

LANGUAGE SOCIALIZATION IN ELEMENTARY SCHOOL ESL: MULTI-DIRECTIONAL SOCIALIZATION PROCESSES

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ABSTRACT

This paper examines a first grade beginning English as a Second Language (ESL) class in Hawaiian Elementary School, a public school in Honolulu. Using a Conversation Analysis (CA) approach, naturally occurring classroom interactions are analyzed from the language socialization (LS) perspective. Video- and audio-recordings of the class were made at regular intervals between October 2004 and April 2005. Focusing on a routine activity called “the Daily Message,” the socialization of the students as well as the teacher’s aide is discussed. Comparing data from early November and early April, it was found that both the students and the teacher’s aide have gained some interactional competence allowing them to participate more fully and effectively in the routine activity. It also showed that the roles of who is being a “good student” or “bad student” are constructed on a moment-by-moment basis by the participants through interaction. In addition, it was shown in the data how the students have different types of interactional competencies that they have brought with them to class. Some pedagogical implications are discussed based on these findings.

INTRODUCTION

This is a case study involving a beginning English as a Second Language (ESL) class for first grade students in a public elementary school in the city of Honolulu, Hawaii. It takes place in Hawaiian Elementary School¹, which serves kindergarten through fifth grade, and is known for its unique location and its high percentage of students identified

¹ The name of school, as well as those of all the participants (except for me, the researcher), are pseudonyms.

as ESL students. The district consists of more expensive high-rise condominiums and less expensive low-rise apartment buildings, which is reflected in the school's cultural and socioeconomic diversity. During the 2004-2005 school year, when the data collection took place, Hawaiian Elementary had 184 ESL students, which accounted for 37.4% of the entire student population. In comparison, within the state of Hawaii for the same school year, only 8.6% of the students in the public school system were identified as ESL. Even within the complex district to which Hawaiian Elementary belongs (the city of Honolulu is divided into complex districts; Hawaiian Elementary School's complex district has a total of 11 schools), only 21.5% of the students were identified as ESL (Hawaii State Department of Education [Hawaii DOE], October 28, 2005). This means that Hawaiian Elementary has a higher percentage of ESL students even compared to the neighboring schools in the same area within the city of Honolulu.

Students at this school come from a variety of ethnic backgrounds, mainly Japanese, Korean, Hawaiian/part-Hawaiian, Chinese, White, Filipino, as well as Samoan, Black, Hispanic, Portuguese, and Native American backgrounds. Nearly 60% of the students in the school receive free or reduced cost lunch, which is often used as a measure to indicate the socioeconomic status of the school district (Hawaii DOE, February 1, 2006).

Because of the high percentage of ESL students, the ESL program is rather large. The ESL program at Hawaiian Elementary, in the 2004-2005 school year, included two full-time teachers, as well as several part-time teachers and paraprofessionals. In addition, there were several volunteer tutors who came in regularly to work with the ESL students. According to the Hawaii DOE (date unknown), one full-time ESL teacher is allocated for every 100 ESL students. Hawaiian Elementary seems to be fortunate that it has two full-time ESL teachers. The program, because of the large number of students that it needs to service, is a pull-out program in which the students spend most of their time in their mainstream classrooms and come to the ESL classroom during designated times for instruction. The students are divided into classes depending on their proficiency and grade levels. Some classes are for students in a particular grade level, while others may have students from different grade levels.

This study examines the phenomenon of language socialization in a first grade²

² One boy, Akio, who joined the class in mid-March was a second grade student who had very limited

beginning ESL class, through detailed analysis of the audio- and video-recordings of classroom interactions using conversation analysis (CA). It attempts to show how these students, who had no or very limited English proficiency and little or no previous school experiences learn to become competent members of the ESL class through participating in classroom routine activities. At the same time, it examines how the teacher's aide, who is a novice teacher, becomes socialized into the classroom practices through interactions with the classroom teacher and the students.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

The main framework for analysis in this study is that of language socialization (for example, Garrett & Baquedano-López, 2002; Kramsch, 2002; Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986). According to Schieffelin and Ochs (1986), language socialization consists of two parts, “socialization to use the language”—the “acquisition of the appropriate uses of language as part of acquiring social competence”, and “socialization through the use of language”—“how language is a medium or tool in the socialization process” (p. 167). They claim that the language acquisition process and socialization process are integrated. Garrett and Baquedano-López (2002) summarize the socialization process as “the process through which a child or other novice acquires the knowledge, orientations, and practices that enable him or her to participate effectively and appropriately in the social life of a particular community,” and is “realized to a great extent through the use of language, the primary symbolic medium through which cultural knowledge is communicated and instantiated, negotiated and contested, reproduced and transformed” (p. 339). They emphasize that the socialization process is not a unidirectional phenomenon, but rather a bidirectional one, involving negotiation on the parts of both the “expert” and the “novice”, and even young children who are considered “novices” have the potential to become “experts” in certain contexts. Moreover, these categories are not fixed, but rather, they are very fluid, and they shift on a moment-by-moment basis during interaction, as shown in Jacoby and Gonzalez's (1991) study of university physics research team meetings. Although the language socialization framework was originally developed to examine the

socialization of young children, it is now being used in wider contexts. It is believed that socialization is a life-long process and that people are socialized into different communities (for example, institutions or professions) at various moments during their lifetimes (*secondary* socialization as opposed to *primary* socialization).

There have been a great many language socialization studies within the field of applied linguistics (e.g. Clancy, 1999; Duff, 2002; Kanagy, 1999; Kramsch, 2002; Morita, 2000; Pallotti, 2002; Watson-Gegeo, 1992; Willett 1995). For instance, Willett's (1995) study was set in a first grade mainstream classroom, focusing on ESL students and how they learn to participate in the various classroom activities. Willett particularly focused on three ESL girls who sat together and worked together during phonics seatwork, and how they asked for help from the aides and the way they helped each other out. She also examined how the girls appropriated words and phrases frequently used by their teacher, aides, and peers, and how they interacted with non-ESL peers.

Another classroom study involving young children is Kanagy's (1999) study, which was conducted in a Japanese immersion kindergarten and focused on how the English-speaking children learned to participate in three routine activities using Japanese, which included greetings, taking attendance, and doing personal introductions. Kanagy found that repetition and scaffolding help children to develop interactional competence, by imitating the teachers' verbal and non-verbal behaviors. Children were able to achieve competence, at least within the interactional routines, although it was not clear if they were able to apply the knowledge to new, similar situations.

Language socialization studies often focus on certain classroom or other educational (routine) activities, as in Kanagy's (1999) study. Morita (2000) examined the socialization of graduate students in a Teaching English as Second Language graduate program through oral academic presentations (OAPs) in seminars. The study showed how both native and non-native students became socialized into the oral academic discourse while they "prepared for, observed, performed, and reviewed OAPs" (p. 279). Morita found that the particular context that she examined "involved more dynamic, moment-by-moment negotiations of expertise among participants who contributed different knowledge, experiences, and specializations to the group" (p. 302).

Similarly, Young and Miller (2004) focused on a specific activity, ESL writing

conferences, using the framework of CA and interactional competence. They examined how one adult ESL learner participated in an unfamiliar activity, a writing conference with the ESL instructor. It showed how the ESL learner gained interactional competence by participating in the “revision talks” of the writing conferences.

Of particular interest is Watson-Gegeo’s (1992) study on the Solomon Islands, in which she examined the differences in home and school socializations of the children, and what seemed to be the cause of these children not being successful in the school setting. She examined the situation from both micro and macro perspectives, giving it a “thick explanation” (p. 52). On the micro level, Watson-Gegeo carefully examined recorded interactional data both at home and at school, and on the macro level, she investigated the larger, socio-political context in which the interactions took place. She mentioned that in order to really examine what is going on, it is necessary to look at both micro- and macro- contexts, and offer a “thick explanation.”

In the present study, both “socialization to use the language” and “socialization through the use of language” will be examined. The students are being taught the English language, and at the same time, they are also being taught the expected student behavior in the classroom through the use of the English language. The main focus of the ESL class is to teach the English language, but especially for the younger students who are not used to being in formal classroom settings, the teaching of expected classroom (or school) behavior plays an important role as well, in mainstreaming these students.

For example, at Hawaiian Elementary, the students are taught to sit in the “learning position”, which means that they are to fold their hands on their lap or on their desk, and look at the teacher with their mouths closed. When they are walking in the hallway together to go somewhere as a class, they are taught to line up, hold their hands behind their backs, and walk quietly. Other rules include raising their hands for permission to speak in class, not shouting out answers when the teacher asks a question of the class.

In order to examine what kinds of socialization processes are taking place in the classroom, the classroom interaction will be analyzed using the conversation analysis (CA) approach. The interactional data will be transcribed in detail and analyzed by looking at the sequential organization. The interaction is embedded in the context, and the

participants co-construct the meaning through the interaction.

There are controversies among conversation analysts in terms of what is and is not allowed in CA. Those who engage in “pure” CA (for example, Sacks and Schegloff), trying to identify the machinery and structures of a talk-in-interaction, and frown upon using ethnographic and/or contextual data to analyze the given interactional data (ten Have, 1999). On the other hand, there are researchers who are engaged in “applied” or “institutional” CA. They argue that such ethnographic and contextual data are necessary in conducting CA. For instance, Moerman (1988) argued for the integration of CA and ethnography, which he calls “culturally contexted CA.” What this means is that the interaction cannot be fully interpreted and understood unless the cultural information of the context is examined as well. Another researcher who used CA and ethnography together is Goodwin (1990), in which she studied the social organization of Black children of Maple Street in Philadelphia through detailed analysis of their interaction.

More recently, within the field of applied linguistics, some researchers have been considering the integration of CA in classroom research. One example is He (2004), who examined classroom interactions in Chinese Heritage Language schools. Though she emphasized the fact that “CA is not concerned with what is not observable” and that “CA is not a learning theory,” she stated that “if we view acquisition as a problem-solving process and consider interaction and acquisition as symbiotic with each other, CA studies of classroom interaction can be valuable for understanding the discourse processes that could promote L2 learning and teaching” (p. 580). Another study, conducted by Mondada and Pekarek Doehler (2004), integrates CA and sociocultural theory in their analysis of French as Second Language classroom. This study also suggests the possibility of examining classroom interaction using CA in a way that contributes to the field of language learning. In a recent book, Seedhouse (2004) explored the use of CA in language classrooms, and an edited book by Gardner and Wagner (2004) has a collection of second language studies using CA methodologies.

THE PRESENT STUDY

Purpose of the Study

Following these previous studies, the present study will attempt to integrate the use of ethnographic data and the CA approach. Using Watson-Gegeo's (1992) term, the present study will try to offer a "thicker" explanation of what is going on in the classroom by examining the interaction from a micro perspective using CA, and making it "thicker" by using other ethnographic data in order to interpret the interaction.

Previous socialization studies, although they emphasize the bi-directionality of socialization processes, do not particularly seem to investigate the development or changes on the part of the "experts." The aim of the present study is to examine the language socialization processes that are taking place in the first grade beginning ESL classroom through detailed sequential analysis of the classroom interaction. It also aims to examine the socialization of both the students and the teacher's aide. Language socialization is taken as a multi-directional and non-linear process which is co-constructed by the participants on a moment-by-moment basis in the interaction.

The research questions are as follows:

1. What kind of socialization processes are taking place and how? Do the participants gain interactional competence to participate more fully and appropriately in a routine activity?
2. What types of norms and rules do the participants orient to? How and when do they orient to them?
3. What are the pedagogical implications of the findings, if any?

Research Site, Participants, and Data Collection

As mentioned earlier, the research site is a first grade beginning ESL class at a public elementary school in Honolulu, Hawaii. This class met each morning from 8:30 to 10:00am for 90-minute sessions. During the course of the school year, there were between seven and ten students in the class. One of the characteristics of ESL classes in this school (and perhaps in most other schools) is that the students are coming and going at all times throughout the year. Some students moved into the district, some moved out,

others were placed in different level classes as the year progressed to better meet their individual needs. When the school year started, there were eight students in the class. At the end of the school year, there were nine, and of those nine, only two students had been in the class for the whole school year.

The students in the class were from various backgrounds. They were from Korea, Japan, China, Philippines, and Micronesia (Pohnpei). Some students had attended part of kindergarten at Hawaiian Elementary; others came to Hawaii just before being enrolled in first grade. Some had no previous school experiences in their home country, while others had some school experience. A few of the students came with some English proficiency, while others had to start from the very beginning. The students began the school year by learning the letters of the alphabet and their corresponding sounds. The classroom teacher, Ms. Johnson, is an experienced, white teacher. She holds a master's degree in ESL and also has experience working with deaf children.

The teacher's aide (me), a master's degree student in the Department of Second Language Studies at the University of Hawaii at Manoa, was involved with this particular class throughout the 2004-2005 school year. I am Japanese. I was an ESL student when I was in second and third grades, living in Illinois and southern California. I spent second through fourth grade and seventh through tenth grades in the American public school system. Entering the master's degree program right after obtaining a bachelor's degree in Japan, I had no previous teaching experience. From August to December 2004, I was taking a teaching practicum course and was involved in this particular class as a student teacher beginning in late August, shortly after the school year started. At that time, I was present in the class for three days a week. From January 2005 until the end of the school year, I was present in the class as a volunteer teacher's aide at least twice a week. All through the school year, I was very involved in the class. At any given time, I might have been leading a whole class activity, supervising a writing activity, working with individual students on their reading, or sorting and preparing teaching materials³.

³ Although I was a student teacher in 2004 and a teacher's aide in 2005, my involvement in the class did not change. Ms. Johnson continued to act as my mentor throughout the school year to help me develop my teaching skills further.

Here are the key student participants⁴ who appear in the following data analysis.

1. *Amanda* is a Korean girl who was in the class from the beginning of the school year to the very end. She has a twin brother, who was in a different ESL class. She could be quite outspoken, but at other times, she spoke so softly that it was difficult to hear what she was saying.

2. *Amy* is a girl from the Philippines, who joined the class in mid-October. She is a shy, quiet girl, but she made good progress over the course of the school year.

3. *Derek* is a half-Japanese half-American boy, whose first language is Japanese. He joined the class at the very end of August. Initially, he spoke very little English, and in the beginning, Ms. Johnson asked me to provide Derek with some Japanese instructions regarding homework. After he realized that I speak Japanese, he only addressed me in Japanese. I refused to speak to him in Japanese and provided only English responses, to which Derek showed resistance, insisting that he is Japanese and he only spoke Japanese. In a teaching journal entry in mid-February, I noted that Derek no longer resisted using English responses, though he still sometimes addressed me in Japanese. He was very out-going and vocal from the beginning, despite his insistence that he does not speak English.

4. *Eddie* came from China and joined the class in late February. When he first came, he needed to start from learning the letters of the alphabet and their corresponding sounds, which he only had partial knowledge of. He is a very determined student and made a lot of effort to speak in English.

5. *Elizabeth* came from Micronesia (Pohnpei) in the beginning of November. She had relatively good oral English language skills and spoke a lot, but needed much instruction on reading and writing skills.

6. *Ellen* also came from Micronesia (Pohnpei) in the beginning of November. She and Elizabeth are twin sisters, and it took Ms. Johnson and me some time to tell the two girls apart. As with Elizabeth, Ellen also had relatively good oral English language skills, but needed a lot of instruction on reading and writing.

7. *Jaewoo* is a Korean boy who was in class throughout the school year. He is

⁴ Students who had English names were given English names for pseudonyms. A student who had a Korean name was given a Korean pseudonym, and a student who had a Japanese name was given a Japanese pseudonym.

clearly a very smart boy, but he had good days and bad days. On good days, he spoke a lot and answered lots of questions, and did very well on reading and writing activities. On the other hand, when he was having bad days, he refused to speak, had problems focusing, and did not do as well as he could on good days with reading and writing activities.

8. *Jonathan* is also a boy from Korea. He joined the class at the beginning of September. Ms. Johnson and I were very concerned about him in the very beginning because he was having a great deal of trouble adjusting to the new environment. He settled down in about two months, and started doing very well, so that in early March, he was moved up to a higher level ESL class.

9. *Karl*⁵ is a boy who moved into this class from a higher level ESL class in early March. He had a very good command of oral English, but his reading and writing skills were very shaky, which is why he was moved into this class.

10. *Yuya* is a boy from Japan who was in the class from the beginning of the school year. He was very supportive of Derek when Derek first joined the class. Yuya was doing very well, and he was moved up to a higher level ESL class in early March, along with Jonathan.

The class took place in a large classroom divided into two parts by using moveable boards (see Figure 1; for overall classroom layout, see Appendix E), and on the other side of the boards, there was another ESL class going on at the same time. Sometimes, the goings-on in the other class distracted the students, since there was no real boundary between the two sides of the classroom to shut out sounds. Oral activities and some reading activities took place between the white board and the writing table. The students sat in chairs placed in a semi-circle, facing the board, and the teacher or I sat by the white board facing the students. Writing activities and most reading activities took place at the writing table.

⁵ I have not been able to obtain the nationality and native language information of this student. Karl himself did not know about his native language, though he did confirm that he does not speak English at home.

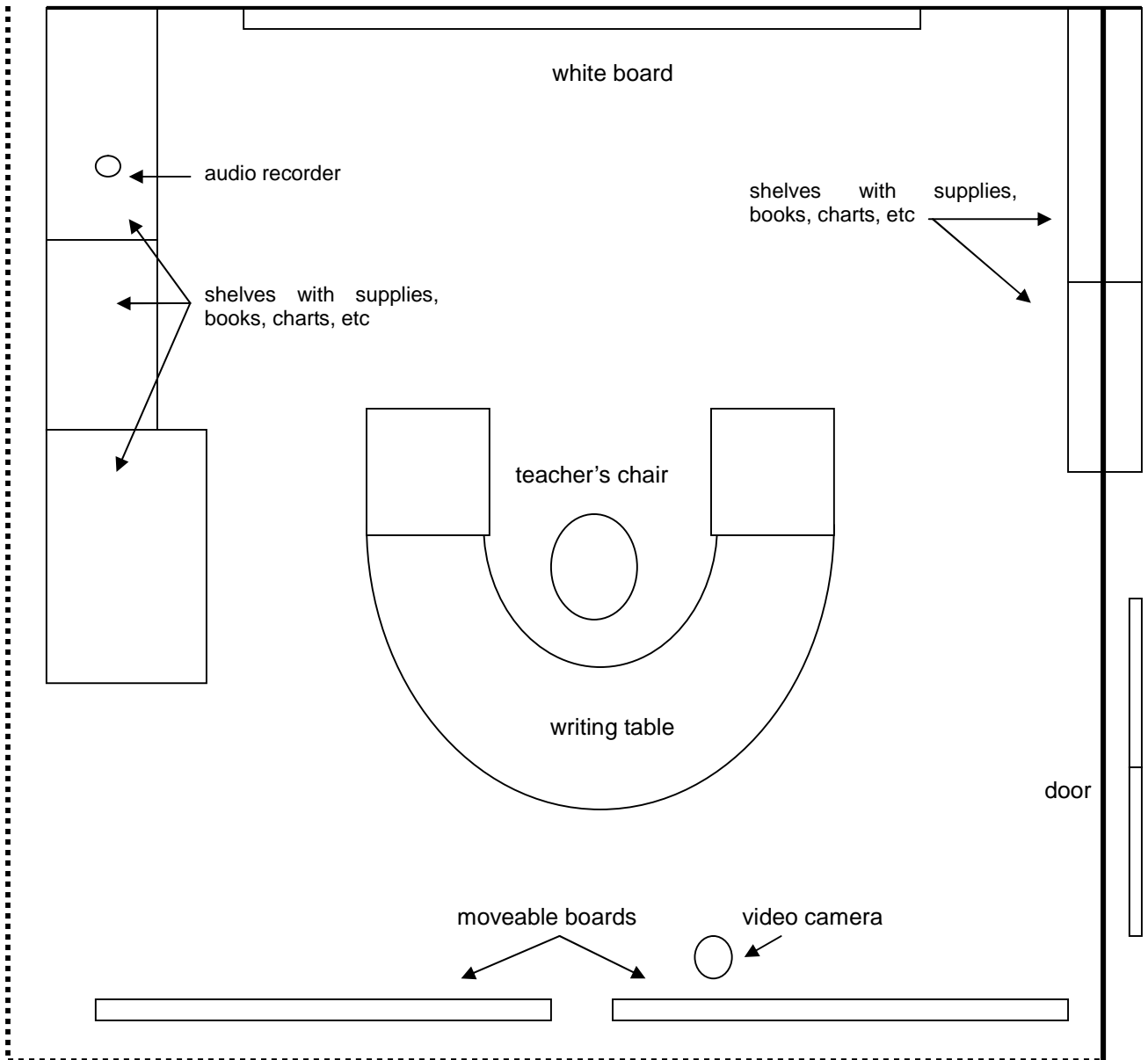


Figure 1 Classroom Area Layout (One-fourth of a large classroom)

Naturalistic classroom interaction data were collected by video- and audio-recording the class once a week from mid-October to mid-December. Follow-up data were collected once a month in February, March, and April 2005. The video camera was placed at the back of the classroom, while the audio recorder was placed on the side, toward the front of the classroom. Field notes were kept in the form of a teaching journal throughout the school year. In addition, school statistics were obtained from the Hawaii Department of Education website in order to better contextualize the data.

Data Selection

After the first recording was made, a rough transcript of the class interaction was made. Because a 90-minute class is too long as a unit of analysis, one routine activity was selected after going over this initial transcript, following previous studies such as Kanagy (1999), Morita (2000), and Young and Miller (2004). For the subsequent recordings, only the selected activity was transcribed for further analysis. A total of six recordings were roughly transcribed.

The selected routine activity is called “the Daily Message.” Each morning, a short message was put up on the white board by Ms. Johnson or me. The students read the message out loud as a class. The message routinely included greetings, day of the week, date, and closing. Other contents included things like the weather, what they will do in class that day, or simple questions (such as “What did you do over the weekend?” or “Did you read at home last night?”). After they read the message out loud, they were asked to come up to the board one by one to circle particular words. At the beginning of the school year, the tasks were quite simple: “Who can circle a word that starts with the sound /b/?” or “Who can circle the word ‘you’?” As the students became more proficient, the tasks became more difficult and involved opposite words, rhyming words, and number of syllables. Later in the year, when they were learning about sentences, the students were also asked to identify the beginnings and ends of sentences, and to count the number of sentences.

This activity was chosen because of its everyday occurrence, as well as its complexity. It involved multiple skills, including reading, speaking, listening, and conforming to classroom rules that are typical in American educational settings. These rules included raising their hands to speak, sitting up in their chairs, not interrupting the teacher, and following instructions. All of these skills are used in other classroom activities as well, so “the Daily Message” activity was chosen with the hope that the findings may be applicable to other activities that are often found in classrooms. Also, choral activities, such as reciting or reading out loud as a class seem to be a common activity in language classrooms (for example, van Dam, 2002). It was also chosen, because I, who started to teach portions of the lessons in mid-September, frequently led this routine activity.

For this study, “the Daily Message” activity from two class sessions will be analyzed in detail. The first is from early November, and the second is from early April. Both were taught by me and were selected in an attempt to see if any changes or development can be seen through close analysis of the interaction between the students and me. Closer examination of the two detailed transcripts revealed that there were differences in terms of transitions between activities or tasks. Transitions in classroom interactions have been studied previously (see for example, Markee, 2004).

From the teaching journal, it was apparent that transition (Ms. Johnson called it “timing,” i.e., timing to move on to the next activity or task) was one of the aspects of my teaching that needed to be improved. Ms. Johnson had mentioned again and again that I am taking too long to move from one thing to another. It is a balance between giving the students a chance to think and talk, and keeping up the pace so that more will get done in one class session and the students’ attention will be maintained (if there are long silent intervals, they will lose focus). In the teaching journal, I noted on March 14, 2005 that Ms. Johnson had commented that I am “getting better with the ‘timing’ thing.” So what had changed between November and April?

DATA ANALYSIS⁶

November 3 Data (ESL1BG110304)⁷

The particular segment (approximately 3.5 minutes long) that is analyzed here, occurred when the students were reading the message out loud. For this particular day, there were tasks embedded in the message itself (for the message, seating arrangement, and participants, refer to Appendix A). The segment starts right after the students finished reading the sentence “What begins with ‘P’?” The teacher’s aide (TA) started by giving the students a task by asking “what’s three words that starts with P?” The students enthusiastically participated in this task; however, even after the students came up with three words, the TA was not able to move on to the next task, which was to fill in

⁶ In the Data Analysis and Discussion sections, third-person pronouns (i.e., the TA, she, and her) will be used to refer to me, in order to analyze the data from an outside perspective.

⁷ Transcript notations used in this paper follow ten Have (1999). In the transcript, name indicates an identified student, S refers to an unidentified student, and Ss refer to two or more students.

the blank at the beginning of the next sentence. During this activity, the classroom teacher (CT) was observing at the back of the class, along with the TA's practicum instructor (PI) who had come to observe the TA teach. The following transition attempts were made by the TA (for full transcript of this segment, see Appendix B):

Excerpt 1

- 69 Derek: ((raising his hand)) pingman. memememe! ping(u)man, ping(u)man!
 70 Jonath.: ((sits down in his seat))
 71 TA: okay, good! (1.5)
 72 S: ocean! (0.5)
 73 S: tsk! (1.7)
 74 TA: ((indicating the blank at the beginning of the next sentence)) you know what goes
 75 there?
 76 Yuya: p(h)in, p(h)in, p(h)in, (.) pin!
 77 TA: e heh heh heh,
 78 Derek: pencil!
 79 TA: ((looking towards Derek)) pencil? good! (0.4)

After the students came up with five words that start with the letter 'P' (pig, pink, pat, pin, pit), as well as some nonsense words such as 'pingman' in line 69, the TA gives a positive evaluation in line 71. As the task was to find three words, the TA attempts to go on to the next task. However, there is a considerable silence after the evaluation in line 71 and the initiation of next task in line 74. Immediately after the next task initiation, Yuya, in line 76, shouts out another word that starts with "P". TA, in turn, laughs at her own unsuccessful transition in line 77, which is taken as positive evaluation by Derek, who comes up with another word, "pencil," in line 78, who is then given a positive evaluation in the following line. Because of the positive evaluations given to the students despite the fact that they are still oriented to the previous task of finding words that start with "P", the students continue to try to find more words.

Excerpt 2

- 116 Yuya: ((waving his hand at the TA)) pan, pan, pan!
 117 TA: pan?=
 118 S: =pan=

119 TA: =pan, good.
 120 S: pan (1.6)
 121 Yuya: aaa, ghh!
 122 TA: okay, lets go to the next sentence.
 123 Jaewoo: kim po[ssi(ble)
 124 S: [pumpkin!
 125 TA: pumpkin(h)
 126 Ss/TA: ((laugh 4.9))

Again, after Yuya comes up with another word in line 116, the TA offers a positive evaluation in lines 117 and 119. Following a short pause, the TA again attempts to move on to the next task in line 122 by saying “okay, let’s go to the next sentence.” Despite this initiation, Jaewoo, in line 123 says “kim possible” (most likely referring to the cartoon show by that title), then another student yells “pumpkin!” in line 124. The students and the TA laugh for a while, as the class had been studying Halloween words including “pumpkin” for about 2 weeks.

Excerpt 3

127 TA: o(h)kay (0.8) u:hm, okay. next sentence. we’re finished with pee.(((points at the
 128 board))
 129 Jonath.: [((in a singing
 130 manner)) b(r)ah, b(r)ah, b(r)ah, b(r)ah!
 131 TA: ((looking at Jonathan)) jonathan!
 132 Jonath.: o:kay. (1.8)
 133 TA: okay, ((indicating the blank at the beginning of the next sentence)) (0.5) oka:y, what
 134 goes the:re? (0.5)
 135 S: pumpkin!
 136 TA: pump-huh huh. (1.2) ‘kay, am I a pumpkin?

When the laughter dies down, the TA makes the next attempt at transition in line 127. This is responded to by Jonathan in lines 129 and 130, who makes noises. The TA reprimands Jonathan in line 131, and Jonathan cooperates by replying “okay” in line 132. Then getting back to the activity, the TA makes another attempt in lines 133 and 134. A student, still oriented to the previous task, responds by saying “pumpkin” in line 135.

156 TA: teacher's such a- [t(h), t(h), t(h)!]=

In line 148, Amanda shows orientation to the next task and says “A?” The TA, realizing that Amanda is orienting to the next task, gives feedback in line 149. However, because Amanda's answer is not correct, the TA only gives a negative feedback, “no”. In order to encourage students to go on to the next task, Ms. Johnson (CT – classroom teacher) gives Amanda a positive feedback in line 152. At this point, only Amanda is showing her understanding that she is to look at the next sentence. The others continue to pursue more “P” words (lines 150 and 153).

Excerpt 6

157 Jaewoo: [pincher!
 158 TA: pitcher? good. a huh huh. o(h)k(h)ay, can we finish [with pees] now?
 159 Yuya: [pumpkin!]
 160 Yuya: pumpkinpumpkin
 161 S: pumpkin!
 162 TA: ((pointing at the blank at the beginning of the next sentence)) 'kay. what goes here!
 163 Derek: pastom!
 164 TA: pastom?

Giving more positive feedback to a “P” word, the TA makes the next attempt to move on, which sounds more like a plea: “Can we finish with Ps now?” (line 158). She then points to the board in another attempt, and asks “What goes here?” (line 162), but is responded to by Derek with another nonsense “P” word in line 163. By this time, the TA had made enough attempts without much success and the CT tries to help out.

Excerpt 7

167 CT: ((to TA)) they're thinking a pee has to go there, 'cause (.) we ju[st did the]
 168 TA: ((to CT)) [o::h, okay.]
 169 CT: same with=
 170 TA: =okay=
 171 CT: =yeah, yeah=
 172 TA: =((to class))pee, we're-
 173 Jaewoo: pepperoni! pee- (0.7)

174 S: pe:peroni
 175 TA: okay.
 176 S: pepperonipeppe[roni!
 177 TA: [okay, we're finished with pee! ((pointing to the board)) okay, la:st
 178 sentence. (1.4)
 179 Yuya: ((pointing to something on the front wall)) tsz(u)z(u)!=
 180 TA: =what goes here (0.5)⁰ what goes here?⁰ =
 181 TA: ((to Yuya)) =what, (0.5) what?
 182 Yuya: ((goes up to the calendar next to the board, jumps to points at the top of the
 183 calendar)) o:hyih!
 184 TA: november?=
 185 Jaewoo: =((raising his hand)) play!

CT, in lines 167 and 169, shifts from her role as an observer to that of a mentor (to TA) and provides help to the TA. Earlier in the message (refer to Appendix B), there had been another task: “*What rhymes with cat?*” There had been a blank right after it, and the students filled in the blank with the word “hat” which they came up with. Since there was a blank right after the sentence “*What begins with P?*,” the CT is saying that the students are thinking that they need to fill in the blank with a word that start with “P”. In lines 172 and 177, the TA tries to make it clear that “we are finished with P!” and that they need to move on. She attempts to encourage them by pointing to the blank and asking “what goes here?” (line 180). Students still do not seem to show orientation to the next task. Yuya, in line 179, points to the wall next to the white board, and then in lines 182 and 183, points to the top of the calendar. Jaewoo, still orienting to the “P” words task, comes up with a new word, “play” in line 185.

Excerpt 8

186 TA: calendar? play? good hh. (0.7) (h)o(h)k[(h)ay,] ((to CT)) can I just say this?
 187 S: [mammoth!]
 188 CT: ((as she nods at TA)) ye(h)s.=
 189 Derek: =me, me! [mammoth, mammoth!]
 190 S: [pizza=
 191 TA: =a:i!=
 192 S: =pizza

- 193 Jonath.: ((stands up and raises his hand))
 194 TA: mammoth?
 195 S: yea, ma[mmoth!
 196 S: [pizza!
 197 S: mammoth.
 198 S: pi(h)zz(h)a(h)!

In line 186, the TA shifts from the role of the teacher to that of a “novice” teacher and asks the CT for guidance: “Can I just say this [the answer]?” CT gives a positive response to the TA, and the TA actually says the answer in line 191. It cannot be determined where the students came up with “mammoth” in lines 187 and 189, but another student shouts out another “P” word in lines 190 and 192. The class is rather loud at this point, and the students do not show that they heard the TA’s answer (lines 192, 195-198).

Excerpt 9

- 199 TA: >okay, okay< (1.5) () ((pointing at the board))[wh[at goes here. [a:i, a:i
 200 Jonath.: [((walking up to the board))
 201 S: [pee [pee
 202 Derek: ((raising his hand)) a:i, me! ((continues))

Finally in line 199, the TA again asks “what goes here?” and without waiting for students’ response, gives the answer. Though the student in line 201 does not seem to show any understanding that the class has moved on to the next task, Derek quickly orients to the TA’s utterance in line 199, and raises his hand to be selected to fill in the blank with “I”. After Derek, the other students start to raise their hands as well.

As can be seen, it takes a great deal of time for the TA to have the students go on to the next task. In addition, the TA was not successful in eliciting the answer “I” from the students. Two observations can be made here. The first is that even after the initial attempt to transition to the next activity, the TA continues to give positive feedback to students who come up with more “P” words. The second is that despite the fact that the students do not orient to her transition attempts, she keeps repeating the same phrases (“what goes here”, “next/last sentence”, “we’re finished with Ps!”) to try and have them

move forward.

April 6 Data (ESLIBG040605)

Here is the April data to compare with the November data in the previous section. This data segment (approximately 5 minutes 54 seconds) starts with the transition from one activity to another. The class has just finished singing the “Good Morning Song”, and the next activity on the agenda is “the Daily Message” activity (for information on students, seating arrangement, and the message, see Appendix C). During this activity, the CT is working with Akio⁸, the newest member of the class, on the other side of the room. The following is an excerpt of this transition (the transcript of the entire segment can be found in Appendix D).

Excerpt 10

- 1 ((End of the previous activity: “Good Morning Song”))
- 2 S: share! (1.5)
- 3 TA: ((looks toward the S who spoke, and starts to shake her head))
- 4 Karl: sharing da:y!
- 5 TA: ((turns toward Karl))
- 6 S: °hgghh.°
- 7 TA: yeah, we’ll share, but we have to rea:d first ((points behind her at the board))
- 8 Twin: read, and tell the question, and then- (1.0)
- 9 TA: what question?
- 10 Karl: read! (0.8)
- 11 TA: yep, we have to read. ((picks up the pointing stick and stands up))

When the class finished singing the “Good Morning Song” (which is another routine activity), one of the students say “Share!” in line 2. This refers to one of the other routine activities, “Good news/Bad news,” which the students often call “sharing.” Karl, orienting to this student’s utterance, says “sharing day” in line 4. In response, the TA tells him “yep, we’ll share, but we have to read first” (line7). Then Karl, without

⁸ Akio is from Japan, and joined the class in mid-March. He had very limited English when he first came,

and at the time of the recording, he was working on his letters and sounds. He does not appear in the data.

showing much fuss, orients to that and says “read!” After making seating adjustments so that all the students can see the board well, the students read the message out loud. The next excerpt starts right after they finished reading.

Excerpt 11

- 56 TA: oh-kay! (0.5)
 57 Derek?: a-gain, I don know (wanna do this)
 58 TA: ohkay ((puts down the stick on the chair))
 59 Karl: share!
 60 TA: nu-uh! uh-uh, not yet! ((picking up a pen)) (1.8) okay.
 61 Karl: a:h,
 62 Twin: ka:rl! (0.9)
 63 Karl: wha:t!
 64 Ellen: [jus(t)=
 65 Eliz.: [jus(t)=
 66 TA: =okay=
 67 Ellen: [=listen to misus mariko!=
 68 Eliz.: [=listen to misus mariko!=
 69 TA: =hhhuh. okay, let’s see. who likes soup?

After the students read the message, the TA gives them a positive evaluation in lines 56 and 58. Karl again shows orientation to the “sharing” activity in line 59. The TA firmly tells him “not yet” in line 60, indicating that they are not finished with “the Daily Message” activity. In lines 62, 64, 65, 67, and 68, the twin sisters Ellen and Elizabeth show orientation to the classroom rule, namely, “listen to what the teacher says.” In line 69, the TA chuckles at this, and moves on to the next task (“Who likes soup?”). This starts a discussion about what kind of soup the students like.

Excerpt 12

- 117 Eliz.: ((raises hand))
 118 TA: ((to Elizabeth)) =what?
 119 S: °() soup°
 120 Eliz.: I wanna (check/shake) our soup. (1.4)
 121 TA: nohhuh, nono(no). (0.8) okay, wha- (1.0), okay. (1.5) ho:w does a sentence begin? (1.5)
 122 Amanda: ((raises her hand))

- 123 S: begin with
 124 Jaewoo: ((raises his hand))
 125 TA: a::
 126 S: capita
 127 TA: capital, a:nd en[d with

At the end of the discussion about the soup, Elizabeth raises her hand to say “I wanna check/shake our soup!” (lines 117 and 120). To this, the TA gives a negative answer, and directly moves on to the next task, which is about sentence structures (line 121). The students quickly show orientation to the TA’s transition, and raise hands and answer the question in lines 122 to 124, and 126. After establishing how sentences begin and end, the TA initiates the next task.

Excerpt 13

- 135 TA: [can you ((points to the Ss with pen)) (0.5) count how many sentences? ((taps
 136 the board with the pen three times))
 137 Amy: ((pointing to the board, counting))
 138 Derek: again?
 139 TA: again!
 140 Derek: ((pointing to the board)) begi[nnin is not sentence.
 141 Karl?: [uh,
 142 TA: no, tha- ((pointing to the first line)) this is not a sentence.
 143 Derek: yes, I know. one, [two,] three-

In line 135, the TA gives the students the next task of counting how many sentences there are in the message. Derek, despite asking “again?” in line 138 (counting sentences has been one of the tasks that they were often asked to do), orients to the new task by showing his knowledge about what is not a sentence (line 140), and begins counting. The beginning that Derek refers to is the greeting, which says “*Hello, All of You*”. Amy also shows immediate non-verbal orientation to the task in line 137.

What are the Differences Between November and April?

Unlike the transition attempts in the November data, the transitions that are in the April data are much smoother and shorter, and the students display orientation to the next activity or task very quickly. Especially in excerpts 11 and 12, the TA's transitions seem more explicit. In excerpt 11, at the site of transition, she tells Karl "not yet" in response to his proposal to "share". Similarly, in excerpt 12, when Elizabeth makes a proposal to "check/shake our soup", the TA repeatedly tells her "no" before initiating the next task. There are no long pauses in the April data, though there are in the November data.

Clearly, the students seem to show more orientation to the teacher's instructions in April. In November, despite the TA's numerous attempts to finish one task and go on to the next, the students continued with the previous task. While the TA firmly oriented to the next task, the students (except for Amanda in Excerpt 5, line 148) insisted on continuing the former task. The TA, while her agenda had been to move on to the next task, continued to offer positive feedback to the "P" words that the students came up with. This could have been one of the reasons for the students' continued orientation to the "P" word task, despite the TA's repeated attempts to go on to the next task. The TA and the students were orienting to two different agenda, and there were no effective moves to try to bring together the TA and students' orientations, thus moving the activity forward.

On the other hand, in the April data, the TA offered more explicit and direct responses to the students' attempts to diverge from the TA's agenda (Excerpt 10, line 7; Excerpt 11, line 60; Excerpt 12, line 121; and Excerpt 13, line 139). The students seem to be more aware of the routine activities that are carried out in the class ("the Daily Message" and "Good news/Bad news"), and what the tasks are within "the Daily Message" activity (Excerpt 10).

What is most remarkable about the April data is the display of knowledge of different rules, and the increased competence in participating in this particular routine activity. As can be seen from the November excerpts, the only classroom rule that the students seem to display their knowledge of is raising their hands (although they do not always wait to be called on or just raise their hands quietly). In April, students show orientations to different rules and norms and are able to monitor one another's behaviors.

Excerpt 11 (again)

- 56 TA: oh-kay! (0.5)
 57 Derek?: a-gain, I don know (wanna do this)
 58 TA: ohkay ((puts down the stick on the chair))
 59 Karl: share!
 60 TA: nu-uh! uh-uh, not yet! ((picking up a pen)) (1.8) okay.
 61 Karl: a:h,
 62 Twin: ka:rl! (0.9)
 63 Karl: wha:t!
 64 Ellen: [jus(t)=
 65 Eliz.: [jus(t)=
 66 TA: =okay=
 67 Ellen: [=listen to misus mariko!=
 68 Eliz.: [=listen to misus mariko!=
 69 TA: =hhuh. okay, let's see. who likes soup?

In this excerpt, Karl's proposal to go on to the "sharing" activity (line 59) draws a firm response from the TA of "not yet" (line 60). Orienting to this TA's position, the twin sisters Ellen and Elizabeth show their knowledge of the classroom rule by addressing Karl (lines 62, 64, 65, 67, and 68). To borrow Sack's (1984) phrase, Ellen and Elizabeth are "doing being good students who follow the classroom rule," effectively constructing Karl as a "bad student who doesn't listen to the teacher." The TA offers a positive response to Ellen and Elizabeth's display of the classroom rule by laughing in line 69. What makes this more interesting is the interaction that immediately follows this excerpt, in which Ellen is constructed as a "bad student".

Excerpt 14

- 69 TA: =hhuh. okay, let's see. who likes soup?
 70 Ellen: ((raises her hand)) .hhah! (1.3)
 71 Eliz.: ((raises hand))
 72 Derek: ((raises hand))
 73 TA: do you know what soup is?
 74 Amy: ((raises hand))
 75 Ellen: oh, I know I know!
 76 TA: do you like soup?

- 77 Karl: ((raises hand)) I [like soup!
 78 Ellen: [I like, I like. I want to () I want to ()! (1.0)
 79 Karl: ((raises hand)) °uh,uh,uh°
 80 TA: (amy), what kind of soup do you like? (4.6)
 81 Ss: ((talking in the background))
 82 TA: ((gesturing toward Elizabeth)) °() how 'bout you?° (3.4) (derek), what kind of
 83 soup?
 84 Ellen: ((waving hand)) oh, oh, oh, oh, oh
 85 TA: derek?
 86 Derek: corn!
 87 TA: corn? (1.3)
 88 Eliz.: oh (0.4) rice!
 89 TA: rice. (0.9) rice in your soup? amanda?
 90 Ellen: what about me? (0.7) u:gh! (1.6)
 91 Karl: uh!
 92 TA: amanda? (1.8) ((walks closer to Amanda))
 93 Karl: u:gh.

In line 69, the TA initiates a new task, which is the question “who likes soup?” In response, Ellen, Elizabeth, and Derek raise their hands. This is followed by another question, “do you know what soup is?” (line 73), which is again responded to verbally by Ellen and non-verbally by Amy. From the students’ responses, the TA returns to the original question (modified to “do you like soup?”) in line 76. Karl and Ellen verbally respond to this question (in lines 77 and 79, and line 78, respectively). Despite their strong verbal responses, the TA addresses Amy in line 80, who has been quietly raising her hand, to answer the question. After Amy, the TA gestures toward Elizabeth, and then after a pause, selects Derek to speak (lines 82 and 83). Ellen, in line 84, again waves her hand and signals verbally that she has something to say. The TA, who hasn’t heard an answer from Derek whom she addressed in the previous turn, again addresses Derek in line 85. This draws an answer from Derek in line 86. After the TA’s response, Elizabeth, who had been addressed earlier, but had not responded, came up with an answer in line 88. In the following turn (line 89), the TA offers a response to Elizabeth’s answer and calls then on Amanda, who had raised her hand. Ellen, who had been trying to get a turn to speak for a while, shows frustration and disgust that the TA hadn’t called

turns to him and tells him “don’ talk!” in line 146. Again, Elizabeth is “doing being a good student” while constructing Derek as the “bad student.” Later in this interaction, the roles of Elizabeth and Derek are reversed.

Excerpt 16

- 172 Ellen: ((coming up to the board)) inside, too?
 173 Eliz.: ((as she sits)) ouch!° (0.6)
 174 Derek: can you mo:[ve!] (0.8)
 175 S: [um,]
 176 Amanda: ((comes up to the board)) um, is this [question?
 177 TA: [sit down, [sit down!
 178 Derek: [mo::ve!

At the start of this excerpt, in the effort to count sentences, some students were coming up to the board. Elizabeth had come up to the board right before this excerpt and sat back down in line 173. On the other hand, Ellen who had been standing at her seat, came up to the board to ask the TA a question (line 172). Derek in line 174 asks Ellen “can you move!” because, when she is standing at the board, Derek cannot see the board. Then in line 176, Amanda comes up to the board as well. Hearing Derek’s request, the TA in line 177 firmly tells Ellen and Amanda to sit down. Overlapping with this, Derek again shows frustration in line 178 by saying “move!” Derek is “doing being a good student who stays in his seat” while Ellen and Amanda (and Elizabeth who had been standing earlier) are constructed as “bad students getting out of their seats.” What is notable here is that the TA is too busy dealing with the students who come up to the board to ask questions to realize that they are in the way of other students who are following the rule (“stay in your seat”) and trying to count sentences. Only after Derek’s utterance in line 174 does she orient to that classroom rule. This happens one more time.

Excerpt 17

- 190 Karl: ((stands up, turns around, and sits back down))
 191 Jaewoo: ((stands up and comes up to the board))
 192 Derek: mo::ve!

193 TA: sit do:wn! (1.0) question mark, and exclamation mark. jaewoo, sit down. sit. ellen,
 194 elizabeth. (1.3) ((everyone except Elizabeth sits; Eddie's hand is up)) eddie?
 195 Eddie: ((as he stands up)) four!

Again, during this excerpt, Ellen and Elizabeth are standing at the board. In line 190, Karl gets up from his seat, turns around (as if he is wandering, possibly off-task) and sits back down. Jaewoo joins Ellen and Elizabeth at the board in line 191. Derek, “doing being a good student,” asks them to “move!” in line 192 (thus constructing Ellen, Elizabeth, and Jaewoo as “bad students”). Once again, hearing Derek’s frustrated yell, the TA tells the students to sit down, this time addressing each student by their names (lines 193 and 194), and trying to answer a student’s question at the same time. Despite this, Elizabeth still remains standing (line 194). Derek, in this excerpt, as well as in Excerpt 16, not only constructs himself as a “good student,” but at the same time, effectively constructs the TA as “teacher who cannot control the students’ behavior.” As Derek constructs, the TA is not able to enforce some of the classroom rules.

Excerpt 18

150 Twin: big letter? (1.6)
 151 Amy: ((raises her hand))
 152 TA: how many sentences?
 153 Eliz.: ((comes up to the board to point)) .hh, this one is sentence? (2.3)
 154 Amy: ((lowers her hand and points to the board, counting))
 155 TA: jus(t) that? (1.5)
 156 Amy: ((raises her hand again))
 157 Eliz.: ((pointing)) this one (2.4)
 158 TA: how does a sentence begin and end? (1.6)

When asked to count the number of sentences, some of the students come up to the board to ask questions. As mentioned earlier, one of the rules is “stay in your seat,” so at this point those students are not following the rule. On top of that, the students ask questions without raising their hands or being called on. In this excerpt, one of the twin sisters, in line 150, asks a question. To this, the TA responds by a counter question, “how many sentences?” in line 152. When Elizabeth comes up to the board and asks a question in line 153, the TA makes a clarification request so that she can answer the

question (line 155). In the mean time, Amy, who is following the rules and sitting in her seat quietly raising her hand goes unnoticed (lines 151 and 156). This clearly shows the inconsistencies in the TA's rule enforcement. It can also be said that students who are able to come up to the board to ask questions have the competence to get the TA's attention so that they are able to better participate in the classroom activity, in this case, counting the number of sentences. On the other hand, Amy is a very quiet student who follows many of the classroom rules. But her quietness and obedience sometimes exclude her from the classroom interaction particularly when more outspoken students take the floor of the conversation.

DISCUSSION

In the present analysis, it was shown that both "socialization to use the language" and "socialization through the use of language" were taking place. From the limited data presented in this study, it is not possible to determine how much actual language learning has taken place. However, the data revealed that the participants gained interactional competence which enabled them to participate more fully in this particular routine activity. Both the students and the TA learned how to use the language appropriately in order to effectively participate. The participants, through using the language and engaging in the activity, learned to become more competent members of the classroom community.

As analyzed, the TA's way of transitioning from one activity or task to another changed between early November and early April. In socialization terms, it can be said that the TA has been socialized into "doing being a teacher" through her interaction with the students as well as the CT. At the same time, the students are also socializing the TA into becoming a more effective teacher. Through their interactions with the TA and among themselves, the students help out the TA in carrying out the routine activity. This is clearly shown in the April data, in which Derek monitors his fellow students' behavior when the TA is too preoccupied to do so. Social actions, in this case, the classroom activities, are co-constructed by all the participants, and everyone plays an important role in it. On the other hand, the students are being socialized into "doing being good

students” by the CT as well as the TA. They also socialize one another by checking and monitoring one another’s behavior. Who is a “good student” and who is a “bad student” is quite fluid within one interaction.

This relates to the Jacoby and Gonzalez (1991) study in which they showed how the “expert” and “novice” roles are not fixed, but rather, they shift within one physics research meeting at a university. In the present data, the students who construct themselves as “good students” by following rules or by monitoring other’s behavior are the “experts” of the rules that they are orienting to. By doing so, the students who are not following those rules at that moment are constructed as “bad students” or “novices” who are still not able to follow those rules. As demonstrated earlier, the roles of good student and bad student are quite fluid and constantly changing.

Also, as mentioned earlier, the transitions in November were not direct or explicit enough for the students to pick up the cue and move on to the next task. In a study about socialization of affect in the interaction between Japanese mother and young children, Clancy (1999) discussed implicit and explicit socialization. In her study, Clancy examined mother-child interactions and the socialization of the use of affect. Affect is defined “as a cover term not only for emotions, but also for the moods, dispositions, and attitudes associated with people, objects, actions, events, and situations” (p. 1399). She found that there are three ways in which the Japanese children are socialized into affect talk: “(1) through modeling, i.e. observing their mothers’ use of affect words, (2) direct instruction, i.e. being told by mothers to say or refrain from saying particular affect words, and (3) negotiation, i.e. participating in conversational sequences in which their mothers react to their use of affect words” (p. 1417). Clancy characterizes modeling as an “indirect” way of socialization, while she goes on to explain that direct instruction and negotiation are “direct” or “explicit” socialization. She does not mention that one or the other is better or more effective, but mentions that modeling occurred quite frequently in her data, while direct instructions were less frequent and mostly limited to the instruction of formulaic speech (for example, saying “I’m sorry” or “thank you”). She does mention that “negotiation may be an especially powerful form of socialization because it is explicit, occasioned by the child, occurs while the child’s attention is focused on the affect, and can involve acceptance or rejection of the child’s

affect” (p. 1417).

While the socialization of affect cannot be directly applied to the present study, some points may be inferred. In the present study, the more implicit transitions in November (e.g., “We’re finished with Ps!”) were not effective compared to the more explicit transitions seen in April (e.g., “Nu-uh! Uh-uh, not yet!”). In the case of young children, as in this study, it may be difficult to socialize them mainly through indirect methods. Explicit instruction may be crucial especially in the socialization of classroom norms and rules. In the case of the present study, the students were not only new to the English language, but also to schools in any kind of setting. Rules and interactional structures in schools are often different from those of everyday rules and interactional structures. Teachers cannot expect the students to learn everything implicitly or indirectly through just participating in the classroom activities. Specific rules and norms must be taught explicitly and repeatedly until the students begin to display their knowledge of them. Only then, can they benefit from more implicit, indirect reminders of classroom rules. As Clancy (1999) mentions, explicit form socialization given in context may be a very powerful way to socialize children (p. 1417).

In terms of competence and orienting to norms/rules, there are some interesting insights in the April data¹⁰. In particular, in Excerpt 14, the TA and the students, Ellen and Karl, are orienting to different kinds of competencies.

Excerpt 14 (again)

- 69 TA: =hhhuh. okay, let’s see. who likes soup?
 70 Ellen: ((raises her hand)) .hhah! (1.3)
 71 Eliz.: ((raises hand))
 72 Derek: ((raises hand))
 73 TA: do you know what soup is?
 74 Amy: ((raises hand))
 75 Ellen: oh, I know I know!
 76 TA: do you like soup?
 77 Karl: ((raises hand)) I [like soup!
 78 Ellen: [I like, I like. I want to () I want to ()! (1.0)

¹⁰ Thank you very much to Asuka Suzuki, one of the key members of the Friday data sessions held at the University of Hawai‘i at Manoa, for offering these truly insightful comments. Part of the April data shown in this study (Excerpts 11 and 14) was presented during data session on March 10, 2006.

- 79 Karl: ((raises hand)) °uh,uh,uh°
 80 TA: (amy), what kind of soup do you like? (4.6)
 81 Ss: ((talking in the background))
 82 TA: ((gesturing toward Elizabeth)) °() how 'bout you?° (3.4) (derek), what kind of
 83 soup?
 84 Ellen: ((waving hand)) oh, oh, oh, oh, oh
 85 TA: derek?
 86 Derek: corn!
 87 TA: corn? (1.3)
 88 Eliz.: oh (0.4) rice!
 89 TA: rice. (0.9) rice in your soup? amanda?
 90 Ellen: what about me? (0.7) u:gh! (1.6)
 91 Karl: uh!
 92 TA: amanda? (1.8) ((walks closer to Amanda))
 93 Karl: u:gh.

In the Data Analysis section, this excerpt was analyzed in relation to a classroom rule which says “raise your hand quietly in your seat to be called on.” Students will not be called on if they call out “me, me!” or “I know, I know!” Ellen and Karl do not follow this rule, as can be seen in lines 75, 77, 78, 79, and 84. The TA does not call on either Ellen or Karl, but goes on to give turns to Amy (line 80), Elizabeth (line 82), Derek (lines 82 and 85), and Amanda (lines 89 and 92). From the TA’s perspective, this can be seen as orienting to and enforcing classroom rules, and allocating turns to those who are following rules. The TA is expecting the students’ interactional competence within the classroom setting.

Although Ellen and Karl may not be displaying their knowledge of the classroom rule in this particular excerpt, it does not mean that they have no competence. Ellen and Karl, unlike the TA, are oriented to the interactional competence of everyday talk. For instance, consider a situation in which you are talking with some friends and one of them asks a question to everyone. If someone in the group responds to the question by saying “Oh, I know!” the person who asked the question will not ignore him, but perhaps responds by asking the answerer, “What?” In this excerpt, Ellen and Karl are orienting to this type of competence. They both respond to the TA’s questions in lines 69, 73, 76, and 80 in both verbal and non-verbal ways. This shows their competence in knowing

that the questions the TA asked (except for the one in line 69) call for verbal responses which goes beyond merely raising their hands (unlike the question in line 69, “who likes soup?” can be effectively responded to by just raising their hands). Despite their display that they want to say something, the TA does not call on Ellen and Karl. When the TA goes on to select different students in line 80 and beyond, both Ellen and Karl show frustration at not being called on. Ellen in line 90 says “what about me?” which shows her knowledge that she should be asked to answer according to the everyday conversational norms, and that the TA is violating those norms. Karl, although he is less direct, seems to show a similar emotion in line 93.

A superficial look at this excerpt might suggest that Ellen and Karl are not called on by the TA because they are not following the classroom rules. However, the actual picture is not as simple. One tends to overlook the types of competencies that the students bring into the classroom, which of course could serve as rich resources for successful participation within school settings. This is a very important factor for teachers to consider in understanding why some students do not follow certain classroom rules that have been taught to them. In the case of Ellen and Karl, it was just a matter of which competencies they were drawing on. The role of the teacher, perhaps, is to help the students select which competencies to draw from in certain situations.

Similar observations can be made in another excerpt presented in the Data Analysis.

Excerpt 18 (again)

- 150 Twin: big letter? (1.6)
 151 Amy: ((raises her hand))
 152 TA: how many sentences?
 153 Eliz.: ((comes up to the board to point)) .hh, this one is sentence? (2.3)
 154 Amy: ((lowers her hand and points to the board, counting))
 155 TA: jus(t) that? (1.5)
 156 Amy: ((raises her hand again))
 157 Eliz.: ((pointing)) this one (2.4)
 158 TA: how does a sentence begin and end? (1.6)

As briefly discussed in the Data Analysis section, Elizabeth, who breaks the classroom rule and comes up to the board to ask a question without raising her hand and waiting to

be called on (line 153) , receives attention from the TA (lines 155 and 158). On the other hand, Amy, who is following the classroom rules and raising her hand quietly in her seat, is unnoticed by the TA (lines 151 and 156). The TA, as stated earlier, is being inconsistent in enforcing classroom rules, compared to Excerpt 14. This may send mixed messages to the students regarding classroom rules and may also confuse the students.

Elizabeth clearly shows competence in getting herself noticed by the TA and in having her questions answered so that she can fully and effectively participate in the activity, although this conflicts with some of the classroom rules. On the other hand, Amy shows competence in following the classroom rules, although this may not result in the TA noticing her. Amy is a shy and quiet student who follows the classroom rules. It can be said, from the teacher's perspective, that she is a good student. But will she be able to effectively get the attention of her teachers when she needs help or when she has something to say, especially when she is in a classroom with more outspoken students who are competent at getting the teacher's attention?

In the April data segment, the TA was too occupied with answering the questions of the students who came up to the board (as can be seen in Excerpts 16 and 17). This distracted her from keeping an eye on what the other students were doing (such as Amy's raised hand). The teacher should learn how to keep an eye on everything that is going on in the classroom, while attending to the needs of the individual students—though this is not an easy thing to do.

The display of multiple competencies by the students brings up the question of “What are we, as teachers, socializing the students into, and what are the goals of socialization?” Similar questions were brought up in Duff's (2002) study in a Canadian high school mainstream class, in which there were both native speakers and non-native speakers. In this study, Duff combined the ethnography of communication and discourse analysis in order to examine how knowledge, identity, and differences are co-constructed in and through discussions in a social studies classroom. In the summary and discussion section of her article, Duff brought up the question of what is the “community standard” of language socialization, and for whom (p. 313). Although as Duff mentions, “[l]anguage socialization models typically assume that ‘novices’ will learn to participate

like ‘experts’ or more proficient peers, with time, mentoring, and experience” (p. 314), what she observed in her study was different. Even non-native students who had been in Canada for more than a decade did not have the same participation style as that of native “local” students, who were much more vocal during class discussions. Duff pointed to the non-native students’ possession of “other multilingual repertoires, literacies, expertise, and identities to draw on and use in the multiple discourse communities they belonged locally and internationally” (p. 314) as one of the reasons they did not seem to feel the need to participate in class discussions like the “local” students. The “local” students, though they seem to participate more successfully in the academic discourse of this social studies class, appeared to possess fewer such resources to draw on.

Although it is not possible to relate all of Duff’s study to the present study, the present analysis also shows different resources that the students bring into the class and raises questions: what exactly is successful participation, and what is the goal of socialization? For instance, what is a “good student”? Is Amy a good student because she follows all the classroom rules? Or is Elizabeth a good student because she has the resources to assume a more active role in her own learning by being able to get the teacher’s attention to have her questions answered? Which of these two students are more interactionally competent to participate fully and appropriately in this particular activity? Just as the role of “good student” shifts from moment by moment, the very definition of a “good student” seems to change.

In the April data (Excerpts 16 and 17), Derek shouted out “move!” without raising his hand or being called on. This is a clear violation of a classroom rule, but is he being a “bad student”? Here, Derek is being a “good student” by monitoring his classmates’ behavior—some students were standing at the board, breaking the rule to stay in their seats. And in doing so, they were getting in the way of the students who were orienting to that rule and trying to count sentences from their seats. The interpretation that Derek is being a good student despite breaking a rule can be supported by the fact that the TA also orients to the same rule that Derek orients to, by telling the students to sit down.

IMPLICATIONS AND CONCLUDING REMARKS

So what do the findings of this study suggest, in terms of teaching and learning in ESL? This is a small-scale case study in a very specific context, and similar studies need to be conducted in order to examine how socialization processes can be observed through classroom interactions in other contexts; however, I believe that there are some things that can be learned from the present study. We as teachers need to keep in mind that the socialization processes in which the students (as well as teachers) learn through participation are non-linear and complex and that they take time. Also, there does not seem to be a concrete goal in these socialization processes, as to what constitutes competent participation because that changes depending on the particular activities/tasks that the students are engaged in. Who is a good student also is very fluid and is constructed on a moment-by-moment basis through the interaction. In addition, students are able to socialize one another by monitoring each other's behaviors. Teachers should not judge students solely in terms of whether they display their knowledge of classroom rules or not, but also consider the variety of different competencies and resources that the students bring in and effectively draw on in the classroom setting. As mentioned earlier, the role of the teacher is to try to guide students in selecting the appropriate competence, or in reconfiguring the competencies that the students already have to fit particular situations.

For the young students in this study, a more direct and explicit form of socialization and giving directions seemed to work better than the more indirect ones, as can be seen through the analysis of transitions in November and April data. This is perhaps applicable not only to transitions, but also to other classroom rules as well. Learning takes a long time and requires repeated reminders for the students to become aware of the rules and when they should be followed. It helps to be more explicit, especially because these students came with very little or no experience and knowledge about "doing being a (ESL) student" or "doing being in school," not to mention that they are also beginning learners of English who are new to the American cultural and school environments. It is unrealistic to rely heavily on indirect instructions, which assume some knowledge about the cultures of the contexts.

It is not only the students who are socialized. The teacher's aide in this study was also being socialized into "doing being a (ESL) teacher" by the classroom teacher as well as the students. If there are no students, there can't be a teacher, and vice versa—socialization processes are mutual and multi-directional processes. Learning is participating and, if there are no participation or apprenticeship experiences, one cannot be socialized into new communities. Student teaching (or apprenticeship into teaching) can be a very strong socialization practice for the teacher in training. As Ms. Johnson repeatedly reminded me throughout the school year, "There are things you can only learn by doing, and 'timing'[effective transitions] is one of them. I'm still working on it!" This serves to remind us all that socialization processes are life-long processes.

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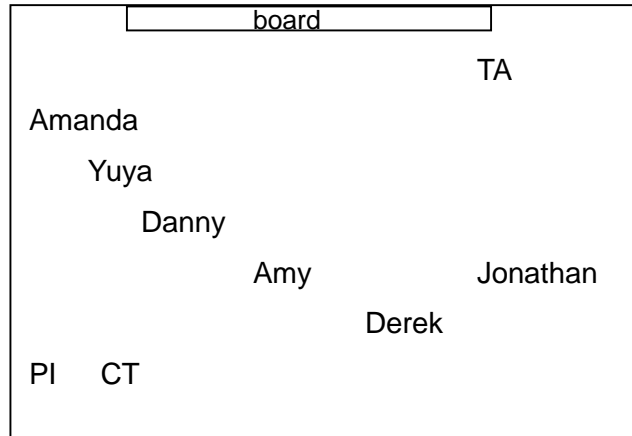
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APPENDIX A:**CONTEXTUAL INFORMATION FOR NOVEMBER DATA**Participants

- The students

Amanda Korean girl
 Yuya Japanese boy
 Danny Korean boy
 Amy Filipino girl
 Derek half-Japanese boy
 Jonathan Korean boy



- The other participants

TA teacher's aide (student teacher)
 CT classroom teacher
 PI practicum instructor (was here for observation as a part of practicum)

The Message

Hi, Boys a n d Girls,
 Did y o u have a good
 day? What did y o u do?
 Today is Wednesday, November 3,
 2004. What rhymes with cat? ____
 We will work on t h e letter P.
 What begins with P? I hope
 you have a fun day.
 Aloha,
 Ms. Mariko

* The underlines/blank in the message indicate the parts that the students had to fill in.

APPENDIX B:
NOVEMBER DATA TRANSCRIPT

ESL1BG110304 (audio approx. 11:17 – 14:49)

Words that Start with the Letter “P”

1 S: pee=
 2 S: =pe[e
 3 TA: [p[ee! (1.3) [(what’s) three words that starts [with pee!
 4 S: [pingh?
 5 Jaewoo: [o:h. [ay, ay, [ay, a:y!
 6 Yuya: [ah, ah!
 7 TA: what?=
 8 Derek: =what pee.
 9 Yuya: pig!
 10 TA: pig?=
 11 S: =pe[e.
 12 TA: [good. (1.1)
 13 Derek: ah, me pig!
 14 TA: okay, pink?
 15 Amanda: ((raises her hand and stands up)) pink, pink!
 16 TA: what other wor[ds?
 17 S: [pat, pat!
 18 TA: pat?
 19 S: pig
 20 Derek: ah, mememe[me! pee! pee! pin!
 21 TA: [pig?
 22 TA: pee?
 23 Derek: pin, pin!
 24 TA: pin. good. (1.1) jaewoo?
 25 Jaewoo: no.
 26 TA: what?
 27 Jaewoo: the.
 28 TA: the? (1.2) ((pointing to “the”)) the: st[arts with ((pointing at “P” as she looks at
 29 Jaewoo)) pee?
 30 Derek: [ayayayaya!
 31 Jaewoo: ((shakes his head ‘no’))
 32 S: ((inaudible))
 33 TA: ((pointing to “P” on the board, looking at Jaewoo)) what starts with pee? (1.2)
 34 Amy: ((raises her hand, and quickly brings it down))
 35 S: pee!=
 36 S: =pin!
 37 TA: what?
 38 Amanda: pig and pin.
 39 TA: pink?
 40 Amanda: pig.
 41 TA: pig?
 42 Amanda: pin.

- 43 TA: pig, pin? (2.3) de[rek?] (1.9)
 44 S: [house]
 45 Derek: [finger! (0.3) ((holding up his right hand)) fing(er)!
 46 S: [house.
 47 PI: e huh huh hh=
 48 TA: =no:(h) ↓ , huh huh=
 49 Derek?: =(° why no:t? °)=
 50 Derek: ((looking at his hands in his lap)) =fing[er! e:h?
 51 S: [peet.
 52 Jonath.: ((walks up to the board, to the left of TA))
 53 TA: peet?
 54 S: >(ropuway)<
 55 S: pit!
 56 S: huh?
 57 TA: pit? (0.3) goo:d.
 58 S: whatwhat[what?
 59 S: [ping
 60 Ss: ((unintelligible))
 61 Jonath.: ((pointing to the board)) o:h no:.
 62 S: ping=
 63 TA: ((to Jonathan))=what?=
 64 S: =pinguman!
 65 S: a pinman!
 66 Jonath.: ((pointing to the Ss as he walks back to his seat)) pingman!
 67 TA: pigman?=
 68 S: =e hah?
 69 Derek: ((raising his hand)) pingman. memememe! ping(u)man, ping(u)man!
 70 Jonath.: ((sits down in his seat))
 71 TA: okay, good! (1.5)
 72 S: ocean! (0.5)
 73 S: tsk! (1.7)
 74 TA: ((indicating the blank at the beginning of the next sentence)) you know what goes
 75 there?
 76 Yuya: p(h)in, p(h)in, p(h)in, (.) pin!
 77 TA: e heh heh heh,
 78 Derek: pencil!
 79 TA: ((looking towards Derek)) pencil? good! (0.4)
 80 S: >yea, pen!<
 81 TA: pen, pen!
 82 S: pencil.
 83 TA: pencil? (1.0)
 84 S: pen!=
 85 Amy: ((raises hand))
 86 TA: =((leaning towards Amy)) (° what, amy? °)
 87 Ss: ((inaudible 3.5))
 88 TA: ((looking at Amy)) pink? (1.0)
 89 Amanda: devil?
 90 TA: ((to Amanda)) devil? (0.5)
 91 Derek: m[e, me!
 92 TA: [du(h), du(h), du(h)!=
 93 Derek: =meme!

- 94 TA: what?
 95 Jaewoo: pine[apple!
 96 Derek: [pants!
 97 S: pineapple!
 98 TA: pineapple?
 99 Derek: ah, mememe!
 100 S: ahm=
 101 TA: =derek?
 102 (1.0)
 103 Jonath.: pants!=
 104 Derek: =pants!=
 105 S: =^opants^o
 106 TA: pants?
 107 Derek: yea!
 108 Ss: ((laughs))
 109 Jonath.: ((overlapping with the laugh)) tan!
 110 TA: tu(h), tu(h), tu(h)!
 111 S: can!
 112 TA: pen? (0.9)
 113 S: ^oyeayea^o
 114 Derek: yea, [me, ((turning to Jonathan on his right))me! ^opencil.^o
 115 TA: [o:kay
 116 Yuya: ((waving his hand at the TA)) pan, pan, pan!
 117 TA: pan?=
 118 S: =pan=
 119 TA: =pan, good.
 120 S: pan (1.6)
 121 Yuya: aaa, ghh!
 122 TA: okay, lets go to the next sentence.
 123 Jaewoo: kim po[ssi(ble)
 124 S: [pumpkin!
 125 TA: pumpkin(h)
 126 Ss/TA: ((laugh 4.9))
 127 TA: o(h)kay (0.8) u:hm, okay. next sentence. we're finished with pee.(((points at the
 128 board))
 129 Jonath.: [(in a singing
 130 manner)) b(r)ah, b(r)ah, b(r)ah, b(r)ah!
 131 TA: ((looking at Jonathan)) jonathan!
 132 Jonath.: o:kay. (1.8)
 133 TA: okay, ((indicating the blank at the beginning of the next sentence)) (0.5) oka:y, what
 134 goes the:re? (0.5)
 135 S: pumpkin!
 136 TA: pump-huh huh. (1.2) 'kay, am I a pumpkin?
 137 S: puzzle
 138 Yuya: >(puzzule! puzzule!)<
 139 TA: puzzle?
 140 Yuya: yea,yea
 141 TA: good. okay, we're finished with pee! okay, la:st sentence. (1.0)
 142 Jaewoo: ((leaning forward with his chair))
 143 CT: jaewoo, (bring this [down.).
 144 S: [a::h.

- 145 S: pee!
- 146 S: peach!
- 147 Derek: ((raising his hand)) [>pencil, pencil, pencil, pencil!<
- 148 Amanda: [e:i?
- 149 TA: e:i, no:.
- 150 S: peach!
- 151 TA: peach. good. huh huh
- 152 CT: good, amanda. you're [thinki]ng. it's just [one letter.
- 153 Derek: [teacher!]
- 154 TA: [teacher?
- 155 Derek: yea
- 156 TA: teacher's such a- [t(h), t(h), t(h)!=
[pincher!
- 157 Jaewoo: [pitcher? good. a huh huh. o(h)k(h)ay, can we finish [with pees] now?
- 158 TA: [pumpkin!]
- 159 Yuya: pumpkinpumpkin
- 160 Yuya: pumpkin!
- 161 S: ((pointing at the blank at the beginning of the next sentence)) 'kay. what goes here!
- 162 TA: pastom!
- 163 Derek: pastom?
- 164 TA: no, kuh.
- 165 S: that's kuh, kuh, kuh,
- 166 TA: ((to TA)) they're thinking a pee has to go there, 'cause (.) we ju[st did the]
- 167 CT: ((to CT)) [o::h, okay.]
- 168 TA: same with=
=okay=
=yeah, yeah=
=((to class))pee, we're-
pepperoni! pee- (0.7)
- 169 CT: pe:peroni
- 170 TA: okay.
- 171 CT: pepperonipeppe[roni!]
- 172 TA: [okay, we're finished with pee! ((pointing to the board)) okay, la:st
- 173 sentence. (1.4)
- 174 Yuya: ((pointing to something on the front wall)) tsz(u)z(u)!=
=what goes here (0.5)^o what goes here?^o =
- 175 TA: ((to Yuya)) =what, (0.5) what?
- 176 Yuya: ((goes up to the calendar next to the board, jumps to points at the top of the
calendar)) o:hyih!
- 177 TA: november?=
=((raising his hand)) play!
- 178 JAewoo: calendar? play? good hh. (0.7) (h)o(h)k[(h)ay,] ((to CT)) can I just say this?
- 179 S: [mammoth!]
- 180 CT: ((as she nods at TA)) ye(h)s.=
- 181 Derek: =me, me! [mammoth, mammoth!]
- 182 S: [pizza=
=a:i!=
=pizza
- 183 Jonath.: ((stands up and raises his hand))
- 184 TA: mammoth?
- 185 S: yea, ma[mmoth!

196 S: [pizza!
197 S: mammoth.
198 S: pi(h)zz(h)a(h)!
199 TA: >okay, okay< (1.5) () ((pointing at the board))[wh[at goes here. [a:i, a:i
200 Jonath.: [((walking up to the board))
201 S: [pee [pee
202 Derek: ((raising his hand)) a:i, me! ((continues))

**APPENDIX C:
CONTEXTUAL INFORMATION FOR APRIL DATA**

Seating Arrangement



Participants

- | | | | |
|-------------|------------------|----------|------------------------------|
| - Amy | Filipino girl | - Jaewoo | Korean boy |
| - Elizabeth | Micronesian girl | - Amanda | Korean girl |
| - Derek | Japanese boy | - Eddie | Chinese boy |
| - Ellen | Micronesian girl | - Karl | boy, native language unknown |
| - Akio | Japanese boy | | |

* Elizabeth and Ellen are twin sisters.

* In the transcript, “Twin” indicates when the speaker is either Elizabeth or Ellen, but can not be distinguished.

* Akio, who is the newest member of the class, is working on his alphabet and sounds with the CT on the other side of the room.

The Message

Hello, All of You,
Our story for today is very funny.
The story is called The Fox Soup, and
it is my favorite. I love soup!
Do you like soup, too? Today is a
cool Wednesday, April 6, 2005.

APPENDIX D:
APRIL DATA TRANSCRIPT

ESL1BG040605 (audio 1:05 – 6:58.7) (video 1:02 – 6:55)
Soup and Counting Sentences

1 ((End of the previous activity: “Good Morning Song”))
 2 S: share! (1.5)
 3 TA: ((looks toward the S who spoke, and starts to shake her head))
 4 Karl: sharing da:y!
 5 TA: ((turns toward Karl))
 6 S: °hgghh.°
 7 TA: yeah, we’ll share, but we have to rea:d first ((points behind her at the board))
 8 Twin: read, and tell the question, and then- (1.0)
 9 TA: what question?
 10 Karl: read! (0.8)
 11 TA: yep, we have to read. ((picks up the pointing stick and stands up))
 12 Derek: u:nto, desk
 13 S: what?
 14 TA: okay (1.5) okay let’s try and read. (1.7) °okay° amanda, can you see? (1.2)
 15 Amanda: no.
 16 TA: no?
 17 Karl: <hell[o:]>
 18 S: [I can](t)see!=
 19 TA: ((to Amanda, pointing to Akio’s empty seat)) =(do you) [wanna go over there?
 20 Karl: <[all of you.>
 21 S: [over there. (0.8)
 22 Amanda: ((moves to Akio’s seat))
 23 TA: okay, (0.8) can you see amy?
 24 Karl: >hello all of you. [hello all of you<
 25 TA: [okay. (1.4) okay, let’s start=
 26 Twin: =hello all of you. (0.7)
 27 Ss: ((TA points to the words as the students read)) hello, all of you. our story our story for
 28 today is very funny. (0.4) the story is called the fox
 29 TA?: s::-
 30 S: oh, I said that, I said ()
 31 S: sop!
 32 S: I did that
 33 S: fos an
 34 Derek: so:-up!
 35 Twin: soup!=
 36 TA: =it’s the soup.
 37 Ss: soup!
 38 TA: [soup
 39 Ss: [soup!
 40 Ss: and it is my
 41 Jaewoo: fa:vorite
 42 TA: ((gesturing towards Jaewoo)) good,
 43 Ss: favorite.
 44 TA: u-fu- favorite=
 45 Ss: =I love soup. do you like soup too?=
 46 S: =yey

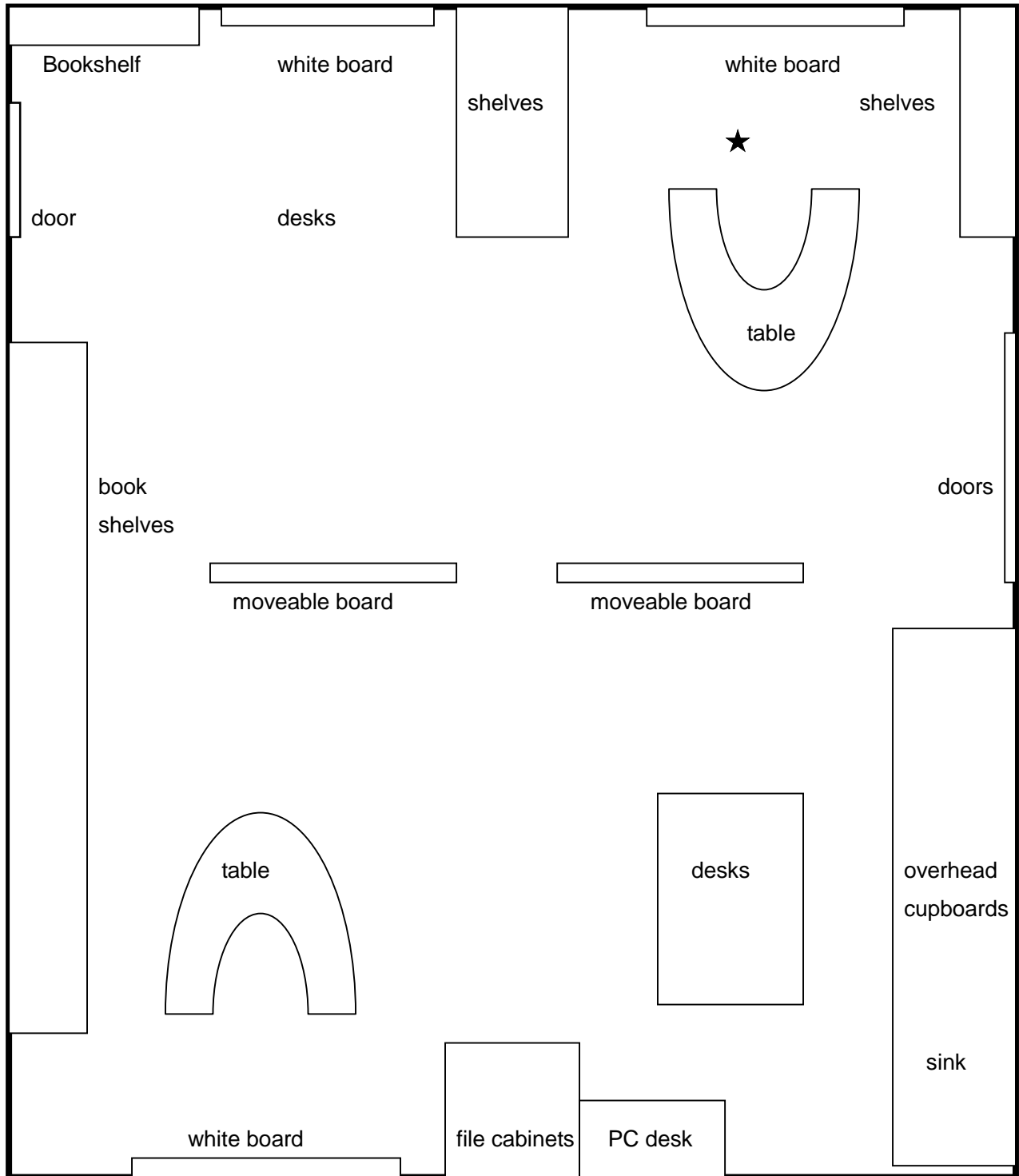
47 S: yes yes
 48 Ss : today is a (0.5) cold
 49 S: cold?
 50 S: cold!
 51 S: cool!
 52 TA: what's this?
 53 Derek: cool?
 54 TA: ((pointing towards Derek))good! cool,
 55 Ss: wednesday, april six, april six, two-thousand and five. (0.5)
 56 TA: oh-kay! (0.5)
 57 Derek?: a-gain, I don know (wanna do this)
 58 TA: ohkay ((puts down the stick on the chair))
 59 Karl: share!
 60 TA: nu-uh! uh-uh, not yet! ((picking up a pen)) (1.8) okay.
 61 Karl: a:h,
 62 Twin: ka:rl! (0.9)
 63 Karl: wha:t!
 64 Ellen: [jus(t)=
 65 Eliz.: [jus(t)=
 66 TA: =okay=
 67 Ellen: [=listen to misus mariko!=
 68 Eliz.: [=listen to misus mariko!=
 69 TA: =hhuh. okay, let's see. who likes soup?
 70 Ellen: ((raises her hand)) .hhah! (1.3)
 71 Eliz.: ((raises hand))
 72 Derek: ((raises hand))
 73 TA: do you know what soup is?
 74 Amy: ((raises hand))
 75 Ellen: oh, I know I know!
 76 TA: do you like soup?
 77 Karl: ((raises hand)) I [like soup!
 78 Ellen: [I like, I like. I want to () I want to ()! (1.0)
 79 Karl: ((raises hand)) °uh,uh,uh°
 80 TA: (amy), what kind of soup do you like? (4.6)
 81 Ss: ((talking in the background))
 82 TA: ((gesturing toward Elizabeth)) °() how 'bout you?° (3.4) (derek), what kind of
 83 soup?
 84 Ellen: ((waving hand)) oh, oh, oh, oh, oh
 85 TA: derek?
 86 Derek: corn!
 87 TA: corn? (1.3)
 88 Eliz.: oh (0.4) rice!
 89 TA: rice. (0.9) rice in your soup? amanda?
 90 Ellen: what about me? (0.7) u:gh! (1.6)
 91 Karl: uh!
 92 TA: amanda? (1.8) ((walks closer to Amanda))
 93 Karl: u:gh.
 94 TA: what. (2.0) ((Amanda leans closer to TA))
 95 S: ramen! (1.4)
 96 TA: ramen soup? okay. [karl?
 97 Ellen: [that's what I was gonna say!
 98 TA?: °what?°
 99 S: corn.

100 TA: corn? [eddie?
 101 S: [u::ahuh (2.7)
 102 TA: ((gesturing toward Ellen)) ° okay, (ellen)?°
 102 S: what?
 104 S: right?
 105 S: u::ah
 106 TA: [okay
 107 Ellen: [spam!
 108 S: ([])
 109 TA: [(you put) spam in your soup?
 110 Twin: yea.
 111 Ss: ((inaudible 2.2))
 112 TA: okay. (1.1)
 113 Ellen: yea:s, (0.7) ((to Derek or Elizabeth)) [my mom made me that soup my mom made me
 114 TA: [okay,
 115 Ellen: [that soup
 116 TA: [okay. (2.1) I'm glad now=
 117 Eliz.: ((raises hand))
 118 TA: ((to Elizabeth)) =what?
 119 S: °() soup°
 120 Eliz.: I wanna (check/shake) our soup. (1.4)
 121 TA: nohhuh, nono(no). (0.8) okay, wha- (1.0), okay. (1.5) ho:w does a sentence begin? (1.5)
 122 Amanda: ((raises her hand))
 123 S: begin with
 124 Jaewoo: ((raises his hand))
 125 TA: a::
 126 S: capita
 127 TA: capital, a:nd en[d with
 128 S: [period. and [question mark.
 129 Amanda: [period, question mark, excla(ma)-
 130 TA: exclamation [mark.] okay, goo:d.=
 131 Eliz.: [period]
 132 Eliz.: =period, excla ↑ ma:tion [ma:rk.
 133 TA: [okay. (0.9)
 134 S: I don kn[ow,
 135 TA: [can you ((points to the Ss with pen)) (0.5) count how many sentences? ((taps
 136 the board with the pen three times))
 137 Amy: ((pointing to the board, counting))
 138 Derek: again?
 139 TA: again!
 140 Derek: ((pointing to the board)) begi[nnin is not sentence.
 141 Karl?: [uh,
 142 TA: no, tha- ((pointing to the first line)) this is not a sentence.
 143 Derek: yes, I know. one, [two,] three-
 144 TA: [oops!] ((to Derek, putting her finger to her mouth)) sh::!
 145 Amy: ((pointing to the board, counting))
 146 Eliz.: ((to Derek)) don [ta:lk! (think alo:ne,) (1.6)
 147 TA: [((to Derek, putting her finger to her mouth)) sh::!
 148 S: what, sentence?
 149 S: yea,
 150 Twin: big letter? (1.6)
 151 Amy: ((raises her hand))
 152 TA: how many sentences?

- 153 Eliz.: ((comes up to the board to point)) .hh, this one is sentence? (2.3)
- 154 Amy: ((lowers her hand and points to the board, counting))
- 155 TA: jus(t) that? (1.5)
- 156 Amy: ((raises her hand again))
- 157 Eliz.: ((pointing)) this one (2.4)
- 158 TA: how does a sentence begin and end? (1.6)
- 159 Eliz.: ((picks up the pointing stick as she walks back))
- 160 TA: ((takes away the stick from Elizabeth))
- 161 Eliz.: ((remains standing at her seat))
- 162 Ellen: ((stands up at her seat))
- 163 Twin: oh, wa=
- 164 Amanda: ((raises her hand)) =five! (1.3)
- 165 TA: ((writes on the board as Ss answer))okay, amanda says five. amy?
- 166 Amy: four.
- 167 TA: four? (4.4) ((to Ellen)) ° did you cou[nt]?°
- 168 Amanda: [(sneeze)]
- 169 S: oh,
- 170 Amanda: ((sneeze))
- 171 Eliz: ((loses balance)) ° ohah, °
- 172 Ellen: ((coming up to the board)) inside, too?
- 173 Eliz.: ((as she sits)) ° ouch! ° (0.6)
- 174 Derek: can you mo:[ve!] (0.8)
- 175 S: [um,]
- 176 Amanda: ((comes up to the board)) um, is this [question?
- 177 TA: [sit down, [sit down!
- 178 Derek: [mo::ve!
- 179 Jaewoo: ((with his hand raised)) three!
- 180 TA: that's- that's exclamation mark.
- 181 Eliz.: ((walks toward the board))
- 182 S: is that sen- (1.4)
- 183 TA: how does it- how d- how do sentences end? (1.1)
- 184 Jaewoo: ((pulls up his jacket over his head, with his hand still raised))
- 185 Eddie: ((stands up at his seat to see the board))
- 186 S: period?
- 187 S?: what?
- 188 Twin: only period? (0.9)
- 189 TA: period, (0.5)
- 190 Karl: ((stands up, turns around, and sits back down))
- 191 Jaewoo: ((stands up and comes up to the board))
- 192 Derek: mo::ve!
- 193 TA: sit do:wn! (1.0) question mark, and exclamation mark. jaewoo, sit down. sit. ellen,
- 194 elizabeth. (1.3) ((everyone except Elizabeth sits; Eddie's hand is up)) eddie?
- 195 Eddie: ((as he stands up)) four!
- 196 TA: four? (0.5) o(h)kay, eddie says [four.
- 197 Jaewoo: [three!
- 198 TA: jaewoo, (.) three? (0.6) ka[rl?
- 199 S: [four!
- 200 Karl: ah, three.
- 201 S: not him, he! (1.1)
- 202 Derek: ((leaning backward in his chair))
- 203 TA: who said four?
- 204 Derek: ((points to himself with left hand while keeping his right hand raised))
- 205 TA: derek? (1.4)

206 Karl: I mean, I got four. (0.7)
 207 TA: four?
 208 Karl: yea.
 209 TA: [okay.
 210 Eliz.: [wait! (2.6) ((standing up at her seat))
 211 Ellen: ((raises her hand)) th-ree!
 212 TA: three? (1.9)
 213 Karl: thu-ree.
 214 TA: okay, (1.8) okay, then [let's
 215 Eliz.: [oh, I didn't- (0.6) ((raising her hand and jumping))
 216 Jaewoo: ((raises his hand))
 217 TA: what? (0.5)
 218 S: no[::,]it's [not three.
 219 Eliz.: [five]
 220 TA: [five? what (jaewoo)?
 221 Jaewoo: ah, four.
 222 TA: four? (0.9)
 223 Twin: five. (1.2)
 224 S: no, it's not five
 225 Karl: >I gotta ()<
 226 S: [yesterday, () counting the (other fis)
 227 TA: [so:, everybody says three, four, or five. (0.6) so like we said ((points to the first line))
 228 (0.9)
 229 S: no!=
 230 TA: =this is [not a] sentence, right?
 231 Twin: [no:!]
 232 Twin: I did[n't]know that. (0.7) I didn't count.
 233 TA: [okay.]
 234 TA: okay. (0.6) okay. ((continues))

**APPENDIX E:
OVERALL CLASSROOM LAYOUT**



★ = Area in Use