, quienes cursaron juntos todo este ciclo educativo, a excepción de dos de ellos: una niña que abandonó el centro al finalizar 4 años y un niño que comenzó en esta escuela al inicio de 5 años. Del total de niños, solamente dos provienen de familias bilingües.

El objeto de estudio concreto de esta comunicación se centra en las subsecuencias correspondientes al conteo, tanto de palabras como de letras de palabras, dentro de una de las actividades que tienen lugar durante esta rutina escolar, el llamado *Tempo de Asemblea*. En este tipo de interacciones, la maestra les indica a los niños que deben contar cuántas palabras llevan propuestas para saber cuántas les faltan por proponer, así como, en ocasiones, contar las letras de algunas de las palabras con las que los propios niños contribuyeron anteriormente.

El Tempo de Asemblea

Este trabajo se centra en una rutina concreta de la jornada escolar, el *Tempo de Asemblea* ("Tiempo de Asamblea"), que explicaremos a continuación. La razón por la que escogemos una rutina es por el papel central que ocupan en la socialización infantil (Berko Gleason y Weintraub, 1976) debido a que, por su condición de pautas repetitivas inductoras de normas de conducta social, pueden llegar a crear las bases de la socialización de los niños (Hymes, 1964).

Tanto en el aula de 4 años como en la de 5 existe una zona reservada para llevar a cabo esta rutina, que abarca varias actividades; algunas de ellas se mantienen en ambos cursos y otras corresponden solo a uno de ellos. El espacio para realizar esta rutina conlleva unas normas que los niños conocen y deben cumplir y de las que algunas se mantienen a lo largo de estos dos cursos escolares y otras cambian; al entrar en clase por la mañana, los niños tienen que dejar los abrigos en sus percheros, las mochilas en la zona reservada para ello y deben ponerse el mandilón. A continuación, se dirigen al área de la "asamblea" y toman asiento, con las piernas cruzadas y los brazos sobre ellas formando entre todos un semicírculo de cara a la profesora. Una vez que están todos en esta posición, tiene lugar el inicio de esta rutina, que explicaremos a continuación atendiendo a ambos cursos a la vez.

Una vez que los niños están sentados comienza propiamente esta rutina: la profesora escribe en el encerado la fecha del día con el formato de día, mes y año; en el curso de 4 años lo hace en lengua gallega y en mayúsculas y en el de 5 años en mayúsculas y minúsculas y en lengua gallega; a continuación, el niño encargado escribe su nombre en el encerado, empleando letras mayúsculas en 4 años, mientras que en 5 años puede escoger entre usar mayúsculas o minúsculas. Después el niño encargado pasa lista, ayudado por la maestra, y comienzan las tres partes más diferenciadas de esta rutina: a) realizar en el aire, guiados por la maestra, la pictografía de las letras del nombre del niño encargado, b) proponer palabras que comiencen por una determinada letra (o sílaba) y finalmente c) en el curso de 4 años rodear las palabras que fueron propuestas (escritas por la profesora en el encerado) y en 5 años realizar un juego con las letras, llamado *Maxia coas Letras*. Es dentro de esta segunda actividad, la de proponer palabras, donde se encuadra el objeto de estudio concreto de esta comunicación.

Como vemos, la mecánica del funcionamiento de la actividad es similar en ambos cursos, pero existen pequeñas diferencias, sobre todo relacionadas con añadir un plus de dificultad a tareas que los niños y niñas ya conocen. A continuación, nos centraremos en el análisis de las subsecuencias de conteo de las palabras que proponen.

Análisis de los Datos

Como anunciamos anteriormente, la actividad concreta que nos interesa es la relacionada con contar tanto el número de palabras propuestas como las que faltan durante la rutina del *Tempo de Asemblea*, dentro de una actividad mayor, a la que denominamos como "proponer palabras", debido a que los niños tienen que ir proponiendo palabras que comiencen por una determinada letra o sílaba, que viene dada por el nombre del niño encargado del día. Una vez que saben con qué letra proponer palabras, por turnos otorgados por la maestra, comienza esta actividad; en ocasiones la profesora decide previamente cuántas palabras van a proponer y en ocasiones lo decide sobre la marcha.

Llegados a este punto, existen dos pequeñas actividades relacionadas con el conteo: una de ellas en la que cuentan palabras y otra en la que cuentan letras de palabras. A continuación, atenderemos a cada una de ellas.

Contar palabras

En este caso, la maestra puede pedirles que cuenten el número de palabras que llevan ya propuestas o el número de palabras que les faltan por proponer. En el curso de 4 años esta pequeña tarea solo se realizó en una ocasión, pero fue la profesora quien la llevó a cabo sin la colaboración de los niños, por lo que no se tuvo en cuenta para la elaboración de este trabajo; por otra parte, en el curso de 5 años sí fue realizada en varias ocasiones, concretamente en 10. A continuación analizaremos algunos de los fragmentos obtenidos.

Fragmento 1:5 años

328 M.:	cantas levamos? \rightarrow
<2>	
329 M.:	unha↓
330	[dúas] →
331 Ns.:	[dúas] →
332 M.:	<i>tres</i> ↑
333	[catro]↓
334 Ns.:	[catro]↓
335 M.:	cantas temos <i>que</i> ter? ↑
336 Ns.:	ci::[:nco:]
337 M.:	[cinco] cantas nos faltan? ↑
338 xxx:	u:n[ha] →
339 M.:	[un]ha↓

Como podemos observar en este primer caso, la maestra interrumpe la tarea de proponer palabras para preguntar a los niños (l. 328) cuántas palabras llevan ya propuestas; después de una breve pausa, es ella misma quien empieza a contarlas y (l. 329-330) poco después el conjunto de la clase (Ns.) se suma a esta cuenta (l. 331, 334). A continuación, la profesora les pregunta cuál es el total de palabras que hay que sumar (l. 335), a lo que los niños responden al unísono (l. 336); seguidamente, la maestra les pregunta cuántas palabras faltan (l. 337) justo después de confirmar, al inicio de esa intervención, que la respuesta anterior de los niños fue la correcta. Acto seguido, una niña responde (l. 338) y la profesora confirma (l. 339), repitiendo su respuesta, que la resta matemática realizada es la correcta, acompañando esta intervención de una tonalidad final descendente.

Fragmento 2: 5 años44 M.:cantas levamos? \rightarrow <1>45 xx:t[res]45 N?:t[res]46 N?:[tre]s47 M.: $\{[ac] \text{ cantas temos que poñer?}\} \rightarrow$

48 xx:	cuatro
49 N?:	{[p] cuatro}
50 M.:	cantas <i>nos falta:n</i> ? \rightarrow
51 Ns.:	u[na:]
52	[u:n]a

En este otro caso, la maestra realiza la misma petición que en el fragmento anterior (fragmento 1), pero la principal diferencia es que no les ayuda a hacer las cuentas del número de palabras que faltan por proponer. La profesora inicia esta intervención con la misma pregunta (l. 44), en lengua gallega, que en el fragmento anterior, y a continuación, después de una breve pausa un niño responde a la profesora (l. 45); seguidamente, otro niño repite de forma ecoica la misma respuesta (l. 46) y la maestra les pregunta cuántas palabras tienen que proponer en total (l. 47), en una intervención con un ritmo acelerado y una tonalidad final sostenida, claro indicio de que la actividad continúa (Briz, 2001). Y continúa el niño anterior respondiendo (l. 48) a esta nueva pregunta y recibiendo, por parte de otro compañero, una repetición ecoica de su respuesta (l. 49). Es en este momento en el que la maestra pregunta cuántas palabras quedan por proponer (l. 50), nuevamente con una tonalidad final sostenida, y el conjunto de la clase responde (l. 51-52) a lo largo de dos turnos de palabra que les queda una sola palabra. Podemos observar en este fragmento que los niños emplean mayormente la lengua castellana para responder, a pesar de que la maestra les hace las preguntas fundamentalmente empleando el código gallego.

Otra de las situaciones que se da es que la actividad de proponer palabras la realicen, no sobre la letra inicial del nombre con el que trabajan ese día, sino con cada una de las letras que conforman el nombre, por lo que la subactividad de contar el número de palabras que llevan propuestas y el número de las que faltan, se realiza sobre cada una de esas letras. Por ejemplo, si están trabajando con el nombre de "María" y proponen palabras con cada una de esas letras, la profesora, a medida que avanza la actividad, irá preguntándoles cuántas palabras llevan propuestas y cuántas faltan por proponer con cada una de esas cinco letras (<M>, <a>, <r>, <i>, <i>, <a>). A continuación mostramos un caso de esta situación (fragmento 3):

Fragmento 3: 5 años

i iaginemeo 5.	
65 M.:	cantas <i>palabras</i> puxem- mirade →
66	vamos poñe:r
67	no ele ↑
68	as mesmas palabras que pu- o mesmo número de palabras que
	puxemos no $a \downarrow$
69	cantas <i>palabras</i> teño <i>que</i> poñer no <i>ele</i> ?↓
70 N?:	tre:s
71 Ns.:	tres
72	tres
73 M.:	tres
74	cantas levo? \rightarrow
75 Ns.:	do:s

76 dos 77 M.: cantas me quedan por poñer cantas [me faltan]? \rightarrow 78 N?: [u:na] 79 Ns.: [una:] 87 M.: *vale* temos .. \rightarrow <1,5> 88 M.: con a \downarrow <1> [Hai dous nenos que murmuran de fondo, pero non se entende o suficiente como para transcribilo] 89 M.: atendede *eh:* ↑ 90 que imos ir por turnos so- ahora \ 91 *con a* temos ... \downarrow 92 avión.. avispa.. alexia ↓ <1> [A mestra fai reconto agora das palabras que puxeron coa letra <1>] 93 M.: laura .. \rightarrow 94 luken **y** *león* ↓ 178 M.: e: imos poñer .. \rightarrow 179 *con a* .. ↑ o **mismo** número de palabras que temos con eme 1 180 {[p] es que::} 181 xxx: cantas temos que poñer con a? \rightarrow 182 M.: 183 xx: cuatro 184 M.: {[p] cuatro} 185 bien 186 cantas *por*- cantas *nos faltan*? \rightarrow <1> 187 *por* poñer? \rightarrow 188 N?: $\{[p][p] u:na\}$ cuántas nos faltan por poñer? → 189 M.: [Algúns nenos murmuran de fondo] 190 N?: {[p] **una**} 191 xx: {[dc] cua:::tro} 192 M.: cuántas nos faltan por poñer?↓ 193 xx: nin[guna] 194 xx: [cua]tro 195 M.: catro .. cantas temos **puestas**? \rightarrow 196 xx: $\{[p] ningu::::na\}$ 197 M.: cero .. entón temos- temos puestas cero cantas nos faltan

	<i>por</i> poñer? ↑
<1>	
198 xx:	{[p] ca:tro}
199 M.:	$\{[p] catro\}$
227 M.:	e::: cantas temos puestas ?↓
228 N?:	cuA[::tro]
229 Ns.:	[cua]tro::
<1>	
230 M.:	cantas si- cantas tiñamos <i>que</i> poñer?↓
231 Ns.:	cua:tro::
232 M.:	cantas <i>nos faltan</i> ? \rightarrow
233 xxx:	{[p] <i>ce::ro</i> }
234 M.:	cero moi ben
235	temos o mesmo <i>número de:: palabras con eme</i> \rightarrow
236	que con a? \rightarrow
237 xx:	cero patatero
238 Ns.:	{[p] <i>si:</i> [:::]}
239 M.:	[te]mos o mesmo número de palabras con eme que
	$con \ a? \rightarrow$
240 Ns.:	si:::
241 M.:	cantas <i>palabras</i> temos <i>con eme</i> ? \rightarrow
242 N?:	cuAtro
243 Ns.:	{[p] cuatro}
244 M.:	$\mathbf{y} \ con \ a? \rightarrow$
245 xx:	cua[tro]
246 Ns.:	[cua]tro
247 M.:	bien
248	temos o mesmo <i>número con eme que con a</i> \downarrow
249	$vale? \rightarrow$
250	bien

En este fragmento, en el que trabajan con cada una de las letras que forma el nombre del niño encargado del día, podemos observar cómo la profesora comienza esta nueva actividad explicándoles a los niños (l. 66-68) que van a poner el mismo número de palabras con esta nueva letra que con la anterior, seguidamente comienza su nueva intervención con una pregunta (l. 69) muy directa y con una entonación final descendente, que da paso a que los niños respondan, quienes lo hacen a continuación a lo largo de varias intervenciones (l. 70-72). La profesora les confirma que su respuesta es correcta repitiéndola (l. 73) para, a continuación, lanzar la siguiente pregunta (l. 74), a la que los niños, en dos intervenciones, responden (l. 75-76); la maestra continúa con la última de las preguntas (l. 77), cuántas deben proponer todavía, y un niño se adelanta ya a responder (l. 78), seguido del resto de compañeros (l. 79). Este primer grupo de

intervenciones nos anuncia la tónica que seguirá la profesora con el resto de cada una de las letras con las que trabajan en este fragmento.

En la siguiente secuencia (l. 87-94) la profesora realiza un recuento general de las palabras propuestas hasta el momento con dos de las letras con las que ya trabajaron ($\langle a \rangle y \langle l \rangle$), que asciende a tres de cada una de ellas (l. 92 para la letra $\langle a \rangle$; l. 93-94 para la letra $\langle l \rangle$) y pasa a nombrarlas para que los niños sean conscientes de las mismas y, sobre todo, del número de ellas que hay. Finaliza la profesora este conjunto de intervenciones con una tonalidad final descendente, que indica que este pequeño recuento queda concluido.

A continuación, en la siguiente secuencia (l. 178-199) observamos que hubo un salto, pues hay una letra con la que ya trabajaron que, por problemas de audio, no pudo ser transcrita; la profesora les indica a los niños (l. 178-180) que con esta nueva letra van a proponer el mismo número de palabras que con la anterior, preguntándoles con cuántas tienen que contribuir (l. 182). Los niños rápidamente responden (l. 183) y la maestra confirma esta respuesta (l. 184) para a continuación preguntar en varias ocasiones cuántas palabras les faltan por proponer con esta nueva letra (l. 186-187, 189, 192); a esta pregunta, los niños van respondiendo erróneamente (l. 188, 190-191, 193-194), hasta que uno de ellos acierta (l. 194) y la profesora confirma este acierto repitiendo el número de palabras que les faltan (l. 195), aprovechando la misma intervención para preguntarles cuántas tienen propuestas ya. El proceso de pares pregunta-respuesta se vuelve a iniciar entre todos los participantes hasta que en la última intervención (l. 199), la maestra confirma finalmente cuántas faltan: cuatro.

En la última secuencia de intervenciones de este largo fragmento (l. 227-250), el mecanismo se vuelve a repetir, pues la profesora pregunta cuántas palabras hay propuestas (l. 227), cuántas había que proponer (l. 230) y cuántas faltan (l. 232), a lo que los niños van respondiendo (l. 228-229, 231, 233, respectivamente), hasta que la maestra confirma que sus respuestas son correctas y (l. 234), para asegurarse de que todos entienden las cuentas que acaban de realizar utiliza una de sus intervenciones para hacer una pregunta final de confirmación (l. 239) que se completa con la intervención del fragmento (l. 241). A esta nueva petición de respuesta por parte de la profesora, los niños responden correctamente, en ambas ocasiones (l. 240 y 242, respectivamente). Finalmente, la maestra emplea sus últimas intervenciones (l. 247-250) para confirmarles a los niños que su respuesta fue la correcta, acompañándola de varias fórmulas de confirmación de la información, como son la partícula afirmativa *vale* (l. 249) y el adverbio de modo *bien* (l. 247, 250).

Como podemos observar, el método empleado por la profesora consiste fundamentalmente en ir preguntando a cada paso si el número de palabras propuestas, que ella escribe en el encerado, corresponde con el especificado, bien al comienzo de la actividad, bien en algún punto intermedio dentro de la misma. Para los niños es una actividad rutinaria, que repiten a menudo y a la que ya están acostumbrados, pero es una estrategia para que vayan aprendiendo, sin darse apenas cuenta, cómo funciona el sistema de sumas y restas con 'realidades' que conocen, como son en este caso las palabras que ellos mismo proponen. En otros momentos de la jornada escolar trabajan los números de maneras diferentes, pero es en esta actividad cuando lo hacen todos juntos frente a sus propios compañeros.

En los fragmentos anteriores, podemos observar un esquema de acción reiterada (Rojo Nieto, 1992), en cuanto a que la profesora inicia un piso colaborativo a través del intercambio bimembre más prototípico de la conversación: el par adyacente de pregunta-respuesta (P-I; Sacks y Schegloff, 1973). De esta forma, la maestra abre y continúa diversos pisos colaborativos con los niños con una clara finalidad: la respuesta a la primera pregunta que realiza siempre, al inicio de cada secuencia. De este modo, va co-construyendo con ellos todo el proceso cognitivo de llegar al resultado final esperado.

Respecto a estas preguntas, podemos observar un patrón: existe una pregunta inicial básica, tipo cuántas palabras llevamos (fragmento 1, l. 328; fragmento 2, l. 44; fragmento 3, l. 65), a las que le siguen, después de las intervenciones de los niños, una serie de preguntas "secundarias" que se apoyan y relacionan contextualmente en la primera de ellas, hasta que queda clara la respuesta para poder continuar con el ejercicio.

Conclusiones

El aprendizaje de ciertos aspectos del currículum escolar puede suponer un gran esfuerzo para algunos niños, como pueden ser las operaciones matemáticas, y más si nos referimos a alumnos tan pequeños como los analizados en este trabajo, puesto que tienen 5 años; por ello actividades como la aquí presentada son tan importantes, para que los niños aprendan, poco a poco, a ir sumando y restando, a ser conscientes de la cantidad de "objetos" o "realidades" que deben contar. En este caso concreto, ese "objeto" son las palabras que previamente ellos mismos propusieron y que la profesora escribió en el encerado para hacerlas visibles de forma constante durante toda la actividad.

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Socialización Bilingüe en Galicia

Collaborative Learning Strategies to Design Academic Science Curriculum for Elementary ELLs

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Collaborative learning effectively generates Science curriculum for ELLs (English Language Learners) delayed or interrupted in L1 (first language) or L2 (second language) literacy fundamentals. Administration requires collaborative learning but lacks adequate curriculum to advance ELLs. This case study uses ELA (English Language Arts) and Science curriculum to develop collaborative ELL lessons, to maximize learning time and to instill best teaching practices. The study focused on one question: how can collaborative groups challenge science curriculum in reading and writing workshops for kindergarten ELLs? This question analyzes observations and reflections; while, investigating the adapted and differentiated curriculum for ELLs.

Keywords: ELL, collaborative learning, ELA, science, elementary, kindergarten

Context

The current research was adapted from "Plants as producers: A case study of elementary science teaching," a case study by Smith and Anderson, from the Institute for Research on Teaching, College of Education at Michigan State University (1984). Their case study focused on the teacher's use of curriculum materials in planning and implementing fifth-grade science content. The work was to focus on one of nine teachers being observed using an activity-based unit on plant growth and photosynthesis. There were four aspects to the inquiry of the teaching-learning observations: the curriculum materials, the teacher's planning, actual classroom interaction, and students' conceptions of the topics covered (Smith & Anderson, 1984). Even though this case study was written thirty-four years ago, it was chosen because the current researcher felt that its pattern of inquiry would gain insight to the research question at hand: how can collaborative groups challenge science curriculum in reading and writing workshops for kindergarten ELLs?

A crucial addition to the Smith and Anderson case study was to demonstrate how the current work focused on the use of collaborative learning. This particular facet in teaching and learning was not a focus from the original work, but its addition will make a valid case for why and how ELLs can advance their reading and writing skills in science classes, while strengthening their literacy fundamentals in their L1 and L2.

In an attempt to maintain the validity and reliability of the evaluated research, it was important to follow the case study procedures in order to explain the links from the real-life interventions that were observed in a kindergarten ELL setting and to describe multiple strategies administered that would illustrate certain topics in a reallife context that occurred within the case study evaluation. The alterations to the Smith and Anderson case study are as follows: the current work focused on only one teacher's curriculum materials in planning and implementing kindergarten science, the teacher acted as the researcher and conducted their own observations using activitybased units on plants and their life cycle, weather patterns and season cycles. The four aspects to the inquiry of the teaching-learning observations were not disrupted: the curriculum materials, the teachers' planning, actual classroom interaction, and students' conceptions of the topics covered were integral parts of the case study that could not be overlooked or parts diverted from in the study. Finally, as point of reference throughout this paper, it should be noted that the teachers from the case studies will be referred to as "T1" from the initial case study and "T2" from the replicate study.

The Classroom

T2 taught in a Title I public school. The students from the study were observed in a push-in and pull-out learning environment where all but one of the students were from various parts of Latin American or born in the United States from Latin American descendants; one child was from Southern Asia. The observed students had started the school year with little to no English language acquisition skills and the researcher acted as the ELL specialist as well as interpreter for the Spanish-speaking kindergarteners. Due to sufficient English language skills, the student from Southern Asia did not need any interpreters during classroom instruction.

The classroom demographics for this case study identified at least 90% of the children to be classified as students with interrupted formal education (SIFEs). Researchers from John Hopkins University suggest that SIFEs have experienced one of the following patterns: (1) they are newcomers with two or more years of education interrupted in their native country, (2) they have attended U.S. schools since pre-kindergarten but have language and literacy gaps due to ineffective instruction, or (3) they have attended school in one location for a few months, then move to another location for a few months, and perhaps there were some weeks between these changes when their attendance to school was absent (Colorín colorado, 2016). From these SIFEs patterns, the T2 observed that many of the ELLs lacked proficient literacy in their L1 and demonstrated academic gaps because they were not able to read or write in their native language, and they lacked an understanding of the basic fundamental literacy concepts, conceptual knowledge and critical thinking skills that some of their peers had been exposed to.

Overall, in an effort to use collaborative learning to search for answers to the research question, it is important to note that SIFEs have more to learn than English in their classroom settings. Therefore, it was T2's belief to use "two or more", a small group (3-5) students to teach and to plan science lessons that would create collaborative activities within an educational context. Hopefully, students are increasing their L2 fundamental literacy by using joint problem solving that will show

how learning can occur as a side-effect of the problem solving that is measured by the elicitation of new knowledge or by the improvement of the students' problem-solving performance (Dillenboug, 1999).

The Science Program

The kindergarten science curriculum at T2's school was nonexistent. The current state science standards or the Next Generation Science Standards (NGSS) were not being administered nor were they of concern/interest to the administration. This lack of curriculum indicates that ELLs receive an inadequate or lack of proper science education, especially in the elementary grades. The recent demographic trends show astonishing rises in the proportion of ELLs and the enrollment of ELLs at the national level "has increased nearly seven times the rate of total student enrollment"; therefore, there is a great need for ELL instructors to design instruction that integrates content and language in the context of language immersion education and content-based instructions (Boove, Lee and Llosa, 2015). This statement alone demonstrates why this current research to develop collaborative learning activities using a content-based science program is crucial to advancing kindergarten fundamentals in reading and writing when it's completely absent from a school district's curriculum.

The observed kindergarten curriculum consisted of a state-issued ELA guidebook that focused on reading fluency and comprehension, but it lacked appropriate adaptations and differentiation of the materials to be used. The T2 noticed that the sections that would be taught throughout the year did focus on science concepts, such as the changing seasons, the plant cycle and various weather patterns. This led T2 to initiate an investigation to see what current research trends on elementary science curriculum could aid in collaborative learning styles that would advance academic language learning, and how the school guidebook would be implemented and adjusted to meet the science state standards and the NGSS; while, accommodating the ELLs diverse needs of meaningful learning.

From this investigation on elementary science curriculum, it was decided to use an online learning program called *Learning A-Z* and focus on two of its learning components *Science A-Z* and *Reading A-Z*. The use of this research-based curriculum was a suitable guide of content-based science instruction because it met the state-standards and NGSS while aiding in SIFEs receiving the fundamental literacy aspects that were desperately needed. The *Learning A-Z* curriculum allowed for the T2 to implement collaborative learning techniques, such as Collaborative Strategic Reading (CSR), Think-Pair-Share, Flashcard Game, Numbered Heads Together, and Pairs Compare (Kagan & Kagan, 2009; Klingner & Vaughn, 1998). From the use of this highly engaging curriculum paired with collaborative learning strategies, the T2 can identify with greater success how to create reading and writing workshops for kindergarten ELL science lessons that will help to retain language acquisition fundamentals when using adapted grade-level science curriculum.

Methods

In accordance with the Smith and Anderson case study, the current research followed the researchers' methods, and adaptations were made due to the grade-level curriculum of the students being observed. The following paragraphs will show a comparison of how the original study helped to influence the methods to be used for the ongoing work, and it will also demonstrate how it allowed for various routines to be adjusted to meet the students' learning demands. There will be three aspects discussed for the teaching-learning situation: the curriculum materials, teacher planning, and actual classroom instruction (Smith and Anderson, 1984).

To begin with, the teaching materials that were used for the Smith and Anderson case study were from the publisher Rand McNally's science series entitled *Communities*. T1 conducted 15 lessons from the target unit over a 5-week period, and eight lessons were observed by researchers. The research was obtained by using classroom observations, audio recordings and informal interviews with the teacher. In comparison, the T2 study analyzed three units from the state-administered guidebook that was adapted using reading and science research-based curriculum from an online publishing source entitled *Learning A-Z*; which then focused on the programs two learning components: *Reading A-Z* and *Science A-Z*. The adapted ELA and science lessons took place over a six-month period with the T2 being the sole researcher during the study, which consisted of adapted lesson plans, on-site observations that included daily running notes, and self-reflections made by the T2 on student and lesson outcomes.

Smith and Anderson (1984) observed T1's initial planning and one daily planning session for Chapter 5 through onsite analysis and video recording. These running notes and video recordings were later reviewed with the researchers and the T1's to recall their planning process; which was then used to aid in the T1's future planning to obtain a better understanding of how the background information of the science unit would further enhance their planning process, goals and judgements about student learning and the unit features.

The current study contrasted the Smith and Anderson research. The second study did not have researchers observing the T2, but the current kindergarten ELA guidebook lessons were scrutinized meticulously by the teacher to inquire into its adaptability for their ELLs. T2 did not have the ability to audio or video record their planning sessions, but they would discuss current research and lesson ideas with the ELL department head for constructive feedback on lesson planning, ideas and goals for learning.

The next portion of the Smith and Anderson case study to be compared is how the actual classroom instruction was implemented. As it has been stated, the initial study consisted of fifth grade students, and the modeling study analyzed the work of kindergarteners. Even though the developmental learning stages are quite vast, the methods between the two teachers are similar in varying aspects: activities developed to promote specific learning outcomes, question and answer sections that were reported by the teacher-directed and student-directed discussions, pre- and post- tests administered, and implementing critical thinking skills to help students in the discovery or inquiry-oriented philosophies of an academic science program (Smith & Anderson, 1984).

The following table displays a comparison of the T1 and the T2 summary on the events that occurred from the use of methods described earlier. The table reveals similarities and differences that occurred by using collaborative learning strategies among elementary students, and in a effort to support the necessary fundamental literacy skills required when working with a student population of ELLs and SIFEs.

rable i Summary of Existing				
Collaborative Learning Strategy	T1	T2		
Think-Pair-Share	T1 to students, but it was not discussed.	Essential question presented by T2 to students, and a KWL chart was used to elicit a student-directed discussion in L1 or L2.		
Numbered Heads Together	science concept and discussed	Class presented with a new science concept and discussed possible outcomes in pairs and reported answers through rich student-led discussions in L1 or L2.		

Table 1 Summary of Lessons

(Smith and Anderson, 1984, p. 696)

Conclusion

Although T1 and T2's studies met differing obstacles with coursework and student outcomes, the teachers were able to observe and reflect upon that more collaborative opportunities for learning were essential, especially, the incorporation of media and manipulatives that encouraged further engagement of inquiry into the scientific processes of learning. At times, the instructors struggled with their students grasping the "big idea" of the science lesson, and although there was an increased awareness of the problem it did not always lead to an improved understanding that could offer a suggested solution (Smith and Anderson, 1984, p. 695).

Implications

The results from these two case studies developed an awareness to a variety of significant positive and negative outcomes that arise in teaching elementary science. These outcomes indicate that highly trained teachers are able to implement lessons with a keen awareness to pedagogy that incorporates a well-managed classroom and provides accurate insight on the content objectives for students to achieve their expected learning goals, but when teachers are met with limited success from pre-and post-test data a major concern arises in the quality of professional development that was offered in training and the support that is provided to the elementary school teachers (Smith and Anderson, 1984, p. 695).

Smith and Anderson stated from their own implications that teachers need to be provided with implicit instructional strategies which can be supported by offering continuing education that requires two levels of knowledge to be attained: (1) the detailed knowledge of the specific unit and (2) knowledge of the conceptions of teaching and learning strategies employed in the units (Smith and Anderson, 1984, p. 695). Therefore, current school-district-stakeholders and administrators will continue to observe frustration with elementary science teachers if they do not have or develop the conceptions needed for teaching and learning that reflect the implications of the desired science objectives to be met academically by the students on a continuous basis.

A second implication that arose from the T2 case study was an awareness of the lack of home language support or exposure to the fundamental language learning skills required in a L1 or L2 academic environment. Throughout the course of the ELA lessons combined with science content it was ascertained that elementary ELLs who are delayed or interrupted in their L1 fundamental language skills will produce a slower rate of language advancement, due to the need to build background and increase their fundamental academic lexicons. This discovery led the researcher to demand for necessary parental involvement initiatives to be taken by the schools and their districts, so language learning grows from the ground up. These familial initiatives are an effort to instill fundamental literacy aspects that will improve school and parental relationships to foster a stronger learning community that will offer a richer education in a L1 or L2 home and allow the community to prosper as citizens involved in making their community enriched with a deeper understanding of how language learning pairs with community involvement.

In conclusion, the initial research question: how collaborative groups can challenge science curriculum in reading and writing workshops for kindergarten ELLs, found success through analyzing the work of T1 and T2 that was presented from the two case studies. The most important answer gained from the research question is that collaborative learning is imperative for all science teachers to incorporate in their teaching and lesson planning. As a teacher strategically implements, a Think-Pair-Share with a graphic organizer, the students are immediately engaged in a reading and writing workshop that is based on science content that the teacher is introducing at that time. This type of small group learning allows for a diversity of students to work together in a team setting that will equate to peers learning to depend on each other in positive ways for a variety of learning activities (Colorín colorado, 2015).

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Los Debates Formales como Instrumentos de Enseñanza de Lenguas Extranjeras y de Acercamiento a Otras Culturas y Modos de Pensar

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Dentro del desarrollo de las destrezas en el aprendizaje de lenguas extranjeras, la comunicación oral requiere la integración del lenguaje significativo en contextos variados y reales. Las actividades encaminadas a la preparación de debates proporcionan a los alumnos las herramientas necesarias para la integración de objetivos relacionados con contenido, vocabulario y estrategias argumentativas. Al mismo tiempo, ser capaces de defender, tanto una posición como su contraria, contribuye al desarrollo del análisis y actitud crítica de los estudiantes, ayudándoles a la comprensión de posicionamientos diferentes y a alcanzar estados de empatía con realidades distintas y lejanas a las suyas, en cualquier entorno geográfico o cultural.

Palabras clave: Debate, argumentación, cultura, lenguaje significativo, pensamiento crítico.

Within the development of foreign language learning skills, oral communication requires the integration of meaningful language in different and real contexts. The activities aimed at the preparation of debates provide students with the necessary tools for the integration of objectives related to language content, vocabulary and discussion strategies. At the same time, being able to defend both a position and its opposite contributes to the development of students' abilities for analysis and critical thinking, helping them understand different points of view and be empathetic with different and far realities to theirs, in any geographical or cultural environment.

Keywords: Debate, discussion, cultural, meaningful language, critical thinking

Introducción

No son muchas las publicaciones que tratan sobre el uso de debates en la enseñanza de la lengua inglesa ni acerca de los beneficios que esta metodología aporta al aprendizaje de las lenguas extranjeras. En este sentido, es relevante la ponencia "Debating to learn across the curriculum: Implementation and assessment" de Cronin (1990) en la Southern States Comunication Asociation Convention. En ella, Cronin expone las ventajas del uso del debate como medio para la potenciación del pensamiento crítico y como una herramienta transversal para el aprendizaje. De sus aportaciones se puede deducir que el uso del debate como parte de las estrategias docentes aumenta la capacidad de comunicación oral y de pensamiento crítico entre los estudiantes.

Haciéndose eco de los avances transoceánicos, el Consejo de Europa instaura un marco de referencia común europeo para el aprendizaje de Lenguas (2002), donde explica cómo el debate tiene que ser uno de los medios para conseguir que los alumnos de lengua expresen oralmente sus posturas. Tales recomendaciones han sido atendidas por la Administración española desde el Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deportes y recogidas en la triada de leyes orgánicas promulgadas en estas dos primeras décadas del tercer milenio: la de Calidad de la Educación (LOCE, 2002), la de la Educación (LOE, 2006), y para la Mejora de la Calidad Educativa (LOMCE, 2013).

En su aplicación en el ámbito regional, el currículo de Educación Secundaria, regulado por la Orden EDU/362/2015 de la Junta de Castilla y León, establece que el debate debe ser utilizado para la adquisición de una de las competencias clave, la de Comunicación Lingüística. Esta competencia jalona todas las materias; de hecho, y como mínimo, aparece en los objetivos docentes de las asignaturas del área como son las lenguas extranjeras, y la propia materna.

Origen e Importancia de los Debates

Etimológicamente, debate proviene del sustantivo femenino latino *disceptatio*, con las acepciones de discusión, examen, juicio, decisión; a su vez, su raíz se halla en el verbo debatir, *discepto – dis capto*–, indicando juzgar, hacer de árbitro, discutir, o decidir. De aquí que la RAE (2001, pp. 729, 833-834) relacione genealógicamente estos vocablos con controversia, contienda, disputar sobre una cosa, disentir –no ajustarse al sentir o parecer de alguien–, disensión –oposición o contrariedad en los pareceres o en los propósitos–, pero resaltando no tanto el sentido epistemológico –discusión– cuanto el significado propio –debate– para resolver cuestiones, disipar dudas, examinar atenta y particularmente un tema o alegar razones contra el parecer de alguien; es decir, argumentar y/o refutar convincentemente.

Desde la atalaya didáctico-pedagógica, un debate es una pugna que se desarrolla por medio del intercambio de argumentos, de manera respetuosa y ordenada, entre dos partes, en la que interviene una tercera figura que es el moderador, quien debe ser persuadido por las manifestaciones de las partes. La diferencia clara con la discusión reside en la necesidad que se tiene en ésta de convencer al oponente, mientras en el debate es el moderador el que debe ser persuadido (Catani, 2003).

En un intento de revisión exhaustiva de la bibliografía, encontramos varios formatos de debate adaptados a la educación. En el modelo parlamentario británico, se cuenta con dos grupos opuestos, el gobierno y la oposición; dentro de cada grupo, los equipos se encuadran por parejas y el debate se estructura en dos partes, la apertura y la clausura (Harvey 2011). Otros modelos, como el parlamentario americano o el modelo de Popper, se usan también en esta disciplina y tienen un estructura común.

El uso pedagógico del debate no es una cuestión de la época en la que vivimos. Protágoras de Abdera, en el siglo V a. C., lo empleaba para ofrecer sus lecciones -la verdad es opinión personal, máxime por su utilidad- a los miembros de la alta sociedad helena (Smith, 1918). Gorgias consideraba la retórica arte de persuadir. Platón también hizo uso de la dialéctica en sus enseñanzas, pero la estimaba no adecuada para impartir artes a menores de 30 años. La sociedad romana igualmente daba mucho valor a la oratoria, utilizando el debate como arbitraje -"disceptante populi Romano (siendo árbitro el pueblo Romano)"- y la controversia como mecanismo decisorio, basada en juicios ficticios que facilitaban el aprendizaje del conocimiento social y político. En la zona que actualmente llamamos Italia, no se empieza a utilizar hasta mediados del siglo XIII; los Jesuitas lo incorporan a su didáctica a finales del XV bajo el modo de certamen previa prelección, excitando la emulación y la actividad en base a luchas escolares respecto a un tema- y Francisco Suárez se valió de la disputatio para sus Disputaciones metafísicas, si bien de carácter filosófico-teológicas (Bowen, 1976). En el sistema educativo americano surgen a últimos del diecinueve, pero toman fuerza en los años 80 de la pasada vigésima centuria (Garret, Schoener & Hood, 1996).

Pros y Contras de la Enseñanza de las Lenguas Mediante el Uso de Debates

Mezuk (2009) y Mezuk, Bondarenko, Smith y Tucker (2010) llegan a las mismas conclusiones que Collier (2004) y Peters (2009). Mezuk et al. (2010) afirman que los escolares que participaban frecuentemente en debates obtenían un aumento en el rendimiento académico.

Se ahonda en la gnoseología de la disciplina; primero Zohar & Nemet (2001), más tarde Musselman (2004) y Rao (2010), en sus experimentaciones, llegan a la conclusión que los alumnos con los que se usa el debate como estrategia didáctica alcanzan mejores calificaciones y, además, consiguen una mayor adquisición de conocimientos en las asignaturas en las que se utiliza. Aunque Proulx (2004) asevera que el debate agranda los rendimientos en las asignaturas de ciencias, tenemos que pensar que la enseñanza de un idioma está cargada de contenido histórico y literario, no solo gramatical, con lo que se puede asemejar a la enseñanza de las ciencias sociales. Así que podemos asegurar que el uso de debates aumenta el interés de nuestros alumnos, además de mejorar su capacidad de comunicación lingüística (Cronin, 1990). Esta idea se ve refrendada por Asmari (2013) cuando atestigua que se progresa en las cuatro destrezas del idioma, y por Aziz (2015), al afirmar que en las etapas previas al debate es necesaria una investigación en el tema. En el proceso de recopilación de información, el vocabulario se aumenta y perfecciona, mientras que en el propio debate se avanza la fluidez y las capacidades de expresión y comprensión oral.

El debate transmite valores positivos al tener que tomar las decisiones en un proceso democrático (Andrews, 1994), mejora el pensamiento y análisis críticos (Proulx, 2004), fomenta la capacidad creativa de los estudiantes (Goodwin, 2003), y

conciencia sobre los peligros del fanatismo o la imposición ideológica (Fine, 2000). Asimismo, permite mantener una conversación equilibrada y expresiva, motiva y emociona, enseña a escuchar, a respetarse creando un clima de libertad y tolerancia, a reflexionar y a aceptar la opinión del otro o rechazarla razonadamente. Además, regenera las relaciones sociales entre los estudiantes, porque entran en contacto con gente desconocida, socializa aumentando su círculo de amistades y la tolerancia a la diversidad (Inoue & Nakano, 2004). Obviamente, constituye una técnica muy apropiada para la dinámica de grupos, ya que permite observar en detalle cómo piensan, argumentan o refutan, y como reaccionan su audacia y/o timidez.

El debate también motiva al alumnado en el aprendizaje del inglés, ya que ven la necesidad de comunicarse en un entorno real fuera del aula (Aziz, 2015), fomentando la intercomunicación, comunicación directa y fácil, que sirve para completar, aclarar y reforzar conceptos.

La metodología del debate también tiene argumentos en contra. Necesita mucho tiempo, y parte del trabajo se realiza en horario extraescolar (Inoue & Nakano, 2004). Del estudio de Goodwin (2003) se colige que los espectadores de la discusión desarrollan un papel pasivo y no aportan nada a su aprendizaje. Tampoco es deseable quedarse en el mero formalismo, las palabras hueras; tener una clara conciencia del valor instrumental de las palabras es la mejor garantía de evitar el verbalismo y las estériles disputas sobre tópicos del programa, dudas, asuntos de actualidad o temas y cuestiones sin un contenido real.

Programa "Liga Debate" de la Junta de Castilla y León

En sintonía con lo establecido en la Orden EDU/362/2015, la Dirección General de Innovación y Equidad Educativa de la Consejería de Educación de la Comunidad de Castilla y León publica una Resolución (2016) para establecer con carácter experimental el Programa Liga Debate para la mejora de las destrezas de expresión oral. Este programa se dirige a los centros docentes sostenidos con fondos públicos de ESO –y Bachillerato– durante el curso 2016/17 y también en el actual 2017/18. La justificación para la creación de este programa es que se considera que la práctica de los debates o, lo que es lo mismo, la persuasión de una audiencia a través de la oratoria perfecciona la destreza de expresión oral de los alumnos.

Para llevar a cabo esta iniciativa, se cuenta con el apoyo de los docentes, bajo el liderazgo del equipo directivo del centro. El germen de la misma yace en un convenio de colaboración suscrito entre las Cortes, la Fundación Villalar y la Administración, con el fin de promover la conciencia democrática y los valores del parlamentarismo entre el alumnado. Las actividades de información y formación en el ámbito de la expresión oral en público en su vertiente de oratoria tendrán:

"...el fin de dotar gradualmente al alumnado de estrategias como la búsqueda de información, el análisis, el trabajo en equipo y las destrezas y reglas necesarias para debatir o impartir un discurso" (p. 44737)

Los temas en los que se centran las actividades a desarrollar son de actualidad y de interés para los alumnos, de forma que fomentan la conciencia democrática, los valores del parlamentarismo y los que impregnan el sistema educativo español.

El programa se realiza en tres fases: una fase de centro, en la que el profesor responsable y los colaboradores reciben formación sobre el tema y realizan sesiones formativas para el alumnado. Al final de esta fase se elabora una lista de alumnos que formarán parte del equipo titular, cuatro, más otros tantos para el equipo suplente. La siguiente fase es la provincial, en la que se clasifican dieciocho equipos para la fase regional, de los que saldrán los cuatro equipos para la fase final. Dicha fase se celebra en un acto público en las Cortes de Castilla y León y es retransmitido por televisión.

Implantación en el Aula de Inglés

Contextualización: La implantación se ha efectuado en un colegio privado del centro de Burgos (López, Celada & González, 2016) con los 20 integrantes de 4° curso de ESO, debido al alto nivel de inglés que adquieren los alumnos que llegan a esta cota académica y por la propia madurez de los alumnos, que les proporciona una capacidad de pensamiento crítico elevado. Es un grupo homogéneo en cuanto a estatus social y sexo de los integrantes.

Objetivos: Se pretende que los alumnos comprendan la utilidad de los debates en una sociedad democrática de derecho, que manifiesten su opinión respecto a un tema de manera argumentada y que comprendan y se expresen de manera oral y escrita dando la opinión de un tercero respecto a un tema. Además, los objetivos del aprendizaje del inglés que se persiguen son los siguientes: 1) Aprender vocabulario y expresiones útiles para comunicar nuestra posición respecto a un tema. 2) Desarrollar las capacidades oratorias en inglés. 3) Repasar el uso del estilo indirecto. 4) Escuchar un discurso en inglés e identificar sus características. 5) Practicar el uso de adverbios en una conversación. 6) Repaso generalizado de gran cantidad de los contenidos previos incluyendo el uso del presente, pasado, futuro y condicional. 7) Repasar el uso de los *phrasal verbs*.

Metodología: Se usa un estilo de enseñanza deliberativo (Claxton, 2008), creando una atmósfera agradable que conduzca a un aprendizaje significativo, incentivando el pensamiento crítico, el trabajo en equipo, y preparando al alumno para situaciones de la vida real. El modelo de debate elegido es el Parlamentario Británico, potenciando así la participación de todos los alumnos de una manera fluida y evitando en todo momento el desánimo por la espera al turno de los espectadores.

Desarrollo: Se desarrolla en 7 sesiones, donde los alumnos de manera secuencial deben recopilar información, formular por escrito su argumentación, compartir sus argumentos con los miembros de su equipo, llegar al consenso de las evidencias y posturas a defender y, por último, el debate propiamente dicho. En este argumentarán

su postura en 7 minutos, escucharán al equipo contrario y, finalmente, en un período de 4 minutos tendrán que prepararse la réplica de 3 minutos de duración a los argumentos del equipo contrincante.

Resultados y Conclusiones

Aunque al principio los alumnos encontraban muy difícil expresarse oralmente con fluidez en la defensa de sus posturas, el periodo de investigación y preparación les proporcionó las armas y la confianza que necesitaban para conseguir formular argumentos claros y potentes. Salir vencedores era la motivación que necesitaban para perder el miedo a usar la lengua extranjera, consiguiendo olvidar que lo hacían, gracias al entusiasmo por conseguir convencer al observador. Por otra parte, es preciso valorar adecuadamente la conexión emociones y sentimiento. Como sostiene el profesor Escolano, "la scuola non può ignorare la dimensione emozionale della formazione umana" (2017, p. 3), enfatizando que, en el proceso *formativo* escolar de construcción de la subjetividad y la cultura, el mundo de las emociones tiene un papel relevante. Estos logros nos han hecho recordar, en sentido metafórico, la tenacidad de aquel aprendiz de maestro oscense, de Albalate de Cinca, Félix Carrasquer, quien, a pesar de acudir a la escuela apenas unos días y no haber estudiado Magisterio, observando, hablando, mirando, conversando, gritando, discutiendo, asintiendo, etc., intitulaba sus memorias *Lo que aprendí de los otros* (2017).

Comparando los resultados con años anteriores, los alumnos obtienen mejores calificaciones y, además, consiguen una mayor adquisición de conocimientos en la asignatura de inglés, coincidiendo con Rao (2010). De las pruebas previas extraemos como corolarios que los alumnos desarrollan un pensamiento critico más avanzado que al principio de la actividad.

Encontramos un inconveniente y coincidimos con Inoue y Nakano (2004) en que los alumnos necesitan más tiempo del que se dispone en las siete sesiones. Para futuras experiencias, aumentaremos la temporalización, porque hemos constatado los beneficios del debate en la enseñanza del inglés y para que nuestros estudiantes no se vean agobiados por la carga de trabajo acumulando todas las tareas en dos semanas. Evidentemente, algo hemos perdido en el camino, y seguramente habremos ganado mucho más de lo que imaginamos. En cualquier caso, somos conscientes que el modelo pedagógico tradicional alberga muchas dificultades para responder con acierto a los retos actuales; entre otras, no promueve un verdadero desarrollo integral, una educación en mayúsculas. Habría que recordar aquel juego de palabras del político y científico estadounidense Benjamín Franklin: "Dime y lo olvido, enséñame y lo recuerdo, involúcrame y la aprendo".

A lo largo de nuestra experiencia laboral en el mundo educativo, hemos podido vivir las nefastas consecuencias de una visión reducida, acrítica y estancada en las fórmulas arcaicas de la enseñanza. Por tanto, desde un formato divulgativo y con el objetivo de generar un debate social sobre la renovación didáctica, escenificamos situaciones vividas en primera persona que, según Pericacho y Corrales (2018), a modo de viñetas han ido recogiendo secuencias de representación, investigación y reflexión. A través de una fina pero secuaz ironía, esta metodología discursiva de disquisiciones y contrapuntos que comporta el enfrentamiento verbal pretende ser un sincero homenaje y constituye la reivindicación entusiasta, cómplice y crítica de uno de los trabajos más difíciles y apasionantes que alguien puede ejercer: debatir en educación, cuestionar el conformismo pedagógico, plantear nuevas alternativas discentes. Una labor que debe ser analizada de forma lenta, dialógica, compartida, crítica, creativa, reflexiva, organizada, con ilusión, y mantenida en el tiempo. La relación educativa es mucho más que una relación académica; es una relación profunda y sincera entre personas con capacidad de transformar su biografía y el mundo.

Lledó (2018), orfebre de la belleza de las palabras y de las cosas –*El silencio de la escritura* (1991) o *El surco del tiempo* (1992)–, maestro de la escucha y el decir, socrático conversador con policromía de voces –*Palabras entrevistas* (1997) o *Dar razón* (2007)–, maestro también de la palabra y de sus juegos semánticos –*Ser quien eres. Ensayos para una educación democrática* (2009) o *Los libros y la libertad* (2013)–, presenta en su última obra un alegato en favor de una educación pública, moderna y emancipadora, de enfoque humanista y con un papel clave reservado a la Filosofía; publicación donde defiende una organización moderna e interdisciplinaria –no *asignaturesca*– de los conocimientos, y claramente opuesta a la práctica escolar examinadora que, atenta a los peligros de la obsesión tecnológica y la paulatina desaparición de las Humanidades, pone el acento en la necesidad de cultivar el lenguaje, esa actividad humana compleja que asegura básicamente las funciones de comunicación y representación mediante las cuales cabe la regulación de conductas propias y ajenas.

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WhatsApp and the Teaching of English: Exploring the Scope of Personal and Technological Frontiers in Teacher-Student Technological Environments

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Is it possible to use WhatsApp effectively within college language learning contexts? The present research starts from the question above in order to explore if such a powerful communicative tool can reach our students without trespassing some controversial frontiers. It is important to pay attention to "how close we can get" within their personal frontiers since instant messaging can be rather personal and intense these days due to the continuous presence of mobile phones in our everyday life. I consider my students' stated opinions and offer a few hints on the correct use of WhatsApp in formal teaching contexts.

Keywords: Infoxication, instant communication, frontiers, teacher-student relationship, ontology.

Introduction

The present paper was born out of a major cause for preoccupation: How can a sound relationship between students and teachers can be under assault these hyper-technological days? As a matter of fact, I tried to get even further by "carefully assaulting" my students' privacy in order to improve their level of English along with their interest about the topic. To do so, I wondered about a powerful medium that allowed me to reach my students properly; after much thought, it seemed clear to me that there is no other medium more powerful than WhatsApp nowadays: it is instant, it can offer a dose of emotional overload and it is phone-related, which implies a very personal relation for the user and some rich ontological connotations as far as the mobile phone is concerned (Ferraris, 2008).

This is due, of course, to the space mobile technology occupies in our lives, both in the personal and professional scopes. While we are developing a very close relationship with devices such as computers, mobile phones, and tablets, it seems that smartphones have become more and more the center of the technological world around us. We use them at home, at work, while shopping or having a coffee with friends, or even while idly having a walk in the field (providing there is coverage there, of course). They may not have become a part of our body yet, but we try not to get too far away from their presence. Just think about the panic we experience when we are unsure about their whereabouts. The social impact of this psychological malaise of our times is known as nomophobia, the panic attack we may experience when we are without our mobile phones. And what about the soothing feeling of relief when we locate them again after these bleak moments of despair and anguish; when we get to repossess our precious treasure that allows us to be forever connected to the outer world out there, to belong to our digital tribes again? All these issues are, in a way, related to a sense of "screenization" from our

physical world, a term by Esquirol (2015) to refer to the fact that we become isolated from the real world by the superposition of technological devices and their screens; something coming of age so quickly and subtly, we got so used to be surrounded by monitor screens that we now would feel rather odd if those screens were to be erased from our everyday life routines.

Technology is here to stay, as it has always been with the human race from its inception. While this innovation offers us new ways to grow we have to be careful because a powerful enough technology can unsettle other ontological values and ways to be in the world which are essential for our species and our planet. Morozov (2015) has already warn us about the dangers of a society becoming more and more optimistic about certain kinds of internet centrism. Needless to say we have to be careful, especially in Education. The message is important. How we transmit it is a question to be pondered as well. Therefore, it the margins of what is said are essential, as are the empty spaces surrounding the information items we need to share with our students or colleagues, in classes, papers or conferences. It is a complex time, so complex because never in the history of men was reaching and sharing information so fast and easy. Today's education world implies a sound and efficient handling of the technologies of information; new software appears in our teaching lives academic course after academic course in a non-stop motion; therefore, we should pause for a while every now and then in this ever-changing flow in order to focus on the important things in our profession: how can we make the best of the technological world around us to help our students to grow and learn and at the same time be human beings with satisfying lives? With all these ideas in mind, I will proceed to take a deeper look at some of the issues raised here.

Research Design

The constant evolution of instant messaging technologies is one of the strands Education will definitely have to explore in the near future. With this challenge in mind I will proceed to explain the steps I took to be able to get a better understanding of the medium and the frontiers involved in this typology of communication. The time has come for educators to show a high degree of pedagogical rationality (Cebrián, 2003) in relation to the use of technological devices within educative contexts, something I shall relate to the classical concept of *phronesis* in the following pages.

Background

To explore these issues, I carried out my research with a group of students registered in one of the courses I usually teach: "Aprendizaje temprano de la lengua extranjera - Inglés". The project will take three years for its total completion in order to see its evolution. The data presented here belongs to the first year: 2016-17. This course is an essential part of the syllabus of "Educación Infantil", offered in the Faculty of Education in Soria (Universidad de Valladolid, Spain).

Some background comments will be useful to understand the context: a) Soria is one of the smallest cities of Spain and this reality accounts for a not widely spread culture of speaking English (or other foreign languages for that matter); the city is in some ways isolated from other bigger centers of population as well; b) while globalization and the internet have changed the landscape in the last 20 years, it still bears some influence in the standardization of using English; c) "Educación Infantil" in Spain covers the teaching needs of children aged from 3 to 6 and so far is not extremely concerned with the teaching of English in general. This accounts for a dangerous idea that has been gaining ground in the minds of future teachers who are to work in this educational period: English is not as important for them as for their future colleagues and fellow students in the Faculty of Education (those enrolled in the Primary Education degree); d) participants were a medium-sized group of 36 students; the course is compulsory for all the students wishing to get the degree in "Educación Infantil". This is important because not many of them are intrinsically interested in the English language; extrinsically, they seemed not to be as pressured as their fellow students in Primary Education. All the students were informed that they were taking part in a research activity and the results gathered could be presented in academic journals and conventions.

The project

For the duration of the course (4 months in the academic course 2016-2017, from February to May), I would send at least a daily WhatsApp to my students. I did not create a group for the reception of the messages; I considered that this could be too "risky" since I would have to ask all my students for their personal phone number. However, I selected a person to be the central receptor who would send the messages to the rest of the class. Therefore, every single day I proceeded to send a minimum of one message and a maximum of 10. Those messages presented: a) general vocabulary; b) teaching vocabulary; c) grammar issues; d) news concerning technological environments; e) news concerning teaching and education and f) jokes. Most of the messages consisted of just pictures.

Instruments

The instruments for gathering the data consisted of a) group discussions with the students and b) a final short inquiry with both open and closed questions. Group discussions seemed quite useful "to create the right conditions" (Bohnsack, 2004, p. 219) to understand some important issues. This is a wonderful way as well to create a context in which I could get closer to the students, who usually open their hearts more freely in this kind of protective environment. The final inquiry was anonymous because I wanted them to feel free enough to provide their answers. These were the questions posed:

1. What is your opinion about the experience of receiving WhatsApps as part of the "Aprendizaje Temprano de la Lengua Extranjera - Inglés" course?

2. The use of WhatsApp has been (circle the correct option for you):

- a) Insufficient
- b) Adequate
- c) Excessive

3. How do you feel about the fact of receiving studying material in a private and personal medium such as your mobile phone?

4. Define the experience with a single word.

5. How could the experience be improved for future courses?

Discussion

Before we proceed, it would be helpful to bear this key-idea in mind: "Smartphones, for many of us, have indeed become an extension of ourselves something like a digital appendage. It is that level of interconnection that has made the smartphone such a potential game-changers in education" (Godwin-Jones, 2017, p. 4). This is an essential point indeed and we, as teachers, have to play our cards with care and wisdom. Therefore, these are the most important issues I came upon after analyzing the results of the group discussions and the inquiries:

a) Most of the students felt overwhelmed. It was not only that receiving messages on the weekend felt rather awkward for them but also those working days when I decided to storm their phones with up to 10 messages were too much to handle. This of course raises the question of "how much is enough" in education, and that is why I defend a *phronesic* view of education and most of the professions dealing with other human beings (Kinsella & Pitman, 2012). *Phronesis* should be understood as practical wisdom in the way Beuchot (2009) has discussed the term ever since Aristotle used it and later on was brought back to life in the twentieth century by the German Philosopher H. G. Gadamer in his master work *Truth and Method*.

b) Most of the students, despite being overwhelmed, felt that the experience was worthwhile. They felt that the teacher cared a lot about their education and formation as future English teachers. This fact helped them in many ways to accept the constant message bombardment every single day of the week. They thought it was for a better good.

c) Vocabulary is a tricky issue. One of the weakest points of the students was vocabulary and therefore I tried to cover that gap sending many vocabulary items. They were all happy about it but, every now and then, I checked if they had learnt the vocabulary; that was not the case. They usually replied that although it was significant for them, they didn't put more time in memorizing the new words even though they knew it was something important for a language teacher.

d) I found out that, as expected, humor always saves the day. Again, this is something we, human beings, should never forget. Teachers' ability to be funnily serious is priceless. After some "you need to study this hard" messages, I used to send a light joke cartoon or some kind, related if possible to education, and many of the students told me those were the messages they tend to remember the best. This seems self-explanatory and I won't delve any further into it to find any hidden meaning.

Changes for Next Academic Course

Per the results, I intend to modify some of the actions planned for the course 2017-18, the 2nd year in the research plan. To begin with, I will not send any notifications during the weekends. This was the most controversial issue in the first analysis. It is important as well to work in a proper selection of the materials. It seems that, carried out by my "teaching passion", I sent too many messages and did not reflect well enough on their nature. A better design in this respect is requested. This means that it is extremely important to choose the right materials when using powerful informative tools, otherwise an overload of information can lead to a poor learning experience for students. Once I compare the results from the first two years, I will try to prepare the final plan for the third year, which I expect to discuss and present in the future. This should lead this research to an end, at least in a prospective stage. Having gathered data and experiences three years in a row should provide enough "food for thought" to reflect on the use of WhatsApp in formal education.

Conclusion

This work is really a reflection on frontiers in education (frontiers within frontiers, by the way, physical and psychological ones); on trespassing limits to find a common ground where teachers and students could become one without losing their identities and differences. A teacher needs to know when to get closer to the students, but also when to move away from them, leaving enough room for things to happen without his or her interference (Biesta, 2012). The use of technology in the classroom, far from a battle between technophiles and technophobes (Lewin, 2016) has transcended this stage. At the same time, the human touch has to be more present than ever in our technological contact with students. These days, information gets piled up in our lives, getting too close to a constant state of infoxication; that is, why the messages are as important as the spaces among them. In a way, Lewin (2014) was definitely pointing out something crucial in education when he vowed for an effort to regain some silence back in our classrooms, to provide students with enough room for attention and contemplation. This will help us in the crossing of pedagogical frontiers. This and a *phronesic* view on education. The teacher has to read the class with care. The teacher becomes in the end a sort of meta-interpreter (Francisco & García, 2018) since it is his or her function to be aware of the many different planes of meaning interacting simultaneously in education: the whole group, the subgroups created among the students, the students individually, and beyond that he or she has to be able to see himself or herself in and out of the group. Thus, WhatsApp and mobile phone technology give us a wonderful environment to reach a better understanding of the important things in education. When we carefully approach human frontiers in order to share something we should do our best to reach the others respectfully without losing ourselves in the process. That is to say, learning to be the others without stopping to be oneself. If technology marches hand in hand with practical wisdom, education will no doubt reap a fine harvest in the future to come.

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The Natural Approach to L2 Instruction: Teaching L2 without a Textbook and with Minimal Grammar

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In the Natural Approach to learning a second language, students receive comprehensible input from the teacher; input in the language to be learned that is presented in such a way that it is understandable. Correction is avoided in a climate of low anxiety. The curriculum is thematic, rather than grammatical. Early production is not forced, recognizing students' silent period. Instruction is differentiated for students at the levels of pre-production, early production, and emergence of speech, although students at all levels participate in the same lessons. The classroom learning environment resembles the climate of infants and toddlers learning their mother tongue.

Keywords: Natural Approach, communicative, thematic curriculum;

Krashen's Hypotheses and Language Acquisition

The results of recent research have changed educators' conceptions of how a second language is acquired and how this acquisition is best promoted in the elementary and secondary classroom. There has been a major paradigm shift away from grammar-based approaches to language learning and toward those called communicative, which are also consistent with meaning-based or constructivist approaches to literacy (Crawford, 1994; Crawford, 2003).

Several important hypotheses underlie current practice in most communicative approaches to second-language acquisition (Krashen, 2004). In his input hypothesis, Krashen concludes that growth in language occurs when learners receive comprehensible input, or input that contains vocabulary and structure at a slightly higher level than what they already understand. The input hypothesis reflects Vygotsky's (1978) zone of proximal development. The context of the input provides clues to maintain the integrity of the message. According to the input hypothesis, a grammatical sequence is not needed. The vocabulary and structures are provided and practiced as a natural part of the comprehensible input that the child receives, much as the process occurs with infants acquiring their mother tongue. Krashen (1981) relates the input hypothesis to the silent period, the interval before speech in either the mother tongue or second language in which the child listens to and develops an understanding of the language before beginning to produce language.

Krashen's updated input hypothesis (Krashen, 1991) includes what he calls comprehensible input plus 1, or CI + 1. It is a part of language that students have not yet acquired, but that they are ready to acquire. The CI + 1 is a new element to be learned in what the teacher has already made comprehensible. It is contextualized, not

isolated, and it may include academic language or other new elements, such as a new language structure.

In his acquisition-learning hypothesis, Krashen highlights the difference between the infant's subconscious acquisition of the mother tongue and the conscious learning of a second language of the secondary student of French in a classroom. Students acquire language subconsciously, with a feel for correctness. Learning a language, by contrast, is a conscious process that involves knowing grammatical rules. The infant, of course, is almost always successful in acquiring communicative competence, whereas the secondary school foreign language learner is often not (Crawford, 1994; Crawford, 2003).

Gee (1992) elaborates on Krashen's concept of acquisition by adding a social factor reflecting Vygotsky's "zone of proximal development" and also the concept of approximation. He describes acquisition as the subconscious process of practice in social groups, benefiting from exposure to language models, in a process of trial and error. Formal instruction is not needed. Gee's concept parallels how babies and infants learn their mother tongue at home.

According to Krashen's (2004) natural order hypothesis, grammatical structures are acquired in a predictable sequence, with certain elements usually acquired before others. He concludes that the orders for first- and second-language acquisition are similar, but not identical. He does not, however, conclude that sequencing the teaching of language according to this natural order or any grammatical sequence is either necessary or desirable.

In his affective filter hypothesis, Krashen (2004) concludes that several affective variables are associated with success in second-language acquisition. These include high motivation, self-confidence and a positive self-image, and, most important, low anxiety in the learning environment. It is therefore important that teachers avoid high-pressure instruction and especially humiliation of students who are acquiring English.

Other Basic Principles

Results from research have led to other major changes in educators' conceptions of how a second language is acquired and how this acquisition is best facilitated in the classroom, one of which is the obvious similarity between primary- and secondlanguage acquisition. In both, primary- and second-language learners form an incomplete and incorrect interlanguage (Selinker, Swain, & Dumas, 1975), with most children moving through similar stages of development in this incomplete language.

The role of correction is also similar in both primary- and second-language acquisition. Approximation is a related process in which children imitate more proficient English speakers in all of the dimensions of language, oral and written, and test hypotheses about it. Approximation underlies oral and written language in that children are acquiring new understandings and skills within the context of authentic wholes. Terrell (1982) and Krashen and Terrell (1983) conclude that correction should be viewed as a negative reinforcer that will raise the affective filter and the level of

anxiety among English language learners. When errors do not interfere with comprehension, correcting them has no more place in the ESL program than it does when infants acquire their mother tongue. Errors are signs of immaturity, not incorrectness; they will disappear naturally as a part of approximation in the developmental process of language acquisition (Crawford, 1994; Crawford, 2003).

The implications of Krashen's hypotheses and of related similarities between firstand second-language acquisition are that approaches to second-language acquisition should do the following:

- Provide comprehensible input
- Focus on relevant and interesting themes instead of grammatical sequences
- Provide for a silent period without forcing early production
- Avoid correction
- Maintain a low level of anxiety

The Natural Approach

Terrell's (1977) original concept of the natural approach provided for three major characteristics:

- 1. Classroom activities were focused on acquisition, that is, communication with a content focus leading to an unconscious absorption of language and a feel for correctness, but not an explicit knowledge of grammar.
- 2. Oral errors were not directly corrected.
- 3. Learners could respond in the target language, their mother tongue, or a mixture of the two.

Krashen and Terrell (1983) later added four principles that underlie the natural approach to language acquisition:

- 1. Comprehension precedes production, which leads to several teacher behaviors: teacher use of the target language, a focus on a theme of interest to the children, and maintenance of the children's comprehension.
- 2. Production emerges in stages ranging from nonverbal responses to complex discourse, with children able to speak when they are ready and speech errors not corrected unless they interfere with communication.
- 3. The curriculum consists of communicative goals, with topics of interest comprising a thematic syllabus, not a grammatical sequence.
- 4. Activities must result in a low level of anxiety, a lowering of the children's affective filter, which the teacher accomplishes by establishing and maintaining a good rapport.

Terrell's (1981) Natural Approach is based on three stages of language development: preproduction (comprehension), early production, and emergence of speech.

Preproduction stage: In the preproduction stage, topical, interesting, and relevant comprehensible input is provided by the teacher, speaking slowly and maintaining comprehension with gestures. Children may respond with physical

behaviors, shaking or nodding their heads, pointing at pictures or objects, and saying yes or no. It is important that input is dynamic, lively, fun, and comprehensible. Because the emphasis at this stage is on listening comprehension, responding in the mother tongue is also acceptable.

Classroom props allow for relevant expansion of this and subsequent stages of the natural approach (Crawford, 1994; Crawford, 2003). Any manipulative or concrete object is helpful, including flannel boards and puppets. Large colorful illustrations, such as those in big books, are also useful.

Early production stage: In this stage, the child begins to produce one-word utterances, lists, and finally two-word answers, such as "big dog" and "in house." Some of the latter, such as "me want" and "no like," are grammatically incorrect or incomplete. According to Crawford (2003), teachers should view these responses as immature, not incorrect. In the presence of good models, these errors will disappear in time, just as they do among infants developing their mother tongue at home.

Several types of questions can be used to elicit one- and two-word responses that are within the reach of children as they move into the early production stage:

Question Format	Illustrative Question
Yes/no	Do you like hamburgers?
Here/there	Where is the picture of the cat?
Either/or	Is this a pen or a key?
One word	How many dogs are there?
Two words	What fruits are in the picture?

As in the preproduction stage, these strategies should be integrated into activities that permit a variety of responses, ranging from physical responses from those not ready for production, to brief oral responses from those who are. As the children begin production, conversations should increasingly require one-word responses. Within the same conversation, the teacher can address questions calling for longer responses to those children who are ready. Teacher questions and commands here are in italics, and student responses are in brackets:

- Kjell, show us your picture.

- What is in Kjell's picture? [A sandwich.]

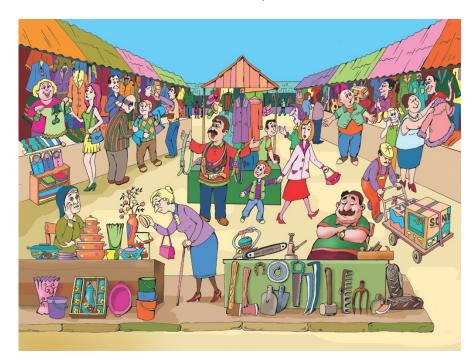
- Yes, it is a sandwich. What is on the sandwich? [Ketchup.]
- Is there an apple on the sandwich? [No. Laughter.]
- What else is on the sandwich? [Meat, mayonnaise.]
- How does it taste? [Good.]
- What do you like with a sandwich? [Cookies. Soda.]
- I like chips with mine.

Emergence of Speech Stage: During the emergence of speech stage, children begin to produce structures that are richer in vocabulary, longer and more complex, and more correct. This production proceeds from three-word phrases to sentences, dialogue, extended discourse, and narrative.

Planning and Teaching Natural Approach Lessons

Natural Approach lessons can be planned according to the suggestions below. With practice, teachers soon learn to teach lessons with minimal advance preparation.

Figure 1 Lesson plan for Natural Approach lesson based on conversation poster (Georgia-Caucasus)



<u>Topic/theme:</u> The market <u>Objectives:</u>

• Students will be able to compare sizes

• Students will be able to express some verbs as gerunds (-ing ending) Instructional materials: Conversation poster depicting the market

Vocabulary:

- Review from previous lesson:
 - o flowers, purse, tools, pink, bald
 - Commands and questions taught previously:
 - Point to....

- Where is...?
- Who is wearing...?
- Raise your hand if....
- New vocabulary for the lesson:
 - Gerunds made from verbs, assuming that this occurs in L2/L3: sleeping, selling, laughing, pushing, buying, looking, etc. (if not, then just the active verb forms, but without mentioning gerund or verb at all)
 - Comparative and superlative: big, bigger, biggest (using the five ceramic pots for sale)
- New commands and questions:
 - For students at pre-production stage (responding with gestures, yes/no):
 - Point to the man who is sleeping.
 - How many men are wearing hats?
 - Is the little boy with his mother happy? Is his mother happy?
 - Where is the warmest coat? If it is green, raise your hand. If it is orange, point to it.
 - How many men are smiling? How many women are smiling?
 - For students at early production stage (responding with one or two words, lists):
 - How many people are sleeping at the market?
 - I see three of something for sale that are assorted colors. What are they?
 - If the woman with the red purse is wearing glasses, raise your hand; if the sleeping man doesn't have a watch, stand up. (nested command)
 - I see three of some things for sale in the market. Name them. Which man is the biggest?
 - For students at emergence of speech stage (responding with phrases and sentences):
 - Why do you think the man is sleeping?
 - How many sharp tools do you see? What do you do with sharp tools?
 - What do you think is in the big box that the man is pushing on the cart? Why do you think so?
 - Why do you think the little boy is smiling?
 - Do you think the lady looking at the sweater will buy it? Why or why not?

How to plan and prepare a Natural Approach L2 lesson:

Using the demonstration lesson above as a model, you can organize your lesson following these steps:

- Step 1: Select a theme or topic
- Step 2: Select a conversation poster or other stimulus for the lesson, such as a walk around the school, a Science experiment, students' clothing, or other subject of interest. Conversation posters can be used in any sequence.
- Step 3: Write one or two objectives for the lesson; you can include a grammatical element, but you won't teach it as grammar. You don't need to mention the tense or part of speech. Focus on correct usage, not on knowledge of the grammar.
- Step 4: Choose several vocabulary words, questions, and commands from previous lessons to review.
- Step 5: Based on your theme, the aims of the lesson, and the needs of the students, choose a few new vocabulary words and one or two new commands and questions to introduce. Prepare a strategy to introduce them.
- Step 6: Prepare model questions and commands for the main part of the lesson. You will need three or four for each of the three groups in your class: pre-production, who will respond with gestures; early production, who will respond with one or two words; and emergence of speech, who will respond with complete sentences, although they will be short and often not perfectly correct. You will then be mixing and recombining review vocabulary, questions, and commands with new ones to generate more opportunities for the students to respond.
- Step 7: Using vocabulary, questions, and commands from your lesson plan, quickly review at the end of the lesson.

Planning suggestions for the teacher:

- There is no fixed sequence for themes in a thematic curriculum. You can select any topic for any lesson.
- Try to use a variety of stimuli to keep students interested-conversation poster one day, hats the next, an illustrated read-aloud story the day after that, and so on.
- The same conversation poster can be used many times at intervals of several weeks; each time it is used at a higher level than before.
- The questions and commands for teaching the lesson should not be used in the exact order of the lesson plan. You should skip around, combining and recombining vocabulary, questions, and commands in different orders.
- You should direct appropriate commands and questions to each student according to their proficiency. You can use the previous lesson plan for this.

How to teach a Natural Approach L2 Lesson

Using the demonstration lesson above as the model, you can follow these steps for teaching the lesson.

- Step 1: Quickly review vocabulary, questions and commands from earlier lessons.
- Step 2: Quickly introduce the new vocabulary, questions, and commands. Use the conversation poster, dramatization, objects in the classroom, or other resources. Don't worry if everyone doesn't learn them immediately. You have the entire lesson to repeat them. When you introduce a new vocabulary word, don't insist that the students repeat the word three times. Your purpose is to have them remember the meaning of the new word-they will learn to say it later in the lesson or in another lesson. Remember to use your knowledge of students' stages, pre-production, early production, and emergent speech, to plan what you say to each student. Call on everyone to respond together early in the lesson as you teach new elements. As they learn the new elements, start calling on the boys, then the girls, then those in the first row, the second row, and finally individuals according to their stages.
- Step 3: Use the appropriate category of question or command according to each student's stage.
- Step 4: When you have used them all, begin to mix one question type with a different vocabulary word, then a command type with yet another vocabulary word. Mix and recombine the vocabulary, questions, and commands. Some can be repeated several times. Keep the lesson lively and keep it moving quickly. Make the lesson humorous wherever you can. Avoid correcting students errors-call on someone else, then come back to the student who made the error so that they can try again.

Teaching suggestions for the teacher:

- Teach new vocabulary, questions, and commands in the context of language, not in isolation.
- Use only the language of instruction in the lesson, for example, only Spanish if you are a teacher of Spanish.
- Translanguaging among students is very effective. Translanguaging by teachers (speaking in the students' mother tongue to explain) is not effective. Students quickly learn to wait for L1 instead of listening to L2.
- Maintain students' comprehension by repeating, dramatizing, modeling, speaking more slowly. Find a way to make them understand.
- Remember that only some of what the teacher says is written in the lesson plan. The teacher must mix and recombine review vocabulary, new vocabulary, review commands and questions, and new commands and questions, repeating

all lesson elements many times, but in many different combinations. Most Natural Approach lessons will be about 30 minutes.

Summary and Conclusions

Students in traditional language learning classrooms are often unable to communicate orally in their second language. They are usually able to read and write, and to perform well on tests of grammar. The Natural Approach leads students to be able to communicate orally with excellent listening comprehension and with correct usage that reflects good grammar. The absence of textbooks and consumable workbooks makes the Natural Approach a desirable choice in current school fiscal environments.

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Attitude Scale Results of Student Confidence Over Time: Participation in an Integrated Mathematics/Computer Programming Curriculum

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Analyzing the development of attitudes over time is a phenomenon rarely explored. Attitude singletime analyses seem limited in exploring how attitudes develop. In this study, we analyze the longitudinal development of a compound attitude towards mathematics and computer programming practices. Understanding these as social practices, we believe that students may 'grow' into these practices as they participate in them with others. Here we present results from computer programming and mathematics attitude scales of eight Latinx middle school students attending in the AOLME program. Contrastive analysis of the scale domains (i.e., confidence, usefulness, enjoyment, and motivation) yields meaningful shift of students' self-confidence over time.

Keywords: self-confidence, mathematics and computer programming, assigned and nurtured responsibility

El análisis del desarrollo de las actitudes a través del tiempo es un fenómeno raramente explorado. El análisis aislado de las actitudes es limitante al explorar el desarrollo de las actitudes. En este estudio analizamos el desarrollo longitudinal de una actitud compuesta relacionada a las prácticas de la programación de computadoras y las matemáticas. Al entender estas prácticas como prácticas sociales creemos los estudiantes pueden 'crecer' en estás prácticas al participar en éstas con otros. Presentamos resultados de unas escalas sobre actitudes hacia la programación de computadoras y las matemáticas de ja programación de computadoras y las matemáticas como trastantes de ocho estudiantes Latinx de escuela media quienes asistieron al proyecto AOLME. Un análisis contrastante de los dominios de la escala (i.e., confianza, utilidad, disfrute, y motivación) señalan cambios significativos longitudinales en la autoconfianza de los estudiantes.

Palabras clave: Autoconfianza, programación de computadoras y matemáticas, responsabilidad asignada y apoyada

Out-of-school time learning programs have provided alternative ways to expand formal education in traditional schools. This range of possibilities allow the generation of learning experiences that stimulate the development of new skills, information, and creativity (Alexander, 2000). Some programs, however, have been conceptualized as remedial approaches for students from underrepresented group to focus on basic skills and social issues (Lauer et al., 2006; Riggs, 2006).

In this paper, we describe over time development of attitudes towards mathematics and computer programming of a group of eight Latinx middle school students who attended the Advancing Out-of-School Learning in Mathematics and Engineering (AOLME) Project. AOLME, similar to "The Fifth Dimension" (Cole & the Distributed Literacy Consortium, 2006) and "La Clase Mágica" (Vásquez, 2003), promotes an informal atmosphere to promote learning of: a) computer programming and related mathematics and linguistic (Spanish and English) practices, and b) supporting social interactions around these practices with adults and experts in these fields. Previous results from such programs confirm that students "can learn when they are invested in the goals of a task [they willfully chose] and motivated to participate in challenging activities that include an educational agenda" (Cole et al., 2006, p. 106). It is not a specific tool or practice in isolation that promotes learning, but the whole ensemble of the local practices; without these characteristics, outcomes are improbable. AOLME emerges from a twofold goal. First, there is a need for middle school students to have greater access to experiences and information about interdisciplinary knowledge (Mooney & Laubach, 2002; Syed & Chemers, 2011) such as science, technology, engineering and mathematics (STEM) fields, so that they can become informed about these fields and consider them as a possibility for their future. In fact, engineering, as a subject, is rarely integrated with science and mathematics. Specifically, computer programming is predominantly absent in the compulsory school curriculum (Celedón-Pattichis et al., 2013). Secondly, Latinx and female students in STEM fields are underrepresented (Chapa & De La Rosa, 2006; Hossain & Robinson, 2012; Rogers, 2009; Syed & Chemers, 2011).

AOLME

AOLME takes place in rural and urban contexts in the U.S. Southwest serving middle school (6-8 grades) students predominantly Latinx who learn Levels 1 and 2 of the curriculum. Each level is covered in approximately 10-12 sessions. The computer programming/mathematics curriculum prepares students to design, program, and implement digital image and video. The curriculum includes pencil-and-paper, modelling, and computer-based tasks using Python programming language and the Raspberry Pi as a main computer platform. Topics covered introduce students to

building a basic computer system, using coordinate systems to represent images and videos, moving across number systems (e.g., binary and hexadecimal) to represent, model, and program their images and videos. The final projects require students to develop their own designed images and video. The current goal of AOLME is to work in Levels 1 and 2 with three cohorts of students (approximately 20) at each school. One of the goals is that a group of self-selected middle school students from Cohort 1 and 2 serve as co-facilitators with undergraduate students to prepare the next cohort. Eight students who are the focus of this study belong to the first group of co-facilitators in AOLME. Five of these students attend the rural school. Three of them are female, two of them attend the rural school. Six students are bilingual (Spanish and English), including all female students. Generally, these students reported having had prior interest and good performance in mathematics, while limited knowledge on computer programming before their AOLME experience.

The Project

This study especially focuses on the development of student attitudes towards mathematics and computer programming because we understand that the transformation of attitudes is associated with the learning of new concepts or practices. Accordingly, we view identity development as "the dense interconnections between the intimate and public venues of social practice" (Holland et al., 2003, p. 270). We understand the link between mathematics and computer programming as a social practice into which students "grow" as they participate with others. Nosek, Banaji, and Greenwald (2002), focusing on gender identity/attitude and mathematics identity/attitudes, found that mathematics identity and mathematics attitudes are positively related. They conceptualized mathematics attitude as preference for mathematics, and mathematics identity as the identification of oneself with mathematics. Further, Sfard and Prusak (2005) describe "identity-making as a communicational practice" exposed in a natural real context, where students' identity development can be analyzed. Identity is an evolving construct that influences how students learn and make sense of mathematical concepts. Attitudes are conceptualized as "affective responses that involve positive or negative feelings of moderate intensity" (McLeod, 1992, p. 581). Attitudes are multi-dimensional constructs since they relate to a compound set of beliefs, feelings and behavioral intention towards an object (Fennema & Sherman, 1976; McLeod, 1992), in our case computer programming and related mathematical practices.

Numerous studies have concerned mathematics attitudes using attitude scales. The Fennema and Sherman Mathematics Attitudes Scales (FSMAS) (1976) has been one of the most salient and cited studies and often used as a basis for the development of related versions of scales. The complete FSMAS instrument is composed of nine scales, each with 12 items. The nine scales include: Attitude towards Success in Mathematics; Mathematics as a Male Domain; Mother, Father, and Teacher; Confidence in Learning Mathematics; Mathematics Anxiety; Motivation in Mathematics; and Usefulness of Mathematics. This 108-item instrument takes 45 minutes to complete. The FSMAS have been modified for different age groups (e.g., Mulhern & Rae, 1998) and for use in different subject areas such as English, physical education, and also for mathematics attitudes. Multiple shortened versions of the scales have also been used in order to quicken the process. Other related scales are, first, the Measurement Properties of Attitude Scales in the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) Data on Mathematics. The NAEP provides information on the educational progress of students in mathematics and other disciplines. The NAEP assessment also collects information related to student attitudes toward various subjects, including mathematics. Second, Tapia & Marsh (2005) recently developed the Attitudes Toward Mathematics Inventory (ATMI) questionnaire that includes four attitude factors: self-confidence, value, enjoyment, and motivation in mathematics.

Domains and item selection

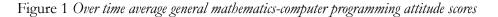
From the NAEP attitude inventory, and mathematics attitude scales from FSMAS (1976), Aiken's (1974) scale, ATMI developed by Tapia & Marsh (2005), we selected domains on the attitude scale that include self-confidence, usefulness, enjoyment, and motivation in mathematics and we adapted and linked it to computer programming as well. "Confidence" refers to students' self-concept on their performance in mathematics and computer programming. Some findings report that during the elementary grades males and females report about equal confidence in their mathematics ability (e.g., Linn & Hyde, 1989). "Usefulness" relates to students' beliefs on the value, usefulness, relevance, and worth of mathematics and computer programming in their life now and in the future. International studies have been particularly helpful in clarifying how the belief in the usefulness of mathematics influences achievement and continued study (e.g., Aiken, 1974). "Enjoyment" describes the engagement and pleasure of doing mathematics and computer programming. This category was designed to measure the degree to which students enjoy working with mathematics and in mathematics classes (Aiken, 1974; Tapia & Marsh, 2005). "Motivation" refers to student interest in and desire to pursue studies in mathematics and computer programming. Research suggests that students extrinsically motivated want to study mathematics with the prospect of an immediate and valued reward. Extrinsic and intrinsic motivations are not on a continuum; individuals generally have both as motivators. Extrinsic motivation may enhance performance and persistence when a student has knowledge or examples that future valued rewards are possible (Singh, Granville, & Dika, 2002; Tapia & Marsh, 2005).

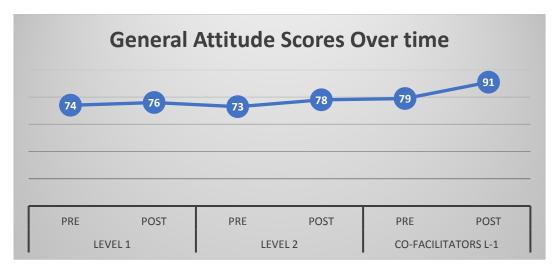
The item development and selection derived from the consideration of the four previously mentioned domains and selected scales (i.e., FSMAS, ATMI, and Aiken's). The source of these domain-related items was thoroughly analyzed and items were selected based on their content relevance, level of reliability and discrimination coefficients. Out of a 60-item bank, twelve items were chosen; five of them were

chosen and directly included, the rest were adapted. Another group of items was created based on patterns observed in the item bank, and by matching them to the respective domains which they intend to target. Finally, some statements were negatively worded. The total of 20 selected items have been rephrased over time especially in relation to student input and 1/5 of them have been linked to computer programming instead of mathematics. The 20 items have a Likert-scale from 1 to 5 items that gauge the level of agreement in the ranking attitudes related to the four described domains, 5 items linked to each domain. The scales were administered individually at student small groups before and after each Level of the AOLME curriculum. Generally, students took less than 15 minutes to complete the scale. Emphasis on answers as no right or wrong questions was made.

Results

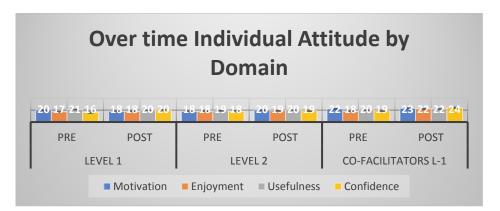
Based on the premise that student attitudes and identities are never fixed (Holland et al., 2003), we developed a contrastive analysis of the results from of the scale domains (i.e., confidence, usefulness, enjoyment, and motivation) completed by at each student at each level. Results yielded an overall meaningful increase of productive attitude towards mathematics and computer programming of the group of students. Figure 1 depicts a difference of almost 20 points between results from the average general scores of the scale administered the first (74/100) time during early Spring 2017 semester and the last time (91/100) during late Spring 2018 semester. Greater changes were observed when students participated as co-facilitators. Closer attention to specific results by domain provided a more insightful analysis of the significance of student participation as co-facilitators.





When analyzing results of average scores by level and domain, we realized a trade of attitudes over time. For example (see Fig. 2), initially the group of students generally identified mathematics and computer programming as useful (21/25) and motivated (20/25) to learn and work in these areas. Nevertheless, their reported levels of selfconfidence (16/25) and enjoyment (17/25) on mathematics and computer programming were rather low in comparison with the prior domains. Post Level 1 and during later participation in the AOLME project, a shift gaining greater levels of selfconfidence in mathematics and computer programming is observed over time. In fact, during the last reported attitude, self-confidence is the highest domain (24/25). We believe that the process of teaching other students what they had previously learned affected their level of self-confidence in mathematics and computer programming. During focus interviews, these students asserted that they needed to start thinking as "teachers" since they were trying to help the new students understand the ideas in a fun and productive way. Another relevant spike in the reported attitudes is the group's motivation to do and learn mathematics and computer programming. As portrayed in Figure 2, higher (22/25 and 23/25) levels of motivation were reported as this group of students took up the role of co-facilitators. The level of responsibility bestowed upon them worked as a catalyst of motivation and commitment to work which in turn boosted their confidence, enjoyment and understanding of usefulness of mathematics and computer programming.

Figure 2 Over time individual average mathematics-computer programming attitude scores by domain



Although some of the students are still wondering about their future careers, they all seem to agree that their school mathematics grades and participation have increased. They argue that their participation in AOLME helped them see applications of mathematics in a context that they value and view as challenging. Such combination supports their stronger sense of confidence in mathematics skills, their interest in mathematics, which in turn have renovated their perspective of learning and doing mathematics in the classroom. Further, they argue to be motivated to face challenging mathematics because they have figured out that if they work hard, they will make it. These efforts are deemed worthwhile as these are deemed as useful and enjoyable.

Conclusion

The process of gaining more responsibility was coupled with the process of being provided greater support within a challenging situation. Assigned responsibility within a challenging context, we think, might not have been enough. Such responsibility needed to be nurtured and co-developed with others. For this, the co-facilitators attended the professional development, which was a review of what they had learned and combined with related pedagogical approaches. Later on, they also co-taught the lessons to the students together with the college undergraduate students mostly with a computer engineering background. The scaffolded support in a challenging situation to gain greater levels of responsibility represents an important combination that we urge to notice as essential in the process of gaining greater levels of self-confidence and which we want to explore further. We understand that the development of selfconfidence is a social process that evolves through the interaction of meaningful support and challenges between individuals and an environment that believes in students and supports them through these challenges while striving for their independence. Links between these levels of confidence reported by students in AOLME and how they report transferring such attitudes and perspectives of usefulness of mathematics into their school mathematics classroom are worth exploring further.

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Secondary Dual Language Immersion Programs in Texas

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The success of Spanish/English dual language immersion programs (DLI) at the elementary grades has created a budding demand for their continuity in middle and high school from seventh to twelfth grades. This study examines implementation issues unique to secondary programs in selected public-school districts in the state of Texas. Although there are bureaucratic, financial, and pedagogical concerns, this research also reveals the potential of DLI to revitalize language study at the collegiate level, foster positive intercultural relations, and better prepare students for careers in a global society.

Keywords: Bilingual education, dual language immersion, secondary education, Spanish as a second language, heritage language programs

El éxito de los programas de inmersión (PDI) en dos idiomas (inglés/español) al nivel primario ha creado una naciente demanda para su continuidad a otros niveles escolares. Este estudio examina cuestiones sobre su implementación, afectando en particular a tales programas al nivel secundario del séptimo al decimosegundo grado en distritos escolares públicos seleccionados en el estado de Texas, EUA. Aunque hay preocupaciones burocráticas, financieras, y pedagógicas, esta investigación también revela el potencial de PDI para revitalizar el estudio de idiomas en las universidades, promover relaciones interculturales positivas, y preparar mejor a los estudiantes para carreras globales.

Palabras clave: Educación bilingüe, inmersión en dos idiomas, educación secundaria, español como segundo idioma, programas como lengua de herencia

Texas Demographics

As of the 2010 U.S. Census, 37% of Texas residents claimed Hispanic ancestry, the second largest Hispanic population in the United States, following California (U.S. Census, 2015). The current English language learner (ELL) headcount in Texas is 1,010,168 with 30 percent of those in grades six to twelve (Texas Education Agency, 2017). In 2007, for the first time since the early nineteenth century, Hispanics accounted for more than half of all births (50.2%), while non-Hispanic whites accounted for just 34%. This growth is felt in elementary schools across the state as bilingual teachers and services for Spanish-speaking families has been steadily rising. The increasing size of the population of Spanish-speaking consumers in the state of Texas creates a need for bilingual personnel as evidenced by many internet job websites offering opportunities across a myriad of fields (U.S. Bureau of Labor and Statistics, 2017).

With the demographics clearly supporting a need for bilingual proficiency in Texas, the time has come for Spanish language educators and advocates of bilingual education to develop more efficient and popular program models to not only teach language skills and provide a job market advantage in a global economy, but to foster positive intercultural relations between non-Hispanic English-dominant Spanish learners, Heritage Spanish speakers and ELLs.

Despite the Hispanic population increase, there has been a steady decline in the number of college students enrolling in Spanish courses across the state. According to the Modern Language Association's (MLA) Language Enrollment Database between 1958-2016, there has been a steady decline in the number of students in community college and four-year institutions of higher education (IHE) enrolling in Spanish courses (MLA, 2018). Thus, the 64,332 such students enrolled in all Texas Institutions of Higher Education in 2009 became 57,074 in 2013 and 51,440 in 2016.

Heritage Language Speakers

Over thirty-five million Hispanics report speaking Spanish at home; however, this number continues to increase with population growth (Krogstad, Stapler & López, 2015). Despite being from a Spanish-speaking family, many heritage speakers cannot claim to be bilingual, biliterate, or competent in Spanish for professional use. According to Chomón Zamora (2013), although Spanish is spoken at home there is a lack of formal language study, sometimes due to negative ethnic attitudes, as well as a preference for rapid assimilation. By the second and third generations, widespread language loss occurs (Beaudrie & Fairclough, Eds., 2012). While the advantages of being bilingual and biliterate are well documented (Callahan & Gándara 2014; Kalist, 2005; Porras, Ee, & Gándara, 2014; U.S. Bureau of Labor and Statistics, 2017), heritage language students without formal language study are unable to fully benefit. It is apparent that secondary schools can be doing more to attract heritage language students to Spanish courses and academic courses taught *in* Spanish that not only prepare them for college, but for the workforce. With challenging content presented bilingually in mathematics, the sciences, history, and other subjects, heritage students can increase their home language skills to their advantage.

The Promise of Dual Language Immersion

A generally accepted definition of DLI, also referred to as two-way bilingual programs or two-way immersion follows:

A program in which the language goals are full bilingualism and biliteracy in English and a partner language, students study language arts and other academic content (math, science, social studies, arts) in both languages over the course of the program, the partner language is used for at least 50% of instruction at all grades, and the program lasts at least 5 years (preferably K-12). CAL and other institutions use this term as an umbrella term that includes two-way immersion, foreign language immersion, heritage language immersion, and developmental bilingual programs. Throughout the U.S., it is frequently used synonymously with two-way immersion (Center for Applied Linguistics, 2018).

DLI programs are growing in popularity across the country (American Institute of Research, 2017; Gross, 2016). Rolstad, Mahoney, & Glass, (2005) published a metaanalysis of research on program effectiveness for ELLs which supported positive effects for bilingual education, including dual language, but these studies focused overwhelmingly on successes and best practices at the elementary level. Literature searches about DLI programs at the secondary level revealed a paucity of research in databases such as: American Institute of Research (AIR), National Clearinghouse for English Language Acquisition, Center for Applied Linguistics, Google and Google Scholar, What Works Clearinghouse, Council of Chief State School Officers, and did not yield any studies of specific relevance.

Nearly three million of the 5,359,127 students enrolled in Texas public schools in 2016-17 were Hispanic (Texas Education Agency, 2017). Because communities seek to benefit from the advantages of being bilingual and biliterate (Callahan & Gándara, 2014) the growth of DLI programs appears inevitable. Texas is an optimal state for examining the practicality and feasibility of dual language immersion at the secondary level. With increased interest at the elementary level on the part of native English speakers to enroll in DLI programs along with their ELL peers, we can increase the numbers of biliterate citizens as well as ensure a higher social status for Spanish-speakers. These converging societal realities and pressures contribute to a closer look at the challenges of implementation of bilingual immersion in middle and high school.

Research Related to Secondary Bilingual Programs

There is a limited research base on dual language programs at the secondary level, verified in March 2017 in an American Institute of Research (AIR) *Report on Best Practices for Dual Language Programs in Secondary Schools.* The report confirmed that, "due to the limited research base, the AIR vetting process yielded a small number of resources on DL programs at the secondary level. Although the research base on the impact of DL programs is growing, most of the studies have focused on the elementary level" (AIR, 2017, p. 2). These studies were primarily concerned with the acquisition of English. A few studies were helpful in contributing to this research in several ways by reinforcing the author's findings that secondary schools are very different from elementary programs (Bearse & De Jong, 2008; De Jong & Bearse, 2014; Mentone & Loeb, 2000). Some issues that surfaced in the literature are particularly relevant, namely: Recruitment is often dependent on the number of feeder schools with DLI programs; trained instructors who are certified in a content area and qualified to deliver their courses in a language other than English may suddenly leave the program without

a replacement; and program models do influence second language acquisition and fluency.

Lindholm-Leary, Hardman and Meyer (2007) described a two-way California program, which came the closest to the author's research interests, that encouraged students to participate in dual language education throughout their elementary and secondary schooling. The program supported bilingualism and biliteracy, academic excellence in both Spanish and English, positive cross-cultural relationships and high levels of self-esteem. Another study in Canada (Culligan, 2010) explored student program choice and experiences in a secondary French immersion mathematics program. Students provided their rationale for studying mathematics in English or French. Study results were practical, student-focused, and affirmed the importance of student voices in program development. A study about factors that motivate high school students' decision to study Spanish (Pratt, Agnello, & Santos, 2009) found that ethnicity, home language, and economic benefits influence student choice, reminding program developers that program enrollments are dependent upon the perceived value to students.

Secondary Dual Language Immersion Programs in Texas

In a newsletter published by the San Bernardino County Superintendent of Schools Lindholm-Leary referenced that the Center for Applied Linguistics reported 77 middle schools and 15 high schools providing instruction in a variety of languages around the country (Lindholm-Leary, 2015). Since then, many more secondary programs have been established; however, obtaining an accurate count of DLI programs in Texas at the secondary level is challenging because they are voluntary programs for which there is no mandate or special funding stream; and, in a highly politicized political environment, dependent upon superintendents', trustees', principals' and public demand, programs may come and go from year to year. For this project, I was able to interview ten secondary and middle school representatives in selected Texas cities with large Hispanic populations and identifiable programs.

The most mature DLI at the secondary level in Texas began over two decades ago in El Paso, a bilingual border city with Mexico, where the need and value of bilingualism can be felt in the everyday life of its inhabitants. The history of the DL program in districts such as El Paso and Ysleta are encouraging as program models for newer DL programs such as those in Dallas, Irving, Houston, and other parts of the state with robust feeder programs at the elementary levels.

Because Texas' secondary DL programs are just beginning to be offered in places with large numbers of students who have successfully completed DL programs in K-6, it is important at this historical moment to learn as much as possible about the characteristics of these programs and their viability for growth.

After receiving research permission from her institution to learn about secondary DL programs in Texas, the author selected ten middle and high schools around the state to ascertain similarities and differences among them with respect to funding,

enrollment requirements, curriculum, teachers, administrative structure, student demographics, and special challenges. She administered a questionnaire with 25 questions (see Appendix).

Findings

Following is a composite of the findings which hopefully will be instructive to districts who might want to undertake such programs. As expected, secondary programs are very sparse and diverse in their design and offerings. Yet the main commonality was that all the programs came about because the parents of children in elementary and middle school DL programs wanted their children to continue into high school. Programs, with few exceptions, do not recruit beyond their own feeder schools and only accept those students who are already bilingual enough to take academic content courses in Spanish. Students who are limited in English are, for the most part, not the target audience of these programs, which are largely enrichment programs leading to a performance acknowledgement (sealofbiliteracy.org/texas), Advanced Placement (AP) credits for college, or other recognition of bilingual academic achievement. Secondly, one of the biggest issues was attracting and retaining qualified personnel. In every instance, finding teachers who are certified in a content area and bilingual enough to teach in Spanish was the most difficult aspect of maintaining program offerings. Most of the teachers, while certified in grades seven through twelve, are not certified as bilingual education teachers as per the Texas Education Agency (TEA). Currently, Chapter 89 of the Texas Education Code (Adaptations for Special Populations, TEC, 2012) addresses the needs of ELLs, but specific policies for voluntary enrichment DL at the secondary level have not been developed. English dominant students who wish to participate are limited to forty percent. Also, newcomers, who lack literacy skills in the home language and English, are not the primary clientele. While some ELLs newcomers could potentially benefit, to earn the Texas performance acknowledgement they must first attain level 3 proficiency in English.

At the time of this study, none of the programs had any special funding nor stipends for their teachers. Most programs do not have a designated paid coordinator. Ensuring that students, also enrolled in selected career clusters under Texas HB5 such as STEM, Humanities, Health, the Arts, can fit their Spanish courses into their schedules so that they can attain AP credits and DL credits is also a major challenge. Another concern is the language of content testing under the State of Texas Academic Assessment Readiness (STAAR) program. While students may take their AP courses in the sciences, social studies, and/or mathematics in Spanish, they will be tested in English. Vocabulary words in the second language may present issues unless the students have adequate exposure to the content concepts and vocabulary in both languages.

Programs do not recruit widely, but rather rely on the counselors of the DL programs at their feeder schools. The curricula vary widely depending upon the

availability of a TEA certified 7-12 content teacher able to teach in Spanish. Access to teachers changes from year to year, making it difficult to stabilize the number and subjects taught in Spanish in a given year. Another issue that surfaced in the interviews was that there is competition within the high schools for these same students. Many students are now also attracted to dual credit Early College programs or career academies that offer more advantages to students and make it more difficult to accommodate the Spanish courses due to scheduling conflicts.

What the Future May Bring

What today appears to be a boutique program for select numbers of students, holds the potential to blossom in different ways. For example, students who are exposed to Spanish in Kindergarten through grade six may be encouraged to enroll in a DLI program in middle and high school. Studying side by side, heritage language students and dominant English-language students will enrich each other's proficiency skills. Similarly, newcomer ELLs could be placed into DL academic courses to assist them to maintain content knowledge while continuing to acquire formal English through specialized English as a Second Language (ESL) courses. They would benefit by having peers who are acquiring their language while they acquire English. The intercultural and linguistic benefits would be magnified many times over for all students.

As such programs develop in middle and high school, the numbers of students continuing to study Spanish (or other international language) should increase in colleges and universities. This will create a pipeline of biliterate graduates for 21^{*} century professions and careers for a global society. High school students graduating with second language proficiency will be ready to acquire specialized content vocabulary in such chosen careers as medicine, education, pharmacy, law, criminal justice, translation and interpretation, and others. It is the author's belief that our U.S. education system should take full advantage of the growing demographic of heritage speakers whose communication skills can systematically be nurtured alongside second language learners for mutual benefit and in the national interest.

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Appendix

Survey Questionnaire

1. How and when did the idea come about for a Dual Language Program at your school?

2. What is the goal of your Program?

3. How are students selected to participate?

4. How many can participate?

5. What are the characteristics of the students (Ethnicity, Socioeconomic status, etc.)?

6. How are students recruited?

7. To whom do you market your program?

8. Do you have an attrition issues? (Why or why not?)

9. Please describe your curriculum?

10. Which subjects do the students learn in both languages?

11. At what grade do they begin dual language? 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th?

12. How do you staff your program? (Coordinator, counselors, teachers, tutors, etc.).

13. How many teachers do you have?

14. How do you find qualified teachers?

15. From where so you recruit teachers?

16. What percent are bilingually certified by BTLPT?

17. Bilingual Supplement?

18. LOTE?

19. What other Texas certificates do they have?

20. How is your program funded?

21. Under which HB 5 Endorsement do students transfer to HS from Middle School?

22. Which HB 5 endorsement is appropriate for Dual Language program when they must select one for high school?

23. Do students in dual language also get LOTE credits toward fulfilling their twoyear High School sequence?

24. Is content assessment for STAAR and other tests in English even if the class is taught in Spanish?

25. Anything else I did not ask that you would like to share?

Reculer Pour Mieux Sauter: Towards a Pattern in the Work of Four Minority Language Literature Writers

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As a comparative study of four minority language literatures, this article offers an analysis of the work of four vanguard writers. The study is undertaken from Casanova's perspective that work written in minority languages by authors originating from late nineteenth or early twentieth century emergent nations should be regarded as "littératures combatives". Following the analysis of their early works written, the strategies of Frisian author Kalma, Welsh playwright Lewis, Scots poet MacDiarmid and Breton writer Hemon are compared. The study argues that the four authors had to take a step backwards in order to leap forward into the post-Great War era.

Keywords: Minority language literature, Comparative literature, Pascale Casanova, Douwe Kalma, Saunders Lewis, Hugh MacDiarmid, Roparz Hemon

Introduction

During and shortly after the Great War, the emergence of new states in Europe, such as Ireland and Iceland, ignited hopes in the hearts of various lesserused language writers regarding the sovereignty of their so-called "peripheral" regions and the status of their languages. The languages referred to are non-state languages used by indigenous peoples who may and often do represent the majority of a population in a certain region of a state.

Several groups of people, who identified themselves as nations, became citizens of new states after 1918, notably in the East of Europe. Some of those groups got the opportunity, after international recognition of their states, to formalize their linguistic rights.

The key figure behind the creation of these new nation states was United States President Woodrow Wilson. His famous *Fourteen Points*, presented on the 8th of January 1918, constituted the principles for world peace that were to be used for the peace negotiations to end World War I.

The hopes of lesser-used language writers to be able to express themselves in officially recognized languages were strengthened by Wilson's address to Congress on the 11th of February 1918, in which he responded to the German and Austrian reactions to his *Fourteen Points*:

Peoples are not to be handed about from one sovereignty to another by an international conference or an understanding between rivals and antagonists. National aspirations must be respected; peoples may now be dominated and governed only by their own consent. "Selfdetermination" is not a mere phrase. It is an imperative principle of actions which statesmen will henceforth ignore at their peril (Wilson, 1918). Although Woodrow Wilson's intention was to dissociate the war from nationalistic disputes or ambitions, the result of the redefinition of the state boundaries in Europe by the peace treaties and the League of Nations, in which the United States did not participate, did not mean that nationalistic disputes were resolved to everybody's satisfaction. In contradiction to the League's mission, the Allied and Associated Powers states refused to recognize the self-determination rights for different groups that comprised a section of those states (Barth 2008).

Minority literature writers

In the post-Great War turmoil several vanguard minority literature writers saw the opportunity to give more autonomy to the literary field of their languages and to give special significance to their literatures, since the dominating cultures of Europe had failed to prevent the outbreak of the most disastrous war the world had ever witnessed.

The four writers selected for the case studies are Douwe Kalma (1896-1953) from Frisia, Saunders Lewis (1893-1985) from Wales, Hugh MacDiarmid (pseudonym of Christopher Murray Grieve, 1892-1978) from Scotland and Roparz Hemon (pseudonym of Louis-Paul Nemo, 1900-1978) from Brittany, all from Northwest European countries with a more or less similar democratic outlook. The regions these writers originated from can be regarded as more or less comparable with respect to their dependency on a central government during the interwar years, and their peripheral position, politically, socially and culturally. They published in Frisian, Welsh, Scots and Breton, minority languages "unique" in the sense that they are not majority languages in other (neighbouring) states. They were all contemporaries, born in the last decade of the nineteenth century. In encyclopaedic works and literary history books they have been described as leading men of letters, strongly advocating and stimulating the use of their languages as languages of culture.

Perspective

After the Great War, many intellectuals shared the view that Western civilization was doomed and that all forms of literary and artistic expression had failed. New forms of expression were sought: preconceived ideas about religion and tradition were questioned. Although signs of Modernism, not only in the visual arts, but also in literature, such as Filippo Tommaso Marinetti's *Futurist Manifesto* (1909), can be found in the pre-Great War period, an explosion of modernist art manifested itself after 1918. In terms of literature, one can cite writers such as Franz Kafka, Ezra Pound, T. S. Eliot James Joyce and Virginia Woolf.

However, contemporary literature written in lesser-used languages did not seem to be part of that modern world republic of letters. Writers expressing themselves in those languages often felt ignored and perceived that the regions in which they were living or originated from were frequently stigmatized as being backward and provincial, or pleasantly picturesque at best. However, those writers did not want their languages to end up "in a sort of museum department of [human] consciousness" (MacDiarmid, 1923). They interpreted the appreciation of their languages, for historical and sentimental reasons only, as a kiss of death.

The promises about self-determination for small nations made during the Great War had led to high expectations. Some of the minority literature writers aimed to modernize and internationalize the literature written in their languages. They realized that, if they were to gain more respect and official recognition for their languages, they should also strive for a higher degree of autonomy and, if as yet non-existent, a separate field for their literature, one not subsumed under a hegemonic literature. In their struggles they formulated dreams and visions, but they also used tactics and strategies.

In this article, the question as to what the aforementioned four writers did to put their literatures on the international map is approached from the perspective provided by the French literary critic and researcher Pascale Casanova. She argues that those literatures should be regarded as "littératures combatives" (Casanova, 2011), contending that the minority language literatures of the small emergent nations of early twentieth century Europe reflect struggles which are both political and literary, and that the politics in question takes the quasi-systematic form of the defence of the nation.

Strategies

After examination of the early work of the four authors, including pamphlets and manifestos as well as one substantial literary text published by each of them (*Kening Aldgillis* [King Aldgillis] by Douwe Kalma, 1920; *Blodeuwedd* [The Woman Made of Flowers]by Saunders Lewis, 1923-1925; *A Drunk Man Looks at the Thistle* by Hugh MacDiarmid, 1926 and *Eun Den a Netra* [A Man of Nothing] by Roparz Hemon, 1927) four kinds of strategies were identified: distancing, connecting, unifying and mobilizing (for an extensive analysis of these works cf. Krol, 2018).

All four authors employ strategies to distance themselves from the dominating language(s), the influences from the dominating language(s) and culture(s) and the eighteenth and nineteenth century literature in their own languages, much of which they saw as a Romantic product, deliberately dissociated from any political reality. On the other hand, they clearly connected themselves to non-dominant cognate or kindred languages and cultures. The Frisian author Douwe Kalma, for example, was eager to connect the Frisians with the English and Scandinavians. The Welsh author Saunders Lewis sought to connect Welsh culture with French authors such as Maurice Barrès and Paul Claudel. Hugh MacDiarmid, the Scot, emphasized the Auld Alliance with the French, but also wanted to renew old Celtic connections. He was convinced, moreover, that the combination of the typical spirit of the Scots and the genius of the Russians, especially Dostoevsky's creative power, could prove essential to the redemption of post-World War I civilization. The Breton Hemon was anxious to publish Breton works in Esperanto, which he saw as a medium that could further international understanding. He approached representatives from other small nations to combine forces in order to gain more international recognition for minority language literature.

In addition, the four writers connected themselves to the period in which, according to them, their languages were used in practically every domain of life, viz. the late Middle Ages. All four emphasize that their languages have a great heroic past. Before their nations were dominated by other powers, their languages thrived in all spheres of life and the Welsh and the Scots author stress that their literatures flourished during that time. Moreover, before the Reformation, cultural contacts in Europe were easier, since the peoples of Europe shared the same Roman-Catholic tradition and the same lingua franca. The writers from Wales and Scotland argue that, after the loss of independence of their nations, their literatures declined and that contacts with cultural centers on the Continent became more difficult due to restrictions of the hegemonic power as well as inhibitions imposed upon the Scottish and Welsh people by the religious authorities. However, while the Frisians and Scots experienced negative effects of the introduction of the Dutch and English Bibles (Statenvertaling [States Translation], 1637 and the King James / Authorized Version, 1611) on their languages, the Welsh appreciate the positive effects of the early translation of the Bible in Welsh (William Morgan, 1588). The complete Frisian Bible translation by G. A. Wumkes was not published until 1943; a complete Breton Bible translation by Jean François Le Gonidec appeared 1866; and a complete Bible translation in Lowland Scots does not exist although the New Testament, translated by William Lorrimer was published in 1983.

The four writers all decided to *reculer pour mieux sauter*. They journeyed back to the distant past in order to make a substantial leap forward. Douwe Kalma glorified the era of the Frisian kings Redbad and Aldgillis. Lewis delved into old Welsh mythology to connect the past with the present. MacDiarmid's slogan was "Not Burns – Dunbar!", to get away from popular sentimentalism and to find new inspiration in the language of pre-Renaissance poets. Roparz Hemon translated medieval Celtic texts into modern Breton.

Lewis and MacDiarmid in particular connected to modern, contemporary texts preferably from what they perceived as kindred, non-dominating languages. MacDiarmid's texts in particular abound with references to and interpolations from non-English texts.

Among the unifying strategies of the authors the urge to unite the nation is most prominent. Douwe Kalma regarded the Frisians in the Netherlands and the Frisians in Germany as one people. MacDiarmid treated the inhabitants of Scotland, even though speaking different languages, as one people, and Lewis and Hemon intended to unite the inhabitants of Wales and Brittany by educating them in one language: Welsh and Breton respectively.

In addition, the authors urged their compatriots to unify the language. Douwe Kalma rejected dialectal variation in the written form of Frisian. Both Lewis and Kalma wanted their languages to have an elevated register so that people would not consider it an inferior medium of expression. MacDiarmid did not want to unify the language. Instead he proposed to extend Scots with Gaelic and other non-English words, in such a way that it could both reflect the genius of Scottish nationality as well as serve as a medium of intellectual expression. Recognizing dialectal variation, Roparz Hemon eventually developed a scheme to forge the four main varieties of Breton into one language, idiomatically as well as orthographically.

All four authors considered a sense of national consciousness as a necessary condition, not only in themselves but in their fellow-countrymen if they were to emancipate the regions in which they lived from repression. Consequently, they felt that they had to mobilize their fellow-authors and, with the help of literary media, people with literary interests or the literary inclined. In their view, their fellow-language speakers could also be mobilized by all kinds of linguistic arts. Plays, such as *Kening Aldgillis* and *Blodeuwedd*, for example, proved how people could get more involved in national culture.

Although all four authors agreed that the cultural predicament of their region was not only a question of aesthetics, but also of economics, only three of them became involved in a political party: Kalma, Lewis and MacDiarmid. Both Saunders Lewis and Hugh MacDiarmid helped found a nationalist party, and Douwe Kalma wrote the political manifesto for the Christian-Democratic Union, a small left-wing Protestant political party in the Netherlands. Convinced that the Breton state would take care of itself after it had adopted Breton as its language, Roparz Hemon committed himself to a political aim without becoming a member of a political party.

"Double bind"

Writers stand in a particular relation to world literary space by virtue of the place occupied in it by the national space into which they are born (Casanova, 2004). They have to deal with that space, its past and its present. They can reject their national heritage, affirm it, or transform it. If the space into which writers are born is multilingual, they are faced with a choice.

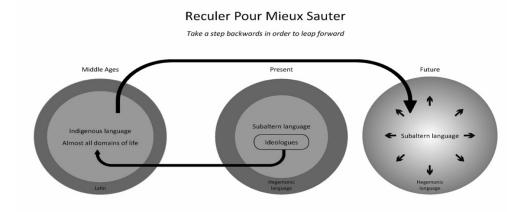
The choice faced by the four authors can be characterized as a "double bind" (Gray, 1983). A choice for the native, minority language meant that it represented a medium affording to give direct expression to one's genius and experience. It would tend to be regarded as an authentic expression. But, on the other hand, it would risk neglect by the dominant cultural centers and therefore receive no consecration by the highest cultural authorities. A choice for the non-native, majority language would give potential access to the dominant cultural centers and potential consecration. Its disadvantage would be that it would give indirect expression of one's genius and experience and would risk being regarded as inauthentic.

Reculer Pour Mieux Sauter

The affirmation of the linguistic heritage by vanguard authors writing in minority languages, fused with the desire to modernize and internationalize, strengthened a pattern which can be tentatively summarised by the French phrase *reculer pour mieux sauter*.

Committed to their linguistic identity, the authors felt more of less compelled to go back to the distant past of their languages, before they were able to make a substantial leap forward. Their desire to preserve the character of their languages as well as to extend the use of them in domains where they had hitherto scarcely been employed made the jump into the past inevitable.

Figure 1. Reculer Pour Mieux Sauter



To enable their languages to be used in elevated and modernistic registers and domains other than the familiar ones and to expand their languages with adequate vocabulary, they resorted to the past of their own languages or to cognate or kindred languages other than those which dominated their own. Thereby, they were able to add status to their languages, but they also risked alienation, ridicule and incomprehension from the fellow speakers of their languages. In this respect minority language writers concerned with the character or purity of their languages differ from their fellow authors writing in hegemonic languages where the unavailability of adequate vocabulary and the risk of misunderstanding hardly present themselves.

Languacultures

Hugh MacDiarmid's 'synthetic Scots', as a limitless combination of old and new words, archaisms and neologisms, preferably based on Scots or Gaelic, but not restricted to those languages, can be regarded as a means to overcome the "double bind". However, this use of Scots was hardly taken up by any of his fellow-poets, even those sympathetic to it, and remained largely idiosyncratic. The other three authors also alienated themselves from their fellow language speakers to a certain degree by their use of language. Kalma's was characterized as "non-quotidian" and "elevated"; the language of Lewis's plays was referred to as "High Welsh" and Roparz Hemon's linguistically unifying use of the language was seen as "Breton chimique" [chemical Breton]. The combative stance and the main strategies of the four authors were thus reflected in the use of their languages.

The transformation of their languages and literatures was, however, no mere revisionism, albeit that the older stages of their languages provided the resources required to preserve the characteristics of the old languages in their expanded new ones. In their drive to transform their languages, MacDiarmid and Hemon, and to a lesser extent Kalma and Lewis, did not seem to be much concerned by what Michael Agar has termed distinct "languacultures", the connection between language and culture, "the situation of use" of certain words and sentences (Agar 1994).

Dialogic Internationalism

Work containing this innovative elevation and expansion of the language frequently evoked a sense of unease among its readers because of its artificial literarity. Moreover, it caused a divisiveness that has continued to exist ever since and can be regarded as a feature of those languages (cf. for Frisian: Poortinga, 1965; for Welsh and Scots: Brown, Ramage and Sherlock 2000; for Breton: Timm 2002). On the one hand there are those who think that the written variety of their language should closely resemble the spoken variety as it is conceived by them and, on the other hand, those who advocate expansion and renewal of the written variety of their languages.

In the recreation of their languages and literatures the four writers were combatively selective. To justify the *raison d'être* of their literatures they emphasized the potentialities and the normality of their otherness and, where necessary, sharply delineated their languages and the fields of their literatures from those dominating their own, purposefully and paradoxically making the past present in their work. They insisted on the relevance of their languages and literatures in the post-Great War World as vigorously creative 'bridge-building' alternatives to languages and cultures that had failed. Demonstrating tremendous zeal and conscious of making their languages and literatures more comprehensive as well as aiming at cultural exchange, they opposed assimilation into the hegemonic culture, preferring "dialogic internationalism" to "monologic universalism" (Biti, 2014).

Counter to most of the majority language writers, the four minority language authors deemed it inevitable that, with respect to literary activities, they had to occupy themselves with more than the sole task of writing literature. They also had to take care of other, more mundane aspects of it, such as its promotion, distribution and reception. All four writers contributed to the creation of more distinctly separate, national literary fields, thus putting their literatures more firmly on the international map. However, it goes beyond the scope of this article to enumerate the long list of organizations, associations, magazines and periodicals they managed to found in a comparatively short time, but all those activities demonstrated a tremendous zeal to emancipate themselves from what they considered a repressive system.

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Linguistic Ideology in Şalom

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"The language question", the debate about the several languages with which Sephardim were in contact, has been a recurrent topic for the Jewish press in Judeo-Spanish. In this paper we discuss the beliefs, conceptions and representations of several languages voiced in Salom, a Judezmo newspaper published in Istanbul from 1947 onwards. We conclude that the different ideas expressed affected the structure and domains of use of all the languages employed by Turkish Jewry and led to the current linguistic landscape of the community.

Keywords: Sephardim, language ideology, Judeo-Spanish, Jewish press, language shift

Judeo-Spanish, the language spoken by the Sephardim Jews in the former lands of the Ottoman Empire, has not been traditionally held in high esteem by its own speakers. During the 19th century, when several attempts were made to modernize an impoverished and backward community, Judezmo was often dismissed as a jargon or as a corrupted language. It was deemed unfit to capture the essence of the modern world and was polluted by the unstoppable stream of loans and borrowings taken from concomitant languages. Although there was consensus on the pitiful state of Judeo-Spanish, there were different approaches to how to tackle this problem. On the one hand, there were those among Sephardic intellectuals who considered that Judeo-Spanish was already beyond redemption. They advocated its withdrawal and its substitution by a more prestigious language -such as Western languages like French or Italian- or by national languages like Bulgarian, Turkish or Serbo-Crotian in a time of growing nationalisms. On the other hand, another group of intellectuals believed that it could be saved through an appropriate face-lift with modern Spanish as a source of inspiration.

These conceptions about languages or linguistic ideologies, which followed Silverstein's classic work, can be defined as "any sets of beliefs about language articulated by the users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use" (Silverstein, 1979, p. 193). They were voiced in several newspapers, where "La question de la lingua" became a recurrent topic of debate. Thus, David Bunis analyzes how "linguistic, cultural, social, and political influences emanating ultimately from Western Europe began to have profound effects on the Judezmo speech community and its members' attitudes towards and use of the traditional language" (Bunis, 1996, p. 227). To sustain his analysis, Bunis reviews the Jewish press of the late Ottoman Empire and finds advocates for each of the stands: from those willing to abandon the communitarian language to advocates of its reformation.

Romero (2010) also delves into this topic, taking as main sources articles printed in El Tiempo and La Epoca, two newspapers published in Constantinople and Salonica at the turn of the 20th century. In addition to the different opinions regarding the language voiced in their pages, she also mentions the diverse ideas concerning the alphabet which should be employed, since many authors deemed switching to Latin characters from the traditional Rashi alphabet as the only way to modernize Judezmo. Burki (2010; 2013), studies two publications from Salonica, El Aveniry La Epoca, where the debate about the language persists among those in the latter, who defend Judeo-Spanish as the distinct feature of the Ottoman Sephardim, and those in the former who consider Hebrew to be the true language of the Ottoman Jewry. Curiously enough, both newspapers agree on encouraging its readers to learn Turkish, since such was the national language and speaking it their duty as Ottoman subjects. Burki (2016) also studies "La question de la lingua" in the American press and concludes that there is a widespread perception of the necessity of learning both English for practical and economic purposes, and Hebrew, as an ethnical and religious marker. However, these ideas do not mean that Judeo-Spanish should be dismissed; on the contrary, its speakers saw it as an asset and a useful tool to conduct business with the growing Hispanic community of New York.

Şalom

As we have seen so far, language has been a recurrent topic of the Sephardic press in Judezmo. In the next pages, we will delve into the archives of Salom in order to observe which linguistic ideologies lie(?) -explicitly or implicitly- on its pages. Salom is a newspaper composed mostly in Judeo-Spanish and has been published weekly in Istanbul from 1947 until today, although from 1983 onwards it switched completely to Turkish except for one page. This change took place when the first owner and director, Avram Leyon, was forced to sell it, given that a newspaper in Judezmo was no longer sustainable. By that time, there was a manifest lack of a potential audience (Martínez, 2016, p. 167), which had been provoked by the massive emigration that the Turkish-Jewish community experienced during the central decades of the 20th century and the process of language loss within the community. Starting in the 40s, more than 40,000 Turkish Jews left Turkey, mostly to relocate to the newly founded state of Israel (Shaw, 1991; Díaz-Mas, 2006). Parallel to this emigration trend, which was emptying the old Jewish quarters of Istanbul, the ethnic language was rapidly being substituted by Turkish in most domains. The intergenerational transmission mechanisms within the family were failing and "the generation born after 1960 indicated they mostly did not understand the spoken language, but only uttered a few words with their grandparents" (Seloni-Sarfati, 2012, p. 19). As a result, by 1983, Judezmo was only spoken by the elders in the community and it was no longer the quotidian language in the Jewish homes of Turkey. How all these changes can be observed in the pages of Salom and the perceptions about languages voiced by its collaborators, is the goal of this presentation.

Attitudes Towards Languages

A piece that really captures the attitude towards languages among many of the Turkish Sephardim was published in the second issue of Salom, dating back to November, 1947. In this article, which discusses language education in the Jewish High School Bene-Berit, the author regrets that many students demand being exempt from the study of Hebrew, considering that Turkish and French are enough. Judeo-Spanish is not even mentioned. Both French and Turkish are perceived as prestigious, useful languages worth studying by the Jewish youth. A positive light is also cast on Hebrew, which turns to be, in spite of the hyperbolic tone of the author, the feature that makes the Jewish school Jewish: if Hebrew is not going to be taught "es mijor de dizir ke non tenenos eskola Judia" [it is better to say that we do not have a Jewish school] (Salom, 6/11/1947). Ironically, Judeo-Spanish, the language in which the piece is written, is not even taken into consideration and is dismissed without even being mentioned, despite still being a widely spoken language among the Turkish Sephardim of the time.

Hebrew

The attitudes in the article mentioned will continue to appear during the subsequent years in the pages of Salom. Hebrew is, obviously, the language of religion, therefore pious Jews are expected to learn it as a part of their religious duties since "es un dover sakro çiko komo grande de embezar la lingua ebrea" [it is a sacred duty to learn the Hebrew language] (Salom, 13/10/1949). In several pieces it is labeled as the language of the Jews, the quality that invests them of their very Jewishness, understood as an ethnic category that transcends religion: "Embezate tu lingua: el ivrit, para ke puedas amostrar ke i tu sos Cudyo" [learn your language: Hebrew, so that you can show that you are a Jew] (Salom 8/4/1948). During the years in which Salom is published, Hebrew went from being a language confined to the sphere of religion and mastered by just a few, to become the national language of a newly founded state and spoken by the vast majority of its citizens. Therefore, in addition to the religious dimension, there is a nationalistic drive pushing Turkish Jews to learn Hebrew as a way to identify with the Jewish state of Israel. National and religious spheres collude in making Hebrew the lingua franca that every Jew should master, and efforts are made to "azer el Ebreo lingua principala de los judios del mundo" [make Hebrew the main language of the Jews of the world] (alom, 27/1/1965). However, reality is stubborn and, according to Altaveb's research, only 13% of her informants truly mastered Hebrew, so we can conclude that "despite its highly symbolic value, Hebrew is not a daily language in the Turkish Jewish linguistic context" (Altaveb, 2003: 158).

Turkish

The situation regarding Turkish is very different. This was a language not widely spoken among Turkish Sephardim at the time when Salom was founded, but which had become the first language of virtually all the members of the community when its publication was halted in 1983. During the first years of the newspaper, recurrent advertisements could be found among its pages demanding, for instance, "un director o una direktrisa para eskola primaria Judia (...) konosiendo las linguas Turka I Franseza" [a director for a Jewish primary school who knows Turkish and French] (Salom, 24/9/1953), which gives evidence that knowledge of the national language could not be taken for granted. According to Bali, "in the early years of the decade [of the 50s], the great majority of the Jewish community's members had yet to adopt Turkish as their primary language and Ladino remained the main language of daily life, and this was only slowly giving way to Turkish" (Bali 2012: 51). A collaborator of Salom states in a piece from 1948, that thanks to Atatürk's language reform, "los 80 por syen a lo menos de nuestros ermanos se apatronaron byen de la lungua del payiz, i ke (...) va a venir un tyempo i non muy leșos, kuando la prensa turko-cudiva a ser enteramente en lingua turka" [at least 80% of our brothers learned well the language of the country and (..) a time will come, and not far, when Turkish-Jewish press will be entirely in Turkish language] (Salom, 15/4/1948). Just a few years later, in 1953, another collaborator of the newspaper congratulates himself on the success of the "asimilasion i adopsion de la lingua i kultura Turka" [assimilation and adoption of the Turkish language and culture] (Salom, 18/6/1953), just as their patriotic duty demands. Mastering Turkish is thus seen as a desirable goal towards which the community is working, especially among its youth. It is a proof of loyalty to the Republic of Turkey coming from a minority frequently under suspicion of not being patriotic enough due to their maintaining a foreign language -and a language from a country which was rater hostile towards them- and of their allegiance to Israel as a part of their religious duties and ethnic solidarity.

Along with this display of patriotism, a widespread idea among members of the community was that it was their duty to become fluent in the language of the country which hosted their ancestors in difficult times, "kuando nuestros avuelos arivaron de Espanya les avryo sus brasos, i eyos bivieros tanto orosos konservando sus uzos i mezmo la lingua de sus payis de provenensya" [when our grandparents arrived from Spain, it opened its arms and they lived happily maintaining their customs and the language of their country of origin] (§alom, 12/5/1949). Therefore, "azer espandir la lingua Turka". [make the turkish language expand] (§alom, 12/5/1949) is but a sign of gratitude to their host country. This idea of linguistic gratitude towards the host nation is by no means new and can be traced back to newspapers dating from Ottoman times such as *El Avenir* or *La Época* -two Judezmo newspapers from Salonica published at the turn of the 20th century- which "promueven el aprendizaje del turco entre la población en un gesto de gratitud hacia la Sublime Puerta por haber acogido a los sefardíes tras la expulsión y por dejarlos vivir en sus territorios en paz, en una época en la que en Europa abundan las persecuciones antisemitas" (Burki, 2010, p. 84).

However, it would be rather naïve to believe that it was purely attraction factors that moved Turkey's Jews to learn the national language without taking into account the coercive policies aimed at making minorities switch from a characteristic multilingualism to an imposed monolingualism (Bornes-Varol, 2013: 18). Such policies

were implemented during the 19th century by the late Ottoman Empire and by the newly founded Balkan states, so "Judeo-Spanish communities began to face discrimination by national leaders as well as within their own groups in order to use the majority language wherever they lived" (Kirschen 2013: 27). With the foundation of the Republic of Turkey in 1923, this pressure only increased, and minorities were subjected to the infamous campaign Vatandas Türkçe konus! - Citizen speak Turkishin which those speaking any language other than Turkish were publicly singled out and, in some occasions, even fined for doing so. In spite of these campaigns being sporadic and exceptional, and of some members of the community "who maintained that, in a democracy, citizens were at liberty to speak whatever language they wanted at any decibel level they desired" (Bali, 2003: 51), they left a noticeable imprint on others. Periodically, a piece can be read in Salom advising Turkish Jewry to maintain a low profile since "Al tanto de rezervado estamos es mejor para todos nozotros" [the quieter we are, the better for us] (Salom, 11/5/1963). This discretion included, obviously, speaking Turkish in the public sphere, from which it can be inferred that employing the national language by Turkish Jews was considered a way to conceal their ethnic and religious affiliation.

Eventually, these forms of pressure, along with the imposition of Turkish as a vehicular language in the totality of the education system (Altaveb, 2002, p. 97), made it become the daily language of the vast majority of the Turkish Sephardim and even overtake French as a language of prestige and sign of modernity (Bornes-Varol, 1982). In fact, not many opinions about French, a language in which most staff of Salom were proficient, can be found among its pages. In a brief note Avram Leyon, director of the newspaper, criticizes those who "empesan a avlar en fransez, se imajinan ke estan avlando la lingua de Victor Higo mientras que ke se renden ridikül i devienen la burla de los otros porke en avlando en fransez keren darsen un avre de megalomania" [start to speak in French, imagining that they are speaking Victor Hugo's language, while they are just making a fool of themselves and become the laughing stock of the others because of their pretensions of megalomania by speaking French] (Salom, 15/8/1073). Therefore, French is not only to take a secondary role, but it is occasionally characterized as a sign of snobbism. Ironically enough, this is made in a Judezmo deeply impregnated of French borrowings and loans, the product of decades of having this language as a model of distinction and sophistication.

Judeo-Spanish

With regard to Judeo-Spanish, the mother tongue of the Sephardim for centuries, the most striking thing might be its almost complete absence as a topic of debate from the pages of Şalom, at least during the first decades of publication. Therefore, when discussing for instance several aspects of the lives of the Jews of Yugoslavia (Şalom, 4/3/1959), the situation of multilingualism in Israel (15/7/1959), or writing about the language in which Turkish Jews in Los Angeles communicate among them (3/1/1952), Judezmo is not even mentioned. These absences suggest that, at least

during the first decades of the newspaper, the communitarian language is neither seen by the collaborators of Şalom as an identity marker nor as a bond between the Sephardim of the world.

One of the few occasions in which Judezmo is explicitly discussed is in a couple of pieces which aimed to respond to an article on Turkish Jewry, published in an Argentinian newspaper. In one of the pieces, the author expresses his certainty about the arrival of a time when "la jenerasyon venidera non va konoser del todo el jargon espanyol (...), kuando la prensa turko-cudiya va ser enteramente en lingua turka" [the next generation will not completely know the Judeo-Spanish jargon (...), when Turkish-Jewish press will be entirely in Turkish language] (Salom, 15/4/1948). In the other article, the reporter admits that the style and language of the Turkish-Jewish newspapers is that of daily life and that such "jargon turko-judeo-espanyol ke avlamos es en grande parte fransizado (...) nozotros no pretendemos eskrivir en espanyol puro, en kastilyano" [the Judeo-Spanish jargon that we speak is greatly Frenchified, (...) we don't pretend to write in pure Spanish, in Castillian] (\$alom, 20/5/1948). Both pieces, although obviously stating the particular opinion of their authors with regard to the communitarian language, also represent a set of widespread ideological tokens about it: that Judeo-Spanish is but a burden to be gotten rid of, that it is related to Spanish although distantly, and that it had been polluted by other languages, namely by French. Judezmo is not even regarded as a language in the eyes of its speakers but a "jargon".

Given these ideas concerning Judezmo, it is no surprise that its number of speakers decreased dramatically, and that by the decade of 1960s the intergenerational transmission mechanisms of Judezmo were failing. Therefore, "Munços jovenes un jurnal judio meldar kerian ma la lingua jüdeo-espaniol no konosian" [many youths wanted to read a Jewish newspaper but they didn't know Judeo-Spanish] (Salom 25/10/1967), so a section in Turkish was started, which was aimed at these youths who were unable to speak Judezmo. However, voices can be found in Salom raising the alarm about how "malorozamente nuestros uzoz, nuestros kostumbres, nuestras romansas, nuestras koplas vienen de olvidarsen densiya en diya. Tambyen komo ya es byen savido el Cudeo-Espanyol" [unfortunately, our customs, our novels, our songs are being forgotten by the day. Also, as it is well known, Judeo-Spanish] (Salom 8/12/1982). During the last decades of Salom, this piece is not alone in vindicating the linguistic heritage of the Sephardim. Some collaborators even encourage its study, not only as a bridge to a rich communitarian past but invoking "la obligasyon de lavorar a ambezarnos esta lingua la kuala es la tresera del mundo" [the obligation to learn this language, which is the third in the world (Salom, 20/12/1978). Other pieces approach Judezmo as a subject, discussing "La historia i kultura del judaizmo Sefaradi" (Salom, 15/11/1978), reviewing books such as "El teatro de los Sefardís orientales" (Salom, 25/7/1980), or inform about academic conferences about the heritage of Sepharad under the title "Sefaradizmo i la fidilita a la Espanya" (23/6/1980). Therefore, from 1965 onwards, the traditional language of the Turkish Jewry is no longer a part of the quotidian landscape, a piece of the collective identity of the

Sephardim that, liked or not, could be taken for granted. Judeo-Spanish has but disappeared from Turkish-Jewish neighborhoods and has mutated instead into a subject for academic study, into an heirloom to be preserved, into an identity badge that can be held by those owning it; but it is no longer the vibrant, full of life language that it used to be.

Conclusion

Turkish Jewry has been, and still is, a group with an "heterogeneous ethnolinguistic character", which "weakens any assumed tight correlation between language and ethnicity" (Altaveb, 2003: 38). We have observed the different ideas, beliefs and conceptions regarding the languages they come across as expressed in the pages of Şalom. "La question de la lingua" was still present during the second half of the 20^{h} century, although it had lost some of its poignancy in the overwhelming monolingual context of the Republic of Turkey (as opposed to the multilingual nature of the late Ottoman Empire). All these linguistic ideologies have contributed to shape not only the internal structure of the languages of the Sephardim, but also their domains of use. Today, Turkish has become the mother tongue of virtually all Turkish Jews; French is still seen as a token of prestige and spoken by most among the best educated; Judeo-Spanish is currently practically confined to artistic manifestations, an object of conservation efforts such as the monthly newspaper *El Amaneser*, and a subject for academic study. Part of the ideas that have led to this situation are, as we hope to have demonstrated, present in the pages of Şalom.

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The Use of Creole in Edwidge Danticat's Claire of the Sea Light

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This paper looks into the possible reasons for, and effects of, the use of Creole words and expressions in the novel Claire of the Sea Light (2013), by Haitian-American author Edwidge Danticat. This use of her mother tongue is not new in Danticat's fiction, but not much attention has been paid either to its diverse possible causes or to the purposes it pursues in the literature on her work. The paper will consider both what "drives" and motivations are encouraging the author to incorporate these mimetic and rhetorical elements and what effects they intend to produce on her readers.

Keywords: Code-switching and translanguaging, Edwidge Danticat, *Claire of the Sea Light*, diasporic discourse, generation 1.5

Introduction

Most critics and reviewers of Edwidge Danticat's latest novel, Claire of the Sea Light, have agreed that one of the main strengths of the book is its masterly combination of a captivating prose style, able to catch with great insight the most recondite agonies and aspirations of her characters, and the blunt realism with which she represents the social and economic woes in her native country (Casey, 2013; Kakutani, 2013; Shamsie, 2013). The story is set in the imaginary seaside town of Ville Rose -which had already featured in some of her earlier works-, a microcosm in which the more peaceful and less cramped past of Haiti lives on, not long before the catastrophic earthquake that hit the country in 2010. The book opens with the disappearance of a little girl, Claire Limyè Lanmè Faustin, on the evening of her seventh birthday. This happens right after her father, a poor fisherman, has consented to giving Claire away to a local fabric vendor, as he is deeply worried that he will not be able to provide her with a safe and happy future: "He feared being lost at sea or getting hit by a car, or being struck with a terrible disease that would separate them forever" (Danticat, 2013, p. 17). However, as is fairly common in other novels by Danticat, after the first chapter, we lose sight of the title character and her father, Nozias; we are thrown back in time -ten years, in this case; and begin to learn about the interconnected and troubled lives of a halfdozen other residents of Ville Rose, belonging to different social strata and who, like Claire, see their existence marked by unexpected deaths and unlikely affections.

As is the case with many writers of the Caribbean diaspora, Dandicat shows a dual attitude toward her birthplace. While there are passages in which the author is completely enraptured by the natural and human landscapes on the island, these are followed by others in which she seems to be utterly outraged by the kind of destitution, corruption, and violence that have become endemic in the country. Safran (1991),

Clifford (1994) and other experts in Diaspora Studies would probably explain the pleasure that Dandicat -and her readers- derive from those descriptions by referring to the characteristic orientation of diasporic writers to their homeland as a source of identity, values, and solidarity. Nevertheless, these somehow nostalgic sections of the text already contain signs of the immense pain that a poor and vulnerable country may inflict on its inhabitants: the sea is "unpredictable", the land "eroded" and the narrow alleys off the main street are as dangerous as "thorns". Perhaps Madame Gaëlle, the fabric vendor who offers to adopt Claire early in the novel, expresses best how many of the characters feel about their land: "There were too many memories in this town to bind her and make her want to flee at the same time" (p. 153). Likewise, Danticat seems to feel these same contradictory impulses while writing about her homeland: there is the urge to reconnect with the landscapes of her childhood and the people of her country, but there is also a need to keep a distance -aesthetic, ethical, or otherwise-with respect to the severe consternations that her land has experienced during her lifetime.

As critics have noted, there are multiple ways in which the diasporic writer may manage to represent this double (divergent) pull toward and away from their native land. In the case of Danticat, some have insisted on the significance that memories of the landscapes and mindscapes, as well as of the myths and traditions in her homeland, hold in her fiction (see Counihan, 2012; Samway 2004). In this regard, Safran believes that diasporic individuals are often determined to "continue to relate, personally or vicariously," to their country of origin, in a way that significantly feeds their identity and solidarity (1991, pp. 84-85). Claire of the Sea Light provides abundant evidence of the author's investment in retrieving cultural and relational practices that keep connecting her with her homeland. But most scholars would concur that what is most remarkable about Danticat's fiction is the empathy and compassion she demonstrates for her numberless compatriots who, for various reasons, have endured loss and heartbreak on the island (see Bellamy, 2012; Ibarrola-Armendariz, 2010). In Kakutani's (2013) words, "the reader is made acutely aware of the patterns of loss and redemption, cruelty and vengeance that thread their way through the characters' lives, and the roles that luck and choice play in shaping their fates." What has been generally overlooked in Danticat's depiction of Haiti's local color and traumas is the inclusion of Creole terms and expressions that do not only pepper her gorgeous writing style (cf. Sontag, 2013), but are also seen to serve a variety of other important functions. Naturally, digging into those functions is essential for a full appreciation of the significance of Danticat's text. In what remains of the paper, some of the functions that the use of Creole in Danticat's fiction appear to serve will be considered, as well as the prominent role this use of her mother tongue plays in her creation of what has been called a "diasporic discourse" (cf. Nesbitt, 2010).

Mimetic and Stylistic Uses of Code-Switching in Edwidge Danticat

In the mid-20th century, it was sometimes argued that the mixing or switching across different languages in natural speech was a clear sign of a lack of required linguistic competence or even of illiteracy. Nevertheless, with the passing of the decades and the significant advances, especially in the field of bilingual education, code-switching has mostly lost that derogatory treatment and achieved a high level of acceptance and legitimacy. No doubt, the flowering of ethnic and postcolonial literatures around the globe has contributed decisively to the recognition of mixedlanguage fictional texts as products that deserve the attention of specialists in different disciplines. According to Lipski, "it is obvious that language switching in literature is not a result of confusion or inability to separate the languages, but rather stems from a conscious desire to juxtapose two codes to achieve some particular literary effect" (1982, p. 191). For some analysts, Danticat can be said to have become "the bard of the Haitian diaspora" (Sontag, 2013), as she is voicing the concerns of many 1.5- or second-generation Haitian-Americans by straddling two conspicuously different worlds and shuttling between two languages. In order to do so, she usually plants her novels firmly in specific communities in her homeland and, although her main language of communication is English, she provides it with a bicultural flavor by resorting to code-switching in particular contexts in which it will contribute to identity marking, characterization, criticism, stylization or simply as a source of realism and credibility (see Keller & Keller, 1993, pp. 165-66).

Before moving on to the analysis of some examples of code-switching in Danticat's latest novel, it is important to clarify that most studies of this kind can be divided into two distinct groups. On the one hand, some studies try to determine whether literary code-switching in ethnic fiction responds to socio-pragmatic motivations similar to those found in natural bilingual speech (Callahan, 2004). The idea here is to figure out if code-switching in these texts followed the same lexical and syntactic patterns that have been reported for oral code-switching, and thus if a certain level of mimesis and authenticity was being achieved. While it is true that Danticat uses it as an ethnic marker and, as Callahan (2003) explains, mostly in "informal and colloquial contexts" (p. 14) -rather than as a formal register-, it is more arguable that she is employing it to raise socio-political issues which are quite common in Latino fiction. On the other hand, there are other studies that have centered on how codeswitching may be incorporated in literary works to achieve symbolic meaning and rhetorical effects. Again, although some prescriptive linguists and editors were initially reluctant to view these more experimental stratagems as productive, in Aparicio's words, "a postmodern and transcreative approach would validate [them] as a positively creative innovation in literature" (1994, p. 797). As will be seen below, Danticat occasionally employs some words and phrases in Creole in these more innovative and imaginative ways in her fiction.

Regarding the tokens of code-switching in *Claire of the Sea Light* that appear to resemble those found in oral exchanges and, therefore, are seen to pursue more

mimetic functions, these seem to encompass primarily lexical items and linguistic routines that could be said to carry quite specific meanings in the Haitian cultural context. Thus, terms such as revenan (p. 16), restavek (p. 8) or cheche lavi (pp. 8-9) come up recurrently throughout the novel, since they prove critical to understanding the difficult relationship existing between Claire and her father, Nozias Faustin, in depth. These terms intend to capture aspects of life -and death- on the island that are heavily charged with social, cultural and, even, religious connotations that would not usually be present in their equivalent words in English. Although the hazards of childbirth, of being given away as a servant at a young age or of one's occupation may definitely happen in other places around the world, they seem to be such an integral part of the existence of certain groups of people in Haiti that their use seems fully justified and natural. Likewise, words of salutation, greeting, gratitude, etc. are generally consigned in Creole, thus not interfering with the flow of the conversation. Important men like the mayor -and undertaker- of the town, Albert Vincent, or the headmaster of the local school, Maxime Ardin, Sr., are addressed by most people as *Msye*, instead of mister, and priests' names are preceded by Pè or Pastè, depending on the denomination of the church. Expressions such as Mèsi anpil (p. 30), Ale tanpri (p. 111) or Di Mwen (p. 171) appear with some frequency in the text contributing to both the portrayal of the informal speech of some characters in a credible way and the unconscious or semiautomatic nature of some of their responses.

One last socio-pragmatic use of code-switching that also emerges with a certain frequency in Danticat's novel is the inclusion of Creole words or phrases for emphatic purposes. Unlike the previous tokens, these sober expressions could come up in the mouths of both uneducated and highly learned characters alike. Thus, we hear the members of a gang called Baz Benin cheering rather crudely on Bernard Dorien after learning that an army officer stole his idea about a radio program in which clashing social factions would be confronted: "Tiye and his guys were chanting from their tables, 'Kraze bouda yo! Kraze bouda yo! Kick their asses! Kick their asses!' Their voices were so loud that Bernard could barely hear Max Junior anymore" (p. 71). Louise George, a popular radio journalist and part-time teacher, on her part, retorts furiously to Max Ardin, Sr., after he has allowed the mother of one of her students to slap her across the face: "So this was a konplo,' she said, cutting him off. 'A plot to humiliate *me*?" (p. 142; italics in original). Depending on the situations, then, Creole may also come up in conversations between characters belonging to well-educated social groups.

Turning now to the more rhetorical or stylistic uses of code-switching in the novel, it must be said that these do not necessarily appear in the dialogued sections of the text, but can frequently turn up in the more "stream-of-consciousness style" passages of the book (Callahan, 2003, p. 12). Dandicat is fully aware of the potential of sayings or popular proverbs to reflect important dimensions of the local culture in Ville Rose. Talking about recent U.S.-Latino fiction, Torres has explained that the inclusion of Spanish catchphrases in their texts allows the authors to "negotiate their relationships with homelands, languages and transnational identifications" (2007, p. 76). Dandicat could be said to be doing a similar exercise when she tells us, from Bernard's perspective, about the restaurant that his parents keep in the treacherous slum of Cité Pendue:

The place was called Bè, Bernard's parents' nickname for him. Bè also meant "butter," and Bernard's mother liked to say when everyone asked her how she was doing that she was churning butter from water -m ap bat dlo pou m fè bè- which meant that she was always attempting the impossible, trying to make something worthwhile out of little or nothing. (p. 64)

Obviously, it is not just Bernard's mother who feels this way about their destitute way of life in the novel. In the chapter "Starfish," mostly told from the viewpoint of Louise George, the radio hostess, she tries to explain to a couple of uneducated parents (Nozias Faustin and Odile Dèsir) that their educational limitations should not be a handicap in other spheres of their lives: "And she reminded them both of the well-known saying 'Analfabèt pa bèt' or 'Illiterates are not stupid'" (p. 129). The inclusion of these more rhetorical instances of code-switching pursues very different goals, which may range from social criticism to ethnic pride.

Key Effects Sought by the Use of Code-Switching

As mentioned above, the use of code-switching in Danticat's fiction may seek different purposes: credibility, criticism, alienation, ethnic solidarity, etc. Perhaps the effects that become most evident in the case of Claire of the Sea Light are, on the one hand, her success in constructing a microcosm similar to those created by Faulkner or García Márquez (cf. Casey, 2013; Tobar 2013) and, on the other, the great capacity she has to pull her readers into the interior lives of her characters to make us feel their short-lived joys and afflictions. Regarding the first of these skills, Tobar (2013) remarks that the deeper she takes us into the world of Ville Rose, the more impressed we are by her exhaustive knowledge of the place and its history. Here again the interpolation of a number of terms in the local language contributes to "tropicalize" her descriptions in English, since features like Món Initil (Useless Mountain) or Anthère Hill and Lighthouse (p. 10) are loaded with social and historical connotations that the reader only gradually becomes acquainted with through the text. Likewise, her in-depth knowledge of the local flora and fauna adds much beauty and an exotic flavor to some expository passages that in the hands of another could have resulted rather trite. Here is Claire, escaping from her father and Madame Gaëlle Cadet Lavaud, right after learning that her father is giving her away to the wealthy fabric vendor:

She ran through the alley [èpine] that snaked between the shacks, up to the coco de mer palms at the entrance of a path that led to the lighthouse. Her sandals became entangled in some ylang-ylang creepers that bordered the trail where sandstones turned to hill gravel, then mountain rock. She was relieved when, at last, the trail curved and made an incline up toward Anthère [anther] Hill. (p. 230)

If code-switching does its job in terms of taking the reader into a distant microcosm -with its shacks, mansions, beaches, marketplaces, restaurants, schools, radio stations, jails, and so on- which, as some critics have argued, could well "stand for life in Haiti" (Germain, 2014, p. 215), nothing less can be said about its capacity to transport us into the minds and feelings of a very diverse set of characters. Despite the unsparing portrayal of a corrupt and violent society where almost all lives are at risk, there is a great deal of warmth and compassion in the way Danticat treats all her characters, who, regardless of their position, are striving for human connection in a cruel and unfair world. Claire's mother, for instance, who is a poor woman working for the town's undertaker by preparing the corpses for burial, offers her unconditional support to Madame Gaëlle when she realizes about the trials of her pregnancy. "Claire's eyes were once again lowered, her shoulders slouched. 'Fok nou voye je youn sou lòt,' she said before walking out. 'We must look after each other''' (p. 54). Gestures like this are abundant throughout the novel, since it is clear that almost no character is free from the fears and anxieties that the precarious context constantly awakens in them. Even the members of the brutal gangs are sometimes seen to sympathize with the relatives of those who are in danger, like Bernard Dorien: "Pive had told his parents to stay calm. The case was a lamayot, a vapor, he said. Nothing was going to stick. Give it a few more hours. Let it cool off' (p. 76).

Conclusion

The main object of this contribution has been to delve into the reasons that may explain Edwidge Danticat's reliance on code-switching in her latest novel and to determine some of the effects that the inclusion of this resource intends to produce on her readers. We may conclude that Danticat's use of code-switching derives, on the one hand, from issues of verisimilitude and credibility, but also from her own stylistic preferences. Some could argue that perhaps she is not taking too many risks in the use of this rhetorical resource, since most of her expressions in Creole come accompanied by a translation into English. This is probably the reason why some of her Haitian readership has looked upon her work with a certain degree of suspicion. However, it is also a fact that she manages to give foreign readers a sense of how the mother tongue still plays a significant role in the art of diasporic writers.

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