

Running Head: Communication Interactions

“If there’s more than one bus you say...”:

Cultural-linguistic mismatch within the context of teacher-child interactions

BY

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**Abstract**

The purpose of this study was to examine the complexities of teacher-student interactions with a focus on the potential role of cultural-linguistic mismatch, particularly as it relates to a child who speaks African American English. Data collection included field note data from classroom observations, classroom videos of teacher-child interactions during literacy lessons, home videos of child-caregiver interactions, and interviews. Analyses included categorical coding of observational field notes and discourse analyses of video transcripts. Three key findings emerged: (a) power differential between teachers and children that tended to privilege Mainstream American English; (b) semiotic resources, including language and physicality, played a prominent role in mediating/scaffolding interactions; and (c) interactions revealed complex patterns of both alignment and mismatch, which included linguistic, paralinguistic, and nonlinguistic features. Implications and future directions related to this study specifically include: (a) the need for direct examination of nonlinguistic and paralinguistic aspects of communication within the field of communication sciences and disorders; (b) explicit acknowledgement of multiple Englishes within the school curriculum and classroom dialogue; and (c) further exploration of the longitudinal consequences that may unfold as a result of speaking a non-mainstream dialect or language, especially as it relates to African American boys.

## Chapter I

### Literature Review

The purpose of this study is to examine the complexities of teacher-student interactions with a focus on the potential role of cultural-linguistic mismatch, particularly as it relates to children who speak African American English (AAE). Because language by nature is culturally-bound, the constructs of race and ethnicity often serve as relevant metrics for cultural-linguistic diversity in the classroom. The racial and ethnic composition of public school classrooms in the United States has changed significantly over the past few decades. The National Center for Education statistics (NCES) reports that the proportion of White students has decreased from 61% to 52% from 2000 to 2010 (NCES, 2012a). It is projected that by 2021 the percentage of enrollment by race will be 48% for Whites, 27% for Hispanics, 16% for Blacks and an increase for Asians from 5% (2010) to 6% (cf. KewalRamani, Gilbertson, Fox, & Provasnik, 2007; NCES, 2012a)<sup>1</sup>.

Despite the relatively steady enrollment of African American children over the last ten years, it is important to keep in mind that African Americans were not integrated into the public school system until 1954, as *Brown v. the Board of Education of Topeka* mandated integration of Blacks and Whites into the same classrooms. However, it soon became clear that being in the same classrooms did not ensure equitable learning environments. In 1977, the Ann Arbor trial (*Martin Luther King Junior Elementary School Children v. Ann Arbor School District Board*) highlighted the school's failure to

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<sup>1</sup> It is often unclear what working definition references are using for the categories "Black" and "African American." However, in my own writing, I use the term Black to reference the race of people (i.e., collection of physical features) who encompass a variety of ethnicities and nationalities and the term African American in reference to those born in America from parents of Black race with African, Caribbean, or Central and South American heritage (cf. Lopez, 1994).

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provide an equal education to the 15 Black economically-deprived children, living in a low-income housing project in Ann Arbor, Michigan (Smitherman & Baugh, 2002). The parents that brought this case to the forefront realized that their children had been suspended frequently, retained in with no intervention present, were not learning how to read, and had been put into special education classes even when the label of “special education” did not apply to them (Smitherman & Baugh, 2002). As a result of these concerns, the parents did not see their children thriving academically.

Move ahead to the present timeframe and we see that not much has visibly changed in regard to African American educational achievement. The achievement gap between African American and White students persists. Educational and psychological research studies continue to show the disparities of African American achievement at various levels and infrastructures in the educational system. According to the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP), Blacks have made some gains in standardized testing, however they continually rank lower in writing, reading, and math standardized test scores in comparison to their White, Asian, and sometimes Hispanic peers (NCES, 2012b). The NAEP reading scores for eighth-graders in the 2010-2011 school year were reported as follows: Blacks - 86% below proficiency, 1% advanced; Whites - 59% below proficiency, 4% advanced; Asians - 54% below proficiency, 8% advanced; Hispanics 82% below proficiency 1% advanced; and low-income - 82% below proficiency, 1% advanced (Alliance for Excellent Education (AEE), 2012).

As these values suggest, the term ‘disproportionality’ plagues African Americans in the public school system. On average, African Americans make up about 16% of the public school population, but disproportionately attend low performing schools in higher

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poverty neighborhoods (AAE, 2012, Ladner & Hammons, 2001). Moreover, African American students account for 32% of students in certain special education programs (Ladner & Hammons, 2001). In relation to the academic achievement gap there also exists a discipline gap (Gregory, Skiba, & Noguera, 2010), where 35% of Black children in grades 7 through 12 have been suspended or expelled at some point in their school careers (NAACP, 2013). This compares to only 20% of Hispanics and 15% of Whites (NAACP, 2013). In addition, there is evidence to suggest that the nature of disciplinary infractions differ between groups (cf. Skiba, Michael, Nardo, & Peterson, 2002). For example, Skiba et al. (2002) found that African American students tended to be referred to the office more for offenses that were subjective in nature, such as disrespect and loitering. Vavrus and Cole (2002) reported in their study of an urban high school in the Midwest that suspensions frequently occurred in the absence of physical violence or blatant abuse, but in the presence of “violations [to] unspoken and unwritten rules of linguistic conduct”(p.91). One significance of these statistics is that when students are not attending schools with substantial resources, are being mislabeled, or are not allowed to be in school, they are missing out on valued learning opportunities. The Nation's High School Report (AAE, 2012) stated that the class of 2008 had 57% of African Americans graduating from high school, with 58% of Hispanics, 78% of Whites and 83% of Asians doing so. African Americans are at risk for dropping out of high school because of low literacy skills, poor attendance, and class failure (AAE, 2012). Such academic and institutional inequality is also reflected in later societal outcomes. African Americans comprise nearly 1 million of the total 2.3 million incarcerated population (NAACP, 2013). This is nearly 6 times the rate of Whites that are incarcerated. Furthermore, the

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unemployment rate in 2012 and 2013 is double that of Whites, with an average of 14% for African-Americans compared to an average of 7% for Whites and 5% for Asians. In order to better understand the experience of African American children in today's classroom, the following literature review highlights key elements of sociocultural approaches, applies mismatch theory to the experience of many African American children in today's schools, explores the role of power differential and cultural capital in the classroom, and highlights the contribution of ethnographic methods to revealing the complexity of teacher-student interactions.

### **Sociocultural Approaches**

The present study is rooted in sociocultural approaches to communication and social interaction. Sociocultural Theory is often traced back to work by Vygotsky (1987), a Russian psychologist, who died at the young age of 34. Since his passing there have been various expansions and permutations of his framework (Cresswell & Theucher, 2010; Lim & Renshaw, 2001; Mason, 2007; Rogoff, 2008; Wertsch & Rupert, 1993). The basis of sociocultural approaches can be viewed by the concepts that human activities occur within cultural contexts, are mediated through language, and can be best interpreted when viewed in terms of historical developments (John-Steiner & Mahn, 1996). This study is grounded in three themes that commonly emerge across sociocultural approaches, each of which will be elaborated in greater detail and applied to communicative interactions between teachers and children in the classroom:

- a) Language mediates the learning process.
- b) Communication is a social accomplishment that is distributed across people, resources, and time.

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c) Social interaction is always situated within activities with particular goals.

**Language mediates the learning process.** Vygotsky viewed human action as mediated by psychological tools, with language being a particularly powerful semiotic system (Anton, 1999), bridging interpsychological (social) and intrapsychological (individual) processes (Nasir & Hand, 2006). As a traditional example of language as an interpsychological process in the classroom, imagine a teacher providing verbal definitions of a moth versus a butterfly and students following up with spoken questions. The instruction/learning process is being mediated by the oral language exchanges between the teacher and the students. Perhaps less transparent is the notion of language as an intrapsychological. As an example, consider a child who repeats to himself the string of verbal instructions that the teacher just issued or the child who uses intrinsic speech to walk herself through a nonverbal math problem. In these scenarios, both children are using their linguistic skills to facilitate their own learning and behavior.

**Communication is a social accomplishment that is distributed across people, resources, and time.** A central theme to sociocultural approaches is that communication is not an isolated behavior that can be attributed to a single source (Cresswell & Teucher, 2010; Nasir & Hand, 2006; Rogoff, 2008). Instead, communication is distributed across people, resources, and time (DeThorne, Hengst, Fisher, & King, 2014; Hengst & Miller, 1999).

In regard to distribution across people, communication is defined as an exchange of ideas and as such cannot be isolated to an individual. Communicative success is contingent upon the successful exchange across and among individuals and consequently is always shaped by the all those involved (past and present). As an example, consider the



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exchange between an African American student and an African American teacher. In this exchange, the teacher asks the student to tell her one thing that happened over the weekend. The student provides a rich verbal text to explain the story with elaborate details and lengthy sentences relaying how she went over to her cousin's house on Friday and had a sleepover, followed by how her cousin lost her tooth and her mom was going to take them for ice cream and how they bought the same pair of sunglasses at Target. To this child, her episodes were linked thematically by the one topic of her cousin. Now imagine within the same context a communication interaction between the same African American student and a White teacher unfamiliar with this student's topic association style of narrative. In this exchange, the student tries to share the same story, but is interrupted often by the teacher who reminds the student to "stick to one topic", and provides verbal cues to help sequence the student's story, "What happened next?", "...and then?". As a result, the student provides sparse information, shorter sentences and is often asked to provide more details. These two communication interactions are inherently different due to the fact that the teacher in the communication interaction differed. In regard to African Americans, research studies have shown that familiarity of the examiner, teacher responses and understanding of dialect, and even a teacher's own linguistic style all have an impact on the linguistic quality and variation of a student's response (Carter, 2003; Fuchs & Fuchs, 1989; Labov 1972; Michaels, 1981).

In regard to resources, there is a tendency to focus on the key 'psychological' resources of speech and language (Anton, 1999; Kozulin, 2002); however successful communication is also distributed across other resources as well, including other intrinsic communicative 'tools' such as gesture, facial expression, and posture (Ciccia, Step, &

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Turksta, 2003), and extrinsic tools in the surrounding environment, such as pictures and objects (Mason, 2007). Nonlinguistic communicative tools are employed regularly, from a stern look given by a mother, to rolling of the eyes to express ambivalence, or arms crossed to show boredom or stubbornness. In addition to such intrinsic tools, extrinsic communicative tools include various signs and symbols in our environment, such as a McDonalds sign to show where to eat, a green light for 'go', or a red flare to signal an emergency. Even speech, when employed, is always embedded within rich multimodal contexts.

Finally, communication is distributed across time. In particular, change over time can be viewed in terms of a lifetime, the course of history, or across the development of a species (Nasir & Hand, 2006). Specific to the current study, communication within a lifetime can refer to how patterns of interaction change across days, months, even years as individuals develop familiarity and relationship. For example, on the first day of class, teachers often have to explicitly state expectations step-by-step. As the school year unfolds, routines and shared understandings emerge. Consider how the teacher may have to initially explain to a child that he needs to stay quiet and keep his hands to himself during circle time, whereas one or two weeks into the school year all she needs to do is look at him sternly to successfully communicate the same message. In terms of historical change, major events such as the civil rights movement have shaped the way that communication interactions occur across individuals and across groups. For example, consider the historical context of AAE. Also called "Negro dialect" (Fasold & Wolfram, 1972), this language variation was/is seen as an inferior, sub-par, illegitimate dialect (Fasold & Wolfram, 1972; Smitherman & Baugh, 2002), spoken by and associated with a

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specific disenfranchised group (e.g., Blacks), while the standard English form, known as Mainstream English (ME), is associated with prestige and privilege.

In sum, the key point is that the nature of communicative interaction, including its success or failure, can never be attributed to a single individual, resource, or moment in time.

**Social interaction is always situated within activities with particular goals.** The third tenet of social-cultural theory grounding the present study is the idea that social interaction is always situated within goal-directed activities (Nasir & Hand, 2006). For example, the same symbol may have very different meanings depending on the activity and related goals. As an example, consider the gesture of winking. This same gesture could mean an individual is trying to flirt with someone they find attractive, an inside joke is being shared between two people, or reassurance, depending on the activity at hand and the shared goals of the interaction. As such, it is important to note that both the child's and teacher's behaviors cannot be interpreted in isolation without consideration of the situations in which they unfold. In addition, within educational settings, children are often expected to adhere to the social and cultural goals set by the teachers and institutions at large (cf. Kozulin, 2002).

### **Mismatch Theories as Related to African American Children**

Whereas sociocultural theories highlight the distributive nature of communication as well as its tie to specific activities, mismatch theories have centered on the difficulties that emerge when backgrounds and experiences differ between communication partners. Such asynchronicities can lead to negative consequences particularly for vulnerable populations (e.g., children, minorities, people with disabilities). Mismatch theories state

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that:

- a) partners who differ in cultural-linguistic backgrounds are likely to experience more difficulty in establishing successful communication and a positive relationship
- b) mismatch can derive from a multitude of sources including language, values, and other resources
- c) such challenges are likely to disadvantage those in less powerful positions; in the case of teacher-student relationships, this disadvantages the child

Mismatch theory is particularly relevant for African American children in the public schools due in part to the fact their cultural-linguistic backgrounds differ from most of their teachers. Data from NCES (2004) reported that for the 2003-2004 school year, 83.1% of the teachers were White, 7.9% were Black, 6.2% were Hispanic, and 1.3% were Asian. This means that while the composition of students in our public schools is increasingly becoming more racially and ethnically diverse, the teachers who serve them are not. There is a similar trend when examining the composition of school-based speech-language pathologists (SLP), with 92% of SLPs identifying their own race as White (ASHA, 2010). Although these statistics reflect racial differences, teacher-student mismatches often emerge in association with differences in the language, culture, socioeconomic status, or teaching/learning styles associated with race (Blanchett, Mumford, & Beachum, 2005; McGrady & Reynolds, 2013; Villegas, 1988). Students who come to school familiar with aspects of culture used by the teacher in the classroom are at an advantage in regard to learning opportunities, while those with greater mismatch are at a disadvantage (Villegas, 1988). In particular for African Americans, studies have

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shown that African American students often present with distinct language patterns, styles of dress, physical movement, and nonverbal communication that are incongruent with the ‘standard’ culture embraced and cultivated by public schools (Bailey & Boykin, 2001, Delpit, 1995; McGrady & Reynolds, 2013). I suspect that such mismatch is contributing to the achievement gap observed between African American and White students in our nation’s schools.

The literature exploring mismatch theories regarding the achievement of African American children has focused broadly on linguistic and non-linguistic factors. Linguistic factors have focused on dialect differences in relation to both spoken and written language, including how these domains are assessed. Non-linguistic factors have captured some of the pragmatic elements of dialect, particularly in terms of how they overlap with areas such as values, discipline, and learning style. The literature that follows will review evidence for mismatch in both linguistic and nonlinguistic domains between the experience of African American children and the general ‘culture of school.’

**Linguistic factors of African American English.** One of the most critically researched aspects of culture between home and school environments is that of dialect. Due to a confluence of social and historical factors, dialects often differ in prestige. In the US, mainstream American English (MAE) tends to be held in highest regard. MAE serves as the dialect in which textbooks are written, newspapers are written, the evening news is delivered, and the dialect considered standard in the public schools. Accordingly, most school teachers, being predominantly White, middle-class, and college-educated use and privilege this dialect. In contrast, many African American children, particularly from low-income communities, speak African American English, a dialect with influences

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from African and English languages thought to be the emergent product of a pidgin-creole (Stockman, 2010). Historically, AAE evolved as a way to communicate in a context that denied African Americans formal schooling and made mainstream society inaccessible (cf. Rickford & Rickford, 2000).

When the literature first began to define AAE (also known as Black Vernacular English, or African American Vernacular English, African American Language, or Ebonics), it was a controversial topic (and still is today) regarding its legitimacy (Foster, 1992; Fasold & Wolfram, 1972). Although in 1997, the Linguistic Society of America proclaimed the cultural value and legitimacy of Ebonics (Bohn, 2003), the dialect has a history of being seen as inferior in regard to origin and usage. People who use it are still seen by the general public as speaking with “improper grammar”. Stockman (2010) states that, “the variable rules of the dialect coupled with the perception of its formerly enslaved speakers as inferior in learning ability, are likely to have contributed further to the impression that AAE was simply a poorly learned copy of SAE<sup>2</sup>” (p. 24). However, in 1979, following the ruling in the *Ann Arbor trial*, the judge officially wrote into law that AAE was a “legitimate form of speech” (Smitherman & Baugh, 2002). Today, the fields of sociolinguists, linguistics, education, and communication sciences and disorders (e.g., Foster, 1992; Fasold & Wolfram, 1972; Bohn, 2003; Craig, Zhang, Hensel, & Quinn, 2009) are in agreement that, indeed AAE is a legitimate, rule-based, systematic dialect of English. Compiled from years of researchers’ data, Table B1 displays morphosyntactic features and phonological features that characterize AAE (Washington and Craig, 1994, p. 819; Washington, n.d.).

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<sup>2</sup> Standard American English (SAE) and Mainstream American English (MAE) are often used interchangeably in the literature.

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Morphosyntactic and phonological differences between dialects have been highlighted, particularly in regard to reading and writing instruction, which often centers on MAE. Shade (2012) asserts that when the written language does not correlate with the phonological, morphosyntactic, and lexical features of a reader's spoken language, challenges occur in acquiring this orthography. For example, when a child who speaks AAE attempts to encode the written MAE, this mismatch may create a complexity that can influence spelling, writing, and reading ability (cf. Connor and Craig, 2006; Charity et al., 2004).

In addition to morphosyntactic and phonological differences, semantic and prosodic differences between dialects may challenge communication at school for children who speak AAE. Semantic differences are often one of the most transparent aspects of dialect difference. In AAE, lexical items that differ from MAE are often referred to as 'slang,' and include examples such as *dis*, which is used to mean *disrespect*, *aight* which means *all right*, and *we straight* which means *all is okay* (Shade, 2012). Similarly, words with the same phonological form may have a separate meaning altogether, such as the word *hood* which means neighborhood in AAE, or *crib* which means house, *threads* for clothes, or *girls* to mean one's girlfriends, or even *chillin'* meaning relaxing (Shade, 2012).

Although less well researched, Green (2002) has speculated on the mismatch between MAE and AAE in use of prosody and how it might lead to misperceptions of AAE speakers as confrontational, negative, aggressive, or dramatic (Green, 2002; Rivers, 2012; see also Thomas, 2007). Although it is nearly impossible to study the impact of children's dialect in isolation given that it is so closely intertwined with other aspects of

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culture, I will highlight four studies here that underscore the potential impact of dialect differences on the classroom interactions of African American children.

A key area of dialect difference that often emerges in the study of African American children in the early school age years is narrative style. Michaels (1981) designed an observational study to explore "sharing time" (i.e., show and tell) in an ethnically mixed (identified as half Black and half White) first grade class using ethnographic observation and conversational analysis. Her focus on sharing time was to observe the oral discourse competence that a child brought from home and see how the key situation of sharing time could be used as oral preparation for literacy. Outcomes showed that not only did the majority of White children tell stories differently than the majority of Black children, but the teacher responded differently as well. While the White children told stories that were mostly topic centered, lexically explicit, and used prosody that indicated a kind of closure (e.g., falling intonation), the Black kids' narrative style was topic associated, lexically implicit, and used different prosodic structure. Michaels concluded that the consistent problems at sharing time observed between the teacher and Black children emerged from a mismatch between the teacher's and child's prosodic signaling system and narrative schemata. Despite differences in documented narrative styles, it is important to note that African American children produce oral narratives in a variety of styles (e.g., topic associating, topic-centered) across contexts (Hyon, & Sulzby, 1994) that may include the mainstream narrative style.

Related in part to narrative style, Heath's (1982) comparative study examined the relationship between home literacy practices and language development within different communities. She found that parents in the community of Maintown whose culture was



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considered consistent with mainstream, middle-class, used the literacy practices, oral language use, and knowledge/cognitive based activities most congruent with school culture. In Roadville, a White working class community, their literacy practices reflected similarities with school-oriented culture, but did not include key elements in the realm of oral language use. And in Trackton homes, a Black rural community, the children and parents displayed stark differences in oral language use compared to school-like culture, and did employ some literacy practices that will reportedly be rewarded in later elementary school. While Heath acknowledges the strength in the oral language practices and story telling nature of the children from Trackton, she suggests that when they go to school, they would be less familiar with mainstream culture of questioning (e.g., what explanations) and conversational styles likely to be used by the classroom teacher. She also suggested that the students would be behind peers in regard to expected literacy practices. Although Heath was able to gather a large amount of information regarding home literacy practices, she failed to mention the potential significance of dialect in language use and development.

In addition to discourse practices, it seems critical to highlight the teacher's role in assessment and evaluation. When examining the students in the classroom, both spoken and written language skills are used during the administration of an assessment (teacher's role) and when responding to the assessment (student's role). Therefore, it is necessary for teachers to be aware that results of testing may not simply be counted as wrong or right without taking into account the impact of dialectal differences and mismatch. For example, the Dynamic Indicators of Basic Early Literacy Skills (DIBELS) is a series of short tests commonly used by teachers in the US public school

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system to assess literacy in grades kindergarten through 6<sup>th</sup> grade (Kaminski & Cummings, 2007). Teachers use this tool in order to determine the students who are at risk for reading difficulties. Although, consistent patterns of articulation differences and dialect differences are not to be penalized (UO DIBELS Data System, 2013), it is evident that the DIBELS is an assessment designed using MAE linguistic and non-linguistic features. Consider the student who speaks AAE; he is being assessed on his comprehension of the passage orally presented to him in MAE. Due to dialectal differences he may not have understood the passage and will therefore not be able to answer the questions correctly, he may have understood the passage and is retelling the story using AAE, or he may have not understood the MAE vocabulary used in the story. All of these responses, if not recognized for their mismatch, will be assessed as incorrect and may then erroneously mark the student as “at risk”. A teacher’s awareness and competence of spoken and written influences of AAE when examining students with MAE materials is critical in her assessment of the student.

Charity, Scarborough, and Griffin (2004) explored the relationship between familiarity with ME and reading achievement in early stages of schooling. The causal design study examined the sentence imitation and reading skills of 217 African American kindergartners, first-graders, and second-graders, who attended low-performing schools in urban settings. Reading achievement was measured using 3 subtests of the Woodcock Reading Mastery Tests-Revised (i.e., word identification, reading of pseudowords, and comprehension of a short passage provided orally). Sentence imitation was measured by presenting 15 different sentences of varying length and which contained contrastive MAE and AAE features. Quantitative analysis determined that kindergarten through second-

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graders' reading achievement was positively correlated with their familiarity with MAE; the more familiar with MAE, the higher the reading achievement score. Some children were able to imitate MAE forms during the imitation task a high proportion of the time, while others produced more AAE forms instead of MAE forms. Additionally, researchers found that familiarity with MAE increases with socioeconomic status (SES), but there are still wide differences among African American children from low-income communities as well as middle-class communities. Understanding the influence that dialect has on standardized tests of literacy skills, should help acknowledge the bias in standardized assessments overall.

Further evidence from Craig and colleagues suggested similar findings. Craig, Zhang, Hensel, and Quinn (2009) studied the use of dialect shifting in AAE-speaking students and its relation to standardized reading scores. One hundred and sixty-five typically developing, elementary-school-aged African Americans participated in the experimental design. Half the participants were male and one-third were from lower SES communities while the other two-thirds were from middle SES communities. AAE production rates were measured during oral and written narrative samples. Oral language proficiency was measured using 5 indices (i.e., Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test, responses to request for information, mean length of communication units, complex syntax production rates, and number of different words) and written language skill (i.e., ideas, organization, voice, word choice, sentence fluency, conventions, and presentation) was measured using the Beginning Writer's Continuum (BWC; Northwest Regional Educational Laboratory, 2001). Reading scores were measured using various standardized tests which are written and provided orally using MAE (i.e., Gray Oral

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Reading Tests, Iowa Tests of Basic Skills, Terra Nova, Metropolitan Achievement Test, and two reading subtests from the Michigan Educational Assessment Program). After quantitative analysis, results revealed a relation of reading scores to SES and less use of AAE when writing than when speaking. Their research findings proposed and supported a dialect-shifting reading achievement hypothesis, suggesting that students who use AAE, but learn to use MAE in literacy activities, will perform better than their peers who do not develop this linguistic skill. This study states that, “students who adapt to the SAE language of the classroom and curriculum should find classroom learning in general and the acquisition of reading skills in particular to be less of a challenge than do those students who do not make this adaption” (Craig et al., 2009, p. 841). These results suggest that when students learn to use and comprehend the dialect that they are being assessed in, they will perform better. Although the model in the study accounted for 40% of the variance, it is relevant to note that home and school mismatch factors (e.g., prevalence of home literacy materials, culturally different approaches to literacy) were not taken into account during this research.

In sum, these studies help illustrate the ways in which dialect differences shape teacher-child interaction and assessment of child abilities. While these studies highlighted some of the linguistic factors of dialect that propose challenges for African American children at school, the following studies will look at non-linguistic factors of values/discipline and learning style.

### **Non-linguistic factors of African American English.**

*Values/discipline.* The values that African American children are often taught, rather implicitly or explicitly, in the home are likely to differ in part to those seen in the

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classroom. Barbarin, Downer, Odom, and Head (2010) examined home and school differences in beliefs, support, and control in early school-age children. Using a descriptive design, this study incorporated the idea of directionality to test whether the effect of being high or low on a certain quality may differ depending on the environment. Three hundred ten African-American, Latino, and European American families with young children were interviewed observed and filled out self-reports with a focus on family socialization beliefs and practices. Regression analyses on authoritarian beliefs, support practices, and control practices revealed that African-Americans were mismatched with teachers on control strategies and African-Americans beliefs about children and child rearing were incongruent with their children's teachers. Overall, it was found that children experienced better outcomes when both parents and teachers (a) support child-centered beliefs, (b) demonstrate warmth and support (i.e., high support), and (c) promote autonomy (i.e., low control).

Additionally, Bradley (1998) used self-report questionnaires to examine the child rearing practices of 121 African American parents, both mothers and fathers. The first section of the questionnaire provided nine hypothetical situations that varied by age of child and severity of act. The second section measured the frequency in which each disciplinary method was used and at what age. After analysis of variance and frequency distributions were calculated, results showed that “discuss matter”, “give warning look”, “order child not to” and “withdraw privileges” were the most common disciplinary techniques used. Bradley also determined that for these parents, the more severe the circumstance, the more severe the discipline technique. These outcomes are consistent with the notion that African American parents display a more authoritarian approach to

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discipline. While the results were substantial, a comparative study with White parents, using the same measures would reveal a more convincing discussion of “more authoritarian”.

Consistent with potential cultural differences surrounding the idea of authoritarian beliefs, Delpit (1995) describes the manner in which African American teachers give directives to unruly students as direct and explicit, displaying a high degree of personal power. Conversely, she explains that White teachers are more likely to make use of indirect commands, downplaying their display of power (Delpit, 1995). The former scenario is reminiscent of how African American parents discipline their children in the home and what is familiar to their children, while the latter scenario is what occurs in most classrooms with African American children (Delpit, 1995).

***Learning style.*** Aside from discipline, Boykin (1983) has described nine cultural factors specific to African Americans: spirituality, harmony, movement, verve, affect, communalism, expressive individualism, orality, and social time. In particular, the concepts of “verve” and “physicality” have been highlighted in relation to their potential mismatch with predominate school culture. “Verve,” as put forward by Boykin, refers to a specific receptiveness or preference for heightened levels of physical stimulation. African American households have been described as offering a lot of physical stimulation in a high-energy, fast-paced, socially oriented environment (Boykin, 1982). Physicality has been described as a way of communicating through use of posture and gestures in movement (Hasbrook, 1999). It is a multifaceted concept associated with social factors, such as gender, class, race, and ethnicity (Hasbrook, 1999). Additionally, movement conveys the interconnectedness of movement expressiveness, dance,

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percussiveness, rhythm, and syncopated music. Hasbrook (1999) further explains that children learn to associate different physical movements with their perceptions of masculinity and femininity. For example, research has shown that Black men and some women from low-income communities incorporate a set of physical postures and gestures symbolizing toughness, control, and detachment (Hasbrook, 1999). African-American boys especially have been described as using culturally different interactional styles and exhibiting a high degree of physicality (Delpit, 1995). Often times when African American boys are interacting with peers in a way they are used to doing at home and is seen as appropriate in the home, they get penalized for behaving the same way at school (Delpit, 1995). These cultural dimensions of physicality; movement and the heightened physical stimulation concept of “verve” by Boykin (1983) were examined in the following two studies by Boykin and colleagues.

Boykin and Cunningham (2001) studied the effects of movement expressiveness in story and learning contexts on the analogical reasoning of African American children. The study utilized a causal design and measured the impact of performance when incorporating cultural factors into the presentation and content of tasks. The participants included 64 elementary-school-aged African American children, between the ages of 7 and 8, from an urban setting. The children were all identified as low-income. Two questionnaires were given to each participant, one which measured the motoric activity level of the child, the Child Activity Questionnaire (CAQ), and the other which measured the amount of physical stimulation in one’s home environment, the Home Stimulation Affordance Questionnaire (HSA). Additionally, the child’s classroom teacher was asked to complete two assessments of the child’s classroom behavior; Teacher Rating of

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Classroom Motivation (TCM), which measured the teacher's perception of the child's motivation for traditional classroom activities involving completing and engaging in tasks, and the Achievement Rating Scale (ACH) rated the child's overall academic performance. Two stories were adjusted to reflect low movement themes (LMT; e.g., characters' behaviors included activities such as walking and sitting) and high movement themes (HMT; e.g., characters' behaviors reflected activities such as skipping and jumping) and assigned randomly to each child. Learning contexts varied in the amount of movement opportunity and presence or absence of music. For the Low Movement Expressive (LME) context the child sat or stood while listening to the story read and no music was allowed. The High Movement Expressive (HME) context included a rhythmic beat while the story was being read; clapping and dancing were encouraged. Cognitive processing was measured by written responses to 10 encoding questions about the story read and 10 inference questions that were orally presented. An African American male investigator tested the children in groups of four. After using a multifactorial ANOVA, results showed that African American children performed significantly better when exposed to study materials with high movement (i.e., HMT and HME) versus low movement (i.e., LMT and LME). The TCM correlated negatively with the CAQ and the HSA. Results propose that in regard to teacher perception of the child's motivation, the greater the level of motivation, the lower the child rated their activity level and level of home stimulation, suggesting an incompatibility or mismatch between movement expressiveness and traditional classroom practices. A negative correlation was found between ACH and CAQ, suggesting that poorer school performance is associated with a child who is more active and comes from a home environment with more stimulation.



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Although the study further contributed to the cultural mismatch/congruence literature, further investigations are needed to research teachers' awareness of the correlations and reasoning behind their responses. Additionally, exploration regarding the higher performance of encoding questions versus inference questions and how to enhance the inference question performance would prove beneficial.

An additional study of the role of verve in African American children and its impact on learning in the classroom, researched the role of task variability and home contextual factors in the academic performance of African-American school-age children (Bailey and Boykin, 2001). With this experimental design, the researchers gathered 72 African American third and fourth-graders from low-income communities to complete four academic tasks (spelling, vocabulary, mathematics, and picture sequencing). The tasks were given in a low variability (block sequence) or a high variability (random sequence) context. The researchers' prediction that children's home stimulation level would be positively related to their variability preference was supported. Correlational analyses revealed fourth-graders from homes with greater levels of physical stimulation displayed greater preference for variability and were more motivated to perform academic tasks within the higher variability context. Although these results may speak to the relation between the home and school environments, use of observations in the homes would have been beneficial to understanding the particular type of physical stimulation experienced versus the self-reported questionnaire by the children. These two studies suggest that an African American child's tendency for movement, verve, as well as the activity level of his or her home are positively correlated with academic performance in high movement contexts. However, unfortunately for African American children, high

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movement contexts of learning are incongruent with traditional school environments (Boykin and Cunningham, 2002).

Finally, Bohn (2003) illustrates the interaction between learning style and discourse practices from a qualitative case study of one first-grade teacher's successful multicultural education practices. Specifically, Bohn highlights five common AAE rhetorical techniques utilized by this particular teacher: (a) use of repetitive rhythmic phrasing for emphasis, (b) call and response exchanges, (c) testifying, (d) signifying, and (e) code-switching. Repetition was used by a combination of using words and actions alternatively. For example, the teacher would walk around the room chanting, "listen...[clap]...listen...[clap]...listen...[clap]". The students joined in this ritual used as a method for gaining attention. Bohn described the swaying of the children as a response to their teacher's use of intonations, phrasing, and word emphases. Call and response is an exchange between the speaker and audience. Often times seen in African American church services, this technique kept students engaged. Signifying, described as 'putting someone down' or 'making someone feel better', was used by this teacher for the purposes of humor and task clarification. The technique of testifying, seen as acknowledgement of the truth, allowed the teacher to improve the self-esteem and confidence of her students. For example, the teacher helped Carlos, a Mexican American boy, read a sentence out loud to the class that he didn't have the confidence to read before. When he did, she told him to raise his hand and say, "Teacher, I can read this sentence." Finally, code switching was used often (i.e., conscious switching back and forth from AAE to ME) in order to instill humor, invoke solidarity with her students, and express feelings of superiority when implementing shared communication systems to

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“critique” the standard. For example, when executing a math problem in class, the teacher initially used a traditional educational approach using ME. Once her students grasped the concept, she suddenly switched to AAE use along with gestures (i.e., pursed lips and hands on hips) and expressive AAE intonation to help her students feel they could complete the task confidently on their own. These examples of use of oral communication techniques with a foundation in AAE rhetoric were associated with numerous desirable outcomes between the teacher and her students, some of which include continuing the language development of African American students in her class, offering a clear connection between home language and school language, exposing non-African American children to other cultural contexts, and sending a powerful message that as a person in the position of authority, using African American oral cultural traditions, gives the children who match these same traditions a sense of cultural congruence in the classroom.

In sum, studies suggest that the cultural and linguistic backgrounds of many African American children may be mismatched with ‘standard’ academic practices. There are differences in spoken and written language that they must learn to understand, sometimes implicitly, and there are differences in values and learning styles that may be incongruent with traditional classroom culture. Together such variables may create difficult communication interactions between student and teacher, which together with the power differential inherent in such a relationship, can lead to real disadvantages for African American children in the classroom.

### **Power Differential and Cultural Capital in the Classroom**

Inherent, but often not specified, in mismatch theories is the existence of difference in power across individuals in a social interaction. In other words, cultural-linguistic mismatch between teacher and student would not be particularly problematic if it were not for the fact that teachers are in a position of established authority over students. Although all children share the power differential between themselves and the teacher, the effects favor those who share cultural capital with the teacher and disadvantage those who don't. Drawing from French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (see Bourdieu, 1971), I am defining cultural capital as culturally relevant skills, abilities, preferences, tastes, norms, linguistic competence, attitudes, and styles that serve as a form of currency in mainstream society (cf. Carter, 2003; Winkle-Wagner, 2010). As such, African American children who do not share cultural capital with their teachers are likely at greater risk of disciplinary actions, low grades, lower educational placements, and decreased access to other community resources (Blanchett, Mumford, & Beachum, 2005; Delpit, 1988; Monroe, 2006; Phillips, McNaughton, & MacDonald, 2004).

Downey and Pribesh (2004) examined teachers' perceptions of Black students' behavior by extending past work of a Baltimore study comparing the effects of matching teacher and student race across different stages of school. Data were used from the National Center for Educational Statistics (NCES) - The Early Longitudinal Study (ELS) - Kindergarten class of 1998-1999 and the National Educational Longitudinal Study (NELS) of 1988 for eighth graders. Of the kindergarten class, 70% of Black students matched with a teacher of a different race while 2% of White students matched with the teacher from a different race. Regarding the eighth graders, 64% of Blacks students

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matched with the teacher of a different race while 3% of White students matched with the teacher of a different race. Externalizing problem behavior (noted if the child (a) argued, (b) fought, (c) got angry, (d) acted impulsively or (e) disturbed ongoing activities) and approaches to learning (determined by (a) attentiveness, (b) task persistence, (c) eagerness to learn, (d) learning independence, (e) flexibility, and (f) organization) were measured for kindergartners. Eighth graders' English teachers were asked to rate their students on a composite score for Effort (i.e., attentiveness, perform below ability, rarely completes homework) and report if the student was frequently disruptive. Results showed that overall, Black students in *both* kindergarten and eighth grade were typically rated as poorer classroom citizens than White students, however this pattern did not persist when the teacher's race (i.e., Black teachers versus White teachers) was taken into account. These results suggest that race continues to matter in the classroom spanning from early schooling stages into adolescence. Despite the results, it is important to understand that the study represented data that was only a snapshot in a student-teacher relationship and did not include socioeconomic status as a matching variable. Furthermore, the use of quantitative data analysis makes it difficult to address the complexities of race and relationships.

Farkas, Grobe, Sheehan, and Shuan (1990) tested a cultural resources/social interaction model in an urban southwestern city school district by analyzing a unique data set that allowed for a block-recursive model of the processing of course-grade assignment. This study examined the informal academic standards by which teachers reward more general skills, habits, and styles versus the high status resources (e.g., music and arts) that have been previously investigated. Seventh and eighth grade students were

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measured on basic academic skills, students' habits and styles (i.e., habits, judged by the teacher in regard to homework, class participation, effort, and organization; and style, judged by the teacher as a student's disruptiveness, appearance and dress), coursework mastery, and course grades. Data also included student and teacher characteristics.

Regression analysis revealed that low-income students scored lower on basic skills than higher income students and were judged to have a less pleasing appearance. African-American teachers differed from White teachers, reporting better work habits for African-Americans and Hispanics than their White students, White teachers reported opposite patterns. African American teachers reported African American students as being more disruptive than White students. Cultural resources/social interaction model of school achievement is strongly supported by these results. More detailed results demonstrate that teacher judgment of student habits and styles did influence course grades. This may be interpreted as granting rewards to those who fit the "correct" habits and styles, embracing the cultural capital of the classroom. Further investigation to delineate the habits and styles of the students would be beneficial.

While other studies examined 'teacher perception' from a teacher's point of view (Downey & Pribesh, 2004; Ferguson, 2003; LaVonne & McCray, 2003; Zimmerman, Khoury, Vega, Gil, & Warheit, 1995), Carter (2003) explored 'teacher perception' from students' points of view. Using a grounded theory approach, Carter performed semi-structured, open-ended, individual interviews with 44 African-American and Latino youth living in low-income neighborhoods in Yonkers, New York. Her goal was to examine how perceptions of race, ethnicity, and gender influenced their schooling behaviors and career aspirations, including use of "appropriate" cultural behaviors

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among peers and family (e.g., speech, dress, and code switching). Results from her section on Race, School, and Different Cultural Capital forms revealed students' perceptions of conforming to cultural expectations of school. The students felt that teachers value passivity, do not think that students are smart because of the way they act or dress, have lower expectations of them, and viewed them as less capable or less mature. Additionally, the students felt that their cultural presentations negatively influenced teachers' evaluations of them. Other students understood the significance of conforming to the dominant culture in regard to clothing, deportment, or linguistic patterns in order to be successful in the classroom. Carter's data suggests that while low-income Black students' use of non-dominant cultural capital gains social benefits within their own community, the school system along with its teachers and administrators devalue these examples of cultural capital.

Taken together, these research studies show the harm that may occur with teacher-student mismatch (e.g., dominant cultural capital and non-dominant cultural capital), resulting in misperceptions, and eventually leading to potential educational disadvantages and consequences for students with cultural-linguistic differences. Given the literature to date, it becomes clear that the achievement gap of African American children cannot be reduced to a single factor, but is instead instantiated in a complex interplay of cultural-linguistic variables.

## **Ethnographic Research**

The present study intends to utilize ethnographic methods to study the complex patterns of interaction likely to unfold between teachers and children that differ in terms of cultural-linguistic backgrounds. Ethnographic methods may be described as the study

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of meaning structured “by collectively shared and transmitted symbols, understandings, and ways of being” (Miller, Hengst, & Wang, 2003, p.219). Such studies tend to rely heavily on data collected through interview, observation, and artifacts. Although reductionist models, such as experimental group design, that have a focus on identifying specific cause-effect relationships, have largely dominated the field of CSD, other fields such as education and anthropology have drawn heavily upon case studies and ethnographic methods to illuminate complex landscapes. The present study employs ethnographic methods for three key reasons: a) my interest in understanding the complexities of teacher-child interactions; b) my desire to prioritize trusting and beneficial relationships with individual participants and the school as a whole (consistent with action-based research); and c) my intent to remain open to perspectives that may not be currently captured by the mainstream academic community. All of these reasons for ethnographic research seem particularly important when working with individuals from culturally distinct and potentially disadvantaged groups. Harris (1996) asserts that when studying subjects who have typically been a vulnerable population in research (e.g., African Americans, children, or low-income communities) it is particularly important to gain access to the community or individual via trust and acknowledgement of cultural differences or other mismatches between the researcher and her subjects (e.g., class differences, educational differences, or gender differences).

### **Primary Investigator’s Background**

Consistent with ethnographic methods, I will provide a brief overview of my professional background as it relates to the current study. I am an African American female speech-language pathologist. As a child, I was educated in the public school



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system in a suburban east coast town. Having been one of a handful of African American students in honors classes, gifted and talented classes, and advanced placement classes, I often wondered why there were not as many African Americans in my classes. My parents, both African American, were raised in the south in the 1960s and are one of the few people in their families to receive higher education degrees. As a result of their educational journey, I was exposed to the dominant cultural capital of the school system within my home, which enabled me to be a successful student (e.g., performed well academically, favorable teacher perceptions). As an adult, I worked as a clinician for 10 years in the New York City public and private school systems. As such, the majority of my caseload was African American boys, and the majority of their teachers were White, middle-class females. I often times would perform pull-out therapy sessions, as is common in the field of communication sciences and disorders. However, as my career advanced I started to make push-in sessions a critical part of my therapy in order (a) to determine if carryover was occurring in the classroom, (b) to be in line with the curriculum and assignments in the classroom, and (c) to see where the communication breakdowns were occurring. I observed that the communication interactions between my students and their teachers were not always successful or effective. However, once I spent more time in the classroom, I realized that the unsuccessful communication interactions were not consistently due to the speech or language disorder that my student was diagnosed with or the inability of the child to understand. Basically, the communication failure was not always the child's "fault". There were times when communication interactions failed as a result of language processing variability, cultural differences, linguistic differences, or even common miscommunication breakdowns. My

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main concern was determining what role this was playing on my students' levels of confidence and academic performance. As a SLP I realized that our profession has the background, the resources, and the expertise to improve teacher-student communication interactions.

Given my interests and experience, I spent part of my first year as a PhD student in the department of Speech and Hearing Sciences volunteering for the Mountaintop After-school Program (MAP) at Arnold Elementary school (both pseudonyms), located in a Midwest university town. One of the aims of this program was to explicitly introduce concepts related to cultural and linguistic diversity to students, including the topic of dialect differences. After working for a year in the program, I was keenly aware of the communication differences between the students of various cultural and linguistic backgrounds and how they related to the predominantly White, middle-class female volunteers in the program. In addition, I became increasingly interested in how such interactions were unfolding in classroom interactions during the course of the school day. Based on these experiences and the literature presented, I conducted an ethnographic study to address the following specific aims with particular interest in African American children from low-income communities who use AAE:

1. Illustrate patterns of interaction between the teacher and children of different cultural-linguistic backgrounds.
2. Examine the role of dialect in teacher-child interaction.
3. Examine the role of dialect in language-literacy activities.

## **Chapter II**

### **Methodology**

#### **Research Collaborators**

The research team consisted of the primary author, a doctoral student in the department of Speech and Hearing Science (SHS), three associate professors of SHS from the student's research committee (Drs. DeThorne, Hengst, and Johnson,), and four undergraduate students in SHS, one of whom has utilized an aspect of this study for her James Scholar project (Dey). Three of the undergraduate students identify themselves as Caucasian, while one identifies herself as Middle Eastern. Dr. DeThorne has expertise in child language disability and experience working with linguistically diverse populations, in particular at the research site of interest. Dr. Hengst additionally brings her expertise in language disorders, clinical practice, and ethnographic research methodology, while Dr. Johnson provides specialization in school-age language and experience working with multi-culturally diverse children. All three professors identify as Caucasian, and together with the primary investigator are ASHA-certified speech-language pathologists.

#### **Gaining Access**

As mentioned previously, our associations with Arnold Elementary School emerged in large part through development of the Mountaintop Afterschool Program (MAP). MAP began in the fall of 2011 through a grass-roots coalition of five parents of children at Arnold Elementary. Two of those parents were also academics, one being Dr. DeThorne and the other an adjunct faculty member in English, and two were graduate students at the University of Illinois in the field of Education. The goal of the program was to address the increased need for diversity awareness amongst Arnold Elementary's

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community (The Mountaintop Afterschool Program abstract, 2013). Additionally, MAP's aim was to impart a program with goals of 1) cultural-linguistic awareness, 2) positive identity, 3) social interaction, 4) and academic success for students with diverse cultural and linguistic backgrounds (The MAP abstract, 2013).

I joined MAP in the fall of 2012 as a PhD student in the department of SHS at the University of Illinois, with Dr. Laura DeThorne as my primary mentor. At this point, Dr. DeThorne's son no longer attended Arnold or MAP and she was interested in spearheading ethnographic research at the site to capture some of the complex interactions she had observed. Given my experience as a school-based SLP, I found myself particularly curious as to how the cross-cultural interactions I observed at MAP were playing out in the context of the school day, particularly between children and their teachers. During the 2012-2013 school year, I assisted with MAP (as detailed in the literature review). In the spring of 2013, Dr. DeThorne and I met with the school's principal to determine her receptivity to an ethnographic study of classroom interactions. With her consent, I approached a kindergarten teacher, Mrs. Arrow, who Dr. DeThorne knew personally and who also had two children from MAP in her classroom, to ask if I, and two assisting undergraduates, could volunteer in her classroom weekly. We received her consent and we volunteered 2 times within her classroom for a total of 2 hours across 2 weeks. This experience helped me build a relationship with the teacher and children and to consider how details of this proposed ethnographic study might be fashioned.

### **The Site**

Arnold Elementary is located in a Midwestern school district with students from 77 different countries who speak over 80 different languages, based on the district's

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website (July, 2013). The district students are 41.2% White, 34.9% Black, 8.8% Hispanic, 9.7% Asian, and 5% two or More Races, with low-income students at 55.9% and Limited English Proficiency (LEP) students at 6%. Similar to the *Ann Arbor* Case, this Midwestern school district has a history of legal complaints about racial inequalities, particularly with respect to African Americans. Based on the district's website, a consent decree was initiated by a group of African American community members in 1996 due to "system-wide discrimination with-in student assignments, with-in school segregation practices and tracking, discipline, and staffing." At this time, Arnold Elementary, filled to 50 percent capacity, was identified as an "underchosen school in danger of state sanctions." In September 1996, the Office of Civil Rights (OCR) commenced a proactive compliance review of the school district, targeting particular issues, such as over-representation of minorities in special education, and under representation of minorities in upper level classes, based on the district's website. The results confirmed statistical disparities between majority and minority students in the areas of special education, upper level classes, gifted classes, discipline, and within school segregation. In 1998, the Education Equity Memorandum was initiated and required "parties to develop a clear process and a detailed 'Implementation Plan' to achieve educational equity for African Americans", as reported by the district's website. The consent decree became effective in 2002 and was deemed successfully fulfilled in 2009 by a judge. The Settlement Agreement with the District established a commitment to continued implementation of equity policies regarding the opening and closing of schools, and continued academic progress with a particular emphasis on African Americans. The Educational Equity Excellence Committee was developed to assist and guide these tenets. One of the notable

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improvements in the district from the consent decree was Arnold's conversion from a school with state sanctions into a State Spotlight School that included a waiting list for students, as reported by the district's website (July, 2013).

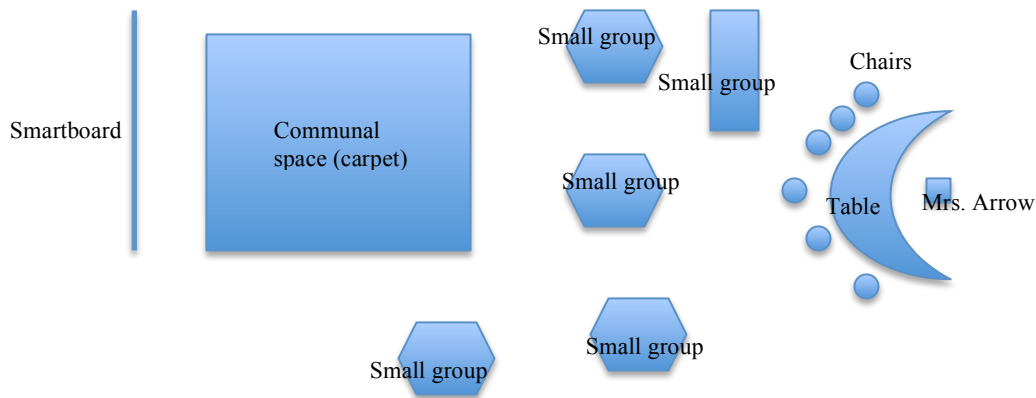
Arnold is an elementary school serving grades kindergarten through fifth grade within this town's district. The school consists of 472 students: 20.3% White, 44.3 % Black, 15.3% Hispanic, 13.1% Asian and 7% multiethnic/racial; 73.9% are identified as low-income students, based on a larger city's website (July, 2013). Table C2 provides a summary of student demographics and class size at Arnold Elementary in relation to local school district and statewide values. Demographic breakdown of the teacher population was not reported. In 2012, 67.9% of Arnold Elementary's student population had met or exceeded standards associated with the Illinois Standard Achievement Test (ISAT). Table C3 provides an overview of ISAT scores from third grade, which is the earliest grade the tests are given. These data are reported as the percentage of the student body that meets and percentage that exceeds standards and is presented in relation to district and statewide values (Chicago Tribune, 2012).<sup>3</sup> In addition to our established connection with the school, Arnold Elementary School provided a promising location for the present study given the high prevalence of racial minority groups, especially African American children, the high rate of children from lower SES backgrounds, the history of racial inequities, and low ISAT scores.

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<sup>3</sup> Tables C2 and C3 re-created using information from Chicago Tribune, 2012.

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**Classroom setting.** Mrs. Arrow's class population of 25 students consisted of multicultural children with only one child whose race was identified by the teacher and primary investigator as White. The other children appeared to be of African American, African, Latino/a, Filipino, and Indian descent. Mrs. Arrow's classroom presented as a traditional kindergarten classroom (see Figure 1).



*Figure 1. Mrs. Arrow's kindergarten classroom set-up.*

There were small groups of tables set up around the room with equipped with chairs for five to six students. Each student had their name printed on a laminated piece of paper and placed in front of their assigned seat. Each table group was designated by a color (this happened to be the color of the small bin that held pencils and crayons), this is how Mrs. Arrow called the students to the gather into larger groups. The room also had a communal space, the rug area, where the students would gather (in assigned spaces) to sit and listen to stories being read, interact with Smartboard activities, watch videos displayed from Mrs. Arrow's computer, visit with a classroom guest, or learn a group lesson. Mrs. Arrow's classroom also had a kidney shaped table towards the back of the classroom where she would often have smaller groups come and learn. This is also the space she used to perform one-on-one instruction or assessments. The classroom had literacy and math center activities and manipulatives placed in the shelves of the

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classroom, which bordered the walls. In addition to the centers, children's book boxes were also placed next to each other on top of the bookshelves. Finally, the room had a soft space, furnished with a few toys and a beanbag. During the time the researchers were present, we observed this as a place children would go to either take individual naps or calm themselves down if their behavior seemed unacceptable to Mrs. Arrow or the teacher assistant.

## Recruitment of Participants

Several methods were used in an attempt to recruit participants. After asking for permission from the school's principal and Mrs. Arrow, I placed flyers in the students' backpacks and sent them home. This was done consistently over a period of two weeks. Unfortunately, this method did not yield any responses from parents or caregivers. Next, I spoke with Mrs. Arrow and asked her for suggestions regarding possible participants appropriate for the focus of my research study. I received some names and was also given information regarding parent-teacher conferences and other meetings that were happening within the next few weeks, as possible times and places to recruit.

The first event that I attended was the school's English as a Second Language (ESL) night. It was held on October 2, 2013 at 7pm, in the school's library. The parents of children in the school's ESL program were invited to attend. Here, I was able to recruit my first participant, Ben. Next, I attended the parent-teacher conferences on Thursday, October 24, 2013. I seated myself outside of Mrs. Arrow's door and waited patiently for parents/caregivers to show up. As a result, I was able to see a list of the students' names along with their parents who showed up for the meetings. This helped because I could then target certain students whom I thought would be appropriate



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participants for my study. From this method, I was successfully able to recruit my last two participants, Leo, and MJ. By attending these school events, I was able to meet and talk with the parents of my participants face-to-face, a first step in building rapport with my participants' families.

### **Case Participants**

This study included three primary participants: MJ, Ben, and Leo<sup>4</sup>. In the present analyses, data from Ben and Leo were utilized primarily as a means to foreground data collected from MJ, who served as the focal case. In addition, there were twelve secondary participants used in this study and four incidental participants who were present in Mrs. Arrow's room and interacted with the students at various times.

Descriptive information on participants was taken from the *Diagnostic Evaluation of Language Variation* (DELV; Seymour, Roeper, & de Villiers, 2003), language samples, and interviews. The (DELV) is a screening test that was given to each child participant to determine the degree of language variation from Mainstream American English (MAE) (e.g., strong, some) and the "risk" for the child having a language disorder (e.g., low, high). Language samples, ranging from 3 to 13 minutes, were taken for each child participant in order to document their nonmainstream dialect use in fluent conversational speech. These language samples were taken while asking casual open-ended questions and while playing a board game.

**Primary participants.** The communication interactions involving MJ, a 6-year-old African American boy, served as the primary focus of this study. Based on information from the interview, MJ's mom, Mrs. Jackson, was in her early 40s and had

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<sup>4</sup> Pseudonyms are used for all participants as stipulated in our informed consent agreement.

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been working as a sales representative for the past 11 years. Mrs. Jackson is a high school graduate and at the time of the interview she had 1 year left at a local community college to attain a business degree. The Jackson family lived in their home on the north side of town, just outside of the school community.

MJ spoke using features of African American English and displayed strong expressive and receptive language skills. This was confirmed not only through observations, interactions, interviews, and a language sample (see Appendix E), but also through administration of the DELV. The results stated that MJ's language demonstrated a "strong variation from Mainstream American English" and that he was also a child at the "lowest risk for disorder." Example features included zero 's' in use of 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular (e.g., "The girl always sleep" or "The boy always ride") and variation in 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular use of "do" versus "does" (e.g., "...but this boy *don't* like"). Both his teacher and his mother confirm in interviews that MJ's language and communication skills were adept and were strengths for him. Mrs. Arrow explained, "...I can talk to him in a way that I cannot talk to other children..." In alignment with Mrs. Arrow's observations of MJ, Mrs. Jackson also spoke positively about MJ's communication, stating, "...[MJ] loves to be in the company of people...he loves to talk...to be in the company of people and communicating and talking." Based on information provided by Mrs. Jackson, MJ's preschool experience was at the local Head Start program. Mrs. Jackson felt that this program prepared MJ well for kindergarten, "They worked on everything that...they needed for kindergarten. He was doing pretty well." When asked to describe his strengths, Mrs. Jackson continued to expand upon his strengths with

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communication, like storytelling, remembering specific details, and communicating differently with different family members.

Ben, a 5 year-old Filipino boy, had recently moved to the United States from the Philippines. Communication with Ben's father regarding the timing of their move to the United States was unclear. Based on information provided during the interview, Ben's father worked as a systems engineer in the Philippines and his mother worked as an assistant manager. At the time of the interview, both parents worked as nursing assistants. They lived in an apartment on the southwest side of the town. Ben's father stated that in the Philippines, Ben spoke Tagalog and Capampangan (another Filipino language) with his parents and other family members, particularly his grandfather. At the time of data collection, Ben was the only primary participant enrolled in ESL classes. Through observations, interactions, interviews, and a language sample, it was confirmed that Ben was learning English. Administration of the DELV suggested that Ben spoke "some variation from MAE" and that he was a child at the "highest risk for a language disorder." Consistent with caveats stated in the DELV manual, such results are likely associated with being an English Language Learner (ELL) rather than indicative of disorder. Example language features include variation in possessive pronouns (e.g., "the girl" versus "hers") and non-standard variation of 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular (e.g., "sleep" versus "sleeps").

Leo, a 5 year-old Filipino American boy, was born in America, but both of his parents and all three of his older brothers were born in the Philippines. Based on information provided during the interview, Leo's parents reported they had just recently purchased their first home and were living in the southwest part of town. Both parents

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worked as nurses. During the interview, his father commented that although the parents speak Tagalog (a major language of the Philippines) to each other and to their older sons, they speak English to Leo. Through observations, interactions, interviews, and a language sample, it was confirmed that Leo spoke English, but produced only 32 utterances in 13 minutes. Further assessment using the DELV suggested that Leo spoke “some variation from MAE” and that he was a child at the “highest risk for a language disorder.” Example language features include inconsistent production of copula/auxiliary verbs (e.g., use of present tense versus past tense) and non-standard variation across 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular (e.g., omitted helping verbs). The researchers propose that this result may be from Leo learning to speak English from his parents’ Tagalog-influenced English, which was noted and observed during the interview.

**Secondary participants.** Secondary participants included Mrs. Arrow (lead teacher), Ms. Taft (assistant teacher), MJ’s mother (Mrs. Jackson), Ben’s mother and father, Leo’s mother and father, multiple classroom volunteers (i.e., Keisha, Becky, Alice) and visitors (e.g., Nurse Jan). Given their prominent role in understanding the primary participants, I interviewed Mrs. Arrow, and at least one parent of each child. Parent information is provided above with the primary participants, consequently we focus here on Mrs. Arrow.

Mrs. Arrow, of European American background, spoke using MAE features<sup>5</sup>. She reported that she began her teaching career in a major metropolitan neighborhood in the Midwest where the majority of her children were African American and came from a low-income community. At the time of the study, Mrs. Arrow had been teaching for

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<sup>5</sup> This was observed by the primary investigator and confirmed by conducting a brief analysis of the transcribed interview with Mrs. Arrow.

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seven years and this was her fifth year teaching kindergarten. Before she was a classroom teacher she taught acting to adults and children. During the interview, Mrs. Arrow was asked about her perceptions regarding the different home languages and dialects that students come to school with, more specifically, the population of students she teaches. In her response, Mrs. Arrow remembered the teachings of a former colleague of hers, a Black woman who taught fifth grade:

I don't know there was a lot of stuff that I didn't know...I mean the whole thing was new to me...you know...I always heard her talk to her students. She would ...she would correct their language and the way she did it was that she said, um, this is how we talk at school. (Interview, line#71-75)

However, Mrs. Arrow, as a kindergarten teacher, felt that her priorities were different. She focused her classroom culture on, "...teaching them how to be good people and be kind to one another and get along." Another part of her classroom culture that was highlighted in the interview was her use of physicality<sup>6</sup> in the classroom. Often times Mrs. Arrow would incorporate small activities (or breaks) that allowed for the whole body to move rigorously. For example, she had the students "pick" apples from the tree one-by-one to work on counting skills or having students "punch" out the last sound of a word during a phonological awareness task. Each day she played a YouTube video that had a dance routine assigned to a song that focused on phonological awareness skills.

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<sup>6</sup> Drawing on Hasbrook's (1999) definition of physicality (see page 22), in this study, physicality was conceptualized as the interaction of gross motor movements and posturing associated with the author's concept of social factors (e.g., socioeconomic status, race, culture, gender). This conceptualization of physicality was applied to the current analyses. Conversely, gesture was conceptualized as non-verbal communication motion of more specified body part (e.g., hands, head, face).

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When asked about this inclusion of physicality into her classroom culture, she stated, “I totally have just picked that up from other teachers...and then also one summer I...went on YouTube and found whole-brain teaching and that just changed how I teach.”

### **Data Collection**

Data collection used ethnographic methods in order to explore the communicative interactions that occurred in an academic setting between the classroom teacher(s) and the primary participants. Data were collected in multiple forms: (a) classroom observational field notes, which focused on the interactions between primary participants, specifically children and their classroom teacher; (b) in-person interviews of six secondary participants; (c) videotaped observation of primary participants and their teacher interacting during small group literacy instruction; and (d) videotaped observation of primary participants and a caregiver(s) in their home environment. Research meetings were held weekly in order to monitor consistency, clarify questions and concerns, and discuss data collection. For the purposes of this study, the current analyses will focus on information gathered from field notes, classroom videos, and MJ’s home video. Additional data, particularly the videotaped observations of Ben and Leo, were reserved for later analyses.

**Classroom observations.** Classroom observations for each child were conducted 3 days/week (Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday) across a seven-week period for a total of 16 days. All observations occurred during language-rich activities, such as literacy lessons and literacy centers in order to capture communicative interactions within group exchanges and within one-on-one teacher-student exchanges. Each day had two

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investigators taking field notes with one investigator acting as the videographer when it came time to film literacy centers. The goal for each day was for each investigator to take observational field notes for 20-30 minutes on each of the three children who were present. The field note observations focused on key challenges and supports for (a) social interaction, (b) literacy instruction, and (c) academic engagement. Based on anticipation of dialectal differences between Mrs. Arrow and the primary participants, the teacher's mode of presentation (e.g., visual, auditory, tactile) as well as manner (e.g., explicit, implicit) of providing conceptual instruction, asking questions (e.g., type and frequency), giving comments, or stating demands were also observed. Regarding the students, observations concentrated on direct one-on-one interactions between a teacher and the child. Each researcher used a notebook in order to take field notes on the key communication interactions and outcomes. The notes were then expanded with additional detail within a 24-hour period and typed into a Microsoft Word document by the examiner who conducted the observation, in order to aid with coding and analyses.

**Videotaped observation of target activities.** The goal was to videotape 10-minute one-on-one literacy instruction once a week for each child over the course of eight weeks, using a handheld Canon PowerShot S750 Digital Elph camera and a FlipCam. Participants were briefly desensitized to camera usage (camera was handheld by the videographer) by implementing "videotaped" classroom observations with the FlipCam, two weeks prior to formal data collection. Although no actual footage was taken during this time, it allowed the participants adequate time to become accustomed to the presence of the camera while performing literacy activities. Formal video collection relied on the Canon's and FlipCam's internal microphone. After formal video data was collected,

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footage was reviewed with note-taking procedures on teacher-child interactions that mimic the same details as utilized in the observational field notes. Selected video data were transcribed, displaying the target primary participant's (MJ's) interactions with Mrs. Arrow.

**Interviews.** Semi-structured interviews with guided questions (see Appendix A) were conducted with six secondary participants (i.e., lead teacher and students' caregivers). Follow-up questions were utilized to gain additional information and clarification on topics of interest (see example for teachers in Appendix A). Interviews were conducted in person at a convenient location for the teacher and caregivers. Mrs. Arrow requested that the interview be conducted at Arnold Elementary School, in her classroom, and each of the caregivers preferred the interviews take place in their homes. The interviews were approximately 30-minutes long and audiotaped using a Sony mini cassette recorder with an external microphone. Questions focused on description of the each child's communication abilities, perceptions and understanding of dialect across settings and activities, use of home languages, and teacher/parent's role when working with students from non-mainstream cultural and linguistic backgrounds. All interviews were transcribed according to conventions of discourse analyses (Miller, Hengst, & Wang, 2003).

## Data Analysis

**Procedures for coding field notes.** Formal data analysis began 6 weeks after all data were collected and focused on characterizing direct one-on-one teacher-child interactions in the classroom. For this purpose, a teacher was considered any adult in the classroom who interacted with any one of the three primary participants. Using a



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grounded theory approach (Glaser & Strauss, 1967), coding categories were created based on existent literature on communication interactions in the classroom (Brophy & Good, 1969) and emergent themes identified by analysis of the data by the research team. Three total coding passes were made on the field note data.

The goal of the first coding pass was to determine direct one-on-one teacher-child interactions. The researchers started by first choosing one sample field note to perform a practice coding; this was executed at the beginning of each coding pass. Each team member coded a field note sample, marking what was defined as a direct interaction between a teacher and a child while also attempting to delineate the beginning and ending of the interaction. Through an iterative process of sample coding and discussion, the team operationally defined a direct teacher-child one-on-one interaction as one that: (a) only involved a teacher-child interaction (not a peer of the child), (b) did not include researchers in the interaction, and (c) included two parts specifically directed to one another resulting in a direct turn-taking exchange. The team then formally went through the entire data of field notes and highlighted the direct teacher-child interactions. In order to assure credibility, on each pass the primary investigator checked all relevant codes in conjunction with the original coder and resolved any disagreements through consensus.

Next, we focused our attention for the second coding pass on *who* initiated each teacher-child interaction. The second coding pass with the field notes applied the following instructions: (a) code who initiated the interaction; (b) highlight the beginning to the end of the interaction (include the initiator, the actual interaction that occurred, and the response); and (c) differentiate each initiation as: Teacher-initiated, Child-initiated, or

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Prompted child-initiated. Prompted child-initiated was defined as: 1) when a teacher initiates to a group (class, large group, small group, table, 2 or more students), 2) the student responds to this, and 3) teacher acknowledges that response. For example, if the teacher asked a question to a group of students, then a student raises his hand *and* is called on, this shows that: 1) the student has initiated an interaction as a result of the teacher's prompt, 2) the teacher has acknowledged his response, and 3) a direct one-on-one interaction has occurred.

The aim of the third coding pass was to determine communicative functions. A review of relevant literature regarding communicative functions often observed in the classroom (Brophy & Good, 1969) as well as review of our field notes helped to establish a preliminary set of communicative functions. Two significant decisions were made during this third coding pass. The first one occurred before we even began coding. In order to get a comparable sense of the classroom dynamics that occur between teacher and students, we decided to use the same communicative functions for both the teachers and the students. For example, instead of using "praise/compliment" as a communicative function code just for teachers, we applied the same set of codes for both teachers and students. A second major decision centered on prioritizing purpose of communication over syntactic category. For example, if a teacher said, "could you turn on the lights?", the syntax of the sentence denotes a question, but the function/intent of the question (particularly, in a classroom) connotes a direction. Once these shared coding concepts were established and the communicative functions were established (see Appendix D for a complete list, definitions, and examples), the third coding pass was completed.

**Procedures for analyzing video data.** Once the codes from the field note data were established, the primary investigator used these codes as a guide for targeting relevant teacher-child interactions in the videos. Each video was viewed and comments were written concerning relevant and noteworthy interactions. As a result, four different literacy videos were chosen that highlighted similar communication functions observed in the field note data, as well as interactions that seemed particularly remarkable in terms of paralinguistic factors (e.g., gestures) and non-linguistic factors (e.g., physicality). Within each of these four videos, five different literacy events were selected for analyses. The undergraduate researcher assistants transcribed the selected videos (in addition to the home video) onto Microsoft Word documents according to specified conventions (Miller, Hengst, & Wang, 2003). Discourse analyses were performed on the selected video recordings from the literacy groups and on MJ's home visit video.

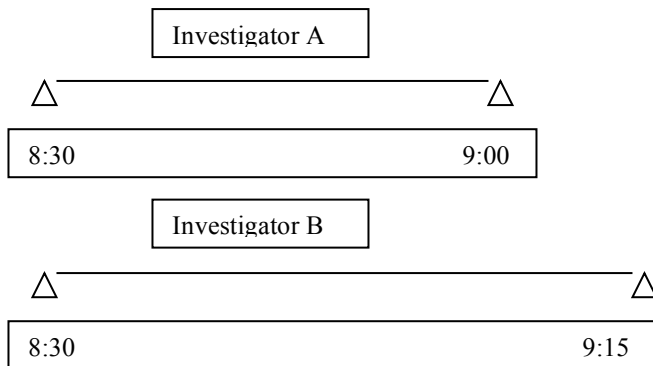
**Analyzing interview data for information about context.** Four interviews were transcribed using a line-by-line orthographic transcription system into Microsoft Word documents. The transcripts were reviewed for background information on participants and information relevant to the categorical analysis of the field notes. The interview data are used here to provide contextual details about case participants and to guide our interpretations of the observational data.

### Chapter III

#### Findings

##### Participant Data Summaries

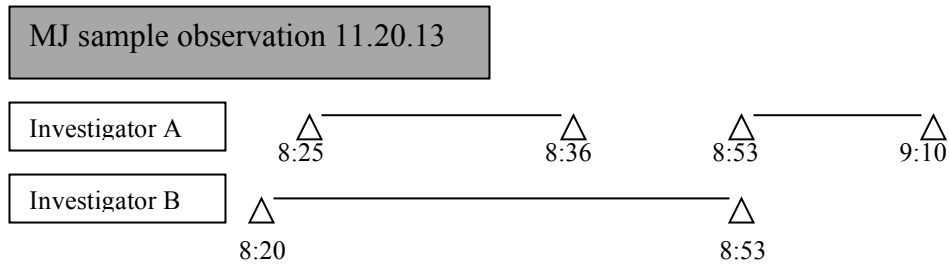
Table 4 summarizes data by participant in terms of classroom observational field notes, home videos, and classroom videos. The *total minutes observed*, in the classroom from field note data, for each participant was calculated by adding up all of the minutes each investigator observed the participant, even if the observations by the investigators overlapped. For example, if investigator A observed Ben for 30 minutes and investigator B observed Ben for 30 minutes, if these were the same 30 minutes, the total would be calculated as 60 minutes. Additionally, if investigator A observed for 30 minutes and investigator B observed for those same 30 minutes plus an additional 15 minutes, the total minutes observed would be calculated at 75 minutes. See example below.



The *non-redundant minutes observed* for each participant were calculated by adding together the number of minutes observed by each investigator, taking into account times when observations overlapped. For example, if investigator A observed MJ for 30 minutes and investigator B observed MJ for the same 30 minutes, then the number of non-redundant total minutes for that specific observation would be 30 minutes.

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Complexity in the *non-redundant minutes observed* calculations began when the overlapping minutes did not match directly. See example below.



In this case, the calculations were made by adding up the all of Investigator B's minutes of observation (i.e., 33 minutes) plus the non-redundant observations by Investigator A (i.e., from 8:53 to 9:10 ~ 17min) for a total of 50 *non-redundant observation minutes*.

Although MJ's *total minutes observed* was 872, when we took into account the number of redundant observations, his total *non-redundant minutes observed* decreased to 647 minutes. This pattern was also seen with Ben and Leo.

*Average total minutes observed per day* was calculated by dividing the *total minutes observed* by the *#of days observed*. To determine the *range of total minutes observed*, the fewest number of minutes that an observation lasted during the entire 16 days was recorded, as well as the highest number of minutes that an observation lasted. The same process was used to determine the *average total non-redundant minutes* and the *range of non-redundant minutes*, which remained the same.

The *average total minutes observed per day* for MJ was 54.5; when accounting for redundant observations, his average minutes decreased to 40.44. This pattern was consistent for the key classmate participants as well. Ben and Leo averaged 54.56 and 55.12 minutes of observation per day respectively; when taking into account redundant observations, Ben was observed for 43.13 minutes and Leo for 42.31 minutes. The goal

## Communication Interactions

of each investigator was to observe a participant for 30 minutes per day, however, due to circumstances of the classroom, which were stated earlier, this was not always possible.

The *classroom videos* listed in Table 5 show the number of days that videos were taken (i.e., *#Days videotaped*) of each participant during the structured literacy center reading times with Mrs. Arrow. MJ and Leo were in the same reading group, therefore some of their videos had both of them in it at the same time. Ben was in a different reading group. The length of the videos ranged from 1 minute 39 seconds long to 15 minutes 48 seconds long. The *total minutes* was calculated by adding up the total number of minutes for each video in which the child was visually featured.

The *home videos* listed show the length of time an interaction was recorded at the home of one of the participants. MJ's mother chose to have MJ sing a song from a YouTube video that was one of his favorites. He sang along and rapped to the song by himself. Ben and his father verbally interacted while drawing, doing flashcards, or singing. Leo and his father started to put together an arts and crafts activity, but this activity stopped in the middle. Leo was also recorded playing basketball with his brother and playing a video game by himself. For the present study, only MJ's home video data were analyzed.

Semi-structured *interviews* took place in the homes of the participants' caregivers. Each interview lasted approximately 30 minutes. MJ's mother participated in his interview, Ben's mother and father participated for his interview, and Leo's mother and father both participated for his interview as well.

## Communication Interactions

Table 4

### *Participant Data Summaries*

Data	MJ	Ben	Leo	Total
Participant observation				
#Days observed	16	16	16	
Field notes				
Total minutes observed	872	873	883	2628m
Nonredundant minutes observed	647	690	677	2014m
Average total minutes observed per day across examiners	54.5	54.56	55.12	
Average total nonredundant minutes observed per day across examiners	40.44	43.13	42.31	
Home videos	13:26m	9:28m	11:42m	34:36
Classroom videos				
#Days videotaped	5	7	6	
Minutes	40:27	70:13	45:26	129:30*
Interviews	30:22 + 2:55	27:27	25:41	86:25

\*Due to overlap of MJ and Leo footage

### **Summary of Total Observed and Coded Direct One-on-One Interactions – Redundancies Accounted For**

Table 5 provides a summary of the total observed direct one-on-one interactions that were coded within our field notes with redundancies accounted for. The first four rows denote the frequencies of interactions that were coded within the field notes. The next row shows us a density measure of how many interactions were coded for per hour for each participant. Finally, the last three rows provide the percentages of the specific interactions (i.e., child-initiated, teacher-initiated, and child prompted initiated) that were coded from observed interactions found within the field notes. An overview of these data provided three findings of particular interest.

## Communication Interactions

Table 5  
*Summary of Total Observed Direct One-on-One Interactions With  
 Redundancies Accounted For*

	MJ	Ben	Leo
Total # Direct One-on-One Interactions	115	49	28
# of Child Initiated Interactions	34	5	4
# of Teacher Initiated Interactions	63	32	17
# of Prompted Child Interactions	18	12	7
Observed Interactions per hour	$115/10.78 = 10.67$	$49/11.5 = 4.26$	$28/11.28 = 2.48$
Percentage of Child Initiated	$34/115 = 30\%$	$5/49 = 10\%$	$4/28 = 14\%$
Percentage of Teacher Initiated	$63/115 = 55\%$	$32/49 = 65\%$	$17/28 = 61\%$
Percentage of Prompted Child Initiated	$18/115 = 16\%$	$12/49 = 25\%$	$7/28 = 25\%$

First, it is interesting to note that MJ's total coded direct one-on-one interactions (115) was more than twice the number of coded interactions for Ben (49) and more than four times that number for Leo (28). This finding also held when calculated via density of interactions per hour. The second finding worth highlighting is that teacher-initiated interactions (row 3) were coded significantly more than child-initiated interactions or prompted-child interactions across all three children both in frequency and density measures. Specifically, over 50% of coded interactions were teacher-initiated. The third finding of note (row 6, column 1) is that MJ's percentage of coded child-initiated interactions were almost a third (29.6%) of his total coded interactions (34/115). Within this same category (row 6), Ben's five child-initiated interactions accounted for 10% of his total and Leo's four child-initiated interactions were 14% of his total.



**Total Observed and Coded Teacher-Initiated Communication Functions –  
Redundancies Accounted For**

Table 6 takes a closer look at the nature of the coded teacher-initiated interactions from table 2, row 3. A summary of the coded teacher-initiated interactions reveals three codes in particular of note. The three most frequent coded communication functions for teacher-initiated interactions were correction/behavioral warning (CBW), giving direction (GD), or guidance/support (G/S). A review of the totals (column 8) reveals that of the 112 coded teacher-initiated interactions, 52 interactions, this is nearly half (46.8%), were coded CBW (row one). This means that almost half of the coded teacher-initiated interactions were perceived by investigators as correcting the student's behavior or providing a behavioral warning. Further examination also reveals that of the 52 total teacher-initiated CBW codes, MJ received 75% of them. In addition, the majority of coded teacher-initiated interactions involving MJ (61.9%) were perceived as CBW. The second most frequent communication function code applied to teacher-initiated interactions was GD. Twenty-three teacher-initiated interactions were coded GD (21%). Give direction was the most frequent teacher-initiated code for Ben (34.4%) and Leo (29.4%) (row 4), but third most frequent for MJ at 11.1% (7/63). Finally, a third code to highlight is that of GS, which represented 16.1% (18/112) of all teacher-initiated interactions.

Table 6  
*Summary of Total Observed and Coded Teacher-Initiated Communication Functions (TICF) – Redundancies Accounted For*  
**Communication Interactions**

Communication function label	MJ		Ben		Leo		Total TICF	Example from field notes
	Sum amount	% of Total	Sum amount	% of Total	Sum amount	% of Total		
Correction or behavioral warning	39	61.9%	9	28.1%	4	23.5%	52	“MJ, no, crisscross, hands in your lap,” says Miss Taft when MJ is moving his body. MB, 15.2, line# 712
Comment	1	1.6%	1	3.1%	1	5.9%	3	Mrs. Arrow came around and said to Leonardo, “all done, all done” and took his picture and told him to sit on the carpet. BD, 7.2, line# 506
Amuse	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Give direction	7	11.1%	11	34.4%	5	29.4%	23	Denise comes over and tells him, “Ben, grab your book box.” He jumps up, gets his book box from a shelf across the room, and leaves the classroom to go work with her in the hallway. AD, 4.3, line# 179
Greeting	-	-	-	-	1	5.9%	1	Denise to Leo, “How ya doing?” Leo, “okay.” Denise leaves. MB, 2.3 line# 92
Guide/support	9	14.3%	7	21.9%	2	11.8%	18	“Bus Ride, Bus Ride”, MJ is reading the cover of the book. Mrs. Arrow correcting MJ with the words. The name of the book is City Sounds. Mrs. Arrow is helping correct MJ, “Bus starts with ‘b’, so the word doesn’t start with ‘b’, so can’t be ‘bus’.” MB 6.1., line# 292
Praise/compliment	2	3.2%	3	9.4%	2	11.8%	7	Mrs. Arrow, “great choices MJ.” MJ, “I want to make great choices.” MB, 4.1. line# 190
Protest/complaint	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Request (object, assistance, question)	3	4.8%	1	3.1%	2	11.8%	6	Mrs. Arrow came back to MJ and asked where he got his community helpers because his were already in his bin but he had begun coloring another sheet of them. BD, 8.2, line# 1061
Miscellaneous	2	3.2%					2	Dances to spot with shoulder shrugs. Miss Taft talks to MJ. MJ moves and dances backwards. MJ goes to the bathroom. MB 1.1, line# 14
<b>Total</b>		<b>63</b>		<b>32</b>		<b>17</b>	<b>112</b>	

## Communication Interactions

### **Total Observed and Coded Child-Initiated Communication Functions - Redundancies Accounted for**

Table 7 provides further examination at the nature of the coded child-initiated interactions. Two key findings included the dominant communication function of comment (C) and request (R) across participants and the high frequency of child-initiations by MJ. Comment and request were the two most common communication functions observed and coded across all three participants. While Leo's child-initiated interactions only included these two categories and Ben's included C, R, and amuse (A), MJ's codes reveal a broader repertoire of the communication functions observed and coded. MJ's most frequent codes were either to comment (29.4%) or to request (26.5%), however his initiations were also coded to amuse, to greet (G), to protest/complain (P), to miscellaneous (Misc). Paying particular attention to MJ's total coded interactions, his child-initiated interactions account for 79.1% of the total coded child-initiated interactions (row 12, column 8). This means that of the total number of child-initiated interactions coded, only approximately 20% of these interactions can be accounted for by Ben and Leo together.

Table 7  
*Summary of Total Observed and Coded Child-Initiated Communication Functions (CICF) – Redundancies Accounted For*  
**Communication Interactions**

Communication function label	MJ		Ben		Leo		Total CICF	Example from field notes
	Sum amount	% of Total	Sum amount	% of Total	Sum amount	% of Total		
Correction or behavioral warning	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Comment	10	29.4%	1	20%	2	50%	13	Mrs. Arrow is near MJ. He tells her he is not done. Mrs. Arrow tells him he doesn't have to be done coloring to be done with the actual assignment. MB, 9.1, line# 429
Amuse	2	5.9%	1	20%			3	All of a sudden, MJ went over to Ms. Taft, after just laughing, and complained he had a stomachache. Ms. Taft asked him what hurt and whether or not he had a temperature. Ms. Taft decided to send him to the nurse's office and sent a classmate of MJ's to come with to walk him down. Ms. Taft made a pass for the two of them to go to the nurse's office. (footnote – MJ left the room with a smile on his face as if he had accomplished what he wanted. BD, 1.4, line# 69
Give direction	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Greeting	1	2.9%					1	Miss Taft walks in. MJ waves 'hi' to her. She smiles back. MB, 13.2, line# 623
Guide support	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Praise/compliment	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Protest/complaint	4	11.8%					4	He [MJ] says to Miss Taft, "She's too close" and he moves his body. Miss Taft, "No, she's not." He is sitting quietly on the carpet now. MB, 15.2, line# 710
Request (object, assistance, question)	9	26.5%	3	60%	2	50%	14	MJ sits down, gets up, sits again, and then raises his hand. Mrs. Arrow asks him if he needs a pencil, he nods, and she gives him one. AD, 5.3, line# 207
Miscellaneous	8	23.5%					8	MJ gets up again and begins dancing, flops on the floor again, then stands up to go tell the sub something. She speaks quietly with him (1:1). His hands are clasped behind his back and he looks at her as she speaks. AD, 1,3m line# 47
<b>Total</b>	<b>34</b>		<b>5</b>		<b>4</b>		<b>43</b>	

### **Overview of the Discourse Analyses**

For discourse analyses, we focused on a total of seven excerpts taken across MJ's home and classroom environments: five excerpts from various literacy events that occurred during small group literacy time as well as an excerpt from the audio taped home interview with Mrs. Jackson and an excerpt from the home video interaction of MJ and his mom (see Table 8 for summary). The literacy excerpts were taken across four days of recordings and the home excerpts were taken from one day spent at the Jacksons' home. Each excerpt was taken from a complete transcription that was either video or audio taped for use. These particular excerpts were selected because they focused on adult-child interactions that appeared promising in illuminating and expanding upon observed trends from the categorical coding.

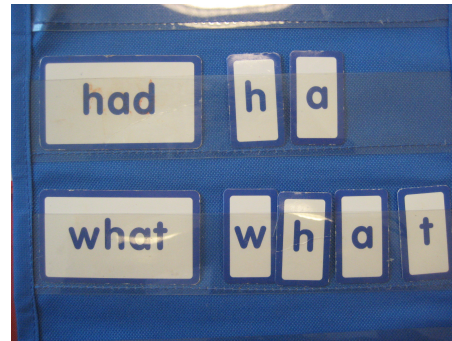
Three primary themes emerged most consistently across the discourse analyses: a) the manifestation of power and privilege within the classroom environment; b) the prominent role of semiotic resources, language in particular, in mediating/scaffolding learning; and c) evidence of cultural mismatch and alignment between MJ and the dominant patterns of discourse within the settings of interest. These themes emerged by not only exploring the language use within the discourse, but by also examining para-linguistic and non-linguistic factors (e.g., body, gestures, values; cf. Gee, 1999).

**Background description of literacy blocks in the classroom.** During the times that the research team was present in the classroom, there were, on average, about 21 students in the room. During literacy time, which occurred in the mornings from around 8:25am until 10am, Mrs. Arrow would call over an average of 6 students to sit with her at the kidney-shaped table for 10-15 minutes at a time, while the remaining students sat at

## Communication Interactions

their seats (or on the floor) doing their individual literacy center activities. When the students were finished working with Mrs. Arrow at the small group table, they would return to their assigned literacy center. The activities performed in small groups with Mrs. Arrow targeted various literacy activities such as phonological awareness skills (e.g., decoding, counting syllables in words), print awareness skills (e.g., understanding where one word ends and another begins), spelling skills (e.g., spelling of sight words), and reading. During this time, Mrs. Arrow would choose and distribute the materials.

When interviewing Mrs. Arrow, we discovered



*Figure 2. Example of literacy center activity.*

that the literacy groups were formed based on reading level assessments. When asked how the reading groups were arranged, Mrs. Arrow stated, “...literacy assessments...so my lowest group still doesn’t know all their letters and letter sounds...for example.” MJ and Leo were in the same literacy group, which Mrs. Arrow described as “mid-range” and Ben was in a “low” group with other students.

Full transcripts for the following literacy excerpts can be seen in Appendix F, however, I will provide a brief summary of occurrences that I wish to highlight for the analyses.

## Communication Interactions

Table 8

### *Summary of Classroom and Home Video Excerpts*

Excerpt Title	Page#	Participants Involved	Summary
School videos			
<i>City sounds</i>	65	Mrs. Arrow, MJ	An excerpt taken from a small group literacy lesson surrounding a book entitled, <i>City Sounds</i> .
<i>Whisper voice</i>	68	Mrs. Arrow, MJ	An additional excerpt from the literacy lesson surrounding the book <i>City Sounds</i> which is named for the discussion surrounding the need to use a “whisper voice” while reading aloud.
<i>People who help</i>	72	Mrs. Arrow, MJ, other student	An excerpt taken from a small group literacy lesson surrounding the book <i>People who help</i> .
<i>The magnetic ‘y’</i>	78	Mrs. Arrow, MJ	An excerpt taken from a small group literacy lesson involving spelling of the word ‘by’ with magnetic letters.
<i>Good job, MJ</i>	80	Mrs. Arrow, MJ, Sonia (student)	A continuation of the magnetic board activity during literacy lessons. The title is based on the student’s use of self-praise.
Home Videos			
<i>M-o-p</i>	82	Mrs. Jackson, MJ, Darren (MJ’s brother), and key investigator	An excerpt from the investigator’s interview with Mrs. Jackson, which took place in MJ’s home. In the midst of the conversation, MJ makes an association between the letter “m” and the word “mop.”
<i>Baby Kaely</i>	84	Mrs. Jackson, MJ, neighbor, and key investigator	An excerpt from the home-based parent-child interaction in which Mrs. Jackson and MJ attempt to find the video <i>Heaven</i> , so that he can sing/rap for the video camera.

***City sounds.*** In this first excerpt, Mrs. Arrow passes out reading books to her students. The book is entitled *City Sounds*. It is a book written in Mainstream American English and is a typical kindergarten level pattern book. Each page starts with, *Dan and I hear....* Mrs. Arrow begins by directing the students to, “put your finger under the first word.” The students continue to read the words by placing their finger under each word in the sentence. At one point, Mrs. Arrow tells “just the

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gentlemen... girls, catch a bubble<sup>7</sup>” to read a page in the book. MJ participates and reads the words. Then she instructs “just the girls” to read a page in the book. “Dan and I hear buses.” Once the girls finish reading, Mrs. Arrow noticed that some girls said “buses” and some said, “bus.” She explains that, “If there’s one bus we say bus, but if there’s more than one bus, we say buses, right?” At this point we see MJ look down at the picture of buses in his neighbor’s book and he quietly speaks to himself saying “there’s two buses” while also making the number 2 gesture with his hands.



*Figure 3.* MJ gesturing the number '2'.

While highlighting key examples of the coding categories Giving Directions, Guidance/Support, and Commenting, this excerpt provides evidence for all three primary themes from the discourse analyses. Note for example the subtle and explicit indices of power differential embedded within the activity. The shape of the table places the teacher in a position that is distinct from the children; she sits in the concave portion while the

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<sup>7</sup> When Mrs. Arrow wants the class to be quiet at any time or to turn their voices off, she sometimes says to “put a bubble in your mouth.” This is a technique she uses so that the students will stop talking and be silent.



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children all align along the convex side. In addition, Mrs. Arrow selects the materials, in this case the same book for each child. The book is written in Mainstream American English, consistent with Mrs. Arrow's language use, which supports the privilege of this dialect in the classroom environment. In addition, Mrs. Arrow offers a variety of teacher-initiated verbal instructions by specifying what should be done with the materials by giving the direction, "Put your finger under the first word." She also directs who should be doing the instructions by stating, "...just the gentlemen...girls, catch a bubble" and "...just the girls..." She also offers corrective feedback surrounding reading of the word *buses* as she explains "If there's one bus we say bus, but if there's more than one bus, we say buses, right?" Although marked with a tag question, none of the children appear to take this up as a request for information, but instead MJ takes this as an opportunity to practice the information that has been presented to him. Specifically, MJ's comment and two-finger gesture focused on the plural -s highlights his use of semiotic self-expression, appearing to facilitate his own learning. He looks to the corresponding picture of two buses in the book, verbalizes a condensed version of Mrs. Arrow's instruction, "there's two buses," and holds up two fingers. It is also worth noting here that Mrs. Arrow's brief grammatical lesson, intentionally or otherwise, privileged MAE over other dialects, such as AAE, in which the plural -s marker would not necessarily be obligatory in this context (see Appendix B). Given that MJ uses features of AAE, this example highlights a potential linguistic mismatch between his language use and the preferences being expressed by his teacher and represented by the reading material. As an example of MJ's dialect during the language sample, when I was talking to MJ about what he and his brother like to do together, he responded, "we ride the bike, bike up the grass." Probing

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further, he explained how he and his brother were racing in this scenario, exemplifying his use of zero-plural marker.

*Whisper voice.* A second excerpt from this same literacy event begins with the students reading the same book, *City Sounds*, to themselves. Mrs. Arrow has instructed her kids to “read your book in a whisper voice.” At this time, MJ is following directions, he flips towards the beginning of the book and begins to follow the literacy practice of placing his finger under the word that he is reading and reads to himself, “Dan and I hear dogs.” However, his voice is audible during this time period and after reading his second page, Mrs. Arrow takes note of this. She tells the group again to read in a “whisper voice.” MJ continues to read, only now at a slightly quieter volume than he was reading before. While it is clear that at this point MJ is reading at a volume that is quieter than his usual literacy group voice, as evidenced from other excerpts from the clip, and quieter than when he initially started reading, he is still louder than all of the other classmates at the table. On the video, his voice is the only voice you hear within the literacy group. Once MJ has finished reading his last page and closes his book, Mrs. Arrow directs her students, “okay, everybody stop and look at me, everybody stop, close your book.” She says this once MJ is finished, in spite of the fact that other students at the table are not finished. At this point, MJ closes his book, Mrs. Arrow collects his and the other students’ books and then begins to explain to the group what it means to read in a “whisper voice.” “If I’m reading in a whisper voice,

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you tell me what I'm doing wrong right now." Mrs. Arrow reads the title of the book out loud, "City sounds, city sounds...am I talking in a whisper voice?" The group, including MJ, responds, "no." Then she demonstrates talking in a whisper voice. When she asks, "Am I talking in a whisper voice", the group, except for MJ, responds, "yeah." She explains that it was a whisper voice because her mouth was moving and that the importance of moving her mouth is so that she could make the words with her mouth. She then demonstrates and explains that when students don't move their mouths, that's called "reading in your head." MJ responds to this statement and asks, "Can we do it like that?" Mrs. Arrow tells him that some people can, but in order to do a "whisper voice" she needs to, "see your mouth moving so I know what word you're on, and I should be able to hear you if I listen carefully, because you're talking in a whisper voice..." After this in-depth explanation and demonstration, Mrs. Arrow gives her students a second chance at using a whisper voice while reading. She hands the books back to the children and directs, "show me [what] it looks like if you're reading in a whisper voice". Once they have accomplished this according to Mrs. Arrow's standards, she tells them. "I am so impressed, 'cause I could really tell what word you were on when you were reading, excellent, excellent job."

This excerpt, *Whisper Voice*, offers multiple forms of evidence for Mrs. Arrow's position of power relative to the students. As in the previous excerpt, Mrs. Arrow provides instructions, such as "Read your book in a whisper voice." She also uses this

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position of authority to provide definitions, both for what constitutes a whisper voice and also for what is meant by the phrase “reading in your head.” Not only does Mrs. Arrow verbally describe whispering, she also offers an illustration in conjunction with a brief role reversal in which she reads both loudly and in a whisper voice while asking the children to temporarily take the position as teacher and “...tell me what I’m doing wrong right now.” After the students, all except MJ, offer their verdict on her use of a whisper voice, Mrs. Arrow continues to elaborate on what made her performance a whisper voice and contrasting it with “reading in your head.” She also demonstrates her control of the classroom materials when she collects the books from the children during the seemingly spontaneous lesson about whispering and then redistributes them. Evidence that the children concede to Mrs. Arrow’s position of authority come from their acquiescence to her instructions, including the temporary role reversal when they are asked to judge her use of whisper voice. In addition, MJ explicitly defers to her expertise when he asks her the question “Can we do it like that?” in reference to reading in one’s head. Interestingly, Mrs. Arrow does not simply answer yes or no, but offers a fairly elaborate answer regarding why she needs them to use a whisper voice. A final indicator of Mrs. Arrow’s position of authority in this excerpt comes from her use of praise at the end as she offers “excellent job” in evaluation of the students’ whisper voices. As revealed in the field note coding, children were not observed offering praise to the teachers.

In addition to Mrs. Arrow’s use of language to facilitate the children’s understanding of whisper voice, this excerpt also highlights MJ’s use of semiotic resources. Note that at the beginning of the excerpt, MJ demonstrates his familiarity with the small group literacy practices. He flips towards the beginning of the book and places

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his finger under the words as he reads. He also initiates clarification about the expectations when he asked, “Can we do it like that?” in reference to reading in one’s head. Despite such compliance and familiarity with the task, evidence of cultural-linguistic mismatch emerged surrounding the volume of MJ’s voice. Although Mrs. Arrow does not single him out specifically, she waits specifically until MJ is done reading before initiating her instructions regarding how to use a whisper voice. In addition, even when Mrs. Arrow repeats the direction to use a whisper voice, MJ continues to read at a volume considered too loud for Mrs. Arrow’s standards. It would appear that MJ’s experience with and definition of whisper differs with his teacher’s expectation and definition of whisper within this specific context. While he is reading quieter than he was initially, it is still too loud for the classroom literacy practice of reading in a whisper voice. Further illustration of this volume mismatch between MJ’s expectations of what is an “acceptable” speaking volume and classroom expectations communicated by the classroom teachers can be found in the field notes. All three researchers observed multiple times on various occasions when MJ was asked by either Mrs. Arrow, Ms. Taft, or Keisha (student volunteer) to “quiet down” or “be more quiet.” He was also told he was “being too loud” or being “so loud.” Together such data suggest that the classroom expectations for voice use differ from MJ’s familiar/preferred practices. Another aspect of cultural mismatch that is noteworthy is Mrs. Arrow’s implicit feedback to change MJ’s behavior. Mrs. Arrow never directly tells MJ that he is *not* reading in an appropriate whisper voice, instead she implicitly lets him know through a group lesson that the manner in which he was reading was inappropriate for that setting.

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This demonstration of discipline may exemplify Mrs. Arrow's preferred way of correcting unexpected behavior in the classroom.

*People who help.* In this third excerpt, the major literacy event is based on reading the book *People Who Help*. Although Mrs. Arrow is off camera during this videotaping, we were able to gather enough information from the context of the situation to understand what she was doing physically. Mrs. Arrow begins by having the children read the title of the book. She explains that it's a book about people who help. When she opens the book she says, "He is a what?" MJ and the students repeat after her, "He is a what." She then asks the group again in an elevated voice, "What is he? I'm asking you." The children and MJ responds that he's a boy. Then Mrs. Arrow clarifies by saying "this guy...who is that?" MJ responds, "a boy, a teacher!" He is correct and Mrs. Arrow asks the group, "So, are teachers helpers?" They respond collectively, "Yes." She moves on to the next helper in the book. She provides a sentence starter, "She is..." and MJ responds with, "a blocker." Then Mrs. Arrow lets her students know that the name of this particular helper is "really hard." While she starts to say, "repeat after me," MJ raises his hand quickly and says, "I know!" Mrs. Arrow calls on another student, Sonia. Sonia responds with "a builder" and Mrs. Arrow confirms that yes, while that name may work, there is another name for that helper and it's "really tricky." Then Mrs. Arrow calls on MJ, whose hand is still raised, however he does not answer the question when he is called on, he pauses and looks around at his

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classmates. Mrs. Arrow begins to help him by saying the first part, “construction.” MJ repeats “construction” and then tries to complete the second word correctly by reading the second part as “woman.” Mrs. Arrow finishes by saying, “worker.” When Mrs. Arrow asks MJ to repeat “worker”, MJ’s face becomes a bit flustered as he rubs his eyes and puts his hands over his ears and comments, “but I don’t hear no ‘w’.”



*Figure 4. MJ listening to Mrs. Arrow explain 'construction worker.'*

Mrs. Arrow continues to say the words and have her students repeat after her. The next helper is a baker and after Mrs. Arrow provides a sentence starter of “He is a...”, MJ calls out, “He’s a cooker!” Mrs. Arrow does not verbally acknowledge his comment and calls on another girl in the group. The girl also responds with “cooker.” Mrs. Arrow tells her to “say ‘baker’.” The following helpers included a female doctor, a male mail carrier, a female firefighter, and a male police officer. While MJ is stating the names of each helper, along with his classmates, he makes a comment regarding the police officer. “He’s strong...you see those muscles?” he

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says to no one in particular and begins to flex his own biceps at the table.

MJ grins and states, “I wish I had muscles like that.”

His comments are spoken loudly and slightly overlapping Mrs. Arrow’s words. At this point, Mrs. Arrow tells everyone to “turn your voices off.” MJ responds non-verbally by “putting a bubble in his mouth” and



*Figure 5. MJ displaying his muscles during a literacy lesson.*

folding his arms across his chest. The teacher begins to start another task, a preparation task for independent reading, and she asks, “What word is this? Raise a quiet hand.” MJ raises his hand, but is not called on. At this time, MJ turns around in his chair to face the outside of the group and begins to punch his fists in the air repeatedly with a smile on his face. First left fist, then left fist, and left fist again, then right fist. He repeats this a few times with power and enthusiasm.

Once Mrs. Arrow hands out the books for independent reading, MJ begins to read using the finger on each word technique.



*Figure 6. MJ punching the air with his fists.*

While he is reading, he is



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reminded by Mrs. Arrow, “Whisper MJ, please.” He responds by commenting on how they were working on these particular words earlier, “We was working on that...we was working...” The event ends with MJ finishing reading his book using the expected whisper voice and returning it to his book box when given the direction by Mrs. Arrow.

This excerpt offers additional evidence of power and privilege in the classroom, specifically in regard to Mrs. Arrow’s position as the classroom teacher and through MAE as the predominate linguistic tool. As in previous excerpts, Mrs. Arrow chooses the book, which again is written in MAE, she initiates interactions with ‘test’ questions, and offers feedback that indicates she is the one defining the right answer, and she gives instruction. Take for example at the beginning of the excerpt when Mrs. Arrow asks, “He is a what?” When the children fall into the frequent classroom routine of repeating her words after her, she offers verbal clarification, “I was asking you.” When MJ answers, “boy” Mrs. Arrow offers additional clarification, “This guy, who is that?” When MJ offers, “Teacher,” Mrs. accepts this response by repeating it and building on it by asking if teachers are also helpers. Throughout the excerpt, she appears to ignore or shape what she perceives as ‘incorrect,’ or at least inconsistent with the text. As an explicit example, Mrs. Arrow appears to ignore MJ and another classmate’s response of “cooker,” although semantically it reflected the depicted occupation. Mrs. Arrow specified instead, “Say baker.” Also as evidence of her position of power, Mrs. Arrow offers corrective behavioral feedback, such as telling the students to “Turn your voices off.”

From her position of authority, Mrs. Arrow’s flexibly scaffolds student learning through her use of language: direct questioning (This guy, who is that?), carrier phrases

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(“He is a ...”), and elicited imitations (“Say baker.”). MJ also utilizes various semiotic resources, including his linguistic prowess, to demonstrate knowledge and facilitate interaction from the position of novice rather than authority, demonstrating awareness and familiarity with classroom routines. Specifically, MJ imitates the teacher verbalization (“He’s a what?”) and responds to her questions (e.g., “a boy, a teacher!”). Of particular interest, his use of the word “blocker” demonstrates the generative nature of his derivational morpheme –er, which transforms verbs into nouns. He also demonstrates the connection between orthographic symbols and spoken language as he attempts to associate the word “worker” with the “w” that he sees in the book, and he comments “We was working on that” in reference to something they had recently learned. MJ’s use of physicality was also notable in this excerpt as he embodied the police officer’s muscles from the book.

Though a notable resource, MJ’s physicality also represents a potential cultural-linguistic mismatch with classroom expectations. MJ becomes visibly frustrated with trying to make sense of the word “construction worker” in correspondence to the text. Then his word “cooker” for “baker” is not validated and soon after his comment about wanting strong muscles, Mrs. Arrow offers a reminder to “turn your voices off.” At this point, MJ’s physicality becomes increasingly pronounced. He turns his chair around to playfully punch the air. Mrs. Arrow appears to ignore these instances of physicality, and when it comes time for them to begin reading, she explicitly reminds MJ, “Whisper MJ, please.” Other examples of MJ’s physicality resulting in corrective behavioral warnings from a teacher are noted in the field notes, for example, one researcher observed:

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Mrs. Arrow continued to walk and lead the class down a hallway and MJ began to dance as he moved his arms, feet and eventually lay on the floor.

Ms. Taft came up and said he had to be good. (BD, 5.2, line# 579)

It seems important to note that while his physicality did sometimes present as a mismatch, there were also times when his physicality aligned with the classroom expectations, as seen in this researcher's field notes:

Mrs. Arrow began to do a call and response as they sang "shay shay cool-ay." MJ yelled "shay shay cool-ay" when the kids responded. He began to dance and shouted the words. Once Mrs. Arrow finished she asked if any of the other kids wanted to do it and several kids [led] the activity.

(BD, 10.1, line# 1258)

Alignment wasn't just seen in rhythmic, musically-inclined activities, it was also observed during literacy activities as observed in this field note excerpt:

There is now a new phonological awareness activity. Find the words that start with the same sound, for example 'can' 'cat', that's a yes; 'boat' 'but', that's a yes; 'bus' 'far', that's a no. Mrs. Arrow asks a student for thumbs up if it's a yes and a thumbs down if it's a no. MJ is still at his chair. He is following along with the activity. The next activity is to punch out the end of words like 'if' and then all [the] kids are doing this. Except for Leo...MJ's mouth is moving and he's punching with his arms as he says the final sound of words. He stands up from his chair as he punches his arm in the air. The segmenting, blending, and rhyming activities continue. (MH, 9.2, line# 446)

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In addition to physicality, dialect use also emerged as a potential marker of cultural-linguistic mismatch in this excerpt. For example, the repeated examples of subject-verb agreement represented by the book's use of "She is a..." and "He is a..." is representative of MAE and in contrast to patterns of copula use associated with AAE generally (see Appendix B). Examples were found in both MJ's language sample and Mrs. Jackson's interview that were not consistent with the MAE pattern modeled in this book, but consistent with AAE patterns. Take, for instance, MJ's statement made during the language sample regarding a cartoon character named Ben Ten, "He the superhero..." or Mrs. Jackson's question to MJ during the home interview, "...where your shoes at?" These data provide evidence that MJ and Mrs. Jackson's dialect features are a potential mismatch to the dialect features used, heard, and expected during classroom literacy events.

*The magnetic 'y'.* The fourth clip focuses on a brief event involving making the word 'by' using magnetic letters and a magnetic white board. MJ and his classmates have their own white magnetic board in front of them with the magnetic letters of the alphabet jumbled up in front of them. Mrs. Arrow asks them to make the word 'by'. She gives the direction, "I want you to make the word 'by', 'b' 'y', 'by', fast fast fast." At this point, MJ places his 'b' at the top of his board, but he begins to look confused when searching for his 'y'. He pauses. As a reference, he looks up at the marker-written word 'by' that Mrs. Arrow has presented on a white board in front of the group and looks back down. He scratches his head and comments/requests, "Where's my 'y'?", as he continues to search. Mrs.

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Arrow, “Oh guys, your ‘y’, yeah, you were reaching for it (directed to MJ as she picks up his ‘y’), it’s funny, look at it (directed to group).” MJ then responds, “It’s a funny ‘y’.” “It’s kinda funny,” says Mrs. Arrow, “because they’re not straight lines, okay?” He places the ‘y’ next to his ‘b’ and waits for his other classmates to finish the task.

Although this excerpt is brief, it again highlights Ms. Aaron’s position of authority through her selection and distribution of materials, administration of instructions (e.g., “I want you to make the word...fast fast fast.”), and clarification (Oh guys, your ‘y’...It’s funny, look at it.) We again see evidence of MJ’s use of semiotic resources to facilitate engagement in the literacy activity. He immediately complies with the task by placing his ‘b’ on the magnetic board, and when he is confused by the second letter, he looks toward the teacher’s example on the white board for assistance. When he remains unclear, he asks a question out loud while still looking down at his board, “Where’s my ‘y’?”, which then leads Mrs. Arrow to direct clarification to the entire group. The font of the magnetic ‘y’ appeared to be a mismatch with at least some of the children’s prior print experiences, including MJ. It is particularly interesting here to see how Mrs. Arrow’s position of power serves to validate MJ’s confusion. MJ has a clear idea of how to spell the word ‘by’, but he gets stumped when the familiar shape of ‘y’, which he has learned over time, has two straight lines, does not match the magnetic letter. Ms. Arrow notes his confusion and tells the whole group that the magnetic ‘y’ is “funny.” MJ repeats back the same adjective as he comments, “It’s a funny ‘y’ and Ms. Arrow continues to elaborate “It’s kinda funny because they’re not straight lines.” The

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linguistic repetition suggests a form of alignment between Ms. Arrow and MJ as they agree on the funniness of this particular letter.

*‘Good Job MJ’.* The final literacy event excerpt to analyze comes from another magnetic board spelling activity. MJ has his board in front of him and he is instructed to spell the word ‘me’. He places the ‘m’ down and quietly says “m” to himself. As he is figuring out the next letter that comes after ‘m’, he looks up at Mrs. Arrow and comments/requests “i?” Mrs. Arrow repeats, “meee.” MJ tries again, “y’?” He looks up at Mrs. Arrow for confirmation of his response. She does not give him confirmation nor does she give him the correct answer. Then, Mrs. Arrow comments on one of the students’ work. This student has completed the task and is sitting quietly. Mrs. Arrow guides her by saying, “Jasmine, you made the word ‘my’, and that’s a great word too, but we’re gonna make the word ‘me’.” MJ looks up and laughs, “oh, ‘my’!” MJ realizes the mistake he was making by thinking the next letter was ‘y.’ The lesson continues with the making of other words. Once Sonia, one of the classmates at the table, has finished her task, she says out loud to herself, “Good job, Sonia<sup>8</sup>” and Mrs. Arrow repeats, “Good job, Sonia.” MJ follows suit and he says out loud to himself, “Good job, MJ.” And Mrs. Arrow follows up with, “Good job, MJ.”

This final literacy event excerpt gives us further demonstration of MJ’s and Mrs. Arrow’s powerful use of language to aid in the learning process between teacher and

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<sup>8</sup> Mrs. Arrow tends to tell the class to say altogether “Good Job \_\_\_\_\_” when a student has done something good in the classroom.

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student. When spelling the word ‘me’, MJ tries very hard to get Mrs. Arrow to help him determine which letter is making the sound of ‘e’. He doesn’t ask her directly if he is correct, but he does give suggestions and looks inquisitively at Mrs. Arrow for confirmation if he is correct. As we have seen earlier, MJ’s comments often appear to be used to mediate his own learning or to confirm his own understanding. Mrs. Arrow does not confirm or deny his responses here; instead she attends to another student and through this exchange lets MJ know that his response is incorrect and that he needs to use an ‘e’ and not a ‘y’ or ‘i’. After MJ follows this exchange between Mrs. Arrow and Sonia, MJ laughs as if he’s just discovered his and Mrs. Arrow’s own inside joke. When the task is done, Sonia seems to temporarily take on the role of teacher and proudly says to herself that she has finished correctly and interestingly seems to temporarily take on the role of teacher, offering her own positive evaluation: “Good job, Sonia.” Mrs. Arrow repeats this praise. MJ follows suit, offering his own congratulatory “Good job, MJ,” which Mrs. Arrow then repeats back to him. The excerpt could be taken up as another example of MJ’s use of self-talk, but it also offers evidence of the children’s familiarity with classroom practices and hints at an element of flexibility in which the students are able to shift roles in the classroom, however temporarily.

**Background description of home visit.** These next two excerpts come from the Jackson’s home visit, which included an audio taped interview with Mrs. Jackson and a video taped interaction between parent and child. At the start of the interview, Mrs. Jackson and I are seated next to each other on her couch in her family room area and the televisions in the kitchen and the family room are turned on with the volume at an audible level. Along with MJ and his brother Darren, there are two other boys in the house, and

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at times are present in the area where the interview is taking place. In the background one can hear a basketball bouncing and the boys talking with one another.

*M-o-p.* At about five minutes into the interview, Darren asks his mom if she knows where his sweater is. She tells him to go get his coat on because he is going outside, and then tells MJ to do the same. MJ can't find his coat, he comes running in from another part of the house and asks, "Mom, I don't know where's it at...I don't now where's it at." From her seated position on the couch, Mrs. Jackson tells him, "Your coat should be hanging on the bed where your brother's coat was, your blue coat, check it out." When it's time to get his shoes, she asks him, "where your shoes at, where's your shoes?" "I'm fitna get it," MJ responds. During this time she goes back and forth between talking to me and answering my questions and talking to and helping MJ. This goes on for about three minutes. At eight minutes in, Mrs. Jackson asks me if I have any children of my own. I tell her, "No." Mrs. Jackson, "No?" I continue, "I have a niece and nephew, but that's about it for now." MJ, who has been listening from the kitchen, says, "She a auntie." I confirm and tell both of them, "I am, you are correct, I'm Auntie 'M' to them." MJ responds, "M-O-P." Mrs. Jackson laughs and says, "Yes, that's what mommy doesn't use." I laugh too and say, "Me neither, don't worry."

Comparable to the classroom observation, patterns of interaction between Mrs. Jackson and MJ revealed both direct and subtle indices of power differential between the two. For example, Mrs. Jackson's authority is manifested by giving directions to both MJ



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and his brother Darren, and by countering Darren's initial request for his sweater. Even her question "Where your shoes at?" appears to be taken up by MJ as a command or direction rather than a request for information as he responds, "I'm fitna get it." Mrs. Jackson also offers important knowledge in the interaction when she specifies where MJ's coat is located: "Your coat should be hanging on the bed where your brother's coat was, your blue coat, check it out." Of interest, within this particular interaction, Mrs. Jackson's is seated informally on the couch, but her authority is evident through language, including her tone and volume.

The specific information from Mrs. Jackson regarding where MJ can find his coat also provides a key example of her use of language to scaffold and shape MJ's activity. She helps MJ get ready to go outside by giving him directions and guiding and supporting his efforts through language. She not only tells him where his coat is, and specifically that his coat is where his brother's coat was, but she also tells him what color it is. She helps him to further his process of getting ready by asking him, "Where your shoes at?" This question simultaneously provides direction and guidance. MJ also demonstrates the role of language mediating learning through his use of commenting and self-talk, similar to what was observed in classroom interactions. MJ comments and questions such as "I don't know where's it at?" when looking for his coat. MJ also uses language to insert himself into the conversation between Mrs. Jackson and me as we discussed that I have a niece and nephew. MJ demonstrates to us both that he understands what the words "niece" and "nephew" mean as he inserts the comment "She a auntie." I both confirm and elaborate on his comment by adding that my niece and nephew call me, "Auntie 'M'". At this point, MJ demonstrates his emergent literacy skill as he

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comments to either himself or us that “M” begins the word “M-O-P.” This comment is taken up as communicative by Mrs. Jackson who then makes a joke about not using the mop. In this way, MJ’s letter knowledge is validated and taken up as a meaningful contribution to the conversation.

In contrast to the teacher-child interactions, this excerpt displayed cultural-linguistic alignment between MJ and his home environment in regard to dialect use. In this excerpt, both MJ and his mother demonstrate AAE features during their communication. For example, both Mrs. Jackson and MJ demonstrate use of the zero copula feature of AAE: “where your shoes at?” by Mrs. Jackson and “She a auntie” by MJ. MJ also exemplifies use of “fitna” the morphosyntactic AAE feature of fitna/sposeta/bouta, which Mrs. Jackson is observed using during a later part of the home visit. Specifically when waiting for a YouTube video to play, Mrs. Jackson states, “oh, it’s fitna play.” Together these examples support cultural-linguistic alignment between MJ and his mom, at least in regard to dialect features.

***Baby Kaely.*** During the home visits, after the interview took place, home interactions were video taped. The caregiver was asked to demonstrate and participate in an activity commonly/frequently done at home with their child. When visiting the Jackson’s home, Mrs. Jackson chose to have MJ perform a popular rap song sung by Baby Kaely called *Heaven*. This was a song that MJ sang often in his home. The entire videotaped interaction lasted for 13 minutes and 26 seconds. However, the actual recording of the *Heaven* song did not start until about 9 minutes into the taping. This is due to a variety of reasons. The full transcript can be seen in Appendix F, however, I will provide a brief summary of occurrences that I wish to highlight here.

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At the start of the recording, Mrs. Jackson and I are seated on the couch. We have just finished the interview section of the visit. MJ has brought the computer to his mom, he places it on the coffee table in front of us and kneels down in between her legs. MJ begins to look for the *Heaven* video by Baby Kaely. Once he finds a video, he leaves the table and walks off to the kitchen. When Mrs. Jackson asks MJ why he's not going to sing, he answers, "I'm shy." Mrs. Jackson bribes MJ with a dollar to get him to come out and rap to the song. MJ eventually returns to the family room area and gets ready to sing and rap. At this point, Mrs. Jackson and MJ attempt to find the correct website to play the video. When he finds one video to watch, I look at the computer screen and read the title out loud, "Five year old Rapping." "Where you see rapping at?" MJ asks. Once MJ thinks he's found the right video, he begins to play it, but his mom lets him know it's not the right one. MJ begins to search the computer again. At this point he is kneeling at the computer and after being unsuccessful in finding the video, he rolls his eyes back in his head, positions his hands like "claws" and falls down on the floor while saying, "whoa." Mrs. Jackson starts typing on the computer herself and is visually focused on the computer, when she asks MJ for "the little computer", "the little one", "the little thing." She continues to ask him for this "little computer" while still positioned towards and focused on the big computer. Perhaps by reading her eye gaze and body positioning, MJ points to and asks her if she meant the icon that was displayed on the screen of the big computer.

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This is not what she meant. At this point, Mrs. Jackson moves her body away from the big computer, focuses her attention on



*Figure 7. MJ singing the 'Baby Kaely' song.*

MJ and gestures the size and shape of the little computer. It is at this point that she says, “tablet.” MJ appears to understand this word and goes to find the tablet. Once MJ returns, Mrs. Jackson tells him to sit down and then to try to find the video using the tablet. The technology device is slow and there is difficulty loading and playing the video. At this point, MJ tries to figure out why the devices are running slowly. I comment on how MJ understands this aspect of technology and Mrs. Jackson comments on how he “gets it” from his dad and his brother. Mrs. Jackson then begins to narrate and act out a brief anecdote about her son Darren and how she acts when he plays basketball. She stands up and imitates her son’s voice as well as her own mother’s voice, who is also in the scenario. During this scene, she gestures by flailing her arms out to the side and changes the intonation of her voice to illustrate her point. At this time, a neighbor has come by the house to pick up her son. This begins another conversation occurring in the home. At this point, there is one conversation occurring between Mrs. Jackson and her neighbor, one between MJ and myself, and one between Mrs. Jackson and myself. During this time, I am introduced to the neighbor, the neighbor and Mrs.

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Jackson then begin to talk about the neighbor's mom, and MJ and I are still trying to get the video to play on the tablet device. Pieces of the conversation between Mrs. Jackson and her neighbor are overheard. Mrs. Jackson asks her neighbor if she'll be around for Christmas, the neighbor replies, "...we leavin' tomorrow...I just came to do my mama birthday wit her." And when Mrs. Jackson asks about what the neighbor did for her own mom's birthday, the neighbor responds, "Girl, I done took her out to the Chinese buffet." MJ and I continue to have difficulty with technology. He asks questions regarding the videos, like, "why we can't play dis one?" and "what's buffering?" MJ tries an alternative solution to typing in Baby Kaely. Instead, he speaks her name into the speech recognition part of the tablet. Still, no success. By the time the neighbor and her son leave, Mrs. Jackson has rejoined MJ and me on the couch to try and see if she can figure out a solution to the technology problem. Once she realizes our (MJ and mine) efforts have been unsuccessful, she states, "Well, we gotta do something else then, I dunno." At this point MJ tosses the tablet on the couch next to him, stands up next to his mom, and begins to make loud, repetitive noises from his mouth. His mom directs him to "stop." He sits down on the couch. When he continues to behave unacceptably with the loud mouth noises and now a loud choking sound accompanied by falling backwards on the couch, she gives him the direction one more time, "no, seriously, stop acting bad." MJ stops. Mrs. Jackson tries to load the video one more time and the video starts to play

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successfully on the computer. When there is no sound, MJ tells his mom they “gotta cut it up.” Mrs. Jackson thought she already had “cut it up”, then MJ fixes the volume issue and comments, “you just gotta cut it up, it’s easy.” The rap song *Heaven*, by Baby Kaely, begins to play and MJ starts to sing quietly. Mrs. Jackson directs, “you better sing summin’” to MJ and walks away. Once he begins to sing louder and with more confidence, Mrs. Jackson sits back down on the couch, another neighbor boy sits down next to MJ, and his brother, Darren, is listening while seated off camera. MJ continues to perform his rap song.

Within this excerpt we continue to see examples of Mrs. Jackson’s position of authority through her use of direction, guiding support, praise, and behavioral correction. Mrs. Jackson gives MJ multiple explicit directions mostly aimed at getting him to perform, while also managing multiple other activities (e.g., telling me a story about her son playing basketball, introducing me to the neighbor). Specifically, Mrs. Jackson tells MJ to go get the tablet, to “sit down” and “be polite.” She also corrects his behavior by saying, “no seriously, stop acting bad.” In general, MJ appears to recognize her authority by responding according to her specifications. This direct authoritarian manner of discipline differs from observed instances of the indirect discipline from Mrs. Arrow in the classroom. For example, in the excerpt *People who Help*, when Mrs. Arrow tells the literacy group as a whole to “turn your voices off”, although she appears to be indirectly telling MJ specifically that he needs to be quiet.

In addition to behavioral correction, Mrs. Jackson was observed praising MJ, albeit indirectly. When I spoke about how well MJ understands technology, Mrs.

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Jackson continues the conversation by commenting, “yeah, he gets it from his dad and his brother.” Related to this point, it is interesting to note flexibility and role-shifting between MJ and Mrs. Jackson surrounding the use of computerized technology. For example, when MJ and his mom are initially looking for the Baby Kaely video, Mrs. Jackson is seated on the couch and MJ is kneeling in front of her with the computer placed in front of both of them on the coffee table. Mrs. Jackson sits on the couch with hands on her knee and face, allowing MJ to type and look for the video himself. It is only when technology seemed to be failing (i.e., video wasn’t able to be found successfully) that Mrs. Jackson intervened. After spending some time apparently searching for the intended video, Mrs. Jackson directs MJ to get the “tablet” and together they collaborate on how to get the video to play. Throughout this collaboration, MJ demonstrates substantial familiarity and expertise related to computerized technology. He initiates use of the speech recognition feature on the tablet, knows how to adjust volume up on the computer, and how to type in the video name within the appropriate search engine. MJ demonstrates this shift of power when he gives his mom a direction/instruction, “gotta cut it up” even though she thought she already had. MJ finishes it up with acknowledging his own competence when he fixes the volume himself and comments, “you just gotta cut it up, it’s easy.” MJ is observed here giving a direction, a communication function that was never coded for any of the children in the classroom observational field notes.

This excerpt also provides us with multiple demonstrations of how semiotic resources, language in particular, are mediating the activities at hand. Mrs. Jackson uses language and gestures to help her convey the idea of “tablet” to her son MJ. In this event,

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it is interesting to note that not only was Mrs. Jackson's scaffolding and use of semiotic resources helpful to MJ's understanding of what she was describing, but it also appeared to help her. Through her own self-talk, Mrs. Jackson found the appropriate word that she was trying to retrieve in regard to the tablet. Additional examples of language mediating learning are seen when MJ uses multiple requests/questions while trying to play the video. When I read the title of the video (i.e., "Five year old rapping") he asked me, "where you see "rapping" at?" When he is unable to play a certain video clip that he was denied access to, he asks me, "why can't we play dis one?" When I continued to use the word *buffering* while the video was trying to load, he asks, "what's buffering?" I described it as the slow process the technology devices were experiencing, while also drawing his attention to the icon which symbolizes "buffering." These examples show language and other semiotic resources such as gestures and icons mediating the activity.

Cultural alignment between MJ and his home and community environment was exhibited in three main areas: continued examples of use of AAE features, physicality in communication, and manifestation of verve. Continued evidence of MJ's and his mother's use of AAE features include the use of multiple negation, "but it don't got no answer" by MJ, his use of /d/ for initial /th/ in 'dis', and use of the AAE comparative feature by Mrs. Jackson, "you think he would want to do funner stuff." This clip also gives further evidence of AAE use within the community. For example, the visiting neighbor demonstrates use of the completive *done* when engaging in a conversation with Mrs. Jackson, "girl, I done took her out to the Chinese buffet" and the use of /t/ for /th/ in the final position of words, "...I just came to do my mama birthday wit her." Not only



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does MJ's use of AAE features culturally align with his home environment, but also with a member of his community.

During this excerpt, Mrs. Jackson also demonstrates her own use of physicality when narrating an anecdote about her son Darren. While telling a story of how she interacts with Darren while playing basketball, she acts out the brief scenario. She stands up, uses arm and hand gestures, increases her speaking volume, imitates the voices of her son and her own mother, and as a result makes her audience (i.e., me) laugh. The physicality used in this story telling implies the acceptable, and perhaps expected, role that these features (e.g., body movement, increased speaking volume) play in this environment, though not at all times. MJ's first brief display of physicality is seen when he pretends to fall on the floor while trying to get the video to load. At this time, the physicality is not corrected. However, when he displays his second moment of physicality later in the video, by making loud noises with his throat and falling backwards on the couch pretending to choke, this time, Mrs. Jackson, who is trying to get the video to play, corrects his behavior, "no seriously, stop acting bad." Whereas MJ's use of physicality is acceptable within this home environment, it is not always in alignment with his mother's expectations. In regard to verve, the entire event is an example of the heightened levels of physical stimulation, which may be described as a high-energy, fast-paced, and socially-oriented environment, often reported in association with African American homes. During the event, we begin with three people in the room, two televisions on, one in the family room and one in the kitchen, and a computer is being used. Over the course of this entire interaction, three more boys entered and exited the room, and a neighbor stopped by. At one point, the conversation between myself and

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Mrs. Jackson was interrupted by the neighbor who came over to pick up her son. Then, a new conversation began between Mrs. Jackson and the neighbor. This occurred while MJ and myself were continuing to have a conversation and attempting to get the video to play. While Mrs. Jackson was speaking to her neighbor, I was introduced and MJ was told to go say 'Hi' to his neighbor and "give her a hug." The boys came back inside so that one of them could get his coat and go home with his mom (i.e., the neighbor). Once the neighbor left, the volume on the television was turned down and the boys and Mrs. Jackson gathered around to listen to MJ perform his rap song. This example of MJ's home environment illustrates the high-energy, fast-paced, and socially-oriented manner that he may be used to experiencing at home. The heightened physical stimulation of this home environment offers a notable contrast with the more reserved low-movement expectations of Mrs. Arrow's classroom.

## **Chapter IV**

### **Discussion**

The goal of this research was to illustrate patterns of classroom interactions between teacher and children of different cultural-linguistic background with particular focus on an African-American child who uses AAE. In sum, categorical coding of observational field notes and discourse analyses of both teacher-child interactions during small group literacy time and parent-child interactions within the home environment supported three key findings. First, the classroom environment was marked by a clear power differential between teachers and children that tended to privilege MAE. Second, semiotic resources, including language and physicality, played a prominent role in mediating/scaffolding interactions between MJ and his teacher. Third, interactions between MJ and his teachers revealed complex patterns of both alignment and mismatch. Cultural-linguistic mismatch included both linguistic and paralinguistic features. The remainder of the discussion will focus on relating each of these findings to the literature at large and highlighting potential implications for educators working with children from diverse cultural-linguistic backgrounds.

Although the finding that teachers occupied a position of authority relative to the children in the classroom is not particularly surprising, documentation of this power dynamic and a discussion of the potential implications are relatively rare in the literature pertaining to cultural-linguistic mismatch and childhood communication (cf. Bohn, 2003). The present study illustrated the teachers' relative position of authority through her spatial positioning, control of materials, and patterns of discourse. Specifically, observed interactions between teacher and child were considered to be initiated by the

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teachers in 70-90% of the cases. In addition, teachers' initiations were most often coded as correction/behavioral warnings, giving directions, or guiding/supporting, whereas children's observed initiations were most commonly perceived as comments and requests. A key point related to a teacher's position of authority in the classroom is that it inherently privileges the teacher's cultural-linguistic perspective, which encompasses not only the norms, traditions, attitudes, and beliefs of a group of people, but also the linguistic (e.g., grammar, vocabulary), paralinguistic, (e.g., intonation, volume), and non-linguistic features (e.g., physicality, verve) of a people as well (cf. Boykin and Cunningham, 2001; Carter, 2003). Although seemingly inadvertent in the present study, the privileging of a teacher's cultural-linguistic orientation serves to marginalize other cultural-linguistic groups. Although we did not observe explicit correction of AAE, the implicit message given to MJ during many of the literacy events was that your way of speaking and the way that your family speaks is not privileged in this setting. As an example from the present study, Ms. Arrow explicitly taught the class that plurality should be marked by addition of an 's' to the end of words, a feature that is not consistent across dialects of English, AAE in particular. Consequently, one has to wonder, what message is such a grammatical lesson sending to children whose family members do not always mark plurality in such a manner? Such comments suggest to children who speak AAE that the way they speak, and the way their families speak, is incorrect.

The teacher's position of power in the classroom underscores the importance of recognizing potential mismatches between a child and teacher's cultural-linguistic orientation. Within the present study, analyses of field note data and discourse analysis revealed mismatches between MJ and his teachers across linguistic (e.g., grammar,

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vocabulary), paralinguistic, (e.g., intonation, volume), and non-linguistic features (e.g., physicality, verve) of communication. MAE was consistently privileged both by the discourse of the teachers and by the materials presented during literacy activities, which in some cases directly conflicts with the linguistic properties of AAE, which was spoken both by MJ and observed members of his home community. Specific examples included dialect differences in use of plural –s (e.g., if there is more than one bus, you say ‘buses’) and copula (e.g., He is a...). As might be expected, dialect use appeared better aligned across participants in the home observation, with shared use of AAE features such as zero copula, ‘fitna,’ multiple negation, completive done, and pronunciation of ‘th’ as /t/ in final position.

In addition to linguistic features, the paralinguistic feature of vocal loudness emerged as a prominent area of mismatch for MJ within the classroom environment. As noted from coding of the observational field notes, MJ received a particularly high percentage of teacher-initiated behavioral corrections/warnings compared to Ben and Leo and was frequently observed being told to “quiet down” by various teachers. It is interesting to note that differences in volume did not emerge as a prominent area of research in the literature review of African American cultural-linguistic differences, and suggests a subject worthy of further investigation. As predicted by prior literature on the learning styles of African American children (Bailey & Boykin, 2001; Boykin, 1982; 1983; Carter, 2003; Delpit, 1995) MJ’s physicality emerged as a prominent aspect of his interactions, both in the classroom and at home (e.g., his punching of the air with his fists, displaying of his muscles to portray a police officer, or his falling on the ground pretending to be hurt). Although such actions sometimes aligned with classroom

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engagement (e.g., singing and dancing to “shay shay cool-ey.”), other times it was considered disruptive and a mismatch with classroom expectations (e.g., when dancing down the hallway and was told to “be good” by Ms. Taft). Together, such findings are consistent with prior studies that have found increased rates of correction and disciplinary action directed toward African American children (Gregory, Skiba, & Noguera, 2010; NAACP, 2013; Skiba, Michael, Nardo, & Peterson, 2002) and help to illustrate the nature of such corrections, at least for one African American boy in this particular kindergarten classroom.

Related to physicality, it was interesting to note how physicality in conjunction with other prominent semiotic resources, such as language, served as key aspects of MJ’s classroom engagement, and presumably his learning. The use of language and other semiotic resources as a mediator for learning was seen in both teacher and the children. As predicted, language served as a powerful resource in teacher instruction; note the common occurrence of teachers giving instructions and guiding support, often through verbal means. In addition, MJ was often observed using gesture and self-talk during his engagement in school activities. For example, when he was confused about the magnetic ‘y’, he asked himself, “Where’s my ‘y’?” He also was observed telling himself, “Good job MJ,” after completing a task successfully. This process seemed to reflect MJ’s linguistic strengths and highlighted the intrapsychological aspects of language use highlighted by Nasri and Hand (2006). But, it wasn’t *just* language that was used to navigate the learning process; note evidence of objects, icons, physicality, and gesture (cf. Gee, 1999).

Results from the present study highlight at least three implications for educational

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practice and future study. First, results support the need for direct examination of nonlinguistic and paralinguistic aspects of communication within the field of communication sciences and disorders. Consistent with a focus on language competence (Johnstone & Marcellino, 2010), much of the prior work in CSD has focused on the psycholinguistic aspects of communication (e.g., phonology, morphology, grammar), be this within the realm of MAE or other dialects such as AAE. However, as highlighted by performance-based accounts of language use (Hymes, 1972) there is a need to focus on other aspects of communication that impact interactions as well, such as intonation, loudness, and physicality. Our findings suggest that teachers may be responding to the paralinguistic and non-linguistic features of communication just as much as (and maybe more) the linguistic features. Perhaps getting teachers to understand that these paralinguistic and non-linguistic features are all also a part of the communication and language variation of their students, will create a new understanding of the flexibility of language as a performance, not simply as a static competence.

Related to the need for flexibility, a second implication of the present study is the need for educators to recognize and acknowledge the legitimacy of multiple forms of English, or so called ‘Englishes,’ and to update the language arts curriculum accordingly. This need not mean that teachers must be familiar with and teach in all of these forms; this would simply be unfeasible given the cultural-linguistic diversity of most present-day United States’ public classrooms (cf. KewalRamani, Gilbertson, Fox, & Provasnik, 2007; NCES, 2012a). However, students will continue to bring their home culture with them to school. It is up to the professionals who work with children to figure out ways to not only prepare children from diverse/non-mainstream communities to survive and thrive in

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the mainstream society, but also find ways to simultaneously acknowledge and respect the home culture they bring with them and make them proud of their cultural identity. At the very least, teachers should make a point to acknowledge the legitimate variations of English that children bring to the classroom, AAE included, and explicitly mark the variety of English that will be used in school and why. For example, Zentella (verbal communication, May, 2014) has been successful at presenting this concept to younger bilingual children by explaining language variations as analogous to the different clothes we wear. For school, we wear this particular type of clothes, for church we wear these types of clothes, for playing outside we wear these kinds of clothes, etc. One major component to this complex issue is to present language and culture as an aspect of themselves that they should be proud of, while coming to school to learn more about how to succeed in environments unlike their own (Stockman, 2010).

Shifting classroom dialogue regarding multiple forms of Englishes would be supported by a revised language arts curriculum that explicitly acknowledged such variation and encouraged children to critically analyze. Students could be explicitly taught such key terms as dialect and culture and use them to address such key questions as “How do we speak differently from others?” and “Why did the author choose for a certain character to speak more or less like me?” In many ways this proposed shift in language arts curriculum is consistent with efforts to revise other subjects to integrate more diverse perspectives in regard to race, gender, disability, and social orientation (e.g., Chick, 2006; McGreevy, 2011; McKinley, 2010; cf. Schilmoeller, 2012) and speech-language pathologists are in a position to offer important insight and expertise. Wolfram (1993) suggested a similar idea for speech-language pathologists to extend their scope of



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practice beyond the clinical model and to become more involved in the educational aspects of language diversity. His pilot program was aimed at having students understand (a) the normalcy and naturalness of people speaking with different dialects and (b) that many mainstream attitudes and stereotypes about dialectal differences are unfounded. Wolfram also helped students explore the patterning of dialects for scientific inquiry. In this manner, he was teaching students to become “linguistic detectives”, an avenue of exploration that would prove beneficial for all students, regardless of language or dialect. Programs, such as this one, could teach all students, as well as teachers, to recognize, understand, and respect language variation.

Finally, we need additional research to examine the longitudinal consequences on how cultural-linguistic mismatch within the classroom may be contributing to potential academic achievement and disciplinary infraction gaps documented for African American children, boys in particular (cf., Downey & Pribesh, 2004; Skiba, Michael, Nardo, & Peterson, 2002). It is interesting to consider MJ’s educational trajectory. What might be the consequences of such observed cultural-linguistic mismatch in the classroom, particularly as classroom expectations change, both as a consequence of age and teachers who might be less familiar and/or tolerant with aspects of MJ’s cultural-linguistic background? As MJ progresses through the school years, his outlet for physical movement may be stifled as teachers in older grades may use less physically motivating activities. Literature shows that African American children continue to have difficulties in school with cultural mismatch and negative teacher perceptions even into the eighth grade (Downey and Pribesh, 2004) and beyond (AAE, 2012). On a related note, interactions would undoubtedly be substantially different for a child with less linguistic

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proWess, such as African American children with linguistic impairments. Clearly there is a need for additional research to document the complexities that shape the everyday interactions taking place in America's classrooms. In sum, the present study brings focus to a small but meaningful sliver of the vast cultural-linguistic diversity that colors such interactions, leading us to think in different and important ways about how we answer such seemingly mundane questions as "If there is more than one bus, what do we say?"

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## Appendix A

### Guiding Questions for Semi-Structured Interviews

#### Semi-structured interview (with primary participants - teachers)

Goal: to gain information about the primary participants communicative practices and needs at home, school, work, and community, and to gain information specifically about the participant's perception on dialect and its role in the classroom (e.g., social interactions and academic tasks, with a particular focus on literacy activities).

- How would you describe yourself?
- Give me an example of your typical day.
- How do you communicate with others? Give me an example.
- Do you think that people speak differently? If so explain?
- Who are your most frequent communication partners? Give me an example of one of your recent interactions with them?
- Do you speak differently with one person than you do with another?
- Do you speak differently when you are at home than when at school?
- What activities do you enjoy?
- What do you see as your strengths?
- What are your current goals for yourself?
- Is there anything else you'd like me to know about your communication and social interaction?

## Communication Interactions

### Semi-structured interview (with primary participants - students)

Goal: to gain information about the primary participants communicative practices and needs at home, school, work, and community, and to gain information specifically about the participant's perception on dialect and its role in the classroom (e.g., social interactions and academic tasks, with a particular focus on literacy activities).

- What kind of kid are you?
- Tell me what your day is like at school, in the morning before school, and when you get home from school.
- How do you talk with others? Give me an example.
- Do you think that people speak differently? If so, tell me how?
- Who are the people you talk to the most? Give me an example of one of your conversations with them? What did you talk about?
- Do you speak differently with one person than you do with another? For example with your friends versus with adults, or different friends, cousins?
- Do you speak differently when you are at home than when at school? Tell me more.
- What activities do you enjoy?
- What are you really good at?
- What is something you would like to do?
- Is there anything else you'd like me to know about how you talk or how you talk with other people?

## Communication Interactions

### Semi-structured interview (with secondary participants - caregivers)

Goal: to gain information about the communicative practices at the school in general, and specifically the roles and patterns of participation of the primary participant, the role of dialect in the classroom setting, and an understanding of dialect

- Tell me about {the given participant}.
- How would you identify his/her race/ethnicity?
- How would you describe his/her language skills/the way they speak?
- Give me an example of {the given participant's} typical day.
- How does {the given participant} communicate with you and others? Give me an example.
- What do you understand about dialect/language differences?
- How do language differences influence communication interactions? Influence academic achievement?
- Who are {the given participant's} most frequent communication partners? Give me an example of one of their recent interactions.
- Does he/she speak differently with different communicative partners? If so, why do you think that is?
- Does he/she speak differently at home than when at school? If so, why do you think this is and what is the impact of this?
- What activities does {the given participant} enjoy?
- What do you consider to be the {the given participant's} strengths?
- What are your current goals for {the given participant}?



## Communication Interactions

- Is there anything else you'd like me to know about {the given participant}?
- Collect copies of artifacts about the ongoing program (e.g., data sheets).

### On-site brief interviews

Goal: To get immediate impressions and clarification about the ongoing intervention and participation patterns of the study participants.

- So what are your thoughts on the activities/intervention/enrichment?
- What would you change about the intervention/enrichment if you could?
- What was your impression of today's interaction?
- Have you observed any relevant behaviors outside of our data collection periods?
- Collect copies of artifacts about the ongoing program (e.g., data sheets).

### Final Semi-structured Interview with stimulated elicitation discussion

Goal: To get impressions of the participations on the patterns of communication patterns across the study and the value of the clinical intervention and/or communication enrichment activities.

#### I. General questions

- So what are your thoughts on the activities/intervention/enrichment?
- How would you describe the intervention/enrichment?
- What would you consider the successes associated with the intervention/enrichment?
- What role do you think dialect played in the enrichment activity?
- What would you consider the challenges?
- What surprise you about the intervention/enrichment?
- What would you change about the intervention/enrichment if you could?

## Communication Interactions

- Collect copies of artifacts about the ongoing program (e.g., data sheets).

**Appendix B**

Table B1

*African American English Dialect Features*

<b>FEATURE</b>	<b>DEFINITION</b>	<b>EXAMPLE</b>
Morphosyntactic and syntactic	Zero copula or auxiliary	<i>“the dog sick”</i> <i>“how you know that”</i>
Morphosyntactic and syntactic	Subject-verb agreement	<i>“They was eatin’”</i>
Morphosyntactic and syntactic	Fitna/sposeta/bouta	<i>“Is he fitna go somewhere?”</i>
Morphosyntactic and syntactic	Ain’t	<i>“She ain’t hungry”</i>
Morphosyntactic and syntactic	Undifferentiated pronoun case	<i>“Them helpin’ them do that”</i>
Morphosyntactic and syntactic	Multiple negation	<i>“She don’t want nobody to help”</i>
Morphosyntactic and syntactic	Zero possessive	<i>“My mom house”</i>
Morphosyntactic and syntactic	Zero past tense	<i>“She fix that yesterday”</i>
Morphosyntactic and syntactic	Zero ‘ing’	<i>“The man is sleep”</i>
Morphosyntactic and syntactic	Invariant ‘be’	<i>“He be eatin’ like that”</i>
Morphosyntactic and syntactic	Zero ‘to’	<i>“She waitin’ for the bus _ go”</i>
Morphosyntactic and syntactic	Zero plural	<i>“The boy buyin’ some book”</i>
Morphosyntactic and syntactic	Double modal	<i>“Why didn’t the boy didn’t move”</i>
Morphosyntactic and syntactic	Regularized reflexive	<i>“He stands by hisself”</i>
Morphosyntactic and syntactic	Indefinite article	<i>“She wait for a hour”</i>
Morphosyntactic and syntactic	Appositive pronoun	<i>“The teacher she gonna be mad”</i>
Morphosyntactic and syntactic	Remote past “been”	<i>“I been knownin’ how to do that”</i>
Morphosyntactic and syntactic	Preterite “had”	<i>“What had happened was”</i>
Morphosyntactic and syntactic	Completive done	<i>“I think she done came here yesterday”</i>
Morphosyntactic and syntactic	Existential it	<i>“It seems like it’s a lot more on here that you haven’t shown me”</i>
Morphosyntactic and syntactic	Resultative be done	<i>“We be done had 3 platefuls by</i>

## Communication Interactions

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		<i>now</i> ”
Morphosyntactic and syntactic	Double marked -s	<i>“That’s mines”</i>
Morphosyntactic and syntactic	Non-inverted questions	<i>“That’s how it go?”</i>
phonological	Postvocalic consonant reduction	<i>Mouth / mau</i>
phonological	Final ‘g’ dropping	<i>Swimmin’, eatin’</i>
phonological	f/th, v/th(v), and t/th in intervocalic and postvocalic positions	<i>Wif/with, bav/bathe, wit/with</i>
phonological	d/th(v) in prevocalic positions	<i>Dis/this</i>
phonological	Consonant cluster reduction	<i>Mil/milk</i>
phonological	Consonant cluster movement	<i>Aks/ask</i>
phonological	Syllable deletion	<i>‘cause/because</i>
phonological	Monophthongization of diphthongs	<i>ar/our</i>
phonological	Voiceless final consonants replace voiced	<i>Hiss/hiz (his)</i>

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Note. Morphosyntactic portion of table from Washington and Craig (1994, p.819).

Phonological portion of table taken from Washington’s (n.d.) research:

[http://www.saltsoftware.com/webinars/2101/CS%20Malcolm/Malcolm\\_handout.pdf](http://www.saltsoftware.com/webinars/2101/CS%20Malcolm/Malcolm_handout.pdf)

**Appendix C**

Table C2

*Student Demographics and Class Size*

<b>DEMOGRAPHICS</b>	<b>ARNOLD</b>	<b>DISTRICT</b>	<b>STATE</b>
WHITE	20.3%	41.2%	51%
BLACK	44.3%	34.9%	18%
HISPANIC	15.3%	8.8%	23.6%
ASIAN	13.1%	9.7%	4.2%
NATIVE AMERICAN	0%	.3%	.3%
NATIVE HAWAIIAN	0%	.1%	.1%
MULTIRACIAL/ETHNIC	7%	5%	2.8%
<b>AVERAGE CLASS SIZE</b>	<b>ARNOLD</b>	<b>DISTRICT</b>	<b>STATE</b>
KINDERGARTEN	22.7	23.8	20.9
FIRST GRADE	21	21.9	21.2
SECOND GRADE	18	21.5	21.5
THIRD GRADE	19.8	20.3	22
FOURTH GRADE	21	21.2	22.4
FIFTH GRADE	22.8	21.1	22.8

Note. Statistics received from *Chicago Tribune*, 2012

Communication Interactions

Table C3

*Third Grade ISAT Scores*

	<b>ARNOLD</b>		<b>DISTRICT</b>		<b>STATE</b>	
	%MEETS	%EXCEEDS	%MEETS	%EXCEEDS	%MEETS	%EXCEEDS
<b>READING</b>	38.5%	21.8%	38.0%	29%	46.1%	29.9%
WHITE	20%	53.3%	37%	42.5%	45.9%	39.9%
BLACK	40%	2.9%	39.9%	9.1%	46.9%	15.4%
HISPANIC	42.9%	14.3%	41.8%	14.9%	47.6%	16.1%
ASIAN	50%	50%	28.8%	64.4%	36.7%	53.9%
LOW INCOME	41.7%	10%	41.3%	13.1%	48.5%	15.9%
<b>MATH</b>	45%	35%	37.8%	41.4%	45.2%	42.5%
WHITE	20%	66.7%	28.7%	59.4%	39.2%	55%
BLACK	56.8%	10.8%	46.4%	16.2%	53.8%	21.2%
HISPANIC	64.3%	21.4%	58%	26.1%	54.7%	27.7%
ASIAN	10%	90%	17.3%	81.3%	25.1%	70.8%
LOW INCOME	54.8%	21%	48%	23.5%	54.3%	26.4%

Note. Statistics received from *Chicago Tribune*, 2012

Communication Interactions

Communication Functions

Appendix D

LABEL	DEFINITION	EXAMPLE
<b>I. Direct one-on-one Interaction</b>	A verbal or nonverbal interaction between a teacher and one student that has an antecedent, an interaction, and a response.	MJ is at his table talking at an elevated volume to his neighbor. Mrs. Arrow said, "MJ you are being too loud." MJ stops talking and begins to read in his book.
<b>A. Teacher-Initiated Interaction</b>	A teacher begins a one-on-one interaction with a student through some sort of engagement.	Leo is sitting at the table, staring off into space. Miss Taft says, "Leo, you need to rotate the literacy center." Leo stands up, grabs the literacy bin and brings it over to the next table.
<b>B. Child-Initiated Interaction</b>	The child begins a one-on-one interaction with a teacher through some sort of engagement.	Ben is seated at the table. He raises his hand to ask a question. The teacher comes over and asks Ben what he needs and Ben responds, "I don't have an eraser."
<b>COMMUNICATIVE FUNCTION</b>		
<b>[CBW]</b> Behavioral correction or warning	An individual acknowledges behavior of another that should be altered or is unacceptable OR reminds another of the expected behavior of the classroom or setting or.	"Sit on your bottom." "Remember, there is no sharing of books." "Where should your eyes be?"
<b>[C]</b> Comment	One spontaneously or with prompting makes a statement. Gives descriptive information (probably more than one word).	"I like your sweater."
<b>[A]</b> Amuse	An individual acts in a playful manner to amuse self or others.	MJ was just laughing, then he goes over to Miss Taft to tell her his stomach hurts.
<b>[GD]</b> – Give Direction	An individual tells another to perform a task.	"Put your paper in the middle of the table."
<b>[G]</b> Greeting	One performs a social response/action to another upon seeing or meeting them.	Miss Taft walks in and MJ waves 'hi' to her.
<b>[GS]</b> Guide/Support	An individual assists another with a task or activity to attain a certain goal.	"Let's change your fours so that they are forwards, not backwards."
<b>[PC]</b> Praise/compliment	Positive acknowledgement directed towards another.	"I like the way that MJ is sitting."
<b>[P]</b> Protest/complaint	An individual refuses to agree to concept or task. Could be comment as well, in such case, double code.	"I don't want to do it."
<b>[R]</b> Request (object, assistance, question)	When one asks for an object, asks for assistance, or asks a question.	"Will you tie my shoe please?" "How do you spell Cat?" "Can I go to the bathroom?"
<b>[MISC]</b>	To be used as a last resort if the note is written in a way that is difficult to discern the function (e.g., quote was unintelligible, there is missing data).	MJ walked over to the sub. He spoke to her.
<b>C. Prompted Child-Initiated Interaction</b>	A teacher addresses more than one student (i.e., class, small group, table, pair), a student reacts or responds to this address and the teacher responds in the moment.	The students are on the rug and the teacher is reading a book. She asks the class, "What do you think will happen next?" Ben raises his hand. The teacher calls on Ben and he responds, "I think the book

**Appendix E**

*MJ Language Sample Transcript*

MJ: and it's got an 'n' **up in** it- vernacular phrase

MB: yes it does, it does, oh, I forgot to ask this to um Ben, when's your birthday

MJ: November 12th

MB: your birthday's next week that is cool what are you gonna do for your birthday

MJ: I'm **fitna** go to Skateland and bout to got t' Chicago [**Morphosyntactic/syntactic – fitna**]

MB: who's in Chicago

MJ: my aunties and then I'm **fitna** go out and see my grandma

[**Morphosyntactic/syntactic – fitna**] really all my aunties and my an my sisters they liv in Danville

MB: I didn't know that, that's pretty cool

MJ: and **den** [**phonological – d/th(v) in prevocalic positions**] and then we gonna go ou Marketplace and get some candy

MB: you're gonna have a great birthday how old are ya gonna be?

MJ: six

MB: the big six, I'm impressed MJ, I'm impressed that's gonna be fun

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14:00m

MB: are you guys going to the library today

MJ: huh

MB: no you're not going to the library are you?

MJ: no

MB: okay, alright buddy, first of all tell me about your brother

MJ: a game

MB: okay, get one game and then tell me about your brother, is your brother in a school

MJ: yes

MB: what grade?

MJ: first fourth grade

MB: ohhh there's a game...I don't know this isn't my office so whatever you see that looks very cool to you let's see whaddy think well you can get the memory see memory that's merry-go-round and b- under it is memory nope under left go further down down down next shelf yea to the right that one yeah (laughs) no that didn't appeal to you alright fine you can look at a book...you don't like books?

MJ: could?? I want math books

MB: what is your favorite subject in school what is your favorite thing you like to learn about?

MJ: XX

MB: really, why

MJ: because it's homework



## Communication Interactions

MB: hmmm alright, so you have a brother who's in fourth grade what do you two do at home together I can only imagine

MJ: well we wake up we play fight

MB: you play fight, do you play with pillows

MJ: noooo

MB: Whaat? some people do, alright, that's the one you want? let's see what it looks like alright so you guys play fight in the morning in the morning before you go to school

MJ: yea

MB: oh my goodness gracious

MJ: noooo like when **it's** no school [**morphosyntactic/syntactic – Existential 'it'**]

MB: oh that makes more sense alright so when it's no school

MJ: noo **dis** boring [**phonological – d/th(v) in prevocalic positions**]

MB: it's kinda cool

MJ: no I don't want it

MB: is there anything on here that you and your brother do together like like look at this, so when I go to the beach I play with my niece and nephew, umm I take pictures, I love to take picture I took that picture of you, I play the piano

MJ: no we don't do all that stuff

MB: alright fine

MJ: we ride the **bike bike** up the grass [**morphosyntactic/syntactic – zero plural**]

MB: you do

MJ: yeah

MB: do you ride in your neighborhood?

MJ: yes, we race

MB: who usually wins... usually?

MJ: huh

MB: who wins?

MJ: I got the faster bike because he got a hole **up in** his bike – **vernacular phrase**

MB: ohhh, you can't race him if he has a hole in his bike

MJ: but they put tape on it

MB: did it work? is it fixed?

MJ: yep

MB: alright alright you know what...what uh tv shows do you guys watch together?

MJ: huh

MB: what tv shows do you watch together?

MJ: cartoon network

MB: cartoon network, favorite cartoon?

MJ: not really

MB: what? I have a favorite cartoon

MJ: **'cause** guys always like Ben Ten [**phonological – syllable deletion**] I don't really like Ben Ten

MB: It's still on, people like Ben Ten?

MJ: Ben Ten uhuh, I dunno Whaat

MB: what? I was trying to dance to your song you were singing

MJ: what is this

MB: merry-go-sound, wanna try that

## Communication Interactions

MJ: this one

MB: sure it's up to you buddy this isn't my office like I said so I don't really know these games that well

MJ: I want it I want this

MB: alright

MJ: **he the** superhero [**morphosyntactic/syntactic – zero copula of auxiliary**] b aba ba this is a game and its big I go first

MB: alright, get the markers out, the uh faces you see your favorite color there?

MJ: Black

MB: that's your favorite color, hmmm... I like I like wha- take it out buddy

MJ: alright buddy

MB: my favorite color is not in there, do you know what my favorite color is?

MJ: huh

MB: my favorite color is not

MJ: pink

MB: noooo another /p/

MJ: huh

MB: it starts with a /p/

MJ: purple

MB: yessssss Eh, when I was a kid my room was purple, it was my favorite

MJ: we got a purple

MB: perfect, alright, but I think we have to start at the beginning so put your, put your black there and I'll be yellow, thank you

MJ: **whoever go** all the way to right there [**morphosyntactic/syntactic – subject-verb agreement**] like we start from right here

MB: umhm umhm

MJ: and there right there and I right there and there and there

MB: yeah, we may not have time to, to go all the way around so we'll see

MJ: **he the** superhero [**morphosyntactic/syntactic = zero copula and auxiliary**] can drop Ben Ten say XXXXXXXX

MB: alright pick one

MJ: (singing) green, **Boy-D** always **like** that song [**morphosyntactic/syntactic – subject-verb agreement**] I say watchu doing!?

MB: who likes the song? your brother?

MJ: yes, I say watchu doing!?

MB: umhm and what does he say?

MJ: nothing oh duh duh duh I'm gonna go tell mommy oh do uh duh duh

MB: I have no idea what you just said (laughing) okay go for it, what it's a XX what ahhh good spin good spin alright move how many spaces

MJ: no one more time

MB: oh, I see you're one of *those* umhm go for it

MJ: move nine

MB: that's not nine, it's upside down for you, six

MJ: one two three four five six green \_ 20:00m

MB: alright tell me

MJ: what

## Communication Interactions

MB: what do you see?

MJ: a crab

MB: a crab very nice and where do you find crabs?

MJ: huh

MB: where do you find crabs on a farm or in the ocean?

MJ: red crabs.. in you XX at this place we saw crabs and and **it don't** bite because they put silly bands on there [**morphosyntactic/syntactic – subject-verb agreement**]

MB: silly bands on crabs?

MJ: no bands

MB: ohh, rubber bands, you know why? why you think?

MJ: because they **bouta** chop people [**morphosyntactic/syntactic – bouta**]

MB: right so it's probably safe if they put bands on them right

MJ: and then...X, X

MB: thank you

MJ: HA, you saw the X I got I got XXX

MB: umhm umhm, do a good spin buddy

MJ: hhhaaaahhh (breath)

MB: alright

MJ: five

MB: go for it

MJ: one two three four five

MB: green, oh that's the same one

MJ: haa haa (laughing)

MB: gimme that, what do you see?

MJ: **a orange** juice [**morphosyntactic/syntactic – indefinite article**]

MB: what do you m- oh I see you could say that, yeah okay...so what is it, is it a vegetable or a fruit?

MJ: fruit

MB: ahhhh (scream) you know some stuff, here we go

MJ: ahh – you got five

MB: one two three four, that's four

MJ: four five

MB: you think it's five

MJ: yeah because it landed on right there, it's not on that side **had/if it been** in the middle it'd been right there

MB: alright alright alright I'll trust you, I have to look at this, it's a fan

MJ: no

MB: whaat, i-b-excuse you

MJ: alright go again

MJ: two

MB: it's a good thing...no you get a bonus card, land here, alright let's see what it says, you see if it says something good

MJ: eat eat eaaa-- popcorn

MB: you're good, you wanna try that next word, let me see, that's good, your mouth was right, make your mouth make that sound /m/ - move

MJ: move

## Communication Interactions

MB: ahead

MJ: ahead one space

MB: yeah, one space, lookit you, move ahead one space, just one, excuse me, what am I gonna do with you?

MJ: ah ha (laughs)

MB: alright my turn, alright we each get two more turns okay

MJ: why

MB: because I hafta take you back to class and I gotta go home...(makes noises while spinning)...fo- five - green, what's up with this green man, alright, a ladder and a cat, the cat is on the ladder, oop, your turn

MJ: I bet I win...my--

MB: It's not nine, it's six

MJ: one two three four five six seven eight nine

MB: (sigh)

MJ: XX ahhhhh!(screams)

MB: you have to tell me something, tell me what you see

MJ: I see a witch **up in** the sky **vernacular phrase**

MB: I like it, my turn, oh no wait, uh

MJ: Bwaahhh, ha ha, no, you'll-

MB: three four five six

MJ: alright alright, I **fitna** gitch you [**Morphosyntactic/syntactic – fitna**]

MB: wait, excuse me, it says get some soda move ahead two space, one two, now it's your turn

MJ: X

MB: what do you see?

MJ: I see a tie...one space

MB: you're good, it's a ribbon...you know like if you win something, oh I gotta blue ribbon...okay, last turn each you're probably **gonna** beat me, but that's okay, three, one two three, greens for days, I see a letter that you mail in the mailbox, alright last turn, make it good MJ, make it guhod, (sigh), ooo, alright

MJ: one two three four five one more turn

MB: alright go ahead one more time, I'll let you go, you might get to the end...will you get to the end...will you get to the end...I dunno will he will he will he will he I dunno maybe, oooooo

MJ: YES

MB: alright

MJ: one two three four five SIX YES YEAH YEAH

MB: you win you win high five, and when you win here's what I do, shake my hand – good game, put the markers away, well, I don't know what to call them markers, XX, um where's the bag for this one buddy, here will you put them in here for me

MJ: I ha- I had six

MB: I know, you know what-

MJ: How'd I beat a grown-up?

MB: you have a lucky finger, right you have a lucky finger

MJ: today's my lucky day

## Communication Interactions

MB: why's today your lucky day, I thought your birthday would be your lucky day, why's today?

MJ: huh

MB: why is today your lucky day?

MJ: **cause** I got a lucky hand [**phonological – syllable deletion**]

MB: yes you do, you're right, I see what you're saying, you're lucky because you beat me

MJ: AH!

MB: normally, MJ, I don't let kids beat me, you're good

MJ: you really don't?

MB: actually, whoever wins wins, it's just a game and it's for fun, okay wait, you have to do some work, you have to put these back for me, thank you

MJ: yep

26:29m

Appendix F

*City Sounds and Whisper Voice*

Time: 0:00

MA: XXX know she is ready ready ready ..2.. who am I missing?  
MJ: [sits with his finger on front page of book and looks at MA]  
MT:  
L: [Leo watches MA talk as he puts his book box down and gets book]  
Others: uh:  
(BK):

---

MA: girl N .1. **girl N .1. we're waiting for you** ..2.. over here please: [points to seat]  
MJ: [turn to see girl N]  
MT:  
L: [turn to see girl N]  
Others:  
(BK): *did you XXX?*

---

MA: please: get your boo:k box  
MJ: [looks on the ground] where my book box? .1. [Looks at MA] right  
MT:  
L: [looks at girl N]  
Others:  
(BK):

---

MA: alright finger under the  
MJ: here? [looks under table]  
MT:  
L: [looks at MJ] [looks under table] [watches as girl N sits down]  
Others: Mrs. Arrow  
(BK): *let me show you XXX* kids raising voices

---

MA: first word .1. and girl N you're gonna have to catch up with us  
MJ: [MJ has finger under word and looks at MA] [turns  
around]  
MT: [Leo has finger under word but looks at girl N]  
L:  
Others:  
(BK): *huh?*

---

MA: ready? ..2.. ready to read? Who knows what this word is? What  
does it say  
MJ: 'Roo'  
Time: 0:32

MT:  
L:  
Others:

---

## Communication Interactions

(BK):

---

MA: say .1. girl S? nope it says city sounds .1. put your finger  
MJ: [looks at girl S]  
MT:  
L: [looks at another group]  
Others: uh: ..2.. here? Cit-y:  
(BK):

---

MA: under the word and lets read it together uh .1. look at the word  
MJ: [put finger under word] city sounds  
MT: [put finger under word]  
L: [mouthed part of word]  
Others: city sounds  
(BK):

---

MA: you need to look down at the word .1. ready let's read turn  
MJ: [looked down immediately] city sounds  
MT:  
L: [looked down] [no response]  
Others: city sounds  
(BK):

---

MA: the page where's your book honey you didn't get one of these?  
MJ: [turned the page]  
MT:  
L: [turned the page]  
Others: I didn't got it  
(BK):

---

MA: oh!  
MJ:  
MT: yes  
L:  
Others: because ..2.. I was XXX out in the hallway ..2.. with .1. boy T:  
Time: 0:58

(BK):

---

MA: well then you're gonna take mine there we go let's read city sounds  
MJ: city sounds  
MT:  
L: [pointed but  
Others: city sounds  
(BK): kid scream

---

MA: turn the page .1. *just stay where you are* ..2.. put your finger under the first:  
MJ:

## Communication Interactions

- MT:  
L: didn't read] [looked at kid who turned page early]  
Others:  
(BK): kids talking loudly
- 
- MA: word .1. who remembers what that word is it's a it's the kid's name girl J?  
MJ: [finger under word and looks at MA]  
MT:  
L: [finger under word]  
Others:  
(BK): *it's*
- 
- MA: D:a:n: .1.\* alright let's read Dan ca:rs goo:d  
MJ: Dan .1. and .1. I .1. hear .1. cars [moves  
MT:  
L: [points to words..says them occasionally]  
Others: *Dan?* Dan .1. and .1. I .1. hear .1. cars  
(BK): \*coins drop
- 
- MA: uh! Put your finger under the first  
MJ: back and forth] Dan .1. and .1. I [points and moves mouth]  
MT:  
L: [rock back and forth] [points but doesn't speak]  
Others: Dan .1. and .1. I .1.  
(BK):
- 
- MA: word of the next page .1. ready and let's read  
Time: 1:27  
MJ: [looks at girl talking] Dan .1. and .1. I .1. hear .1.  
MT:  
L: [looks at girl talking] [just points to words]  
Others: Dan: Dan .1. and .1. I .1. hear .1.  
(BK): *car*
- 
- MA: okay st:op I want to hear just the gentleman [flips MJ's page back]  
MJ: dogs: [points and mouths words] [looks at MA] [turns page]  
MT: [looks at MA]  
L:  
Others: dogs:  
(BK):
- 
- MA: just the boys: .1. girls .1. catch a bubble .1. alright go .1. put your finger  
MJ: [look at MA]  
MT:  
L: [look at MA]  
Others:  
(BK):
-



## Communication Interactions

MA: under the first word [points to Leo's first word] right here [points to MJ's  
MJ: [puts finger under first word]  
MT:  
L:  
Others:  
(BK):

---

MA: first word] and read for us  
MJ: Dan .1. and .1. I .1. hear .1. dogs [nods head  
MT:  
L: [puts finger under each word as MJ reads]  
Others:  
(BK):

---

MA: good .1. turn the page .1. girls you're gonna  
MJ: back and forth] [points to words] [turned page]  
MT:  
L: [looks up] [turned page]  
Time: 1:52  
Others:  
(BK):

---

MA: do the next page all: by yourself \* alright you ready? Put your finger  
MJ: [looks at MA]  
MT:  
L:  
Others: \*cough (3x)  
(BK):

---

MA: under the first word .1. girl K's ready, girl S's ready, girl J's ready ..2.. girl N's  
MJ: [looks at girls] [itches ear] [looks at  
MT:  
L: [looks at book] [looks at MA]  
Others: XXX XXX  
(BK):

---

MA: ready [points to her] okay girls go ahead  
MJ: girls' book] [watched girl next to him read]  
MT:  
L: [points to words in book] [looks at MA]  
Others: Dan .1. and .1. I .1. hear .1. buses  
(BK):

---

MA: **buses:** .1. if there's one bus we say bus but if there's mo:re than one bus  
MJ: [looks at MA]  
MT:  
L: [looks around and then at MA]  
Others:

---

## Communication Interactions

(BK):

---

MA: we say buses: right?.1. okay go to the next page we'll all: we'll all read  
MJ: [looks at girl's book] there's 2 buses[makes  
the  
MT:  
L:  
Others: XXX??  
(BK):

---

Time: 2:19

MA: together .1. were all right here [points to MJ's first word in book] were  
MJ: number 2 with his hands]  
MT:  
L:  
Others: *XXX XXX*  
(BK):

---

MA: all: going to read together here we go  
MJ: [puts finger under first word] Dan .1. and .1. I .1. hear .1. drums  
MT:  
L: [puts finger under first word] Dan .1. and .1. I .1. hear .1. drums  
Others: Dan .1. and .1. I .1. hear .1. drums  
(BK):

---

MA: turn the page MJ's ready  
MJ: [laid his head down on table] **almost** [said as yawned] [turned page  
MT:  
L: [pointed to words and mouthed them, rubbed eyes] [turned page]  
Others: *that was good?*  
(BK): *XXX XXX*

---

MA: Leo is ready girl S is ready okay let's read \*  
MJ: [points to word] Dan .1. and .1. I .1. hear .1.  
trains  
MT:  
L: [points to word] [would point to words and rub  
Others: Dan .1. and .1. I .1. hear .1. trains  
(BK): \*coins jingle

---

MA: ready lets **read** Dan .1. and .1. I  
MJ: [looked up at video taper several times] Dan .1. and .1. I  
MT:  
L: eyes, unsure if said words] Dan .1. and .1. I  
Others: *and and* Dan .1. and .1. I  
(BK):

---

MA: .1. hear ..2.. boats .1. goo:d turn the page

## Communication Interactions

MJ: .1. hear .1. boats [pointed and read] [turned the page]  
MT:  
Time: 2:51

L: .1. hear .1. boats [pointed to words and mouthed the word] [turned page]  
Others: ..2.. hear .1. boats  
(BK):

---

MA: whoop! Let's wait for everybody ..2.. and let's read  
MJ: Dan .1. and .1. I XXX [pointed to words] [looked at MA]  
MT:  
L: Dan .1. and .1. I [pointed to words and mouthed]  
Others: last one .1. Dan .1. and .1. I  
(BK):

---

MA: Dan .1. and .1. I .1. \*hear .1. birds good .1. close  
MJ: Dan .1. and .1. I .1. hear .1. birds [looked around table] [closed book]  
MT:  
L: Dan .1. and .1. I .1. hear .1. birds [closed book]  
Others: Dan .1. and .1. I .1. hear .1. birds  
(BK): \*coins jingle

---

MA: your book and now I want no no no no no [quickly] you're going to read  
MJ: [begins to put book away]  
MT:  
L: [looks at MA]  
Others:  
(BK):

---

MA: it all: by yourself in a whisper voice  
MJ: [grabbed book from bin and watched MA] [opened mouth in  
MT:  
L: [looked at video taper]  
Others:  
(BK):

---

MA: let me see .1. please cover your mouth when you do that ..2.. read  
MJ: shock]  
MT:  
L: [rubbed eyes]  
Others:  
(BK):

---

Time: 3:17

MA: your book in a whisper voice  
MJ: [opened up book] [began flipping through pages, looked at videocamera]  
MT:  
L: [pointed to first word on cover] [looked around] [began to flip pages and  
Others:

---

## Communication Interactions

(BK):

---

MA: *re:ad your book please in a whisper voice* .1. put your finger under each  
MJ: [continue to look through book]  
MT:  
L: look at MA] [looked at MA]  
Others:  
(BK):

---

MA: word your reading and hold it flat so I can see which word your working  
MJ:  
MT:  
L: [looked at MJ reading] [looked at girl reading]  
Others:  
(BK):

---

MA: on  
MJ: Dan .1. and .1. I .1. hear .1. cars [pointed to each word]  
MT:  
L: [watched MJ read, opened book, and pointed to 2 words] [looked  
Others:  
(BK): *XXX XXX XXX*

---

MA: *whi:sper voice!*  
MJ: Dan .1. and .1. I .1. hear .1. *XXX* [rocks back and forth, points and  
MT:  
L: at MA] [watches MJ read aloud] [looks at MA as she talks] [rocks  
Others:  
(BK):

---

MA:  
MJ: reads aloud] [flip page] *\*Dan and I hear XXX* [quicker] [points as reads]  
MT:  
Time: 3:42  
L: back and forth] [flip page] [points with head down at book]  
Others:  
(BK): *\*coughing*

---

MA:  
MJ: *Dan and I hear XXX* [looks up at MA] Dan and ...3... Dan .1. and .1. I .1. hear  
MT:  
L: [points to words and moves to next page]  
Others:  
(BK):

---

MA: okay: everybody stop and look at me  
MJ: .1. birds [looks at MA] [closes book]  
MT:

## Communication Interactions

L: [looks over at MJ] [looks at MA] [starts to turn page]  
Others:  
(BK):

---

MA: ...3... everybody stop .1. close your book [reaches to close  
MJ: [look at MA]  
MT:  
L: [look at MA]  
Others:  
(BK):

---

MA: girl's book] [takes everybody's book from them] ..2.. \*and look at me ..2..  
MJ:  
MT:  
L:  
Others:  
(BK): \*chair scoots across  
floor

---

MA: are you ready? ...3... okay .1. if I'm reading in a whisper voice can you tell me  
MJ: [watch MA]  
MT:  
L: [watch MA]  
Others:  
(BK):

---

Time: 4:25

MA: what I am doing wrong right now ..2.. **city sounds: .1. city sounds:** am I  
MJ: [look at MA][rests hands on table, places head on  
hands]  
MT:  
L: [look at MA][stretches hands on table]  
Others:  
(BK):

---

MA: talking in a whisper voice? No no .1. now watch .1. *city sounds: .1. city*  
MJ: *no:* [fidgets in chair]  
MT:  
L:  
Others: *no no* [shake head]  
(BK):

---

MA: *sounds:* [whisper] .1. am I talking in a whisper voice? Is my mouth moving?  
MJ: [resting hands on table, places head on hands]  
MT:  
L: [looks at camera with a smile] [moves hands back and forth on table]  
Others: yeah:  
(BK):

---

## Communication Interactions

MA: ..2.. **yeah** because if your mouth isn't moving you're not t .1. making the  
MJ: [head resting on arms]  
MT:  
L: [moves arms back and forth on table]  
Others: *yeah*  
(BK):

---

MA: words right? .1. if I go like this .1. watch this ....4.... is my mouth moving?  
MJ: [looks at MA]  
MT:  
L: [looks at MA] [smiles at MA]  
Others:  
(BK):

---

MA: you know why because I was reading .1. in .1. my .1. **head** .1. I was  
MJ: *no:* [moves arms and stretches them on table]  
MT:  
Time: 5:03  
L: [lifts arms up and rubs eyes] [looks at MA]  
Others: *no:* head  
(BK):

---

MA: reading in my mind .1. so that's different from reading in a whisper voice  
MJ: [looks at MA] can we do it  
MT:  
L:  
Others:  
(BK):

---

MA: well some of you but when you're reading in a whisper voice I want to  
MJ: like that? [stretches arm out and rubs eye]  
MT:  
L: [rests head on arms] [looked at MA]  
Others:  
(BK):

---

MA: see your mouth **moving** so I know what word you're on .1. and I should  
MJ: [continue to rub eye] [yawn]  
MT:  
L:  
Others:  
(BK):

---

MA: be able to hear you if I listen re:ally carefully because you're talking in a  
MJ: [places hand on head]  
MT:  
L: [look at MA]  
Others:

---



## Communication Interactions

MJ: [paused as if trying to remember word-squint eyes and looks in distance]  
MT:  
Time: 5:55

L: [flipped page] [pointed to each word on page]  
Others:  
(BK):

---

MA: *Dan*  
MJ: *I forgot the word* [mouthed to MA] [once remembered, continued to read]  
MT: *XXX*  
L: [looked up when MA spoke to MJ]  
Others:  
(BK):

---

MA:  
MJ: [pointed to each word on page] [looked at Leo's book]  
MT: *XXX play with the Play-Doh the right way .1. that does not include drawing*  
L: [looked at MA as turn page]  
Others:  
(BK):

---

MA: *girl K come on!*  
MJ: *XXX XXX XXX XXX XXX XXX* [whisper sentences] [flip page] *XXX XXX XXX*  
*XXX*  
MT: *a picture*  
L: [flip page]  
Others: a: [yawns]  
(BK): *hey blues!*

---

MA: *okay everybody stop .1. that was so: much*  
MJ: *XXX XXX XXX XXX XXX XXX* [looked at MA]  
MT:  
L: [point to words on page] [scratch face] [look at  
MA]  
Others:  
(BK):

---

MA: *better I am so: impressed cause I could really tell what word you were on*  
MJ: [closed book] [handed book to MA]  
MT: [closed book] [handed book to MA]  
L:  
Others:  
(BK):

---

Time: 6:33

MA: *when you were reading excellent excellent job .1. **alright** \* make the wor:d:*  
MJ: [moved hands to face]  
MT:  
L: [stood up from chair briefly, sat down] [looked at camera]

---



## Communication Interactions

Others: XXX XXX XXX \*cleared throat  
(BK):

---

MA: 'and' yep, \*it is right there  
MJ: it's right there [points to board] [hand resting on cheek]  
MT:  
L: [hands on table] [stood up from chair briefly, sat down]  
Others: and and .1. can we  
(BK): \*coins jingle

---

MA: sure you can look wh:erever you need to in the room  
MJ: [watch what MA was  
doing]  
MT:  
L: [watch what MA was  
doing]  
Others: look up there too? [points to board at front of room]  
(BK):

---

MA: \*that will help you okay .1. there's a bunch of places [hands Leo board] that  
MJ: [scratches head]  
MT:  
L: [looked at MA]  
Others:  
(BK): \*sound of dry erase board magnets

---

MA: have the word 'and' right? [hands board to MJ]  
MJ: [touches letters] [searches for letters]  
MT:  
L: [touches letters] [looks over at MJ's board] [begins to push letters]  
Others:  
(BK):

---

MA:  
MJ: where's a 'a' .1. I don't see it .1. a: [picks up letter] [looks at board]  
MT:  
Time: 7:08

L: together] [looks at MJ's board] [picks up letters]  
Others: I got a 'a'  
(BK):

---

MA:  
MJ: near MA for word] a: [picks up letter 'a'] ..2.. n: [picks up letter 'n']  
MT:  
L: [looks at MJ] [watches MJ]  
Others: I did it  
(BK):

---

## Communication Interactions

MA: I don't I need to see it ..2.. *okay* ..2.. yeah girl  
MJ: [looks at board to see next letter]  
MT:  
L: [scratches head] [touches letters on board]  
Others:  
(BK):

---

MA: K remember when I was talking about writing your name backwards?  
MJ: *d:* [looks at MA talking]  
with  
MT:  
L: [looks at board to see next letter]  
Others:  
(BK):

---

MA: you've just made '*and*' **back-wards** .1. let's make it *the right way*  
MJ: girl K] [watch MA]  
MT:  
L: [lifts up letter and taps on board] [watches MA talk] [look at board]  
Others:  
(BK):

---

MA: *like this oka:y* ..2.. ready: .1. 'n' .1. and this is actually a 'b' .1. 'a' 'n' .1. '**d**'  
MJ: I made it [lifts up board to show, board to camera, board face MA]  
MT:  
L:  
Others:  
(BK):

---

Time: 7:44

MA: right? now you ju- let me see 'and'  
MJ: huh? [looks at girl's board] a 'd' .1. is right here [points to 'd']  
MT:  
L: [continues to manipulate letters] [looks at MJ helping]  
Others:  
(BK): **uh**

---

MA: awesome friends **aw:esome** girl N **aw:** that was so: ni:ce .1.\* where is our  
MJ: [MJ still helps girl N] [looks at MA] [continue to  
MT:  
L: [looks at MJ's board] [picks up letter and  
looks  
Others: thank you MJ  
(BK): \*coins jingle

---

MA: jar? .1. okay okay .1. **class class class** **hands and eyes**  
MJ: look at MA] **yes yes yes**  
MT:  
L: at MJ's board][spelt 'and']][looks up at MA] [quickly turns head] [didn't respond]  
Others: it's over there [points to computer]**yes yes yes**

---

## Communication Interactions

(BK): **yes yes yes**

---

MA: boys and girls we just got .1. 2 .1. coins\* because you know why? .1.  
MJ: **o:kay** [smile on face, folds hands together]  
MT:  
L: [no response] [watches MA]  
Others: **o:kay**  
(BK): **o:kay** \*coins drop in jar

---

MA: MJ .1. helped girl N and then girl N said **thank you** MJ so that's 2: coins  
MJ:  
MT:  
L:  
Others:  
(BK):

---

MA: when were done we'll put them in .1. say **'oh yeah MJ and girl N'**  
MJ: [smile on face, touches hood]  
MT:  
Time: 8:29  
L:  
Others: **'oh yeah MJ and girl N'**  
(BK): **'oh yeah MJ and girl N'**

---

MA: okay 'and' 'and' 'and' where's 'and'?  
MJ: on sweatshirt] [hands on neck] [hands in lap with  
MT:  
L: [watching MA with kid] [looks at MA's board]  
Others: great job I'm looking for 'n'  
(BK): XXX XXX

---

MA: goo:d Leo  
MJ: smile on face] [looks toward ground] [sits with hands  
MT: not yet  
L: [wipes nose on sleeve] [yawn]  
Others: I don't have an 'n' oh yeah it's here  
(BK): kids talking to  
MT

---

MA: it's red the 'd' is red find the 'd'  
MJ: in lap with smile][looks at MA] *excuse me I'm*  
MT:  
L: [grabs remaining letters with fingers] *it's with*  
Others:  
(BK):

---

MA: yes [in response to girl S] awesome now: scramble it up scramble it up  
MJ: *done* [shrugs shoulders-shy] [scrambles letters]

## Communication Interactions

MT:  
L: [looks at girl's board] [scrambles letters]  
Others: *this?*  
(BK):

---

MA: scramble it up scramble it up .1. an:d write the w- make the word 'me' 'me'  
MJ:  
MT:  
L:  
Others:  
(BK): XXX  
XXX

---

Time: 9:02

MA: 'me:'  
MJ: mm: [looks at camera, looks for letters] m [grabs 'm']  
MT:  
L: [looks for letters] [grabs 'e'] [looks at board]  
Others: me: 'm' XXX XXX XXX  
(BK):

---

MA:  
MJ: ee: [grabs 'e'] [puts 'm' back]  
MT:  
L: [quickly grabs 'm' and  
Others: good job girl S  
(BK):

---

MA:  
MJ: [picks at the letters, grabs 'e' places on board] [looks at  
MT:  
L: looks at MJ's board] [watches MJ] [goes  
back  
Others:  
(BK): *watch this thank you* **ooo:**

---

MA: [grabs papers]  
MJ: girl next to him] [hands in lap]  
MT:  
L: to his board] [touches letters]  
Others:  
(BK):

---

MA: **Where? Huh!** girl  
MJ: XXX [moves in chair] [picks up letters]  
MT: I already set out XXX  
L:  
Others:  
(BK):

---

## Communication Interactions

MA: J .1. excellent girl K look .1. what letter does mm:e: start with ..2.. m \*y:es  
MJ: [continues to touch, move letters] [looks at MA]  
MT:  
Time: 9:37

L: [looks at MA and scratches  
nose]  
Others:  
(BK): \*coin  
drop

---

MA: \*m:uch better .1. beautiful job excellent excellent **excellent** .1. \*did you  
MJ: [looks at MA] [sticks tongue out]  
MT:  
L: [yawn]  
Others:  
(BK): \*loud noise from mouth?? \*coins  
drop

---

MA: make 'm:e:?' find an 'e' .1. it's red girl N  
MJ: [watches girl N whom MA is helping] it's right here [points to it]  
MT:  
L: [looks up at MA then to girl N] [looks at his board]  
Others: a:  
(BK):

---

MA: XXX \* [.....6.....]  
MJ: you're welcome [picks up letter] [sits back in chair, looks at  
board]  
MT:  
L: [watches MJ and girl N]  
Others: thank you MJ  
(BK): \*kids talking in background *guys guys*

---

MA: ex:cellent job [takes Leo's board] nice job guys alright [takes MJ's  
MJ: [looks at board] [watch  
MT:  
L: [sits back, shrugs shoulders] [watch  
Others: \*oh  
(BK): \*magnets taken off board [hear]

---

MA: board] ..2.. I'm gonna give you a card and I \*want you to tell: me what the w-  
MJ: MA] [looks at MA]  
MT:  
L: MA] [watches MA take magnets off] [looks at MA]  
Others:  
(BK): \*stacking boards

---

Time: 10:05

## Communication Interactions

MA: what the letter the word starts with .1. are you ready? .1. ready?  
MJ: [sits with lips puckered] [shrugs shoulders several times]  
MT:  
L: [watches MA] [briefly stands and sits down]  
Others:  
(BK):

---

MA: [...4....] [handing out cards]  
MJ: *thank you* [grabs card]  
MT: *no .1. don't*  
L: [places arms on table and slides back and forth] [gets card and smiles]  
Others:  
(BK): *XXX XXX XXX XXX*

---

MA: okay .1.  
MJ: [looks at girl N] [lifts card up] [looks at  
MT: *worry about it*  
L: [looks at MJ's card] [lifts card up] [looks  
at  
Others: we both got *XXX XXX*  
(BK):

---

MA: what .1. word what is that ..2.. what is that girl J *sit on your bottom please*  
MJ: card] [looks at Leo's card]  
MT:  
L: MA] [looks at MJ's card]  
Others:  
(BK):

---

MA: ..2.. say y:ar:n: and what letter does y:ar:n start with? Y:ar:n  
MJ: [scratches eye] [looks at girl N's card] [nods head in response to girl N]  
MT:  
L: [looks at MA] [opens mouth] [yawn]  
Others: yarn: 'n'?  
(BK):

---

MA: y-y-y-y[sounds out] .1. what letter says y-y-y-y yes: so yarn starts  
MJ: [looks at girl N]  
MT:  
Time: 10:35

L: [looks at card and touches it] [rubs eyes]  
Others: 'u'? 'y'? *XXX*  
(BK):

---

MA: with what letter 'y:' good job what do you  
MJ: [still watching girl N] *camel* [says to girl N]  
MT:  
L: [looks at card] [looks at girl J and MA talk] [shows card, stretches arms out]

---

## Communication Interactions

Others: 'y'  
(BK):

---

MA: have girl K? yo-yo: what letter does yo-yo- can you guys put these flat  
MJ: [looks at his card] [mouth open and looks at MA]  
MT:  
L: [looks at MA][looks at girl K][sits up, stands card up]  
Others: yo-yo  
(BK):

---

MA: right here [takes Leo's card] there we go [takes MJ's card] don't touch  
MJ:  
MT:  
L:  
Others:  
(BK):

---

MA: actually we don't need to touch  
MJ: [smile on face, opens mouth, looks at camera]  
MT:  
L: [sits with straight face]  
Others:  
(BK):

---

MA: what do you have girl K? yo-yo what letter does yo-yo start with  
MJ: [looks at girl K's card]  
MT:  
L: [looks down at table][looks at girl K's card][smile on face][kneels on chair]  
Others: yo-yo  
(BK):

---

Time: 10:59

MA: 'y' what do you have girl S? c:arrots:  
MJ: [leans arms on table] 'y' [look at MA with smile] [looks at table]  
MT:  
L: and leans arms on table] [sits down] [smile on face] [looks at table]  
Others: 'y' c:arrots  
(BK):

---

MA: what letter does .1. c-arrots start with ex-cellent what do you  
MJ: [looks at MA with mouth opened] [looks at table, then girl S] [kneels in  
MT:  
L: [looks at MJ] [looks at table]  
Others: 'cc-c:'  
(BK):

---

MA: have Leo? What is that?  
MJ: chair, arms leaned on table] c:ow: [sits down]  
MT:

## Communication Interactions

L: [looks at MA who has card] [no response, looks at card] [looks at  
Others:  
(BK):

---

MA: what is that? \* say cow everybody say **that's a cow** what  
MJ: [looks at MA] [looks at Leo] **that's a cow**  
MT:  
L: kids at table] cow  
Others: **that's a cow**  
(BK): \*coins jingle

---

MA: letter does c:ow start with kkk ..2.. good j:ob .1. what do you  
MJ: [looks at table] [looks at MA] [looks at camera]  
MT:  
L: [looks at MA, hands crossed] [unresponsive] 'c' [smile on face]  
Others:  
(BK):

---

MA: have MJ you know what .1. what's the arrow pointing to  
MJ: e:gg [looks at MA] egg?  
[raises  
MT:  
Time: 11:35

L: [leans forward onto table]  
Others:  
(BK):

---

MA: well: what's the middle of the egg called .1. do you know?  
MJ: eyebrows] [looks at card]  
MT:  
L: [looks at picture card] [leans forward in chair]  
Others:  
(BK):

---

MA: everybody say **yolk**  
MJ: [gets up from chair, leans onto table] no **yolk**  
MT:  
L: [I was unable to see!!!]  
Others: **yolk**  
(BK):

---

MA: **everybody say that's a yolk** guys the orange part [points to it]  
MJ: **that's a yolk** [looks at MA touching card]  
MT:  
L:  
Others: **that's a yolk**  
(BK):

---



## Communication Interactions

MA: of the egg is the yolk *sit on your bottom* what letter does yolk start with  
MJ: [still leaning body on table]  
MT:  
L:  
Others:  
(BK):

---

MA: y-y yolk yes [moves card to pile] .1. what do you  
MJ: e!: [looks up at MA] 'y' [looks at card]  
MT:  
L:  
Others:  
(BK):

---

Time: 11:53

MA: have girl N? cam-el .1. what letter does camel start with?  
MJ: [looks at girl N's card] [moves body towards girl N]  
MT:  
L: [looks at girl N's card, eyes opened wide] [looks at girl N]  
Others: camel  
(BK):

---

MA: 'c' excellent job .1. alright ..2.. great job guys go head back to your  
MJ: 'c' [looks at MA] [looks at kids at table] [turns body toward Leo] [still  
MT:  
L: [looks at card]  
Others: 'c'  
(BK):

---

MA: tables please  
MJ: kneeling [takes a few second to get up] [looks at girl who spoke]  
MT:  
L: [looks at MA speak] [stands up immediately]  
Others: don't forget your book box .1. Mrs.:  
(BK):

---

MA:  
MJ:  
MT: [STOPPED AT 12:07]  
L:  
Others:  
(BK):

---

## Communication Interactions

### *Good Job MJ*

Time 0.0

MA: me Oop, that looks like it's one word if you put it right next

MJ: [looks at MA] me

MT:

L:

Others:

(BK):

---

MA: to it, it's one word so you need to leave a space so I know it's a different word [to

MJ: [looking over at girl's tray]

MT:

L:

Others: ohh

(BK):

---

MA: other girl student] me "m" "e" I'll write it right here

MJ: I, howyou I: "y" [plays with letters]

MT:

L:

Others:

(BK):

---

MA: Girl G you made the word "my" and that's a great word too but we're gonna

MJ: [yawns] Oh 'my'

MT:

L:

Others:

(BK):

---

MA: make the word me so can you find "e" to go after that "m"?

MJ: [laughing] [plays with letters]

MT:

L:

Others: [laughing with MJ] yay

(BK):

---

MA: oop, we cannot put our "m" there cause then it looks like it's one word you have

MJ: [looks at tray of neighbor]

MT:

L:

Others:

(BK):

---

MA:

MJ:

MT:

L:

Others:

---

## Communication Interactions

(BK):

---

Time: 0:51

MA: to leave a space so I know it's a different word [directed to another student]

MJ:

MT:

L:

Others:

(BK):

---

MA: Oop, we don't need the "y" for me ok Good job girl S

MJ: Just like this? [moving his letters]

MT:

L:

Others:

o:h

(BK): Yes: Good job girl S

---

MA: Good job MJ. Alright can you write the words "a:nd" and "me"[hands

MJ: Good job MJ

MT:

L:

Others:

"and" and "me"

(BK):

---

MA: kid a marker] and you write the words "and" and "me" [hands kid a marker] and you

MJ:

MT:

L:

Others:

(BK):

---

MA: write the words "and" and "me" [hands MJ a marker]

MJ: [looks at MA and takes marker]

MT:

L:

Others:

(BK):

---

MA:

MJ: "and"...4.... [takes off marker cap] a: [writes capital letter a] n: [writes capital letter n] d:

MT:

L:

Others:

(BK): next letter please

---

Time: 1:39

MA: I wanna help you with your "d", ok? Watch me. Around like "c" up wa:y up

MJ: [writes the letter d] I'm done [looks at MA]

MT:

L:

Others:

(BK):

---

## Communication Interactions

MA: and down [draws a "d"] Around like "c" up wa:y up and down [draws a "d"] Oh

MJ:

MT:

L:

Others:

(BK):

---

MA: wow MJ that's awesome but I need it to be in all lower case letters [erases MJ's tray]

MJ: [looks at MA and watches her

erase]

MT:

L:

Others:

(BK):

---

MA: Can you do it again in lower case?

MJ: [looks at MA]

[looks up]

MT:

L:

Others:

yes

(BK):

[coin fell to the floor]

---

MA: Girl K can you write the word...4.... "and"

MJ:

MT:

L:

Others:

yes

yes

(BK):

---

MA: stop [erases] I'm gonna write here, and you're gonna write it underneath

MJ: [drawing "d", has tongue sticking out of his mouth]

MT:

L:

Others:

(BK):

---

MA: around like "c" up and down, down up

MJ:

MT:

L:

Done- 2:41

Others:

---

## Communication Interactions

### *People Who Help*

Time 0.0

MA: F:. Good job. Was she right? Yes. Girl N, what letter

MJ: [exaggerated yawn]

MT:

L: [leans over table and moves back and forth]

Others: 'F'

(BK): Oh two

---

MA: am I missing?

MJ:

MT: I really want to count girl A's reading

L:

Others:

(BK):

---

MA: Not an 'e'. What goes in the middle? Goo:d. Leo.

MJ: [loud yawning]

MT: XXX Good job girl A.

L: [turns to look around room]

Others:

(BK):

---

MA: \*Everybody see it? Leo, what letter am I missing to make for?

MJ:

MT:

L: [turns back around to face Mrs. Arrow] R

Others:

(BK): \*unintelligible background chatter

---

MA: R. Ready MJ? What letter am I missing?

MJ: [nods head]

MT:

L: [leaning forward over table]

Others:

(BK):

---

MA: Letters: What am I missing to make 'for'?

MJ: [smiling] Uh: z. Uh:

MT:

L:

Others:

(BK): Yay, I beat you!

---

MA: If you want to look on our board over there, you can.

MJ: I know.

MT:

Time: 0:49

L: [turns to look around]

Others:

---

## Communication Interactions

(BK):

---

MA: Okay, tell me. Yes:! Does that look right?  
MJ: o-r [smiling] [nods head]  
MT:  
L: [nods & bounces in  
chair]  
Others:  
(BK):

---

MA: Girl S, are you ready?  
MJ: [smiling]  
MT: [nods head]  
L: [nods head]  
Others: Yes.  
(BK): \*unintelligible background chatter

---

MA: What letters am I missing F-O, does that look  
right?  
MJ:  
MT: [shrugs]  
L: [leans over table] [looks back] [faces MA]  
Others: S F-O mama bear  
(BK): \*unintelligible background chatter

---

MA: yes, alright Girl K, did you want him to tell you? Did you tell him that? Don't give me  
the  
MJ: [nods]  
MT:  
L:  
Others: no  
(BK):

---

MA: answer please Okay Girl J, are you ready? Are you sure...3... alright, what am I  
missing?  
MJ: sorry:  
MT:  
L: [nods]  
Others: who's X?  
(BK):

---

MA: oh my goodness! Was she correct? Yes:  
MJ: [smiling] Yes  
MT:  
L: [smiling] Yes  
Others: f-o-r [jumps forward]  
(BK):  
Time: 1:43

---

MA: All right, tell me, what word is this? Girl J what word is this? What word is  
it?  
MJ: She  
MT:  
L: [moving around]  
Others: Sh, Sh

---

## Communication Interactions

(BK):

---

MA: Say she, Girl J say she, okay you gotta take your hands out of your mouth though

MJ:

MT:

L: [head down]

Others:

(BK):

---

MA: What word is this, boys and girls? .1. He, good

MJ: He

MT:

L: [hands up]

Others:

(BK): You're gonna XX

---

MA: Alright we: are going to get a new book this is XXX

MJ: [shakes body]

MT:

L: [turns around]

Others:

(BK): \*bell rings

---

MA: XX eyes on me, eyes on me, Leo, eyes on me. Are you ready?

MJ:

MT:

L:

Others:

(BK):

---

MA: People who help. Read the title with me

MJ: People who help

MT:

L: People who help

Others: People who help

(BK):

Time: 2:38

MA: So this is a book about people who help. Let's look to see what's in this book.

MJ:

MT:

L:

Others:

(BK):

---

MA: He is a what? What is he? I'm asking you!

MJ: He is a what A boy

MT:

L:

Others: That's a boy!

(BK):

---

MA: This guy Who is that? A teacher. So are teachers helpers?

## Communication Interactions

MJ: A boy, a teacher

MT:

L: [smiling]

Others: It's a he Oh.. XXX

(BK):

---

MA: Yes. She is. Does anyone know this one this one's really hard.

MJ: Yes A blocker Oh, I know.

[raises hand]

MT:

L:

Others: Yes

(BK):

---

MA: Okay, what is it, Girl S. What do you think? Its, yes, but there's another

MJ: [lowers hand]

MT:

L:

Others: Um, a builder.

(BK):

---

MA: name for it, It's really tricky. MJ do you know what it is?

MJ: [raises hand] [picks nose] uhh.. ...3...

MT:

L:

Others:

(BK): this is the mama bear

---

Time: 3:24

MA: okay repeat after me, construction worker. Say worker. Okay now

we're

MJ: construction worker but I don't hear

a 'w'

MT:

L:

Others:

(BK):

---

MA: gonna say the whole thing, are you ready? Construction worker. Let's do it again

MJ: -uction worker

MT:

L:

Others:

(BK):

---

MA: construction worker. Okay. He is a what? A what, Girl J?

MJ: worker [yawns] He's a cooker. [raises hand and

falls]

MT:

L: [sits back] [raises and lowers hand]

Others: A cooker.

---



## Communication Interactions

(BK): A chef!

---

MA: Say baker. Ba-ker. She is a what? A doctor. He is a: mail carrier  
 MJ: [raises hand]  
 MT:  
 L: [raises hand] mailman  
 Others:  
 (BK): Ready, XXXXXX doctor!

---

MA: we say mail carrier cuz it could be a boy or a girl, right? And she is a:  
 MJ: [arm inside shirt/raising arm]  
 MT:  
 L:  
 Others:  
 (BK): I know, right?

---

MA: firefighter and he is a police officer:  
 MJ: I don't like XX **police** **he**  
**strong**  
 MT:  
 L: *police*  
 Others: firefighter  
 (BK):

---

Time: 4:16

MA: a police officer Uh: Okay  
 MJ: [arm up to show muscles] XXX I wish I had muscles like that  
 MT:  
 L: [moving arms back and forth across table]  
 Others:  
 (BK):

---

MA: everybody turn your voice off What word is this raise a quiet  
 MJ: [folds arms, makes face]  
 MT:  
 L: [elbows on table, leaning forward]  
 Others:  
 (BK):

---

MA: hand? What word is that? Girl N is: is okay  
 MJ: [raises hand] [looks around class,  
 MT:  
 L: [raises hand]  
 Others: XXX is  
 (BK):

---

MA: So when you come to that word I want you to know what it is all right?  
 MJ: punching air]  
 MT:  
 L: [leaning forward and moving back and forth]  
 Others:  
 (BK):

---

## Communication Interactions

MA: We're going to start reading XXX everybody can use their XXX  
MJ: [still punching] [turns to face MA, yawns]  
MT:  
L:  
Others:  
(BK): [unintelligible background noise]

---

MA: XXX own voice but you weren't listening  
MJ: [arms crossed]  
MT:  
L:  
Others: What does this say?  
(BK): [hammering]

---

MA: People Who Help.  
MJ: *People Who Help* [point to words]  
MT: I like how boy-D is reading quietly  
Time: 5:01

L: [points to words]  
Others:  
(BK): [unintelligible background noise]

---

MA: What is that word? Everybody stop.  
MJ: [points to words]  
MT: XXX and girl-b are working quietly

L: [leans over table, points to words]  
Others:  
(BK):

---

MA: What is that word? What's that word?  
MJ: [looks up at MA]  
MT:  
L: [looks up at MA] [looks around room]  
Others:  
(BK):

---

MA: We've been working on it all morning. What is that word?  
MJ: [staring straight ahead]  
MT:  
L: [still turned around in chair]  
Others: please hello  
(BK): [Boy P making ooh: noise in background]

---

MA: Just because the h is capital it's still the same word  
MJ:  
MT:  
L: [turns back around]  
Others: **he**  
(BK): [Oohh: continues]

---

MA: **He he**  
MJ: [point to word on page] he help the [pointing to words] she  
MT:  
L: [looks down at book]

---

## Communication Interactions

Others:

(BK): [loud background chatter] a

---

MA: is a teacher

MJ: is [hand motions] a teacher [turns page]

MT:

L: [looking down at book]

Others:

(BK): [unintelligible background talk]

---

Time: 6:02

MA: Whisper, MJ, please Remember

MJ: He is a [rocking back and forth] XXX

MT:

L: [looks at MJ] [looking at and pointing to words]

Others:

(BK):

---

MA: that word construction worker [point to word on Leo's book page]

MJ:

MT:

L: [continues looking at and

Others:

(BK):

---

MA: *construction worker*

MJ: [turns page, pointing to words]

MT:

L: pointing to words] [turns page]

Others:

(BK): [background chatter increases]

---

MA: Girl N, I need to hear you.

MJ: [turns page] [pointing to & mouthing words]

MT:

L: [rocking, looks up] [turns page] [turns page, points to

Others:

(BK): Ahhh:XXX She is a XXX

---

MA: *baker* [takes MJ's book] Stop everybody freeze

MJ: [turns page & point to words]

MT:

L: words, and looks at MA]

Others: baker

(BK):

---

MA: put your hands fold your hands like this okay look at this word.

MJ: [crosses arms]

MT:

L: [crosses arms]

Others:

(BK):

---

MA: Is that a little word or a big word?

## Communication Interactions

MJ:  
MT:  
Time: 7:02

L: [arms crossed in air, waving arms]

Others:

(BK):

---

MA: It's a big word it's firefighter. Let's clap that out ready?

MJ: [clapping to syllables] fi-re-

MT:

L: [clapping to syllables]

Others:

(BK): fi-re-

---

MA: you know what [claps] fire figh-ter Can you do it with me?

MJ: figh-ter [leaning on table]

MT:

L: [claps, mouthing syllables] [shifting back and forth]

Others:

(BK): figh-ter

---

MA: fire-figh-ter okay it's a big mom word but: it's only one point

MJ: [yawns]

MT:

L: [shifting in chair]

Others:

(BK): fire-figh-ter

---

MA: because it's only one word one word so when you get to that

MJ: [yawns] [yawns]

MT:

L: [shifting, hand movement] [moves back and forth]

Others:

(BK): [Boy-P flapping arms] XXX

---

MA: how many times are you going to point to it? One time

MJ: [yawns]

MT:

L:

Others:

(BK):

---

MA: [gives MJ his book back] keep going

MJ: [point to words, looking at book]

MT:

L: [points to words, looking at book]

Others:

(BK):

---

Time: 7:36

MA:

MJ: [looks up at MA] [continuing to point to words]

MT:

## Communication Interactions

L: [looks up at MA] [continuing to point to words]

Others:

(BK): [Boy P speaks XXX]

---

MA: go put it in your book box

MJ: [flips book closed, folds hands] [leaves table]

MT:

L: [leaves table]

Others: [leave table]

(BK):

---

MA: XXX firefighter

MJ:

MT:

L:

Others: What you gonna do next?

(BK): [background chatter increases]

---

MA: **Finished (8:14)**

MJ:

MT:

L:

Others:

(BK):

---

## Communication Interactions

*Magnetic 'y'*

Time: 0:00

MA: these kind of get mixed \*up so if you don't ha:ve one:  
MJ:  
MT: girl G .1. girl G .1. girl  
G  
L:  
Others:  
(BK): \*girl talking

---

MA: girl G's here  
MJ:  
MT: .1. girl G .1. girl G *I XXX she's XXX with girl Z* girl  
L:  
Others: got to switch [bang hands  
(BK):

---

MA: girl G you need to find your 'o': find your 'o':  
MJ: [watching girl G find  
'o']  
MT: Z *to the trapezoid table now*  
L:  
Others: on table]  
(BK):

---

MA: goo:d everybody put your finger under the wor:d .1. put \*your finger under  
MJ: [put finger under word]  
MT:  
L:  
Others:  
(BK): \*shouting

---

MA: the word .1. Leo put your finger under the word MJ's ready .1. girl G's  
MJ:  
MT:  
L: [put finger under word]  
Others:  
(BK):

---

Time: 00:25

MA: ready ..2.. \*girl S is ready ..2.. girl N's ready let's re:ad .1. what does it  
MJ:

## Communication Interactions

MT:  
L:  
Others:  
(BK): \*rattle shake

---

MA: say .1. go: good put your letters back  
MJ: [made mouth movement of word 'go'] [looked directly at camera]  
MT:  
L:  
Others: go:  
(BK):

---

MA: alright .1. I want you to make the word .1. 'by:' .1. b-y .1. fast fast  
MJ: [hesitated and then  
started  
MT: *good job*  
L:  
Others:  
(BK): \*kids from other centers talking

---

MA: fast  
MJ: to make word][looked up to see letters and scratch head] **where's my y?**  
MT:  
L:  
Others: b: ...3... oh yeah here it is  
(BK):

---

MA: oh guys .1. your y: .1. yeah your reaching for it is funny  
MJ:  
MT:  
L:  
Others:

Time: 1:05

(BK):

---

MA: look at it it's kind of funny .1. cause they're not straight  
MJ: it's a funny y  
MT:  
L:  
Others:

---

## Communication Interactions

(BK):

---

MA: lines **okay:** ..2.. b: - y: good b: - y .1. this is a 'd' can  
MJ: b [looks at another board]  
MT:  
L:  
Others: XXX yes!  
(BK):

---

MA: you find a b? what about this .1. does that work? .1.  
MJ: [did a gesture with hands behind head]  
MT:  
L:  
Others: oh oh [songlike]  
(BK):

---

MA: yeah b - y do you \*have a y? ...3... let me see \*  
MJ:  
MT:  
L:  
Others: oh-oh [songlike] girl A go sit down **oh:** [pitch change]  
(BK): \*screeching  
\*screeching

---

MA: .1. I don't think you do ..2.. I think your missing a y .1. so here's what I can  
MJ: [MJ watches MA help child]  
MT:  
L:  
Time: 1:44  
Others:  
(BK):

---

MA: do for you look .1. b-y there we go b-y [songlike] .1.  
MJ:  
MT: boy P  
L:  
Others:  
(BK):

---

MA: this is d-y can you find a b-y?  
MJ: [looks at girl making b-y] b ..2.. b ..2.. yeah  
MT:  
L:  
Others: girl I on Thursday  
(BK):

---



## Communication Interactions

---

MA: b – y goo:d everybody put your finger under the word **put**  
MJ: that's the XXX  
MT:  
L:  
Others:  
(BK):

---

MA: **your finger under the word** XXX and read it no read it  
MJ: [put his finger under word] [looks at camera] **b**  
MT:  
L:  
Others: b-y y  
(BK):

---

MA: no .1. we're not saying the letter names your saying the word **what's**  
MJ:  
MT:  
L:  
Time: 2:13  
Others: b: XXX XXX  
(BK):

---

MA: **the word** **what is the word that you just spelled?**[brief laugh]  
MJ:  
MT:  
L:  
Others: XXX XXX  
(BK):

---

MA: say by .1. by by by look .1. like I went 'by' :MJ's house  
MJ: [mouthed the word 'by'] by by by  
MT:  
L:  
Others: by  
(BK):

---

MA: right? .1. I walked '**by:**' a bus stop ..2.. that's the word you spelt and when  
MJ: [shaking head]  
MT:  
L:  
Others: XXX  
(BK):

---

Communication Interactions

---

MA: I say re:ad it we're not saying the letter **names**: were saying what the whole  
MJ:  
MT:  
L:  
Others:  
(BK):

---

MA: what the letters say \*together so what do the letters say together? So what  
MJ: [looks up and yawns]  
MT:  
Time: 2:39

L:  
Others:  
(BK): \*kids talking (unclear what saying)

---

MA: do the letters say together? .1. they say 'by' .1. they say the word 'by' .1. good  
MJ: [yawns]  
MT:  
L:  
Others: by:  
(BK):

---

MA: put it away put those letters back with the others .....5..... **ah**:  
MJ: XXX XXX [begins to pick up]  
MT:  
L:  
Others:  
(BK):

---

MA: you know what were just gonna stick with \*those two ...3... XXX XXX XXX  
MJ:  
MT:  
L:  
Others:  
(BK): \*talking (unclear)

---

MA: *like that* \* *that is what were doing* \* .....7..... okay  
MJ:  
MT:  
L:  
Others: XXX  
(BK): yeah \*um is this \*[7 seconds of

---

## Communication Interactions

---

MA: I'm gonna give you a **marker** .1. and I'm gonna ask you to, I'm gonna show  
Time: 3:14

MJ: [watching MA explain]

MT:

L:

Others:

(BK): background noise – laughing, talking]

---

MA: you ..2 you're gonna do this [sniff] ..2.. you're gonna write the word 'by'

MJ:

MT:

L:

Others:

(BK):

---

MA: and then you're gonna write the word 'go' so I'm gonna do this ..2.. *down up*

MJ:

MT:

L:

Others:

(BK):

---

MA: *down and a bump* \*...3... what word did I write? By: good and then next  
MJ: [began to mouth go but then

MT:

L:

Others:

(BK):

\*kids talking

go:

---

MA: to it I'm gonna write g\* .1. o what word is that? 'Go' so your gonna  
MJ: mouthed by]

MT:

L:

Others:

(BK):

*put your head down*

'go:'

\*something fell on ground

---

Time: 3:38

MA: write 'by' and you're going to write 'go' girl

MJ:

MT:

L:

[scratched head] XXX just like girl

---

## Communication Interactions

Others:  
(BK):

XXX

---

MA: starts with a 'g' too \*

MJ:

MT: [STOPPED AT 3:45]

L:

Others:

(BK): \*shouting

---

## Communication Interactions

### *Baby Kaely*

Time: 0.0 \*N=Neighbor

MJ: [typing on computer, smiling- 19 s. of silence elapse]

Mom: [watching MJ silently]

MB: You like the computer,  
huh?

N:

Others:

(BK): [TV playing audibly in background]

---

MJ:

Mom: Uh huh [turns to MB and nods] You know which one I'm talkin' about?

MB:

N:

Others:

(BK): [TV playing audibly in background]

---

MJ: [sniffles] this one? [looks at Mom] [turns back to computer]

Mom: yeah m-hmm

MB:

N:

Others:

(BK):

---

MJ: I'm gonna go watch the TV [runs out of room] TV

Mom: Where you goin'? No come on,

you

MB:

N:

Others:

(BK):

---

MJ: yeah?

Mom: gotta sing it. Is it gonna play on here?

MB:

N:

Others:

(BK): [~7 s. of silence] [clapping]

---

Time: 0.54

MJ: I don't want to, I'm shy

Mom: come here [looks at MB & smiles]

MB: **Uh, you need to stop** [laughs]

N:

Others:

(BK): [clapping]

---

## Communication Interactions

MJ:  
Mom: [shakes head] Come on, MJ  
MB: **As many things as I've seen you do in that classroom**  
N:  
Others:  
(BK):

---

MJ: [appears in doorway] I'm shy! [claps and walks back into other room]  
Mom: [smiling]  
MB:  
N:  
Others:  
(BK): [TV playing audibly in background]

---

MJ:  
Mom: I heard you singing it all night last night [searching on computer]  
MB: **What? Just a little bit for me, MJ.**  
N:  
Others:  
(BK):

---

MJ:  
Mom: Come here. I'll give you a dollar. You want a dollar?  
MB: **Just a little bit.** Oop [laughs]  
N:  
Others:  
(BK): [TV playing audibly in background]

---

Time: 1.24

MJ: [appears in doorway] Huh?  
Mom: I'll give a buck. I'll give you a dollar. Turn the TV  
MB: Hmmmm  
N:  
Others:  
(BK): [TV playing audibly]

---

MJ: [goes back to other room]  
Mom: down so I can hear.  
MB:  
N:  
Others:  
(BK): [TV playing audibly in background] [camera pans to show TV screen, music lyrics]

---

## Communication Interactions

---

MJ: **Why:?**  
Mom: [shakes head] Come here Well can you at least  
MB: [laughs]  
N:  
Others:  
(BK): “bad to the bone” can be heard]

---

MJ: **yeah** [re-enters room]  
Mom: play the song for her so she can hear it?  
MB: okay cuz  
N:  
Others:  
(BK):

---

MJ: [comes over to look at computer]  
Mom: Come here Is that the right  
MB: I’ve never heard it so I don’t know what it sounds like  
N:  
Others:  
(BK):

---

Time: 1.54

MJ: No. [begins searching on computer] yeah  
Mom: site? YouTube.  
MB: So what song, where is this from, MJ?  
N:  
Others:  
(BK):

---

MJ: Baby Kaely [sniffles]  
Mom: tell ‘em her name  
MB: 5-year-old rapping  
N:  
Others:  
(BK): [10 s. of silence]

---

MJ: Well where you see rapping at?  
Mom:  
MB: oh! All right. Uh, in the title [points to screen]  
N:  
Others:  
(BK):

---

## Communication Interactions

MJ: Oh.  
Mom: Skip the commercial.  
MB: it says 5-year-old rapping. All right, I'm  
N:  
Others:  
(BK):

---

MJ: Yeah.  
Mom: Is that the one? I didn't really know it started like that.  
MB: getting excited.  
N:  
Others:  
(BK):

---

Time: 2:48  
MJ: Ugh [begins searching on computer again]  
Mom: That's the one she's in the school?  
MB: [laughs] There's different ones?  
N:  
Others:  
(BK):

---

MJ: Well Outside with his jacket off  
Mom: Where's your brother? Oh gosh. In the back?  
MB:  
N:  
Others:  
(BK):

---

MJ: yup, yup, yuppy, yup [playing with ear, looks at Mom the back at computer]  
Mom:  
MB:  
N:  
Others:  
(BK):

---

MJ: I don't know [shakes head] Oh, what?  
Mom: Where's the um the where's the little thing at, the little computer  
MB:  
N:  
Others:  
(BK):

---

MJ: What little one? [still searching on computer] that right  
Mom: Where's the little one?  
MB:  
N:  
Others:  
(BK):

---



## Communication Interactions

Time: 3.34

MJ: there? [points to screen]  
Mom: No, the little computer thing [makes rectangle gesture with hands]  
MB:  
N:  
Others:  
(BK):

---

MJ: Oh yeah [gets up to get it]  
Mom: the tablet [searching on computer] mmm-hmm, it's xxx in  
MB: [laughs] Oh technology, it's everywhere  
N:  
Others:  
(BK):

---

MJ:  
Mom: your house, these kids getting big my house look smaller and smaller  
MB: [laughing]  
N:  
Others:  
(BK):

---

MJ:  
Mom: walking around here, try it on  
MB: yeah blame the kids, look what you guys did! [laughs]  
N:  
Others:  
(BK):

---

MJ: I am Got it [walks over to Mom and  
Mom: there Come on have a seat, be polite  
MB: [laughs] All right, I'm getting  
excited  
N:  
Others:  
(BK): [camera pans to MJ in another part of the room]

---

Time: 4.14

MJ: hands her the tablet] [MJ  
sits]  
Mom: Come on, sit right here [pats seat beside her]  
MB:  
N:  
Others:  
BK:

---

MJ: [looking at tablet] No that's it Uh huh

---

## Communication Interactions

Mom: [looking at tablet] That's not the one Where? Oh it's  
MB:  
N:  
Others:  
(BK):

---

MJ: Yeah  
Mom: fitna play? They're all moving slow  
MB: [laughs] buffering, buffering, buffering:  
N:  
Others:  
(BK):

---

MJ: Wait I know why it's movin' slow, *nevermind*  
Mom:  
MB: You know about stuff like that?  
N:  
Others:  
(BK):

---

MJ:  
Mom: hmm, mmhmm, he get that from his dad and his  
MB: Such a smart kid, I tell ya  
N:  
Others:  
(BK):

---

Time: 5.0

MJ: [sighs, searching on tablet]  
Mom: brother. Boy D is like [shakes head], you'd think he would wanna do funner stuff  
MB:  
N:  
Others:  
(BK):

---

MJ:  
Mom: but uh he does what he does [stands up] like 'Mom!', I'm like boy-D [arm gestures]  
MB: [laughs] mmhmm  
N:  
Others:  
(BK):

---

MJ:  
Mom: don't foul out, [arm movement] 'Mom, my coach said XXX, [gets up to answer  
MB:  
N:  
Others:  
(BK):

---

## Communication Interactions

MJ:  
Mom: door] my mom said leave him alone. My coach said I can't listen to you.  
MB: [laughs] I love it  
Oh no!  
N:  
Others:  
(BK):

---

MJ: [still focused on tablet]  
Mom: Hey! [to neighbor at door] Hey X, come give me a hug, they in the  
MB: Oh no:.  
N: Hey! XXX is he over here?  
Others:  
(BK):

---

Time: 5:33

MJ: Whoop! No this the one.  
Mom: back.  
MB: Oh is that it?  
N: How ya'll doin'? XXX yeah, that's MJ's teacher—one of MJ's teachers  
Others:  
(BK):

---

MJ: Hey!  
Mom: You gonna  
MB: Hi, how are you? Nice to meet you.  
N: Hey little buddy!  
Others:  
(BK):

---

MJ: [MJ gets up to give her a hug]  
Mom: give [N] a hug? You haven't seen her in a month of Sundays.  
MB:  
N:  
Others:  
(BK):

---

MJ:  
Mom: You here for Christmas? You gonna be here?  
MB:  
N: How you doin'? XXX  
Others:  
(BK):

---

MJ:  
Mom:  
MB:  
N: No we leavin' tomorrow, I just came to do my mama birthday wit her  
Others:

---

## Communication Interactions

(BK):

---

Time: 5:53

MJ:

Mom: Oh, when is her birthday? Oh, when ya'll doin' it? Tonight or tomorrow?

MB:

N: It's tomorrow.

Others:

(BK):

---

MJ: [comes back to sit on couch, picks up tablet] huh? [smiling]

Mom: oh okay

MB: [quietly to MJ] Are you gonna rap? You gonna rap? Can I hear you rap?

N: Girl, I done took her out to the Chinese Buffet

Others:

(BK): [conversation between Mom and neighbor continues]

---

MJ:

Mom: [sits back on couch]

MB: Do you wanna rap? Do you wanna rap? Let me hear ya. I wanna hear ya.

N:

Others:

(BK): [conversation between Mom and neighbor continues]

---

MJ: What is wrong? What is this? [searching on tablet]

Mom: [laughing] XXX want to

MB: It's buffering, buffering

N: I feel like I'm my mama's XXX You know when I was around the corner from the

Others:

(BK):

---

MJ:

Mom: Where ya'll at? Oh okay, all right, I'll come, I wanna

MB:

N: place of Domino's I'm gonna be at the house.

Others:

(BK):

---

Time: 6:19

MJ:

Mom: definitely talk to you before ya leave out but they've been in

MB:

N: yeah yeah

Others:

(BK):

---

MJ: [working on tablet] Oh: why can't we listen to dis one

---

## Communication Interactions

Mom: the back for probably about 20, 30 minutes

MB:

N:

Others: [conversation between neighbor and mom continues]

(BK):

---

MJ: Uh:, I don't know what wrong with this one

Mom:

MB: what's wrong with it

It's buffering. It's taking a

while

N:

Others:

(BK): [conversation between Mom and neighbor continues]

---

MJ: What's buffering?

Mom:

MB: huh?

I know, so see when it's doing that? [points to tablet]

N:

Others:

(BK):

---

MJ:

Mom:

MB: That means it's buffering. It's trying to find a signal so that it can actually

N:

Others: [boy also involved in conversation]

(BK): [conversation between Mom and neighbor continues]

---

Time: 6.59

MJ: [sighs]

Mom:

We'll sit

MB:

N: XXX rubber band kit

then you gonna make me a bracelet?

Others:

yeah

(BK):

---

MJ: Baby Kaely [says into tablet microphone]

Mom: over here and drill Boy D with that rubber band kit

yeah:

MB:

N:

get it girl

Others:

(BK):

---

MJ: Yeah. Oh. Baby Kaely [into microphone]

Mom:

MB: Did it work? No it didn't, speak again.

N: XXX so he got it now. What's your name? [name]

Others:

[name]

(BK):

---

## Communication Interactions

MJ: but it don't got no answer. It don't got no answer.  
Mom: XXX that's why you're XXX right there, you probly cold you playin'  
MB: Mmmm.  
N:  
Others: What?  
(BK): [laughing, conversation  
continues]

---

MJ:  
Mom: XXX Well we gotta do something else then, I don't  
MB: mm-mm, even tried to speak into it  
N:  
Others:  
(BK):

---

Time: 7:27

MJ: [tosses tablet on couch]  
Mom: know why the computer's acting weird  
MB: What do you like to do with your brother?  
N:  
Others:  
(BK): [conversation continues]

---

MJ: I don't like my brother.  
Mom: Okay sounds good,  
MB: Oh, you're in a mood right now? XXX Little argument.  
N: I'll see you in a little while XXX behave don't let me tell me XXX  
Others:  
(BK):

---

MJ: [stands up and goes ahhh:]  
Mom: Oh he's always a good guy [looks at  
MB: [laughs ] [laughs]  
N: All right  
Others:  
(BK): [neighbor leaves]

---

MJ: Ah, ah: [flops on couch]  
Mom: MJ] Stop. [searching on computer] *try on more time*  
MB: All right try one more  
time  
N:  
Others:  
(BK): gotta get a new shirt

---

## Communication Interactions

MJ: [coughing sound] [kneels in  
Mom: No, Seriously stop acting bad.  
MB: might even try, ooh: XXX  
N:  
Others:  
(BK):

---

MJ: front of computer] We gotta cut it up No [working  
Mom: I thought I already cut it up.  
MB:  
N:  
Others:  
(BK):

---

Time: 8:16  
MJ: on computer] You gotta cut it up, it's easy  
Mom: Oh  
MB: Ah:  
N:  
Others:  
(BK): (8.17) Hi, it's Baby Kaely and I just wanna talk about the kids at Sandy

---

MJ: [stands, turns to MB] Lemme see, lemme see, lemme see  
Mom: *There you go.* He, he really likes her  
MB: mmmm Ah, I'm  
N:  
Others:  
(BK): Hook. I am so, so sad about what happened to them. Now they're up in

---

MJ: [silent on couch]  
Mom: You better sing summin'. [looks around]XXX  
MB: recording. *sing* Are you gonna be shy now?  
N:  
Others: Where's the tablet? [name shouted]  
(BK): heaven [X7]

---

MJ: [seated on couch, rapping quietly for ~20s.]  
Mom: [stands up and walks away]  
MB: I've seen you dance in school.  
N:  
Others: [name shouted]  
(BK): Now they're up in heaven, heaven, heaven

---

MJ: [begins to rap more loudly]  
Mom:  
MB:  
N:  
Others:  
(BK): December 14th, just another day. I was in class, and then I heard them say.

---

---

## Communication Interactions

MJ: [seated, rapping]

Mom:

MB:

N:

Others:

(BK): There's been a tragedy so put down your books, it's time to pray for all the kids

---

Time: 9.15

MJ: [seated, rapping]

[sniffles]

Mom:

MB:

N:

Others:

(BK): who go to Sandy Hook. And that sad man, he must a been hurt. Hurt enough to

---

MJ: [seated, rapping]

Mom:

MB: Mmmmm

N:

Others:

(BK): make everybody feel worse. I am so sad, how can this happen? To all those cool

---

MJ: [seated, rapping]

Mom:

MB:

N:

Others: [Boy sits down on couch] Baby Kaely

(BK): kids, I'm about to cry rappin' They are like me, and I am like them What'd they

---

MJ: [seated, rapping]

Mom:

[sits down on couch]

MB:

N:

Others: [knocking sound]

(BK): do so wrong, what'd they do to him? I don't understand, I guess I'm too little

---

MJ: [seated, rapping]

Mom:

MB:

N:

Others:

(BK): And all the teachers that got hurt standing in the middle

---



## Communication Interactions

Time: 9.50

MJ: [seated, rapping]

Mom:

MB:

N:

Others:

(BK): They're my heroes, they are so strong. Making me strong enough so I can sing

---

MJ: [seated, rapping]

Mom: [looking at someone off camera] Shhhhhh

MB:

N:

Others: [sniffing] [sniffing]

(BK): this song they are like me, like six or seven, but you know what? (what,

---

MJ: [seated, rapping] [glances at camera]

Mom:

MB:

N:

Others:

(BK): what?) Now they're up in heaven [x7] now they're up in heaven, heaven

---

MJ: [rapping, leans forward then leans back on couch] [looks at camera]

Mom:

MB:

N:

Others:

(BK): heaven, Now they're up in heaven [X6] now they're up in heaven, heaven

---

MJ: [leans forward and laughs] [looks at boy off camera]

Mom:

MB:

N:

Others:

(BK): heaven. I wanna hug their mom, I wanna hug their dad, I know they miss them

---

Time: 10.38

MJ: [laughs] [looking at boy across room]

Mom: Leave him alone, he's singin' for his teacher

MB:

N:

Others: [sniffing]

(BK): them so much and that they're feeling bad. When I got home from school on

---

MJ: [silent, leaning forward, looking at boy across room]

---

## Communication Interactions

Mom:

MB:

N:

Others: [boy sniffles]

(BK): that same day, my mom hugged me. She said she loved me. She told me that

---

MJ: [silent, leaning forward, looking at boy across room]

Mom:

MB:

N:

Others: [background chatter]

(BK): those kid's parents just wish they could go back to the times like this. So to

---

MJ: [silent, leaning forward, looking at boy across room]

Mom:

MB:

N:

Others: [sniffing]

(BK): all the parents, I wanna say, Hi and let you know your baby's safe playing in

---

MJ: [silent, leaning forward, looking at boy across room]

Mom: [points across the room] Go, go [pointing again]

MB:

N:

Others: [boys get up and walk away]

(BK): the sky. Don't have to say goodbye, I know you're asking why did my little

---

Time: 11.06

MJ: [silent, leaning forward, looking away from camera]

Mom: [remains seated on couch]

MB:

N:

Others:

(BK): baby have to die, they are all my friends, but we never met, they're close to my

---

MJ: [silent, leaning forward looking away from camera, ]

Mom:

MB:

N:

Others:

(BK): heart, they're sleeping in my bed, I'm talking about Charlotte, Daniel, Olivia

---

MJ: [silent, leaning forward, looking away from camera]

Mom:

MB:

N:

Others:

(BK): Josephine, Ana, Dylan, Madeline, Catherine, Chase, Jesse, James, Grace, Emily

---

MJ: [begins rapping again]

Mom:

---

## Communication Interactions

MB:

N:

Others: [background chatter audible]

(BK): Jack, Noah. Now they're up in heaven [X7] Now they're up in heaven, heaven

---

MJ: [rapping very quietly]

[slightly louder rapping]

Mom:

MB:

N:

Others:

(BK): heaven. Now they're up in heaven [x6] Now they're up in heaven, heaven,

---

Time: 12.01

MJ: [silent, leaning forward, looking at computer]

Mom:

MB:

N:

Others:

(BK): heaven. Caroline, Jessica, Benjamin, Allison, Avielle. We'll miss you Avielle. I

---

MJ: [silent, leaning forward, looking at computer]

Mom:

MB:

N:

Others:

(BK): hope I said them right cause I'm trying my best, and to that sad man, I'm hoping

---

MJ: [turns to look at Mom] [rapping very quietly]

Mom:

MB:

N:

Others:

(BK): he could rest. Ms. Rosseau, Ms. Soto I just want you to know, you are in my

---

MJ: [rapping quietly, looking away from camera]

Mom:

MB:

N:

Others:

(BK): heart, I take you everywhere that I go. This hurts me, We'll miss you Ms.

---

MJ: [rapping quietly, looking away from camera]

Mom:

MB:

N:

Others:

(BK): Murphy. This was all a no-no, you were strong Ms. D'Avino. And Ms. Sherlock

---

MJ: [rapping quietly, looking away from camera]

Mom:

MB:

---

## Communication Interactions

N:

Others: [vocal noise in background]

(BK): and Ms. Hochsprung, we thank all of you, what you did was awesome!

---

Time: 12.38

MJ: [silent, looking at computer] [begins rapping louder, glances at camera]

Mom:

MB:

N:

Others: [boy sits down on couch]

(BK): Now they're up in heaven [X7] Now they're up in heaven, heaven, heaven

---

MJ: [rapping very quietly]

Mom:

MB:

N:

Others: [boy on couch glances at camera]

(BK): Now they're up in heaven [X6] Now they're up in heaven, heaven, heaven

---

MJ: looks at Mom

Mom: [clapping enthusiastically] [very good! That was awesome!]

MB: Whoo: That was excellent! Oh my

N:

Others:

(BK):

---

MJ: *Thank you*

Mom: Can you say thank you?

MB: goodness you know the whole song!

N:

Others:

(BK):

---

MJ: [high-fives M-B, smiling]

Mom:

MB: High-five! [puts hand up for high-five] Give it to me.

N:

Others:

(BK): STOP

---