

The Influences of
Teacher Multilingual
Linguistic Response of
Spanish-English Bilingual
Student Linguistic
Output

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1.0 Abstract

The purpose of this study is to begin to identify how teachers linguistically respond to the Spanish-English output of bilingual students in Bilingual School Organizations (BISO) and how students in turn respond further to the teacher. The study aims to record whether a teacher rephrases a student's non-standard linguistic code use, admonishes a student for using non-standard linguistic codes, uses the same linguistic code as the students, or encourages a student's usage of standard and non-standard linguistic codes. The objective of this study is to document how specific teacher interactional strategies such as scaffolding, code-switching, and intonation use assist in the development of bilingual students' linguistic identities. The hypothesis is that if the teacher responds positively to the students' usage of Hispanic elements in the English classroom, then the student will continue to produce output, whether Hispanic or English, and develop a positive evaluation of their linguistic identities within the classroom.

To collect this data, an ethnographic field study was conducted within a single first-grade classroom during English period within Carlos J. Finlay Elementary, one of the Miami-Dade public school district's top BISO schools. Five hours of recordings were conducted alongside in-class observational documentation. The recordings were transcribed and coded to analyze the positive effects of teacher-student interactions via scaffolding, code-switching, and intonation. The terms *positive* and *negative identity work* were derived from Goffman's theories of facework to then describe how these teacher-student interactions contributed to the maintenance and protection of the students' linguistic identities, and further how this affected their classroom participation. Data indicate that positive response to the elements of Hispanic linguistic identity in the English classroom results in continual student output in either Spanish or English. Additionally, the completion of *positive* and *negative identity work* allows the teacher to further the formation of strong, confident student linguistic identities that can withstand ELL frustrations through to academic success.

This study assists in providing data towards the empirical research gap that exists as indicated by Genesee (1991) on the efficacy of dual immersion classroom interaction styles. Furthermore, it contributes to the gap that exists in elementary dual immersion bilingual research as well. This research will provide support to the ongoing corpus of data that can be used to analyze how a teacher's strategic acknowledgement, respect, and even use of both of bilingual students' languages in the classroom can support student learning achievements. Furthermore, it will highlight how these interactional styles can produce, positively increase, and safeguard the learning and linguistic development of students. With an ever increasing U.S. multilingual student populous, particularly Hispanic, this information is extremely salient to the provision of efficacious education for all students.

2.0 Literature Review

2.1 Emergent Hispanic Linguistic Presence & Linguistic Capital

Over the last decade, a notable Hispanic linguistic presence has emerged within the U.S. The 2011 American Community Language Survey Census documented 39 languages currently being spoken in the homes and communities of citizens across the US, of which Spanish was the second most predominant language. More than half of the growth in the total U.S. population between 2000 and 2010 was due to the increase in Hispanic population, growing 43%, rising from 35.3 million in 2000 to 50.5 million in 2010. This means that one in six Americans are now Hispanic, and Hispanic children make up 23% (17 million) of the age 17 and under U.S. population, making a 39% increase in 10 years. These numbers have created waves across the pool of language politics and policies within the US today. With such a great portion of our nation speaking a language besides the assumed lingua franca, English, the need for increased awareness of multilingualism and for better bilingual education policies to serve the public has become necessary like never before. Statistics show that more than eight of ten (82%) Hispanic American adults say they speak Spanish at home, 59% claim to speak Spanish all the time, and nearly all (95%) reported it is imperative for future generations to continue to do so. The U.S. Census documents that the number of U.S. Hispanic residents 5 and older that spoke Spanish at home in 2010 surpassed 37 million, or 75.1% of those residents. Given these statistics, there is a large Hispanic linguistic identity emerging within our educational system. This identity is incredibly more complex than the umbrella term ‘Hispanic’ entails. In fact, over 25 individual identities of differing ethnic origins are grouped under “Hispanic.” When we consider linguistic identity, the situation becomes even more complex considering that each of these groups of people not only have their own speaking community and variety of Spanish, but also dialectal and regional variation as well. In this paper, I will refer to these different varieties and ways of speaking conventionalized within communities of speakers as ‘codes.’

Table 1.0: 2013 Census American Community Survey Hispanic/Latino Origin by Specific Origin

	United States			
	Estimate	Margin of Error		
Total:	316,128,839	****	Panamanian	179,741 +/-10,298
Not Hispanic or Latino	262,142,427	+/-9,286	Salvadoran	1,974,870 +/-45,962
Hispanic or Latino:	53,986,412	+/-9,286	Other Central American	39,432 +/-8,196
Mexican	34,586,088	+/-85,442	South American:	3,260,031 +/-51,769
Puerto Rican	5,138,109	+/-56,917	Argentinean	249,342 +/-14,336
Cuban	2,013,155	+/-35,561	Bolivian	116,699 +/-11,169
Dominican (Dominican Republic)	1,757,961	+/-43,722	Chilean	150,745 +/-9,589
Central American:	4,802,410	+/-71,364	Colombian	1,055,751 +/-31,991
Costa Rican	136,735	+/-9,780	Ecuadorian	683,364 +/-26,980
Guatemalan	1,303,379	+/-36,568	Paraguayan	25,618 +/-4,392
Honduran	779,358	+/-26,541	Peruvian	636,694 +/-25,726
Nicaraguan	388,895	+/-19,139	Uruguayan	54,836 +/-6,352
Panamanian	179,741	+/-10,298	Venezuelan	250,941 +/-14,661
Salvadoran	1,974,870	+/-45,962	Other South American	36,041 +/-6,699
Other Central American	39,432	+/-8,196	Other Hispanic or Latino:	2,428,658 +/-40,925
			Spaniard	759,781 +/-21,324
			Spanish	505,254 +/-18,626
			Spanish American	21,540 +/-3,552
			All other Hispanic or Latino	1,142,083 +/-29,360

With almost a quarter of school-aged children identifying as Hispanic, there are many attitudes and approaches to Spanish-English bilingualism that have arisen in educational politics within the government and within schools. Some schools have clung to the popular belief that Standard English is the ‘official’ language of the US and refused acknowledgement of Spanish beyond

foreign language courses within their curriculum. Other schools have opted to incorporate bilingual models, or BISO- Bilingual School Organizations- of 90:10, 80:20, 60:40, and even 50:50 split language in order to provide relevant education for the population. However, even in these latter models the bilingual pedagogical practices reveal students must make politically charged choices of language negotiation, particularly surrounding the role of code-switching and code attitudes in bilingual classrooms. The “Spanish-English” education issue often treats Spanish as if it is the same for all students identifying as “Hispanic” and fails to distinguish between identities, such as Latin and Chicano for example. These two terms refer to two entirely different populations of Hispanic peoples, with different Hispanic linguistic origins. ‘Chicano’ most often refers to Hispanic people of Mexican and South American descent, while ‘Latin’ more frequently is associated with Latin American people from Puerto Rico, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, etc. (Alcoff 2005). The linguistic identities and language usage of these two groups, while derived from the same language, should not be treated as the same under the cover of ‘Hispanic.’ For these reasons, it is important to note that language negotiation in the classroom is not limited to merely the choice between Spanish or English; it also extends into varieties, or ‘codes’, of each language, including standard and non-standard varieties of each language. For example, as African American English is viewed as a non-standard variety of American English, Puerto Rican English and the Spanish variant Calo are similarly viewed as nonstandard. As students and teachers make choices in their use of linguistic codes, they navigate larger societal and political issues of linguistic power, identity, and representation.

Much of this stems from the construction of what Pierre Bourdieu has coined “Linguistic Capital” (1991). According to Bourdieu, language and discourse are socially constituted practices which cannot be isolated from the cultural and social context in which they occur. Within these contexts, linguistic capital is given to those in the form of social, personal, and academic rewards for sounding the most similar to the dominant social majority (Bourdieu 1991; Miller 2003: 294) . In simpler terms, linguistic capital is the capability to use the ‘right’ words, grammar, one, and register in compliance with social favor of certain linguistic varieties in situation specific scenarios. Thus, linguistic skills in English today can be considered social currencies (Miller 2003: 294). Language use then becomes another level of economic stratification along with education and income, creating a ‘linguistic market’ in which speakers earn or lose ‘capital’ translatable to social status. Within this system, language is more than an instrument of communication or knowledge, but an instrument of power. Such losses or gains furthermore translate to ability to gain employment, higher education, and social acceptance for culture and identity (Wei 2012; Fisher 2000).

The effects of linguistic capital on the emergent Hispanic linguistic minority in schools are drastic. Due to a perceived lack of English skills, Hispanic linguistic minority students must renegotiate their identities in order obtain linguistic capital in the form of English skills to become members of the ‘mainstream’ social and academic contexts and to successfully integrate into school (Bourdieu 1991; Miller 2004: 291). Other research has elaborated on this dilemma, including Gee’s work with explaining social discourse (1996: 127). Gee posits that language within discourse is an identity kit, within which there is a set of rules on how to talk, write, and take on the proper linguistic costume for the social context at hand. In the context of education, linguistic minority students are often represented as someone in need of acquiring discursive skills instead of a bilingual student learning another language in addition to the skills they

already possess (Gee 1996; Miller 2003). Thus, linguistic minority students are cast in a role in which they must struggle to obtain enough English skills translatable to social currencies before they become authorized members of the classroom (Miller 2003: 295). Without this legitimization, linguistic minority students do not have the means of self-representation for identity work during English acquisition (Miller 2003: 294), and struggle to reconcile their Hispanic linguistic identities with the pressure of obtaining English linguistic capital.

As what Bourdieu calls a ‘field,’ or a specific site of representation characterized by discourse and social activity (Carrington & Luke 1997: 100), schools are strongly affected by the socially defined linguistic capital within which they operate. Thus, here in the U.S. we often see languages which are not English marginalized and their cultural or linguistic capital “denigrated by the dominant culture” within education due to the dominant culture the school exists in (Giroux 1992: 203). Due to the school being subject to the same identity kit Gee was referring to for linguistic minority students, U.S. education heavily focuses on English as “the” given way of using language. Often teachers favor the language or variety with the most linguistic capital in the classroom, typically English, in a manner that lends itself to eradication of the minority codes. This can be done both intentionally or unconsciously on the teacher’s part. However, no matter the intent, when linguistic skills with less social capital are violently excluded in education in favor of the most socially capitalized variety, this in fact creates a critical access issue for the students whose identities are tied into subjugated varieties. Linguistic minority students find themselves silenced with no linguistic capital to express their identities despite full linguistic skills and competence in another language and additional skills in the acquisition of English.

This stigmatizing situation exists presently in many schools within US education and calls for a critical awareness of language use within the classroom. Fairclough (1992) raises the pertinent point that global educators must question the larger social discourses and linguistic capital hierarchy in which their students’ linguistic identities are forcefully recontextualized: whose discourse is it, what is gained from it and by whom, how has the discourse become so dominant, and who has been subjugated as a result. This is extremely important to fulfilling education’s purpose of preparing students for future education, occupation, and social success. In order to foster their students’ academic success, teachers must ensure the protection of their students’ linguistic identities under the pressures of social constructions of linguistic capital. Next, we will take a closer look at how language, capital, and identity intersect in the classroom and their impact on bilingual student education.

2.2 Language, Capital, and Identity

The reason the effects of linguistic capital so greatly influence the bilingual classroom and students is due to the fact that language use is greatly tied into the construction of identity (Le Page & Tabouret-Keller 1985). Le Page and Tabouret-Keller explain that identity is a two-fold concept, with the first being the ability to “pick out as a particular person, category, or example” and the second “to recognize some entity as a part of some larger entity” (1985: 2), or individual and group identity. Because linguistic items are the means that speakers use to identify themselves and others on these two planes, language becomes what Le Page calls the ‘existential locus of *homo*’ itself (1985: 5). Validation for linguistic items as the manner in which individual

or group identity is developed and maintained is easily found within U.S. Multilingualism history, such as the research presented by Fishman (2004). During both World War I and II, legislation was passed that banned the usage of German in many manners, from television to publications as a distancing mechanism of cleansing American identity from any Germanic influences (Fishman 2004: 19). Likewise, when animosity grew with economic competition between Southeast Asia and America in the 1970s, English-Only education laws popped up in many states, primarily the highly Asian populated California (121). In both these examples, we see how language was the primary target when identity concerns were raised many decades apart.

Furthermore, because identity is fluid and shifting (Miller 2003), the variance of language use is then a significant factor in the development and negotiation of identity. Lippi-Green (1997: 5) goes so far to even describe language as “the most salient way we have of establishing and advertising our social identities.” Miller (2003: 42) provides validation for this in an example of how Australian authorities forbade the use of native languages for indigenous children removed from their homes in the first half of the twentieth century. She explains that by banning their L1, the authorities were attempting to disconnect the children from their indigenous culture by removing the language with which they expressed their primary sense of identity. Miller also offers a counter example in Heller’s research (1994) on the nationalist movement of Quebec, which utilizes French languages as the cornerstone of its identity.

Another prime example of how language constructs identity can be found within the corpus of work by Ana Zentella (1997) on *El Bloque*, a largely Hispanic minority community in the Bronx, New York. As a low-socioeconomic neighborhood, the community faces difficulty with income and education. However, despite different ethnic backgrounds, the residents come together to support each other in their difficulties with a strong community identity. The community identity is not only reflected in the vibrant linguistic activity, but is constructed by it. This can be seen within the density of the social network within *El Bloque*. The ‘density’ of a speech community is defined by how many of its speakers know and interact with each other (Bergs 2005). Typically, dense networks are very stable with limited in-migration or emigration. However, *El Bloque* is defined as a highly dense speech community where almost everyone knows each other despite the high levels of immigration into the community from many Caribbean and Hispanic ethnicities. Furthermore, the community is defined as a ‘multiplex’ speech network, where there are many connections between individual speakers such as a shared workplace or apartment building. This is highly unusual for a big city area, as urban populations are typically identified with low density and uniplex natures, or limited in social connections between speakers due to population mobility.

Thus, we can see through the community’s language use how it upholds its identity of being welcome to all diverse ethnic and racial members of the neighborhood. The multilingual members of *El Bloque* show a strong sense of value towards all dialects and languages of each ethnic group as the community grows with in-migration. In fact, Zentella found that *El Bloque* fosters a highly heterogeneous linguistic atmosphere with equal positive attitudes towards many diverse codes including at least six bi-lingual/bi-dialectal varieties of Spanish and English, namely Standard Puerto Rican Spanish, Non-Standard Puerto Rican Spanish, Puerto Rican English, African American Vernacular English, Standard NYC English, and Hispanized English.

Additionally, parents within the community instruct their children to speak whichever language their addressee would best understand and value, leading to the children using many codes to construct and proclaim their community identities as we will see in later sections of this research. This strong valuation of linguistic diversity and multilingualism is what assists in the creation and expression of the community's inclusive identity.

It follows then after looking at how language use and the construction of identity are intertwined, that the bilingual classroom as a constantly shifting platform of language use and instruction becomes a prime site for linguistic negotiation of identity. Within this site, identities of students are what Hall describes as "discursively constructed" (1996: 4) through the relationship between teacher and student discourse. This identity work in the classroom is largely a matter of representation, of both the languages present and the linguistic identities and capital tied to the languages. The teacher's code attitudes and teaching strategies strongly affect this identity work. Returning to Bourdieu, the teacher's ordinary discourse in the classroom is perceived as self evident because the teacher is the authorized emitter in the relationship of authority in the classroom (1993: 65). Thus, teacher code-attitudes hold the most capital in the classroom, and how he or she represents the different linguistic codes is then vital to how linguistic identity is perceived in the classroom. The teacher's line of discourse sets markers of inclusion or preclusion for the linguistic codes present through language use, e.g. language power is constructed by the teacher's representation of the codes present (Miller 2003; Giroux 1990: 43). Miller analyzes this relationship between teacher and student language use through Bourdieu's *Language and Symbolic Power* (1991) as linguistic relations that establish social power and Bourdieu's concept of linguistic habitus, the 'subset of dispositions acquired in the course of learning to speak in particular contexts' (Bourdieu and Thompson, 1991: 17 qtd. in Miller 2003). Thus, Miller claims teachers legitimize a subset of social dispositions towards linguistic codes, representing them as belonging to certain contexts or positions on the scale of linguistic capital. This position is then ratified in the classroom through Bourdieu's terms of participation between an authorized speaker and believing listener in the relationship of authority. Thus, despite the bilingual nature of the classroom, if the teacher's negotiation of language use and identity in the classroom provides more linguistic capital for one code over another, the merits of bilingual education are not only unfulfilled but also potentially reversed.

Fishman (2004) raises a relevant point to this discussion in his work on multilingualism and the lack of success in symbolic protection for the maintenance of language. He notes that the usage of Hawaiian being declared "co-official" within legislation did not raise its linguistic capital or assist in the development of speakers' identities. Much like how language revival or maintenance devoid of connection to culture is largely unsuccessful (Fishman 2004: 122), the education of bilingual students cannot be successful without the positive engagement of all students' identities. In the bilingual classroom, 'bilingual' must be more than a symbolic term with more substantial effort made to raise the capital and thus identities of speakers. For this reason, the negotiation between linguistic capital and code attitudes in the classroom must be carefully handled in order to protect the linguistic identities and language learning success of the students.

2.3 Code-Attitudes in the Bilingual Classroom

Due to the call for critical language awareness, it has been commonly agreed upon between the

fields of linguistics and education for some time that there is a need for teachers –and students– to respect the home language(s) of their educational community (Valdes and Fallis 1978, 2). However, what to classify as a language and how to respect each language, or code, is heavily debated. Code attitudes have a great deal to do with this discussion, from both teachers and students.

Because societal language attitudes have placed language value upon dialects of both English and Spanish spoken within the U.S., a scale of linguistic capital has been created for students to choose from. However, this is rarely a true ‘choice’ for students due to the consequences should they choose a code that is viewed as lower on the scale of linguistic capital. The student’s choice of linguistic code on this scale can make the difference between gaining entry into social group acceptance rather than ethnic and social stratification (Galindo 1995: 96). The aforementioned large migration of Hispanic populations has predominantly felt the strain of this sociolinguistic stratification, or what Fishman termed a broad “diglossic” stratification between English and Spanish amongst bilingual speakers and how they should use English as a predominant (high) language and Spanish as a personal (low) language (Fishman 1967 qtd. in Nichols and Colon 2000: 399). As English has risen to a language of high global linguistic capital and is treated as the lingua franca of the United States, it and its dialects receive higher positions on the scale of capital while the students’ native Spanish and its dialects receive lower positions on the scale. Within U.S. Spanish and English, the stratification amongst dialects ranks some as more or less ‘competent’, or more educationally advantaged/disadvantaged varieties than others (Galindo 1995, 85-88). For example, where Standard or Midwestern English receives preference over African American Vernacular or Southern English in academic or professional settings, there is also a ‘Standard Spanish’ which is preferred over varieties such as Calo (slang), Chicano (Mexican), or Puerto Rican Spanish. Elias-Olivares (1976) documented such language attitudes within Chicano families comprising of three generations of speakers. He found that the first generation of Chicano immigrants condemned Calo and any mixture or switching of English and Spanish within their community. In contrast, the second generation revealed attitudes of bilingual pride related to speaking both Spanish and English varieties and third generation speakers showed stronger attitudes of ethnic pride when speaking Calo with both Chicano and non-Chicano friends. Ornstein-Galicia (1987) confirms this, further describing Calo as a stigmatized and heavily marginalized dialect that is socially classified as a “lower class” variety despite the reality that it is widely used across *all* classes of socioeconomic society. Ornstein-Galicia (1987) claims that this in part due to the fact that Calo is becoming an upwardly mobile variety combining informal registers of Mexican and Southwest-Spanish in a manner that is socially considered to be chic and bold.

The study also showed that students are highly aware of this within their classrooms. Chicano students in a bilingual English-Spanish community within urban Texas surveyed by Galindo revealed these polarized responses:

“I don’t want to use that language [Spanish] because people will make fun of me and they’re gonna go, “Well, you know Spanish, you’re part of those wetbacks that come over here... and work,” and you get stereotyped with a class just because you know a language.” (Galindo 1995: 85)

“Used to be you’d speak English out of the house and Spanish in the house... Now... Even your Spanish Teacher speaks to you in English!” (Galindo 1995: 86)

“Kids [in school] are prejudiced against aliens. They [Chicanos] don’t speak with a Spanish accent. They say you’re a “wetback” and they think they’re higher.”
(Galindo 1995: 92)

This data depicts the striking effects of the stratification of varieties of language through the scale of linguistic capital. The narrowing of socially valued discourse to predominant languages such as English has also led to a narrowing of respect for speakers of other languages with less political power and linguistic capital. We see this starkly in how the Chicano students, merely for their knowledge or usage of Spanish, are referred to as ‘wetbacks’, an ethnic slur for Mexican immigrants who have illegally entered the U.S. by swimming through rivers or oceans. Though many immigrants and most children within the U.S. Education system *can* speak English, the presence of Hispanized elements such as an accent, or the mere knowledge of Spanish as Galindo’s participants noted, can and does elicit negative evaluations and attitudes from other U.S. citizens. The marginalization of many varieties in favor of a few within the global market can evoke a sense of discomfort amongst society when less powerful varieties are used and prompt such reactions of distaste.

In addition, a third level of stratification exists beyond language vs language and dialect/variety vs dialect/variety. Students living within a highly bilingual and bi-dialectal environment display a natural process of code-switching between varieties situationally and metaphorically as needed. In this process, the speaker alternates between two codes during discourse. These ‘switches’ can occur at a lexical, clausal, and sentence level and occur as previously mentioned in two categories of meaning: situational and metaphorical. When students code-switch situationally, their alteration occurs for adjusting to discourse contextual, social variables present. Metaphorical code-switching on the other hand is not dependent on local context, and occurs for rhetorical effect, to enrich the conversation with further meaning that may not be able to be expressed in just one of the codes alone. However, despite the fact that linguists have widely proclaimed code-switching to be a meaningful process that does not indicate lack of communication or language ability, code-switching also falls into the realm of subjugated linguistic elements within the globalized market. For example, the alternation between dialects, or code-switching, of many English and Spanish bilinguals in the U.S. School system has been mistaken and misrepresented by many school teachers as a lack of communicative competence in either variety. This alternating has been described as deficiency in language skills by those outside the community of bilingual speakers and has been labeled using pejorative language including “Tex-Mex,” “Pocho,” and in some contexts “Spanglish” (Valdes and Fallis 1978: 2; Galindo 1995: 84).

Despite this, the majority of adolescents identifying as Chicano (76%) in Galindo’s study (1995) of East Austin, Texas claimed that they regularly combined or switched between Spanish and English codes, or varieties, in discourse. Furthermore, they reported that their own personal attitudes toward Spanish expressed language loyalty to Spanish and valuing the language for social, subjective, and affective cultural reasons (Galindo 1995: 88). Still, 73% of the adolescents said they preferred using English for linguistic security and 60% felt that non-Spanish-based

English codes were instrumental to gaining social acceptance due to the pervasive nature of code attitudes within society and academia (90). However, Spanish derived codes are a large contributing part of Spanish-English bilingual students' linguistic repertoires; thus, when the use of Spanish based dialects is discouraged from academic use, a great deal of developmental harm can occur due to the preclusion of codes that contribute to students' identities (Wei 2012; Fisher 2000).

This social hierarchy of linguistic codes plays a strong role in if and how each code is viewed and used in bilingual education by both teachers and students. Awareness of how English and Spanish varieties are stratified has led many teachers to focus on reinforcing Standard English - or where Spanish is taught, Standard Spanish-with their code choices; this reflects the school's feeling that they are best serving the students by educating them in the variety with the most linguistic capital. However, as discussed above with the research on identity and the marginalization of linguistic codes on the hierarchy of linguistic capital, students' linguistic identities can be harmed and their academic success threatened through this approach. Calling attention to this is vital due to the fact that social negative attitudes toward Spanish codes have helped to foster the highest drop-out rates of all major U.S. population groups amongst Latino students. Recent figures from the U.S. Census Bureau have shown that only 62% of young Hispanic adults have finished high school compared to young white adults, much lower than the 86-88% of African Americans compared with white young adults respectively (Reisberg 1998 qtd. in Nichols and Colon 2000). Paired with the emergent Hispanic population identity data, this means nearly 40% of adolescents in the largest minority group with the U.S. have not completed high school (Holmes 1998). Furthermore, the percentage of Hispanic adolescents going on to college, not necessarily completing, was only 11% in the early 2000s (Nichols and Colon: 2000).

While many factors play into high-school drop out rates, including socioeconomic stratification, the influence of teacher attitudes towards linguistic codes present in the classroom should not be taken lightly. The effects of linguistic capital drive a market that changes the linguistic relationship between speakers into a charged symbolic power struggle, a relationship that relegates the speakers to different positions depending on the amount of their relative linguistic capital (Bourdieu 1991). It follows then that the speech acts of a teacher, a traditional position of power, would be significantly influenced by this process. In turn, every utterance no matter how small between student and teacher becomes a meaningful speech act. Applying this theory to the context of education, just what that social sentiment is can either directly encourage or hinder the education of the children in bilingual schools.

Despite the fact that the primary goals of bilingual educational programs are to assist students in achieving high levels of academic and bilingual proficiency while developing self-esteem and positive cross-cultural attitudes (Christian 1994; Howard and Christian 2002; Ballinger and Lyster 2011), negative teacher attitude can undermine if not reverse the intention. In their research on the effects of teacher attitudes on the success of ELL students in Arizona, Garcia-Nevarez et al. (2005) found that the attitude of teachers toward their students native language have direct effects on the academic success or failure of the students (293). Their research indicated that teachers who held positive attitudes towards or understood the students' language and culture were more sensitive to the needs of their students in the classroom. In comparison, negative teacher attitudes and behavior have been shown to have negative affects upon student

achievement (August & Hakuta 1997; Cummins 2000; Diaz-Rico 2000; Gonzalez, Darling-Hammond & Gutierrez qtd. in Garcia-Nevarez 2005). Data suggests that when teachers hold low expectations and negative opinions of students' linguistic codes or skills it creates a self-fulfilling prophecy which influences student achievement (Lee & Loeb 2000: 7). If teachers appear even slightly ambivalent regarding the importance of their or their students' use of the minority code, the students may perceive this as a reinforcement or validation of the majority/minority societal linguistic divide within their classes (Balinger and Lyster 2011: 303). This may be done both subtly and overtly within the classroom.

This type of attitudinal effect that teachers are responsible for can be better understood through Goffman's theory of face-work (1967). Face-work is defined as identity negotiation for the protection of the face, or the positive social value, which a person claims for themselves through a 'line,' or a pattern of verbal and nonverbal acts, which they take in front of others in a particular context. Brown and Levinson (1987) expanded Goffman's face into positive and negative face. Positive face entails the pursuit of a consistent positive self-image and the desire that this self-image be appreciated or approved by other interactants. Negative face entails the desire that one's actions not be impeded by others, a basic claim to personal preserves, space, and a freedom to action and from imposition. Because both of these faces is intrinsically tied into self-image, serious damage to an individual's identity can occur when either of these faces is threatened.

In the context of the classroom, threats to positive or negative face can affect a student's linguistic identity. Teachers express their view of the linguistic codes present and the participants using them through the line they set during teacher-student interactions. With this line, the teacher lays down a precedence for the code attitude that will dominate the classroom. This is the line that students' verbal actions will be measured against throughout class, and both the teacher and students will continue to build their responses and classroom identity upon it. Depending on how the teacher has presented or used each linguistic code, students may be forced to sacrifice their identity and face for the face the teacher has recommended students maintain. In the context of the classroom, if a teacher either indirectly or directly places more linguistic capital on one language versus another, typically on English over Spanish, that teacher has laid down a line in the classroom that empowers the identity of one linguistic group while simultaneously de-powering the other. To claim positive value for themselves, students may have to sacrifice portions of their linguistic identity to follow the line. This can do damage to students in this situation as face is something that is strongly emotionally invested in and intrinsically tied to identity formation and maintenance. Students desiring their positive face to be maintained in front of their teacher and fellow classmates will take up the face and code attitude necessary to be ratified, understood, approved of, or liked and admired.

Thus, the effects of negative teacher code attitude, whether conscious or not, are drastic. Extensive studies report that the negative attitude of teachers toward Spanish codes within the classroom have led to students negative attitudes of themselves which then greatly damage their achievement as students (August & Hakuta 1997; Cummins 2000; Diaz-Rico 2000; Gonzalez & Darling-Hammond 2000; Gutierrez 1981). Teacher negative attitude can directly affect the students' grades, directly hindering their academic accomplishment and further social success. In a nation with an expanding bilingual populous, this is extremely alarming, especially paired with the data gathered by Garcia-Nevarez (2005) on the attitudes of Arizona teachers on Spanish in

the Classroom. The study found that the attitudes of teachers who lacked formal training in instructing bilingual students became more negative towards student Spanish language use the longer they had taught bilingual students. Furthermore, even teachers lacking in formal training who were not directly negative towards Spanish codes reported that they did believe that Spanish should be eliminated from all instruction; this came even from teachers working in Bilingual School Organization (BISO) models with backgrounds in English Language Learner (ELL) instruction. It is my belief that such strong teacher beliefs and personal attitudes cannot remain entirely subdued within the classroom despite teacher reports that they do not directly condemn Spanish codes. These attitudes are more than likely to filter subconsciously into the face work the teacher introduces to his or her classroom. This is a driving reason behind the need for research and documentation on teacher interaction style in efficacious bilingual education programs.

However, in the same way negative code attitudes can create a hostile environment, positive teacher code valuation can do a great deal to create a safe linguistic space for speakers of marginalized codes within the classroom despite social stigmatization and low linguistic capital outside the school. By following basic principles outlined in Brown and Levinson's (1987) positive and negative politeness strategies, teachers can protect and nurture students' linguistic identities. By utilizing positive politeness, teachers can make the students feel good about their linguistic repertoire and skills, increasing positive face. By utilizing negative politeness, teachers create a space for all languages contributing to the students' linguistic identities in the classroom. Wilson & Corcoran (1988) reported success with such strategies in their studies of at risk linguistic minority students. They found that students from minority backgrounds achieved greater academic success within schools which fostered a strong belief in questioning conventions, high expectations for all students, and a positive attitude as a school towards codes with less linguistic capital. In fact, out of eight key features that Lucas, Henze, and Donato (1990) discovered that schools which were successful with language-minority students shared, seven revolved around positive teacher attitude towards minority linguistic codes (Appendix A). These factors included value placed on students' languages and cultures, holding high-expectations for language-minority students, and visible strong commitment to empower language minority students through education amongst others.

This study also showed on a larger scale of six schools across California and Arizona how positive teacher attitudes work to create safe environments for students, high academic achievement, and help developing ethnic pride and identity in place of face threatening work within the classroom. Because teachers within these schools treated bilingualism as an advantage rather than a deficit in two languages or a liability, students reported that they felt treated equal and learning was much easier (Lucas, Henze, and Donato 1990: 323). The acknowledgement of Hispanic students' background and identity in the classroom established student trust in the teacher, furthering learning. Instead of just celebrating Cinco de Mayo and other more well known holidays with a school taco day, teachers in the schools studied by Lucas et al took it upon themselves to acknowledge the diversity of their students from Mexico, Nicaragua, El Salvador, Guatemala, Cuba, and more Spanish-speaking countries. They became familiar with the background of all of their students in place of a generic Latino LM student umbrella concept, allowing them to understand each student group's learning needs. For example, some teachers became familiar with how school was taught in Mexico, allowing them the ability to say, "This is

the way most of you were taught how in Mexico. And that's OK. This is another way of doing it" (Lucas, Henze, and Donato 1990: 325). This approach is highly effective in the language classroom where teachers acknowledge all parts of students' linguistic identities and how they relate to the learning material at hand. The strategies of these teachers are only some of many practices which help to create a positive educational climate for linguistic minority students. In the following section, we will take a closer look at the relationship between student linguistic identity and a few teaching tools which are especially relevant to this study: scaffolding and code-switching.

2.4 Relationships between Teacher Code Attitudes, Strategies, & Linguistic Identity Negotiation

In the previous section, we had a look at the ramifications of negative teacher attitudes setting a detrimental line or *linguistic habitus* for bilingual students. Now, we will look at the strategies of code-switching and scaffolding and how they positively influence linguistic identity negotiation in the classroom.

2.4.1 Scaffolding

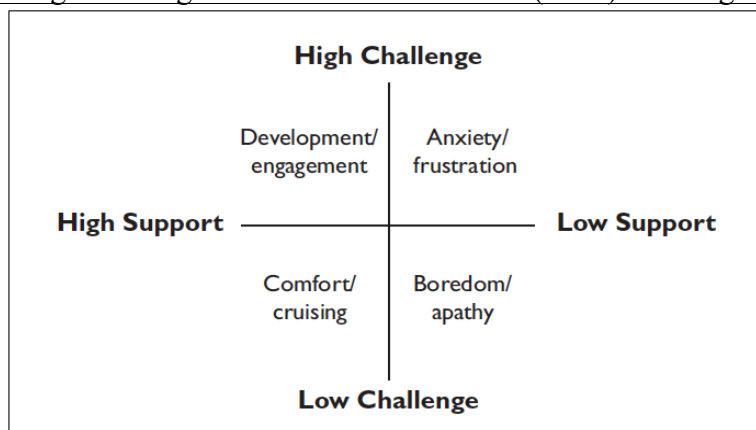
In 1978, Vygotsky defined the concept of the "zone of proximal development (ZPD) in his research on sociocultural learning processes. Simply, the ZPD is the point at which a learner is between levels of problems they can independently solve without guidance and the potential of what they can solve with the collaboration of an instructor or more expert peer. In his own words, "those functions that have not yet matured but are in the process of maturation (Vygotsky 1978: 86). Vygotsky claims that learning is a social experience that must involve interaction between people, leading to the process of *scaffolding*, or the process of arranging for the joint learning activity between more knowledgeable adults and less knowledgeable students in social contexts (Bruner 1975 qtd. in Yoon 2004). In this joint activity, both parties are equal agents; it is not the passive transmission of knowledge from one to the other. As Yoon (2004) explains, scaffolding is the facilitation for students to reach a level of independent problem solving through interaction, where the adult does not complete the learning task at hand for the student, but fosters the student's cognitive thinking to reach and surpass the zone of proximal development (12). As the ZPD requires a joint discourse activity, student involvement and dialogue is vital for both student cognitive development of the material at hand and the teacher's assessment of the student's current level in relation to the ZPD (Barnes 1995; Yoon 2004). In application to the bilingual classroom especially, because language is the primary medium for both learning and expressing identity, the way the teacher uses language during scaffolding is intricately related to students' cognitive and identity development.

It is important to note that while scaffolding is labeled 'corrective feedback,' it is a process of positive assistance which does not focus on negative verbal error correction or evaluation of student progress. Rather, scaffolding is positive corrective feedback which delivers correction through the way it evolves in the interaction and negotiation of the answer between teacher and student (Nassaji and Swain 2000: 36). Furthermore, it is important to note in discussing scaffolding and the ZPD that this type of interaction between teacher and student is not the teacher merely providing the answer, nor is it just teacher support (Michell & Sharpe 2005: 32). Maybe, Mercer, and Stierer (1992: 188) elaborate that scaffolding is not merely random

assistance to assist a learner in accomplishing a task. Rather, it is structured corrective feedback which provides the learner with resources to complete a task which they would not have been able to complete on their own in order to build the foundation for the learner to complete the task independently in the future.

Thus, there is a *critical balancing* of challenge and support in order for students to not be overwhelmed with challenge, or underwhelmed with too much support as implicated in the Mariani teaching/learning framework (1997). Further understanding of the role scaffolding plays in the bilingual classroom can be garnered through Mariani’s “engagement zone” (1997) shown below in Figure 2. The diagram pictures how the relationship between teaching strategies and levels of learning challenge affects student outcomes. For example, in tasks that are highly challenging for a student, there are two categories of outcomes: results based on High Support such as development or engagement, and results based on Low Support such as anxiety or frustration. Scaffolding falls under the category of a High Support teaching style, where students have reached their zone of proximal development and need assistance to achieve development and engagement.

Figure 2: Teaching-Learning zones based on Mariani’s (1997) teaching style framework



Because scaffolding belongs to the High Challenge-High Support quadrant of teaching pedagogy framework (Michell & Sharpe 2005: 34), it follows that it would have intense implications for student identity work as well. In order for the development and engagement to be achieved in lieu of the Low Support garnered anxiety and frustration, teachers must acknowledge a student’s challenged linguistic identity during language learner difficulties. Teacher-student dialogue is extremely important to mediate individual and collective understanding in meeting these identity negotiation and curricula goals (Wells 1999, 2000, 2002a qtd. in Michell & Sharpe 2005). Mutual and equitable dialogue during scaffolding within the ZPD allows students to explore the new skill at hand without anxiety or frustration. Another common term for this strategy is *interactional scaffolding*, which calls attention to the real-time interaction that occurs between teacher and student during just-in-time task relevant assistant in language mediated activity (Michell & Sharpe 2005: 35).

There are various ways of scaffolding a lesson for learners. A popular usage is to reduce the complexity of the lesson if a student appears to be struggling by “reducing the degrees of freedom” in completing the task (Bruner 1978: 19 qtd. in Michell & Sharpe 2005). Simply put,

the teacher reduces the amount of steps or work a student needs to complete for the task in order to allow cognitive focus on the difficult skill the student is in the process of learning and acquiring. Other manners of using scaffolding include the reformulation of student answers with the target embedded, affirmation for frustration control, repetition of correct answers once the target is produced, and elaboration, where the teacher provides information to help the student reach the target without supplying it (Michell & Sharpe 2005: 49). Because language learning and linguistic identity are constantly in a process of development, the teacher in the bilingual classroom must tailor scaffolding to students' also changing ZPD. It is similar to a scale, where the amount and depth of scaffolding needed by students decreases as the students' skills increase (Wei 1999: 197 qtd. in Michell & Sharpe 2005). The teacher must be conscious of this delicate balance so as not to turn scaffolding into the completion of a task for a student who is completely capable of the skill.

There are four contextual conditions for productive scaffolding to occur:

- 1) The student should have prime responsibility for the task.
- 2) The task at hand engages the student in a challenge problem-solving activity.
- 3) Different degrees of knowledge and skills exist among task participants.
- 4) Expert task participants show concern for the task participant of novices.

(Michell & Sharpe 2005: 47-48)

To better understand these steps, we will look at research conducted by Michell & Sharpe on the scaffolding usage in an ELL 7th grade math classroom. In the data, we see a student, William, with prime responsibility of reporting the findings of the group task the students' were assigned. William seems to be struggling with how to answer the math problem in addition to expressing his thoughts in English. However, the teacher does not take ownership of the task from William, but instead works with him in front of the entire class, using reformulation scaffolding of William's answers and elaboration to provide enough assistance for William to continue solving the problem on his own. For example, when the teacher notices William's English become a struggle in his explanation of subtraction, she provides more assistance to prevent frustration that could inhibit the acquisition of the task at hand:

William: "When we multiplied, it was 48."

Teacher: "Looking good, isn't it?"

William: "But we have to minus 16 to 3."

Teacher: "So that's step 4 now. So you've found the numbers 16 and 3. So what are you finding now?"

William: "The difference."

Teacher: "The difference. That's what the question's saying isn't it? The last sentence the questions, you've got to find the difference. What about step 5. Just put in answer equals 13."

William: "13." (Michell & Sharpe 2005: 37)

We see William's teacher use several different scaffolding techniques here, from affirmation of his correct answer to reformulation of William's answer in order to provide support for his ZPD into the next step, and elaboration, where she provides more information on the task at hand to help William understand. During these steps, the teacher's commitment to William achieving a

successful task completion is critical to sustaining the linguistic identity support through to the end of the task (Michell & Sharpe 2005: 37-38). By not calling attention to William's difficulty in expressing subtraction in English and instead providing scaffolding support, the teacher reaffirms William's linguistic competence and assists him in maintaining his linguistic capital. It is especially important to note that this task has been completed publicly in front of the class, reaffirming the linguistic capital of not only William, but all the students' who share the same codes in the makeup of their linguistic identities. This diminishes the role of outside social hierarchies of lower linguistic capital for ELL students and their minority codes as well as reducing the likelihood of any related behavior from students in the classroom.

The effectiveness of the teacher's scaffolding is clear in the remaining transcript. William remains an engaged participant and perseveres through the completion of the task with his teacher maintaining an equilibrium between the challenge of the task and the support needed to control learner frustration (Michel & Sharpe 2005: 38). While he shows a lack of confidence in the beginning of the task, the teacher's efforts to scaffold the activity fills the holes in William's comprehension of the task with elaborations on his contributions until he is able to complete it with semi-autonomy. Michell and Sharpe note that with repeated practice of this task and a corresponding decrease in scaffolding assistance, William will be able to independently control the skills necessary to complete tasks on his own. Thus, teacher scaffolding interaction provides critical assistance in the maintenance and negotiation of bilingual students' linguistic identities during the learning process of acquiring the skills necessary to successfully complete academic work in both languages.

2.4.2 Code-switching

Despite previously mentioned social opposition and public opinion of code-switching as a lack of knowledge or proficiency in either language, linguists argue that code-switching reflects fluency in both languages which allows not a random but a structured situational alternation between available codes (Nichols-Colon 2000; Jacobson 1988). Studies by Myers-Scotten and Valdes have shown that these choices are highly systematic in that speakers know exactly when, where, and how often to switch codes in context. In fact, research on code-switching is beginning to show ability to do conversation 'work' that neither language can do on its own (Zentella 1997). While switching situationally is common for purposes of addressing different speakers and formality, metaphorical code-switching allows speakers a greater depth of meaning. For example, in Zentella's ethnographic study of *El Bloque* in New York, she found that the youth used English as a distancing mechanism from their parents, speaking English while their mothers told them to do chores in Spanish. Here, the English switches are metaphorical. The children chose to use English because of its social power and high level of linguistic capital, thus allowing them to attempt dominance or distance from the household situation at hand (Bailey 2007: 693). Thus, code-switching serves as a proxy to assist the expression of the speaker's identity contained in both codes. This linguistic competence can be seen as early as first grade with bilingual students.

In her work with negotiation of language use in the classroom, Glaessner (1994) found that first grade Spanish-English bilingual students showed strong skills in negotiating social situations through the use of both languages. Her findings indicated that the students were aware of and

able to assess interlocutors and to strategically employ linguistic codes to achieve social ends (1994, vii). Very early on in their bilingual education, the students employed code-switching to accomplish social identity work in social roles and relationships (Glaessner 1994: 5). Examples of this work include the use of Spanish codes with fellow Chicano coworkers in contrast with English codes when addressing a superior to increase camaraderie. Or, when speakers continue to speak Spanish in front of monolingual English speakers present to emphasize solidarity with Hispanic speakers present. Here, like Zentella's findings, the speakers have used code-switching to navigate and reinforce different pieces of their social identity. Myers-Scotton explains this pattern of conventional and unexpected uses of language where speakers situationally or metaphorically switch linguistic identities and social roles as 'situationally marked or unmarked.' Glaessner's study reveals that this competence is already learned by very young children. Her work investigated the systematic ways four bilingual first graders used English and Spanish to achieve social ends and meanings, paying close attention to marked usage or metaphorical switches. In the very short conversational exchange between students which follows here, we see just how much identity work can be completed in a few small switches

Lili: "...ella se lastima cada día" [she hurts herself every day].

Malcolm: "What are you talking about?"

Lili: "Estamos" [We're talking]. (*in Spanish which she knows Malcolm doesn't understand*)

-Lili's facial expression is one of irritation and her general demeanor toward Malcolm is off-putting. She continues to talk to Geraldo in Spanish.-

Geraldo: (to Malcolm) "She [Lili] talks too much". (Glaessner 1994: 6)

In the transcript, when Malcolm, an African American 1st grader who does not speak Spanish approaches Lili and Geraldo, she chooses to use Spanish codes to exclude him from the conversation while simultaneously solidifying her Hispanic identity. In the background on the children's identity, it is revealed that Malcolm is disliked by many Hispanic girls for his fighting behavior. Lili shows distaste for Malcolm here by reinforcing her own language and culture and showing Geraldo preference. However, Geraldo chooses to speak English with Malcolm instead, refuting Lili's derision of Malcolm and showing acceptance through a code he can understand.

Glaessner also found that the children's code-switching displayed the code attitudes of the students strongly. For example, within a Spanish only class, students used English as a 'voice of negotiation' and a 'voice of authority.' When speaking to each other to negotiate classroom activities, the students chose to use English in place of Spanish despite the clear classroom rules that it was a 'Spanish only' class period. During their group work, the students would discuss the content in Spanish as they were instructed to, but conversations involving corrections, directions, or power negotiations were conducted in English (85-88). Additionally, students used English to separate official classroom business from personal conversation- both arguments, competition, and friendly chatting. In all of these examples, the students used English as a language of power to change the linguistic situation around them to benefit their needs. This choice displays the students' attitude that English was the dominant choice between the codes to reinforce and ensure their speech act held the most weight.

competent language use or abilities, despite disproving research.

Much like how the community of *El Bloque* uses code-switching for bilingual and bidialectal members to negotiate and retain their full linguistic identity, teachers can also use code-switching in the classroom to validate all codes present even if one code present is more dominant on the hierarchy of linguistic capital. Using code-switches, they can bring in elements of both languages when necessary to not only incorporate both sides of students' identities, but to do work in shaping social situations that could not primarily be completed with monolingual conversation.

The relationship between teacher code attitude or use and linguistic identity negotiation allows teachers to indicate respect, mock seriousness, humor, role, distance, and intimacy by switching from one code to another. Much like the systematic inclusion of *El Bloque's* many varieties, this strategy allows the teacher to draw in all linguistic identities present in a manner that the use of only the target code would preclude (Valdes and Fallis 1978: 18). Specifically, linguists have seen great achievement outcomes created using a teacher's code-switching between Spanish/English strategically to create an environment which enhances academic success (Nichols and Colon 2000: 500).

Furthermore, when teachers provide positive feedback to student code-switching, they prevent another layer of stratification between English and Spanish forming within the classroom, where Spanish codes could exist as non-teacher approved manners of communication. For example, the teachers in the school Glaessner studied allowed Spanish usage within even the classrooms where English was the target and the teachers code-switched frequently themselves; in fact they encouraged Spanish to be spoken especially to clarify content and instruction. The understanding of the students was given priority over the language of instruction in the English classroom at all times, and code-switching was used to facilitate:

Mrs. T: Okay how are they different?

Julio: Because one because one is...

Mrs. T: What, what are you talking about? You can tell me in Spanish. Como son iguales, y como son diferentes? (111)

Additionally, importance of linguistic identity is stressed by teacher code-switching so the students do not feel negative about needing to speak their language for clarification. This is worth noting especially because the need to use Spanish for communication in the classroom can be received negatively in other students' evaluation. Glaessner's data shows the pertinence of this as another student muttered the answer to Mrs. T's question under her breath to show impatience and even derision towards the student who needed to use Spanish. Another teacher Glaessner interviewed remarked upon this common evaluation of Spanish usage as "lesser" in school despite bilingual policies:

"To make the children fully bilingual and to make them think that speaking Spanish is as important as speaking English. Not to see the language as a second term, you know, language. Because they all give priority to English. If they, you know, are out of the classroom they don't want to speak any Spanish, they want to use only English."

2.5 Summary

There is a hierarchy of dialects and languages within every social linguistic system. Speakers of a linguistic code that is low in social class often experience disparagement of their speech both outside and inside the classroom, yielding great negative effects within academic performance (Rickford 1996; Baugh 1998). Within such polarized environments, teachers face difficulties in helping their students acquire standard target varieties while creating a linguistically safe environment that offsets the majority language attitudes of English Only education North American Society. However, the impact of Hispanic code and identity valuation on Bilingual pedagogy and student success is immense. Because the bilingual classroom is intrinsically a site of language and linguistic identity negotiation, it becomes a high-risk site for student progress with a tenuous balance between success or failure. However, the valuation of students' full linguistic identities can greatly reduce the chance of impairing student success.

It has been consistently demonstrated in the last twenty years that teachers' attitudes towards the codes comprising language-minority students' identities are an important factor in student learning and eventual success (Garcia-Nevarez 2005; Byrnes, Kiger, and Manning 1997; Brophy & Good 1986). Thus, the expression of positive valuation of minority codes through teacher interaction styles can be understood to have great effects upon student success. By creating a supportive linguistic ecology in the classroom through the engagement of all of bilingual students' linguistic resources, teachers assist students in negotiating positive linguistic identities which provide the confidence necessary for academic success. Analysis of scaffolding and code-switching show their important role in this process. Scaffolded activities improve the social, linguistic, and academic participation and then performance of ELL students (Michell & Sharpe 2005: 52). Code-switching in the classroom creates important connections which equitably divide linguistic capital amongst the codes present and create feelings of solidarity which foster comfortability and student learning (Valdes-Fallis 1978: 8). Teachers may use both scaffolding and code-switching for clarification and as a means of validating the legitimacy of all student linguistic codes, redefining the social stratification which detrimentally affects linguistic identity for linguistic minority students. Both of these strategies display positive teacher attitude and concern for the success of LM students, which in turn inspires confidence for students in the teacher and in themselves (Michell & Sharpe 2005).

In summary, current research favors the view that teaching tools such as code-switching and scaffolding assist bilingual educators in effectively walking the line between meeting the school's pedagogical needs and meeting those of their students' minority linguistic identities. Furthermore, the implementation or encouragement of code-switching as a pedagogical tool for bilingual education has serious implications for depolarizing the power-struggle between languages, particularly between English and minority languages, within U.S. education. Moving forward with this research, we will look at a prominent BISO school within the Miami-Dade county to assess factors of teacher attitude, interaction, and usage of different codes and the consequent effects upon student response and attitude within the classroom.

3.0 Background

In order to understand the context surrounding the Bilingual School Organization that features in this research, a short background will be presented here on the history and present existence of bilingual educational programs in the U.S. The following paragraphs will examine how the social concept of linguistic capital has shaped the education bilingual students have access to and experience as well as explain the school model ‘Bilingual School Organization.’

3.1 Development of Bilingual Education in the U.S.

In 1968, the first Bilingual Education Act was passed to provide for the needs of growing areas of students from low-income immigrant homes with little to no skills with English (Fuchs 1990: 459). This act was passed mostly due to the high rate of Hispanic immigration from Mexico, but other court rulings with similar directives soon followed in cases such as the *Lau v. Nichols* ruling on behalf of Chinese speaking children in San Francisco; the *King* ruling in Ann Arbor, Michigan; the Oakland Ebonics controversy; and a Haitian class action law suit in New York. These rulings developed to provide integration and support for the reported minority student outnumbering of white students in 25 of the 26 largest school districts (Zephyr 2010: 136). In response to this highly politicized situation, a body of linguistic research rose to disprove that students with inferior English skills were failing to achieve due to any cultural deficit or intelligence inferiority but rather due to the result of subjugation of minority culture within the school system (139-140). In fact, within the *King* Ann Arbor African American English case, the ruling indicated:

If a barrier exists because of the language used by the children... it exists not because the teachers and the students cannot understand each other but because in the process of attempting to teach the children how to speak Standard English, *the students are made somehow to feel inferior and are thereby turned off from the learning process.* (Labov 1983: 31)

Following these political movements, number of bilingual education programs available across the U.S. began to take off. In 1971, Campbell established the first Spanish US immersion school in Culver City, California. This school exemplified what linguists now call the ‘one-way immersion’ strategy. Classes are taught entirely in the program’s selected L2 initially and gradually by sixth grade enough English/L1 courses are introduced to make up half the curriculum (Swain & Johnson 1997: 2). The Center for Applied Linguistics reported that by 2003, 151 schools within the US were offering a total or partial one-way immersion program, approximately 60% partial and 40% total immersion, in French, Hawaiian, Japanese, German, Arabic, Cantonese, Russian, and Yup’ik.

Despite this quick growth, researchers found that these one-way immersion programs became largely diglossic over time and created results similar to the prior lack of bilingual programming with forced hegemonic formality (Tarone & Swain 1995). The students began to avoid using the L2 in peer interactions because the L2 was taught for purely academic purposes and did not suit the discourse needs of the children to navigate play, competition, negotiation, or positioning within their peer group. Without a connection to the L2 in nonacademic style, the children

cannot learn to utilize it for navigation through their speech community and linguistic identity (Tarone & Swain 1995: 169). Because of this, new identity stratification within bilingual education began to supplant the old stratification of limited bilingual education.

Fortunately, an alternative two-way immersion model of bilingual education provided solutions for this problem. In a dual immersion model, a mix of both English speaking students and students who speak a foreign language as an L1 attend class together. Instruction and coursework are generally divided between English and the foreign language in models such as a 50:50 and 90:10 split between the languages in instruction (Potowski 2007: 11). These programs might vary their languages by content (subject matters), person (each teacher uses a different language), or day (one language per day). Variations of this kind of program have existed in preparatory schools in the U.S. for many decades with a focus on languages with strong linguistic capital such as Latin or French. In 1963, the first public dual immersion program was established in Miami to provide the students of the Cuban community within the city a bridge to US education (Potowski 2007: 74). By the end of the 1960s following the Bilingual Education Act, 14 other schools were established following Coral Way Elementary's success. This astonishing growth rate continued into the 80's with 30 programs existing in 1987 (Lindholm 1987) and a drastic increase to 182 programs in 19 states just eight years later- a 507% increase (Christian & Whitcher 1995). As of 2005, the Center for Applied Linguistics documented 315 programs in 28 states in 10 different languages, with 95% of programs in Spanish. This remarkable 10 fold increase in dual immersion within 18 years was brought on by the incredible success of the programs.

The success of the dual immersion programs has a great deal to do with the three goals for dual immersion students which are actualized through bilingual pedagogy and methods:

1. To develop high levels of proficiency in *both* L1 and L2
2. To achieve academic and casual performance at or above the grade level in both
3. To demonstrate positive cross cultural attitudes % behaviors and high levels of self esteem. (Christian 1996b: 67-68)

Furthermore, because the ELL students have English native speaking peers in comparison to only the teacher being a native speaker in one-way programs, the one-way immersion issue of students only using L2 for formal classroom talk is circumnavigated (Genesee 1987: 131).

3.2 The Success of Bilingual School Organizations

The success of these programs spans far beyond both this accomplishment and the criticisms of many English-Only policy holders for US education. Despite the popular social claims that learning two languages at once will hamper or damage the acquisition of a student's linguistic skills (McField, 2014: xxxv), research has shown the exact opposite in dual immersion assessment. Firstly, Thomas & Collier found that dual immersion results in the highest academic achievement for language minority children over all other types of bilingual programs (1997). Research further reports that within 1st-4th grade students have scores of at least average to very

high in Spanish reading & math achievement with English performance reaching average at a very normal 2nd-3rd grade level (Lindholm & Aclan 1991). Overall, dual immersion students' academic achievement reaches levels higher than surrounding local norms (Cohen 1975; Lambert 1984). High levels in both English and non-English language use are also consistently above average and above any other type of bilingual program's achievement rates for both groups of students (Christian et al. 1997; Lindholm-Leary 2001). Thus, immersion students both L1 English speaking and foreign L1 alike are neither disadvantaged in academic achievement nor their L1 development (Swain & Johnson 1997: 3). Furthermore, contrary to the supporters of English Only education over bilingual models, research also proves that lack of English skills is not correlated nor accounts for poor academic achievement in linguistic minorities within bilingual education models (Zephir 2010: 138); meaning that an English Only immersion strategy to assist minorities will not account for all factors contributing to their academic struggle. Case studies furthermore prove that children in bilingual programming score higher in English-reading than students in English Immersion and English-Only models (August & Shanahan 2006; Genesee, Lindholm-Leary, Saunders, & Christian 2005, 2006; Rolstad, Mahoney, & Glass 2005a; Slavin & Cheung 2005). Rolstad et al. 2005a is particularly noteworthy; their meta-analysis of program effectiveness for ELLs over a corpus of 17 case studies found that bilingual education was consistently superior to English-Only, and that developmental (continual bilingual education) was superior to transitional programming (Rolstad, MacSwan, and Mahoney 2014).

The success of the dual immersion program is even greater in direct comparison with other bilingual educational models currently in use within districts of high language minority enrollment, particularly Structured English Immersion (SEI). SEI programs are One-Way immersion programs in which language arts instruction is strictly English and teachers are not required to know their ELL students' L1. The students are pulled out of their normal courses during English reading and writing for simplified material adapted to their proficiency levels supplemented by gestures and visual aids. However, these programs do not have to be language specific, meaning students of many different minority language L1s may be grouped together in the same course, and the sole goal of the class is English acquisition. The results of this type of programming are not positive. In Massachusetts for example, a state which mandates SEI programming, only 56% of ELL students graduated between 2000-2011 (Garcia 2013). Coupled with the fact that Massachusetts experienced a drastic increase of 27% in its foreign born population, this is a startling statistic.

Likewise, California, also a SEI mandate state, has also experienced negative results with little to no growth in language minority reading scores since 1998 (Wiley 2014). Along with this, a stagnation in positive response to SEI has occurred with a decrease of bilingual teachers to 41% of what the number was prior to the mandated usage of SEI programming in California schools (Wiley 2014). Furthermore, the ELL students of California's SEI programs have consistently produced lower academic scores than their native-English speaking counterparts, showing limited to no positive effect of SEI programs. In fact, since the implementation of SEI in California, the dropout rate of Hispanic ELL students has dramatically increased 75.5% from 1998 to 2008, while the population itself increased 20.3% (Park 2014). The struggle of ELL students is also present in failure rates, where a widening gap in language dependent classes such as social studies is present, with an increase from a 66% failure rate amongst Hispanic 8th graders

in 2003 to 69% in 2008. Arizona, a third mandated SEI state, shows statistics that tell the same story, with 89% of non-English proficient ELLs failing to achieve English proficiency in the 2004, 41% of which had tested non-proficient the year prior (Rolstad, MacSwan, and Mahoney 2014). It should come as no surprise then that many parents, students, teachers, and administrators feel that while Structured English Immersion might be more beneficial than pulling ELL students out of class for special education courses, they agree that Structured English Immersion does not even closely compare with dual immersion programming (McField 2014: 197-198).

Thus, when we contrast the successful statistics of dual immersion BISO models to that of Structured English Immersion programming, it is obvious why BISO schools should be further studied for the documentation of successful teacher interaction styles with bilingual students. Their pedagogical strategies and methods have been proven to be more efficacious for the achievement of language minority students through the academic successes of their students. Given the strong ties between bilingual student achievement and the development of linguistic identity, it follows then that more research should be conducted on the relationship between dual immersion teaching strategies and the formation and protection of bilingual students' linguistic identities. In this research, we will begin to look at this research question within a district of dual immersion programs that has long served its language minority populace: Miami, Florida.

3.3 The Miami 'BISO' School Model

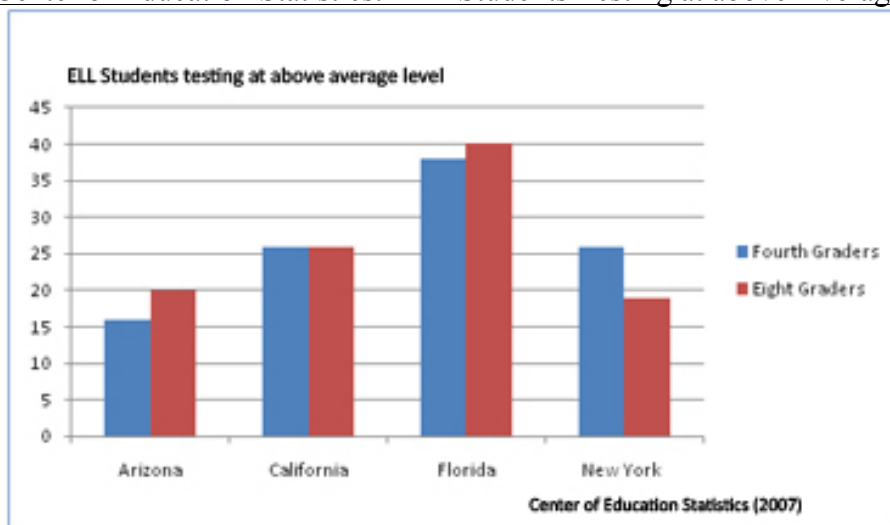
Though scantily documented in research, Miami has been at the forefront of pioneering bilingual education programs since even before the Bilingual Education Act. In 1963, five years before bilingual legislature, Coral Way Elementary responded to the educational needs of the children of Cuban political refugees fleeing Cuba. With a great influx of largely Spanish speaking students, the school knew it needed to develop new programming to serve the developing Cuban community. Coral Way became Miami's first two-way bilingual-immersion school.

The school began with a "Spanish for Spanish" program where Spanish was used as a language of instruction for Spanish heritage and LEP students. With assistance in funding from the Ford Foundation, the school expanded the program into fully bilingual education for all students, making Coral Way the first full-fledged bilingual curriculum in the U.S. The first 350 students were selected from 1st-3rd grade students for their balance of English and Spanish speakers. With a goal of establishing bilingual fluency amongst all students, children began their curriculum of native language instruction in the morning and the L2 in the afternoon with periods such as lunch and art as 'free time' to speak whichever language they chose amongst each other. Reports from the time show that students made great progress on standardized testing (Pellerano, et al. 1998). The success of Coral Way is largely credited for paving the way to the Bilingual Education Act a few years later (Potowski 2004). Today, classes at Coral Way are still taught in Spanish in the morning and English in the afternoon. Though the greater majority of the school's 1,500 students come from families with low socio-economic status, their test scores are consistently among the highest in the district, and many students proceed to high ranking private and public schools (Sanchez 2011).

Following Coral Way, the Miami-Dade district established what it called “BISO: the Bilingual School Organization,” a dual language educational program in English and Spanish. Today, seven BISO schools operate within the district. All of these schools receive ‘A’ ratings from the Florida Department of Education, indicating that 95% or more of their students have achieved satisfactory or higher scores on their state testing along with annual learning gains in non-state testing.

While, Miami-Dade also offers several other bilingual education programs in schools that are not classified as Bilingual School Organizations, including ESOL K-12 where ELL students are pulled out during reading for English instruction from a bilingual teacher, Miami’s BISO models are most successful with fostering bilingual student achievement. The dedication of Miami’s bilingual teachers and recent development of more bilingual programs are cited as responsible for the great increase in Hispanic student success within Florida districts. From 2008-2009, the total number of Hispanic students participating in “Gifted” K-12 tracks increased from 20,571 to 22,773 (Spigler and Russell 2012). For Hispanic high-school students, participation in Honors Programs jumped from 28,099 to 30,843. The total number of Hispanic students in AP courses also jumped from 12,358 to 15,417. A 2007 report by the National Center of Education Statistics branch of the U.S. Department of Education also overwhelmingly corroborates Miami’s efforts to provide successful bilingual education. In side by side figures comparing large Hispanic populated cities in Arizona, California, New York, and Florida, Florida held the most English Language Learners who tested above average level.

Table 3.0: 2007 Center of Education Statistics: ELL Students Testing at above Average Level



Despite the fact that all four of these states serve a very large Hispanic populous, the number of ELL students in largely Hispanic populated cities like Miami, Florida who are testing above average are nearly or are over double that of the other three states. For this reason, I have selected one of Miami’s BISO schools as the site of this paper’s research on the relationship between a teacher’s linguistic response to the output of their bilingual students and how student output or response is affected.

3.4 Dr. Carlos J. Finlay Elementary

Located on the central-east side of Miami, Dr. Carlos J. Finlay Elementary is a Title 1, two-way dual immersion program where 60% of curriculum content is taught in English and 40% is taught in Spanish. Students receive instruction in English for 60% of the day, and Spanish for the remaining 40%. The school serves 604 prekindergarten through 5th grade students, and works closely in conjunction with its next door neighbor, Florida International University. Finlay is a professional development school which frequently welcomes many linguists, education students, and other FIU faculty researchers. The school was founded in 2000 and named after Dr. Carlos Juan Finlay, a Cuban born scientist who was educated in Europe and the United States. He was one of the few Cuban scientists elected to work with the U.S. Yellow Fever Commission of 1879 and was the scientist who identified the vector for the disease as the Havana household mosquito, now the school's humorous mascot "Skeeter."

The demographics of the area are highly represented in the racial makeup of the student body: Hispanic (97.8%), White, (1.4%), and African American (0.6%). 59% of the student body classifies as English Language Learners. Economically disadvantaged students account for 78% of the student body. Additionally, 13% are Students with Disabilities. In order to best serve this large group of minority language students, Carlos Finlay utilizes its partnership with FIU to provide extra teachers in the classroom from pre-service Elementary Education undergraduates, experienced undergraduate and American Reads tutors, and faculty researchers who aim to teach teachers the latest and most efficacious in bilingual education pedagogy. Data shows that their efforts to increase the achievement of their students are likely working, with yearly increases on the percentage of students scoring at or above the mastery level on the FCAT state wide examination of Reading and Science.

All teachers within Carlos Finlay are bilingual in Spanish and English. Others speak three or more languages. Many of the teachers come from similar linguistic and cultural backgrounds as their students. Ms. Martin, the teacher within the classroom where I observed, was Latina with Spanish L1 and English L2. This greatly allows the Carlos Finlay teachers to understand their students ELL frustrations and to provide the assistance they need to succeed. We will see this presented in the finely detailed interactive strategies Ms. Martin utilized within the results of this research.

4.0 Objectives

The objective of this research is to explore the relationship between interactive teaching styles in the bilingual classroom and the development or maintenance of bilingual students' linguistic identity. The study aims to document how the teacher responds to the bilingual output of his/her students and how the students respond in kind. This includes the questions of whether a teacher rephrases a student's non-standard linguistic code choice, admonishes a student for using non-standard linguistic forms, uses the same linguistic form as the student, or encourages the student's standard and non-standard linguistic code usage. The hypothesis is that if the teacher responds positively to the students' usage of Hispanic elements in the English classroom then the student will continue to participate and produce output, whether Hispanic or English, in the classroom.

The purpose of this research is to assist in providing research to fill a gap that currently exists in bilingual linguistic research as indicated by Genesee (1991). According to Genesee, there has been a lack of systematic documentation of how language in dual immersion classrooms is used by either students or teachers (1991: 190). This then contributes to an insufficient empirical basis with which to analyze the relationship between the discourse characteristics of the dual immersion classroom and the impact of the classroom interaction styles on language learning. While there have been advances in documenting the linguistic ecology of the dual immersion classroom (see Potowski 2004), research has largely focused on the classrooms of grades 6 and onward, leaving a deficit in elementary classroom data. This makes the data presented in this paper highly relevant to current needs in linguistic educational research.

The focus of this paper is the interaction between teacher and student following three key strategies that affect linguistic identity negotiation in the classroom: *scaffolding*, *code-switching*, and *intonation*. I am assisting in documenting how the discourse characteristics surrounding these practices contribute to the maintenance of bilingual students' positive linguistic identities. This documentation is especially called for in the case of young bilingual students who are at a critical age in their linguistic identity formation. With my classroom observations, I provide data on the impact of positive bilingual linguistic identity maintenance within the dual immersion classroom. My research shows how these three key strategies of linguistic identity negotiation can provide confidence and lay a foundation of support at the young age of a first grade student for the development of their linguistic identities throughout their academic careers.

5.0 Methodology

5.1 Study Design

A first-grade classroom of 24 students was selected from Dr. Carlos J. Finlay Elementary to participate in this study. 95% of students in the class are considered ELL/ESL, with the dominant L1 being Spanish language and varieties. These codes were comprised of Standard English, Standard Spanish, Non-Standard Spanish codes such as Puerto Rican Spanish, and Non-Standard English codes such as Puerto Rican English (Zentella 1997). 5% were classified as English L1. The teacher, who we will call Ms. Martin, is bilingual in English and Spanish. Finlay Elementary was chosen specifically for its familiarity with research efforts in bilingualism and education. As a partner of Florida International University, student teachers, faculty researchers, and state observers are frequent silent participants in the classroom. With the Observer's Paradox and the principles of Labov's sociolinguistic interviews in mind, Finlay was then selected in the hopes of obtaining as true to natural speech styles in the classroom as possible.

Approval and security clearance from the Miami-Dade Public Schools Research Review Committee was provided for five hours of in-classroom observation and audio recording. Originally, videotaping was approved, but only audio recording was used at the suggestion of the teacher who claimed the children would be less disrupted by a small recorder in the classroom. I took field notes of my classroom observations for analysis as well. The goal of the recordings was to document the manner in which the teacher negotiates learning English and maintenance of the linguistic identities of her bilingual students.

5.2 Data Analysis

The recordings obtained were transcribed via ELAN, and qualitatively analyzed for evidence of three main themes of this research: *scaffolding*, *code-switching*, and *intonation*. As highlighted in the literature review, these teacher strategies are highly relevant for the promotion and protection of students' linguistic identity. Ms. Martin's usage of these three strategies is thus analyzed in relation to the reaction of the students and corresponding classroom climate. The terms *positive identity work* and *negative identity work* are used to refer to the manner in which Ms. Martin's usage of the three strategies affects the formation of the students' linguistic identities. Deriving from Brown and Levinson's (1978) concepts of positive and negative face, I have established these two terms to describe the relationship between a teacher's actions, facework, and the impact on students' linguistic identity. For example, when the teacher uses scaffolding strategies such as supplying a lexical item to assist the bilingual student in the ZPD, that teacher is also providing *positive identity work* in preventing the student from experiencing embarrassment or frustration that could prohibit learning. By not threatening the student's positive face with negative feedback during their struggle to communicate in their non-dominant code, the teacher protects the students' linguistic identity and through negotiation assists in successful learning. Likewise, by reaffirming codes that socially have less linguistic capital through usage in the classroom, the teacher completes *negative identity work*, providing reinforcement for students' negative face, or freedom of usage to that code by showing deference to its validity.

6.0 Results

6.1 Dr. Carlos J. Finlay Elementary

The aesthetic of Ms. Martin's first grade classroom is bilingual in and of itself upon first impression. Entering the classroom, a poster of English vowels is paired with one of corresponding accent marks in Spanish. Yellow laminated labels are stuck to various objects around the room such as the television and the teacher's desk, detailing the English name and its Spanish counterpart. The carpet of the "reading area" towards the back of the room displays a border of common 1st grade words such as tree or cat in both Spanish and English, with both pictures and words. A banner of the names of colors runs along the top of the wall, with both the English and Spanish translations. It is very apparent upon sitting in the room that respect is given to both languages even though the classroom is designated for English courses. The morning announcements are in part Spanish and English as Ms. Martin prepares the classroom whiteboard with the day's lesson. Though the students are young, Ms. Martin's first graders are fully engaged.

During the course of the five hours I spent within Ms. Martin's first grade classroom over two days, she displayed numerous instances of scaffolding, code-switching, and intonation teaching styles. For the sake of clarity, we will look at each of the classroom interaction strategies separately rather than chronological order in which they appeared. We will start with the data which I gathered the most of: *scaffolding*.

6.2 Scaffolding

Ms. Martin's class is studying practice SAT reading books. These books ask the students to read sentences and choose a target word that best completes the sentence. As she goes around the room asking students to read the pages aloud, some students experience difficulty in completing the task. A student we will call Michael in particular struggles with his assigned page.

1.0

Ms. Martin: "Michael, please read number two for us."

Michael: "Puh- puhlee- plee open-"

Ms. Martin: "Please."

Michael: "Please open the window."

Ms. Martin: "Okay. So, let's look at the three pictures."

As Michael shows trouble with pronouncing the first word in his assigned sentence, Ms. Martin apprehends the situation as a Zone of Proximal Development for him. Instead of allowing him to continue to try on his own, after three unsuccessful tries with the target, she supplies the lexical item. It is worth noting that she only provides the first word in the sentence as Michael shows ability with the other words in his ease with reading 'open.' Following his success with the task of reading the sentence, Ms. Martin carries on with the group task at hand without acknowledging Michael's difficulty in any large manner that might call attention to it. By not calling attention to Michael's struggle, Ms. Martin completes *positive identity work*. If she had used negative corrective language such as "no" or "no, that's not right" before Michael

completed his target task, Michael's positive face could have been threatened if he thought his classmates or teacher viewed him as less competent. However, Ms. Martin's use of positive corrective feedback via scaffolding to assist Michael during the ZPD prevents this, allowing Michael's positive face to remain intact and preventing injury to his confidence in his linguistic identity.

Ms. Martin continues this practice as the students move to the reading carpet with her for their daily group reading. The class is working on a story about "*A Bird Named Fern*," where they are being tested on the pronunciation of several target words. In a circle with Ms. Martin, they take turns as a group completing the tasks at hand.

2.0

Ms. Martin: "The sounds we are going over this week are *er, ir, ur,* and *or*. The letters *er, ir, ur,* and *or* can make the sounds you hear in the middle of *term, bird, curl,* and *worm*. I want you boys and girls to read the words to me with those sounds. Go ahead."

Michael: "J- jir-"

Ms. Martin: "G- g-"

Another student: [WHISPER] "Girl."

Ms. Martin: "Sh!"

Michael: "Girl."

Ms. Martin: "Good job. Next?"

Here, we see a two-fold strategy of *positive* and *negative identity work* used by Ms. Martin in her use of scaffolding in reaction to Michael's code-mixing. As Michael works at reading the target word he is assigned, 'girl,' he begins to pronounce the English word using a more common Spanish variant of /g/ prefacing a vowel, [dʒ], in place of the English target, [g]. Ms. Martin once again does not use negative corrective language or call attention to Michael's code-mixing, but provides positive corrective scaffolding as she sounds out the English /g/ for Michael as a push in the desired direction instead. When another student impatiently whispers the correct target *girl*, Ms. Martin then performs *negative identity work* by quickly repriming the student for disrupting Michael's attempt to complete the task. Once Michael completes the correct pronunciation, Ms. Martin smiles and affirms Michael's success with her compliment on his work. By verbally reprimanding the interrupting student, Ms. Martin provides support for Michael's negative face before the entire reading group. This enforces that Michael has the right to work through the inputs from both sides of his Spanish-English linguistic identity. This two-part strategy of providing scaffolding assistance when Michael reaches the ZPD and providing forceful negative feedback to students who show impatience with a struggling student's progress shows itself to be highly effective in assisting Michael in his completion of the task. Despite continued difficulty reading, Michael continues to try and does not become frustrated or give up.

3.0

Ms. Martin: "Michael?"

Michael: "Soo- sur- surprised."

Ms. Martin: "Good! Next-"

[*Students laugh amongst themselves.*]

Ms. Martin: “He did the right thing. He’s sounding it out.”

Michael begins to use the sounding out strategy Ms. Martin showed him in the previous target word task, showing he has moved beyond his previous Zone of Proximal Development and into a stage of being able to complete the target task without assistance. Though he has clearly made progress, students continue to laugh amongst themselves at Michael’s inability to produce the target reading word with ease. Ms. Martin shows no tolerance for this within the group work, immediately verbally remonstrating the other students once again. She defends Michael’s usage of the sound-out strategy and affirms his work, performing *positive identity work* by protecting Michael’s positive face during a moment of vulnerability for his linguistic identity and *negative identity work* by reaffirming his freedom to be unimpeded to negotiate his bilingual identity in completing learning tasks.

Ms. Martin continues to assist students in their reading tasks as turns are taken around the group circle. Sometimes, she merely reminds students how to sound out a word. However, if this does not assist the student in moving beyond the ZPD, she assesses the situation and provides further help with supplying lexical items so the students do not become discouraged, a feature of *positive identity work*.

4.0

Ms. Martin: “Sofia?”

Sofia: [SILENCE]

Ms. Martin: “Sound it out: t- t-“

Sofia: “-ur-“ [SILENCE]

Ms. Martin: “Turns. Ok, Stefano?”

When Sofia shows that she is not capable of completing her target word even with Ms. Martin’s hints to sound it out and supply of the first sound in the word, Ms. Martin assess Sofia’s repeated silences as evidence that she will need to supply the lexical item this time in order for Sofia to move past this Zone of Proximal Development and into pronouncing it herself the next time. As they continue to read Sofia’s section of the story, she continues to have difficulty with quite a few words.

5.0

Ms. Martin: “Sofia?”

Sofia: “The bird-” [SILENCE]

Ms. Martin: “Began.”

Sofia: “Began to fly home. As she did, the-“

Ms. Martin: “Beds.”

[*Other students begin to become restless, making small noises*]

Sofia: “Beds-” [SILENCE]

Ms. Martin: “Turned.”

Sofia: “Turned to dar- dark-“

Ms. Martin: “Dark grey.”

Sofia: “Then-“

Ms. Martin: “Oh, I’m sorry, Sofia. Let me stop. I see some boys and girls who

don't want to help me with the board. Because they're not following directions. Go ahead."

Sofia struggles through her sentence, with Ms. Martin providing scaffolding support via lexical insertion as she goes. By not allowing Sofia to struggle on her own, Ms. Martin prevents positive face threatening frustration from occurring which could easily prevent the completion of the ZPD if Sofia begins to feel inadequate with her bilingual linguistic identity. Though this improves her ability to read full chunks of the sentence at a time, other students once again begin to act restless as they did during Michael's difficulty several turns ago. When she notices other students becoming irritated, Sofia's voice becomes quieter with each word, leading to her stuttering over the end of her first sentence. Ms. Martin notices the development Sofia's linguistic identity becoming threatened and politely asks Sofia's pardon as she interrupts her reading to scold the other students for not following along in their books quietly. She reminds them that they will lose their privilege of helping her with work on the board later and calmly encourages Sofia to continue. This *negative identity work* reinstates Sofia's right to negotiate the development of the less dominant language within her linguistic identity without receiving derision that might affect her positive evaluation of her dominant Spanish linguistic identity. The strategy is effective and she finishes her paragraph strongly.

6.3 Code-Switching

Though Ms. Martin utilized code-switching much less than I expected during the time I observed, it was nonetheless an important feature of classroom interaction style. Ms. Martin code-switched only twice during learning activities in the five hours of data collected, once when confirming a student's answer and once when requesting a task from the group. Both times were so brief they were almost easily overlooked. However, on closer inspection, they complete important interaction work in the classroom.

The first time Ms. Martin code-switched was during a class group exercise on cause and effect on a short reading about a boy who fell down a hill. When a student answers a question with a common Spanish-English bilingual tense error, *s*-deletion in English present tense, Ms. Martin provides the proper tense marker in her use of scaffolding in repeating the student's answer. However, when many of the students begin to clamor about the answer to another of Ms. Martin's questions, she herself makes use of the same kind of non-target tense disagreement as her students.

6.0

Ms. Martin: "So, Moby skates down a hill. Moby skates over a rock. Next, what happens?"

Student: "Moby trips and fall!"

Ms. Martin: "Moby trips and falls. And last?"

Student: "Moby hurts both knees!"

Ms. Martin: "Moby hurts both knees."

[*Other students get excited, begin answering at random, "I said that/it!"*]

Ms. Martin: "Yes, Moby hurts his knees because he tripped and fall!"

We see that when Ms. Martin is attempting to manage a rowdy group of students, she switches, or code-mixes, and uses a more common feature of Hispanized English, non-standard verb conjugation. The *negative identity work* completed here is subtle, but impactful. To facilitate the completion of the learning activity, Ms. Martin utilizes code-mixes that include influences of the students' L1 and garner their attention. Though this is a very slight switch from the target standard English to more common features of non-standard English dialects, it accomplishes valuation of those codes which contributes to *negative identity work*. By utilizing code-switches into Hispanized English, Ms. Martin provides validation for the code within the classroom through her authority as teacher. This establishment of linguistic capital for a typically lower hierarchically ranked code supports the students' negative faces, and through this, bolsters their confidence in their complete linguistic identities.

While Ms. Martin did not switch frequently, her students code-switched quite a bit during class, mostly when answering a question and incompletely translating their answers to English. A few of her students often made the same switch with *s*-deletion on present tense that she made once herself. During the group task of answering reading questions about the story *A Bird Named Fern*, one of the students used the common Hispanized-English tense variant in his answer to Ms. Martin.

8.0

Ms. Martin: "So what did she do? Didn't she say something about being tired?"

José: "She rest."

Ms. Martin: "José? José, what did she do?"

José: "She rest."

Ms. Martin: "And what happened when she went to lay on the bed?"

Though Ms. Martin does not copy her student's usage as she did in the prior examples, she also does not acknowledge Jose's switch with any corrective feedback. She accepts his answer and moves on to asking the next question before transitioning into target word group spelling tasks on the board. Again, during the next student's answer, code-switching occurs and Ms. Martin responds similarly.

9.0

Ms. Martin: "Ok, the next word. Juana? Spell it for us, Juana."

Juana: "T-h-r-o-u-g-h."

Ms. Martin: "What's the word, everybody?"

Most students: "Through!"

Jose: "Por- through!"

Ms. Martin: "Yes. Excellent."

When Jose responds to Ms. Martin's question with the Spanish word for the target *through*, Ms. Martin smiles and nods while affirming the class response, "through." Once again, she does not use corrective language or verbally acknowledge or bring attention to Jose's switch. The *negative identity work* in this passive acceptance of Hispanized-English codes in the classroom also provides support to the students' positive faces by preventing the possibility of negative-self image from missing the target English answers in front of the entire class.

Ms. Martin only begins to call attention to students' switches when or if they interfere with the target task at hand. For example, when a student spells a target word with Spanish phonetics.

10.0

Ms. Martin: "Our second high-frequency word. Let's listen to the spelling."

Computer: "C-l-i-m-b."

Ms. Martin: "Let's listen to it in a sentence"

Computer: "The cat will climb another tree."

Ms. Martin: "Yvette, spell it for us. How do you spell it, Yvette?"

Yvette: "C-l-e-m-b."

Ms. Martin: "Say it again?"

Yvette: "C-l-e-"

Ms. Martin: "-i-"

Yvette: "-i-"

Ms. Martin: "Look at it as you spell it."

Yvette: "-m-b."

Ms. Martin: "-b. Okay, what's the word?"

Class: "Climb!"

In this example, Yvette makes a similar switch to the one Michael made when pronouncing 'girl' during reading time. As she writes on the board, she uses the correct letters in spelling the word 'climb.' However, as she orally spells it, Yvette uses the Spanish [i] for the English [ai] in saying the letters. First, Ms. Martin asks Yvette to repeat her answer, assessing Yvette's ZPD. With this question she also performs *positive identity work* by saving Yvette from embarrassment via negative corrective feedback in front of her peers. When Yvette once again repeats the same answer, Ms. Martin supplies the target English vowel without negative corrective language. Yvette realizes her switch, and completes the target, pushing past the ZPD. Thus, using *positive identity work*, Ms. Martin is able to both save Yvette's confidence in her linguistic abilities and help her develop them further. Later, when Yvette reads the word "*feathers*" with Spanish pronunciation as [fjuθəz], Ms. Martin once again supplies the target pronunciation but does not comment upon Yvette's switch with negative corrective language. Yvette continues on, re-pronouncing *feathers* and reading an entire paragraph of the group story flawlessly.

Another instance of Ms. Martin's acknowledgement of student code-switching without negative corrective language was during SAT sentence time on the reading carpet. The students are having difficulty with identifying a picture of a needle. Ms. Martin begins to give hints about putting a thread through the hole when Isabella jumps in to answer the question.

11.0

Isabella: "Oh, oh! I know! You get the *ropa* and you take the-"

Ms. Martin: "You get clothes?"

Isabella: "Yeah! And you go like this and this." [*Making sewing motions with her hands*]

Ms. Martin: "Right. It's called sewing."

When Ms. Martin notices that Isabella has code-switched in her excitement to answer, she quickly rephrases her answer as a question with the English target embedded. Because Ms. Martin has phrased her interjection as a calm question with positive corrective scaffolding and avoided the use of negative corrective language, Isabella's enthusiasm to answer the question is not diminished and she continues to answer correctly. This highlights both *positive* and *negative identity work* as Ms. Martin does not threaten Isabella's positive perception of her linguistic abilities or take away from the class the freedom to negotiate between codes and bilingual linguistic identity.

While there were quite a few other examples of student code-switching or mixing during learning activities, perhaps the most interesting instances of code-switching were Ms. Martin's during non-learning activities in the classroom. During class in the morning, Yvette and Marisol experience a small disagreement over a special eraser Yvette brought to school. Yvette allows Marisol to borrow it for a few minutes but wants it back despite Marisol's unwillingness. Ms. Martin quickly tells Marisol she must return it and class resumes as normal. However, at the end of first period, Yvette approaches Ms. Martin to complain that Marisol has once again borrowed her eraser, this time without asking.

12.0

Yvette: "She won't give it. I didn't let her have it this time."

Ms. Martin: "Marisol, did you take Yvette's eraser? ¡Tienes que pedir permiso y no sólo tomar." (You need to ask permission and not just take.)

[*Marisol hands over the eraser*]

Ms. Martin: "Okay? So what do you need to say? Sorry?"

Marisol: "Sorry..."

Ms. Martin: "Okay, we're all friends."

[*Yvette and Marisol nod*]

The switch to the girls' L1 calls their attention to what Ms. Martin is trying to accomplish with the interaction by specifically setting off her reprimand to Marisol using metaphorical code-switching. While not a classroom interaction surrounding learning activities, the switch made by Ms. Martin here completes important *negative identity work*. By using Spanish in a situation which calls for her authority, Ms. Martin validates Spanish as a code with linguistic capital in her classroom. Ms. Martin also creates a situational switch with her usage of Spanish, marking that now Spanish, English, or code-switching may be used in this period of the school day.

There were two other instances of non-learning activity code-switching by Ms. Martin captured during my five hours of observation. Both instances were interactions between Ms. Martin and two separate teachers who entered the classroom to ask her questions. The first occurrence was the Assistant Principal, Ms. Octala, entering the classroom to ask a question in Spanish about one of Ms. Martin's students who still needed to complete a section of State testing. Ms. Martin replies in kind in Spanish that she will send the student down to the office after lunch. Ms. Octala thanks her and says hello to me in Spanish. The second occurrence was a brief question from a fellow teacher who came in to ask in Spanish about Teacher Preparation Day the following day. Ms. Martin responds to her question, telling her that she isn't sure, and the interaction is complete, entirely in Spanish.

During both of these situational code-switching exchanges, the students in Ms. Martin's class are privy to the teacher's use of Spanish as Ms. Martin does not step outside the classroom to address either speaker. Rather, her situational code-switching marks the conversations as non-classroom activities. Though not a classroom interaction that directly involves them, these two switches during English class complete further *negative identity work* to validate Spanish codes and provide linguistic capital to all of the codes which comprise the bilingual students' linguistic identities.

6.4 Intonation

While a notably smaller section than that of scaffolding or code-switching, the *positive* and *negative identity work* accomplished by Ms. Martin through intonation and accent is not to be trivialized. Ms. Martin's use of intonation, the manner in which she adjusts her way of speaking to convey attitude towards the codes present in the classroom, invited the students to feel that their Spanish linguistic identities were welcome. Though my observations were during English class, Ms. Martin's efforts to include the Spanish linguistic identities of her students could be seen in her consistent pronunciation of each student's name with the correct Spanish accent.

Most of the students in the class had very culturally Hispanic names. Each time Ms. Martin called upon a student it almost sounded like a code-switch in the classroom with the dramatic shift in rhythmicity and tone. Ms. Martin took care to follow Spanish stress and accent marks when saying her students' names. By avoiding Anglicized pronunciations of names like Jasmin, Isabella, Maria, Ms. Martin engaged the students' Spanish linguistic identities through Spanish accent, vowel, and consonant qualities. [ɪzəbɛlə] is said [isəbɛlə], [dʒæzmɪn] becomes [jɔsmɪn], and [məɪiə] is pronounced [maria]. The manner in which Ms. Martin puts emphasis on using the correct Spanish accent calls attention to the intonation and *positive identity work* she is doing. Her appreciation for the cultural identity behind the names of her students creates an inclusive atmosphere that shelters their linguistic identities. Furthermore, there is *negative identity work* completed by doing this amidst the English lesson she is teaching, providing a space for the Hispanic side of their linguistic identities in a space where they are often marginalized in the shadow of English linguistic capital in the wider world arena.

This is perhaps even more apparent when she pronounces the few names that are not etymologically Hispanic. A very pertinent example is the case of the student I call Michael. While many teachers might use the common pronunciation [maɪkəl], Ms. Martin pronounces Michael's name [mikaɪɛl]. Another example is the pronunciation of Samantha as [samanθə] instead of the more Anglicized [səmænθə]. Using Spanish stress and accent rules on non-hispanic names, Ms. Martin reinforces the validity of Spanish linguistic identity in the classroom. By choosing to use the Spanish pronunciation over the Anglicized, Ms. Martin gives higher linguistic capital to the normally lower capital holding Spanish codes, performing strong *negative identity work*.

Additionally, Ms. Martin completed a great amount of both *positive* and *negative identity work* in her employment of intonation to control potential moments of Hispanic identity marginalization in her classroom. For example, by using contrastive intonation during Michael's difficulty with

reading (2.0-3.0), she establishes that she strongly disapproves of students demeaning other students for the usage of Spanish or difficulty in acquiring the English skill at hand. By admonishing the students with harsh, corrective intonation (3.0) in her reminder that Michael used the correct strategy in sounding out his words, her positive, approving intonation with complimenting Michael on his good work stands out strongly.

7.0 Discussion

During my observations in Ms. Martin's classroom, it was very apparent that the finely detailed identity work she completed was highly effective in supporting bilingual student success. Her dedicated usage of scaffolding, code-switching, and intonation combined to produce *positive* and *negative identity work* which created a safe environment for the students to negotiate and fully develop their linguistic identities. As previously reviewed, this is characteristic of the most successful academic programs for language minority students (Lucas, Henze, and Donato 1990). Ms. Martin's pedagogical respect and interaction with both Spanish and English codes during English class allows her multilingual students to activate all of the linguistic resources at their disposal. This holistic approach is highly praised in current research trends (Cenoz & Gorter 2011; Cenoz 2013; Soltero-Gonzalez, Escamilla & Hopewell 2012) as it teaches students to use their meta-linguistic knowledge cross-linguistically. Thus, students are encouraged to transfer and develop skills in all of the codes comprising their linguistic identities.

The total inclusion and maintenance of students' linguistic identities which Ms. Martin displays inspires a strong sense of confidence within her language learners in their own abilities. The students obtain a sense of belonging and belief in their linguistic competence through her inclusive multilingual practices. This assists in 'shaping' their identities in a way that positions them as strong speakers with linguistic capital (Yoon 2004: 203), which then translates into the fervor with which they approach their learning tasks. Next, we will take a deeper look into how *positive* and *negative identity work* specifically assist in the creation of Ms. Martin's successful bilingual classroom.

7.1 Positive Identity Work

Within her classroom, Ms. Martin creates a site apart from the social hierarchy of linguistic capital that students experience outside of school. As Miller (2004) states, schools can often be sites of representation where language minority students struggle to receive the capital to be considered authorized members of the 'mainstream,' legitimate speakers of English (295). However, Ms. Martin's *positive identity work* strategies ensure that students understand their bilingual linguistic identities as positive images that are appreciated and desirable. For example, Ms. Martin's scaffolding-based classroom interaction-style prevents identity-threatening frustration during High Challenge (Michell & Sharpe 2005) learning activities.

When Michael struggles with reading tasks in front of the class (1.0-3.0), his linguistic identity is vulnerable to the criticisms and irritation of his peers, much like his linguistic capital is vulnerable as a Spanish-English bilingual within social hierarchy outside the classroom. If unchecked, his classmates sneers and boredom with his difficulty during the group task could

prevent him from crossing his ZPD, making the learning goal impossible. Should that happen, it could further damage his linguistic identity if he views his linguistic competence as less than that of his peers. We see this with Sofia's reading task (5.0) when Ms. Martin notices Sofia's attention and confidence wane as her classmates become restless during her hardship with her assigned paragraph. However, utilizing combined scaffolding for Michael & Sofia with corrective intonation towards the other students, Ms. Martin is able to provide the High-Support necessary to bring her students out of the anxiety and frustration zone. With the dispensed lexical items and structured questions she supplies, Michael and Sofia are able to bridge their reading ZPD, completing the learning goal. Even more importantly for their future development, with Ms. Martin's verbal support of their efforts in her negative intonation towards the restless students, Michael and Sofia are able to develop confidence in their linguistic competence which allows them to pursue and accomplish their next tasks successfully.

Yoon explains that this is because students linguistic skills are shaped into strong linguistic identities by teachers whose pedagogy is consistently multicultural by accepting rather than rejecting linguistic differences (2004: 203). Where ELL students can often feel like what Yoon calls 'uninvited guests' in the mainstream English classroom, *positive identity work* like that of Ms. Martin displayed in this research combat the exclusive linguistic hierarchy many ELL students feel in academia. Much like her scaffolding successes, Ms. Martin's code-switching and intonation interaction styles incorporate all codes that comprise her students' linguistic identities in an inclusive pedagogy which fosters bilingual success. When Jose, Yvette, and Isabella fall back on their Spanish linguistic skills during their tasks (8.0-11.0), Ms. Martin does not use corrective language that would make the students feel their Spanish identity was unwelcome in the classroom. Instead, she helps the students connect their language skills by not overtly acknowledging their switches, but using them to gauge the students' ZPD. Then, by using rephrasing and repetitive questioning, she helps the students to complete the task with almost full agency and minimal lexical item supply. Thus, she provides passive positive support of the students Spanish linguistic identity while using it to help them form stronger English competence and confident identities, leading the students to positive perceptions of their full linguistic identities.

Furthermore, her use of intonation creates a pattern that "surreptitiously achieve(s) particular social goals" (Morgan 1997: 436). By consistently pronouncing students' names with the correct Spanish accent and stress, she subliminally invites the Spanish side of the students' linguistic identities and keeps it engaged during what is normally perceived as an "English Only" exclusionary environment. By doing this, she shapes the classroom site of representation with *positive identity work* into one where students may individually feel appreciated and approved of by the holder of linguistic authority. This in turn supports and strengthens the linguistic capital of the students. Through this, students can achieve and maintain positive self-images that will provide confidence in the face of High-Challenge ELL tasks.

Thus, we see that Ms. Martin's *positive identity work* through scaffolding, code-switching, and intonation practices work together to assist students in establishing positive face and linguistic identities. By utilizing scaffolding when students reach the ZPD, Ms. Martin prevents normal language learner difficulties from becoming identity threatening struggles in front of peers. By using students' code-switches, Ms. Martin simultaneously assesses students' ZPDs and

negotiates the interactional development between their languages towards a strong, unified linguistic identity. Finally, by utilizing Spanish accent and stress in her intonation style Ms. Martin connects the two strategies, reinforcing a positive image of Spanish-English bilingual identity for each of her students.

7.2 Negative Identity Work

While *positive identity work* helps students to strengthen their linguistic identities through the construction of greater confidence in their linguistic abilities, *negative identity work* constructs a space within the classroom where multilingual students have a right to be recognized as a community of speakers with linguistic capital and competence. This work is critical for the efficacy of dual immersion classroom. As Fishman noted (2004), symbolic protection of linguistic capital provided by a classroom being classified as “bilingual” does not ensure the success of bilingual students. Rather, the full linguistic repertoire of students must be actively valued and engaged in efforts to raise the linguistic capital of the codes that comprise their linguistic identities. Ms. Martin’s *negative identity work* creates a site of representation out of the classroom where students can achieve equal linguistic capital. By both allowing and using code-switching within the classroom, Ms. Martin prevents students from feeling that their Spanish linguistic identities are excluded from the English classroom and places valuation on Spanish linguistic capital with her code-attitude. This atmosphere neutralizes the social diglossic stratification that students are likely used to outside the classroom, producing a site where the students and teacher work together to negotiate equitable capital between the codes that comprise the students’ identities.

Where scaffolding and code-switching were predominantly responsible for *positive identity work*, code-switching and intonation are primarily involved in *negative identity work*. Utilizing these classroom interaction styles, Ms. Martin is able to give power and capital to the Spanish linguistic identities in the room while focusing on English skills and practice. By using intonation in corrective language to admonish the students for interrupting group learning tasks (2.0, 3.0, 5.0), she actively prevents the students’ derision from separating the struggling member or treating him/her less importantly and threatening that student’s identity. For example, when Sofia becomes more and more timid and frustrated in her reading task as students around her become restless and even condescending towards her efforts, Ms. Martin’s use of corrective language and intonation to express disapproval reestablishes Sofia’s competence and right to negotiate between her metalinguistic skills in each language to complete the task. Halliday (1985: 58-60) explains that this is due to the dynamics of intonation, within which new introductions of or changes in intonation “defines the environment afresh.” Ms. Martin uses intonation in this manner to redefine the environment for Michael as well when he struggles with pronouncing ‘girl’ and she forcefully shushes the students whispering answers impatiently. Following, she immediately provides affirmation through her intonation in complimenting Michael on his efforts. Thus, we see that she uses *negative identity work* to create a site where the use of multiple inputs from bilingual linguistic identities is a valid tool and is established as a freedom that should not be infringed upon in the classroom.

Similarly, her use of intonation with the correct Spanish stress and accent on students' names verbally solidifies the classroom line as positive towards both Spanish and English aspects of the bilingual students' linguistic identities. Because intonation reflects the meaning and perception of social relationships of the speaker (Morgan 1997: 434), Ms. Martin's constant effort as the figure of authority to use authentic Spanish pronunciations within English class establishes an inclusive appreciation for Spanish linguistic identity, particularly as this places Spanish pronunciation above the Anglicized variant in some cases. With this line set, each time Ms. Martin employs her pattern of correct Spanish pronunciation, attention is directed towards this inclusive Spanish linguistic appreciation through the 'friction' between the "text and context and within the larger context of culture," which in this case is the Spanish stress and accent within the larger context of English class. Her intonation transforms the "prior norms" in the social-linguistic hierarchy of Spanish holding less linguistic capital than English into an equal linguistic community of practice within the classroom.

Ms. Martin's code-switching reinforces her *negative identity work* in another manner. As the teacher, it is established that she is the authorized speaker and judge of language use in the classroom. With this authorization, when she uses Spanish switches or code-mixes to gain students' attention, she gives those codes authority as well. The events between Marisol and Yvette (12.0) highlight this well. When Ms. Martin gives behavioral correction, "*¡Tienes que pedir permiso y no sólo tomar/You need to ask permission and not just take,*" to Marisol in Spanish, she uses Spanish as a language of power through her authority as teacher. Ms. Martin's usage of Spanish-English code-mixes when she is providing instructions or trying to gain the classes attention (6.0) also show Spanish as a language of instruction, which is equitable to an increase in linguistic capital as well. This authority is further enforced by her Spanish switches when other teachers enter the classroom. By using Spanish with other members of authority within the school, the students see their L1 with elevated linguistic capital, producing *negative identity work* in their strengthened right to view the Spanish codes within their linguistic identity as fully competent and of value.

The work done by these larger switches is furthered strengthened by the smaller but valuable instances where Ms. Martin allows students to use Spanish code-switches themselves. Just as the allowance of code-switching to negotiate meaning during learning tasks assists students in feeling like their Spanish is valued during *positive identity work*, the same process reinforces for students the right or freedom that they have to utilize their full linguistic tool box in English class. For example, Ms. Martin's interaction with Isabella during the lesson concerning sewing (11.0). When Isabella switches and uses '*ropa,*' the Spanish word for 'clothes,' in her excitement to answer, Ms. Martin avoids corrective language and merely rephrases Isabella's answer as an English question in an adaption of code-switching. Here, she checks to make sure the class knows the English target is 'clothes' but also avoids taking any freedom or capital away from the usage of Spanish to negotiate meaning in the lesson.

Hence, we see that through intonation and code-switching, Ms. Martin is able to complete *negative identity work* which supplements or even creates linguistic capital for the entirety of students' linguistic identities, even in the absence of social linguistic capital for some codes outside the classroom. The teacher's employment of Spanish in conversations of authority builds confidence for students in the linguistic value of their full repertoire of codes. Likewise, her

consistent usage of corrective and complimentary intonation during the interruption of linguistic negotiation during learning exercises allows students to build confidence in their cross-linguistic abilities and prevents social marginalization of Spanish linguistic capital from entering the classroom. Her *negative identity work* clears a space in the classroom where Spanish codes are also languages of privilege, and the usage of Spanish is not looked down upon or infringed.

8.0 Conclusion

Throughout my observations with Ms. Martin's classroom, this study's hypothesis that positive response to the elements of Hispanic linguistic identity in the classroom results in continual student output in either Spanish or English is confirmed. With her *positive* and *negative identity work*, Ms. Martin assisted her students in the formation and maintenance of linguistic identities that can withstand ELL frustrations through to academic success. This is especially made clear with Le Page and Tabouret-Keller's explanation of identity as a two-fold concept, the definition of self and the definition of belonging to a larger entity. Looking through this, we see how the entirety of students' linguistic identities are fully supported through a teacher's usage of *positive* and *negative identity work*. Ms. Martin's *positive identity work* allowed students to use their own individual cross-linguistic skills to cross their ZPD and achieve confidence in their competence and pride in their linguistic identity. Through her *negative identity work*, the students were made to feel that all the codes which comprised their identity had equal capital and work within their academic experience, providing the group with a site of representation which was free from the pressure to marginalize their Spanish linguistic identity in order to maximize their English identity. With these classroom interactional styles, Ms. Martin's Dual Immersion classroom combats what Yoon calls "American monoculturalism" in the classroom and the rendering of power to one set of linguistic codes of the other.

Furthermore, it is apparent that the teacher's pedagogical strategy of refraining from corrective language during the usage of Spanish codes or identity in the classroom is a dual immersion interaction style with positive impact on language learning. The data presented in this study suggests that by replacing corrective language -which excludes elements of Hispanic linguistic identity- with scaffolding, code-switching, and intonation strategies, the teacher can guide students to their ZPD and successful acquisition of language skills without threatening their linguistic identities. We see this in how though Ms. Martin used corrective language only to admonish students who disrupted class activities, her students accomplished their lessons while utilizing elements of both Spanish and English with cross-linguistic development in reading skills across both languages. Thus, this discourse characteristic of teacher-student interactions in dual immersion classrooms appears to have positive impact upon students' language learning.

It is clear that more investigation is necessary to establish the direct influences from the strategies of scaffolding, code-switching, and intonation in *positive* and *negative identity work* upon the academic progress of bilingual students in dual immersion classrooms. Future research should look into the impact of the pedagogical strategies displayed by the data on students' grades and academic accomplishments in comparison to bilingual students in non-dual immersion programs. Additionally, contrastive analysis between classrooms like Ms. Martin's and classrooms with strong English Only interaction styles should be completed to assess the

depth of impact of the styles presented in this research. However, from an observational standpoint, this study provides some confirmation that interactional styles within the classroom which place strong valuation on all aspects of students' linguistic identities can be successful in keeping students engaged and on-task in learning experiences.

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10.0 Appendix A

Lucas, Henze, & Donato's (1990) *Features of High Schools that Promote the Achievement of Language-Minority Students*

TABLE 1 <i>Features of High Schools that Promote the Achievement of Language-Minority Students</i>	
1. Value is placed on the students' languages and cultures by:	
	Treating students as individuals, not as members of a group
	Learning about students' cultures
	Learning students' languages
	Hiring bilingual staff with similar cultural backgrounds to the students
	Encouraging students to develop their primary language skills
	Allowing students to speak their primary languages except when English development is the focus of instruction or interactions
	Offering advanced as well as lower division content courses in the students' primary languages
	Instituting extracurricular activities that will attract LM students
2. High expectations of language-minority students are made concrete by:	
	Hiring minority staff in leadership positions to act as role models
	Providing a special program to prepare LM students for college
	Offering advanced and honors bilingual/sheltered classes in content areas
	Making it possible for students to exit ESL programs quickly
	Challenging students in class and providing guidance to help them meet the challenge
	Providing counseling assistance (in the primary language if necessary) to help students apply to college and fill out scholarship and grant forms
	Bringing in representatives of colleges and minority graduates who are in college to talk to students
	Working with parents to gain their support for students going to college
	Recognizing students for doing well
3. School leaders make the education of language-minority students a priority. These leaders:	
	Hold high expectations of LM students
	Are knowledgeable of instructional and curricular approaches to teaching LM students and communicate this knowledge to staff
	Take a strong leadership role in strengthening curriculum and instruction for all students, including LM students
	Are often bilingual minority-group members themselves
	Hire teachers who are bilingual and/or trained in methods for teaching LM students
4. Staff development is explicitly designed to help teachers and other staff serve language-minority students more effectively. Schools and school districts:	
	Offer incentives and compensation so that school staff will take advantage of available staff development programs
	Provide staff development for teachers and other school staff in:
	—effective instructional approaches to teaching LM students, e.g., cooperative learning methods, sheltered English, and reading and writing in the content areas
	—principles of second-language acquisition
	—the cultural backgrounds and experiences of the students
	—the languages of the students
	—cross-cultural communication
	—cross-cultural counseling

Lucas, Henze, & Donato's (1990) *Features of High Schools that Promote the Achievement of Language-Minority Students* (Continued)

TABLE 1 <i>Continued</i>	
5. <i>A variety of courses and programs for language-minority students is offered.</i> The programs:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Include courses in ESL and primary language instruction (both literacy and advanced placement) and bilingual and sheltered courses in content areas Insure that the course offerings for LM students do not limit their choices or trap them in low-level classes by offering advanced as well as basic courses taught through bilingual and sheltered methods Keep class size small (20-25 students) in order to maximize interaction Establish academic support programs that help LM students make the transition from ESL and bilingual classes to mainstream classes and prepare them to go to college
6. <i>A counseling program gives special attention to language-minority students</i> through counselors who:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Speak the students' languages and are of the same or similar cultural backgrounds Are informed about post-secondary educational opportunities for LM students Believe in, emphasize, and monitor the academic success of LM students
7. <i>Parents of language-minority students are encouraged to become involved in their children's education.</i> Schools can provide and encourage:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Staff who can speak the parents' languages On-campus ESL classes for parents Monthly parents' nights Parent involvement with counselors in planning their children's course schedules Neighborhood meetings with school staff Early morning meetings with parents Telephone contacts to check on absent students
8. <i>School staff members share a strong commitment to empower language-minority students through education.</i> This commitment is made concrete through staff who:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Give extra time to work with LM students Take part in a political process that challenges the status quo Request training of various sorts to help LM students become more effective Reach out to students in ways that go beyond their job requirements, for example, by sponsoring extra-curricular activities Participate in community activities in which they act as advocates for Latinos and other minorities