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Second Language Socialization in Adolescence: Exploring Multiple Trajectories

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Recent L2 socialization literature records are both relatively smooth and problematic socialization trajectories. Bayley and Langman (2011) outlined a call for future research allowing for a stronger understanding of how continuity and change in cultural contexts occurs, and how multilingual/ multicultural individuals experience and choose various socialization paths. This paper addresses this call by re-considering the concept of expert through an examination of the interlocking communities of practice that may exist within a single classroom. Drawing on ethnographic and discourse data from a secondary science classroom made up of both monolinguals and English language learners, we examine the ways in which the teacher and students articulate the roles of expert and novice in contexts where immigrant students from a variety of countries and language backgrounds come together with a teacher to negotiate an understanding of the complex and multiply interpretable task of ‘doing American schooling.’

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INTRODUCTION

Recent literature on second language socialization records both relatively smooth and also problematic socialization trajectories. Bayley and Langman (2011) outlined a call for future research that would allow for a stronger understanding of how *continuity and change in cultural contexts occur*, and how *multilingual/multicultural individuals experience and choose various socialization paths*. Drawing on Duff (2008) such paths include “resistance, the transgression of norms, incomplete reproduction or attainment of demonstrated norms, or the development of hybridized (syncretic) or multiple codes/practices, subject positions, and cultures” (p. 110).

This paper addresses this call by reconsidering the concept of expert through an examination of the interlocking communities of practice that may exist within a single classroom and the multiple roles participants in such classrooms play. By complexifying the concept of the community, we may be able to further understand how individuals negotiate among various identities as they proceed along uneven and multidirectional trajectories of socialization.

This paper draws empirical data from a secondary science classroom, with the aim of examining the complexity of socialization practices in the case of multilingual youth presented with multiple potential socialization paths. More particularly, we examine the ways in which the teacher and students articulate the roles of expert and novice in contexts where recent immigrant students come together with a teacher to negotiate an understanding of the complex and multiply interpretable set of tasks associated with ‘doing American schooling,’ and the concomitant multiple identities including such identities as good student, good language learner, cool kid, *pocho*, and *Cumbia King*.

Drawing on ethnographic and discourse data, we examine the role of power and agency as it emerges from a close examination of interactions in the classroom. Through this examination, we further explore how the classroom site is conceptualized by both teacher and students in terms of multiple communities with multiple and often contradictory norms and practices, and how over time, participants shape a position within this complex community.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The (second) language socialization paradigm allows for a careful examination of how “linguistic and cultural knowledge are *constructed* through each other,” (Watson-Gegeo & Nielsen, 2003, p. 165, drawing on Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986), by paying close attention to linguistic forms. It further focuses on the view that language-acquiring children and adults “are active and selective agents in both processes” (ibid., p. 165) acquiring identit(ies) in contexts through practices. The second language socialization literature can accomplish a fine-grained examination of multiple identity practices due to its “*close attention to the linguistic forms* that are used to socialize children and other novices into expected roles and behaviors” (Kulick & Schieffelin, 2004, p. 360), as well as those

linguistic forms that ‘novices’ employ as they interact “in a *reciprocal process*, one in which they *actively co-construct their socialization*” (Cole & Zuengler, 2003, p. 112).

Much second language socialization research situated in the classroom focuses on socialization into academic exchanges/events, grounded in an examination of teacher-student interactions and their effect on the development of practices and associated subjectivities central to the classroom. Some work also examines how socialization practices in the classroom extend to practices individuals can employ beyond the classroom. For example, Duff (2010) provides a useful outline of types of language functions and associated language, ranging from language-focused exchanges that center on academic vocabulary for example, extending to curriculum/content focused exchanges, management exchanges, and communicative exchanges – thereby showing the connections between socialization patterns useful for learners only in classroom settings to those (communicative exchanges) that align with communication practices outside of school.

The concept of multi-directionality, as opposed to uni-directionality, provides a flexible view on various identity practices, as well as the ways in which they are evaluated. This idea is related to a view that argues that “communication, including the instructional conversation of the classroom . . . and the *learning development* that emerges from it, arise in the coming-together of people with identities (which entail more than simply whether one is a native speaker), histories and linguistic resources constructed in those histories” (Dunn & Lantolf, 1998, p. 427). As such, socialization involves not only development of practices but also the affective stances one may have towards those practices and the identities that these practices enact (Duff, 2010).

A range of studies in the high school setting have investigated identities and socialization trajectories of ESL students focusing on the ESL classrooms (Talmy, 2008; Harklau, 2000, 2003) expanding beyond the classroom to the broader school context in which ELLs often retain identities as ESL students, negatively viewed by others in the school context. With the addition of a focus on unsuccessful trajectories of socialization for youth who find themselves in new contexts, often not of their own choosing, the second language socialization literature considers a range of expert/novice relationships. Čekaitė (2007) suggests that we should expect neither unilinear development to full participation nor unidirectional development of a single unified learner identity. Rather, we should consider socialization as a series of positionalities tied to the interactional practices the learner engages in, based in part of the learner’s growing facility with employing new interactional strategies in specific contexts. Drawing on these insights, we can examine the ways in which different positionalities can place students in both expert and novice positions at the same time in the classroom.

Cole and Zuengler (2003) outline four positionalities (identities) shared, constructed or resisted by students in their work in high school science classrooms:

- 1) The “good student” vs. “not good enough student” identity
- 2) The “scientist-researcher” identity
- 3) The ghetto or poor performance “Jefferson High School” identity
- 4) The “child labor” identity (pp. 104-109)

They further argue that multiple identities are present, constructed, or resisted in the classroom, and . . . *these identities can be foregrounded or backgrounded in the moment-to-*

moment interactions of any class period” (Cole & Zuengler, 2003, pp. 109-110). These studies show how the same identity can be ‘coded,’ that is, evaluated differently in different contexts. Researchers have yet to examine how the same context may lend itself to different linguistic behaviors, linked to differently evaluated identities. *Co-construction* of identities occurs on multiple planes within the classroom environment, planes that align with teachers’ curricular and content goals, as well as those that align with recent immigrant students’ needs to create practicable and acceptable identities and relationships for themselves.

In considering socialization practices, another important distinction particularly apt in classroom contexts is that between implicit and explicit socialization. Explicit socialization refers to activities, language forms, practices that are stated clearly, such as ‘we raise our hands to ask for a turn to talk.’ That is explicit socialization spells out the ‘rules’ or ‘norms’ of expectations through modeling, providing explicit feedback on activities carried out, and outlining clear expectations. Explicit socialization is akin to “conscious instruction, coaching or feedback” (Duff, 2010, p. 434). In contrast, implicit socialization does not involve drawing attention to the normative behaviors. As Duff (2010) points out, “when the socialization is more implicit than explicit, novices are left to infer and internalize, on their own, normative behaviors, norms, and values that they encounter...”(p. 435) and they may not accurately ‘read’ the relationship between overt practices and their function within the community. Duff (2010) further suggests that implicit socialization may not be a “generally *adequate* form of socialization, for several reasons: (1) people may not actually *notice* certain important aspects of linguistic form and interaction and will carry on in ways that are not considered appropriate or target like and they may be stigmatized by their behaviors ... as a result; (2) they may internalize some but not all of the required target practices; and (3) they may never understand the reasons underlying particular practices” (p. 435).

Another way of examining this difference is in terms of different contexts envisioned by participants within a classroom context, as for example Da Silva Iddings (2005). Da Silva Iddings uses a community of practice approach to illustrate how students in an elementary classroom form two parallel linguistic communities that are not seen by the teacher: one of English language learners and the other of English dominant students. While for the teacher the classroom may constitute a single site, for students it constitutes a multi-sited context in which language socialization to some sets of practices may or may not take place.

Some examples of successful Communities of Practice (CofPs) that incorporate ELLs as legitimate peripheral participants (Lave & Wenger, 1991) can be found in Toohey (1996) and Haneda (2008). Toohey (1996) examines an ESL class at the kindergarten level and contrasts two members, Harvey and Amy, in terms of their participation in the classroom. She highlights how these learners are viewed differently based on the resources each brings to the classroom. Harvey is a native speaker of English, but his language expertise is not enough for him to be considered a legitimate participant in the class. Neither his teacher nor his peers perceive him as one. On the other hand, Amy, who started classes with a limited knowledge of English but knows Chinese and is adept at origami, is considered a legitimate participant in the classroom community. This study suggests how becoming a member of a

community may also rest on the resources a member can exhibit, or as Gee (2010) puts it, “in the portfolios” the learner or participant possesses.

Haneda (2008) explores how ELLs moving from a low-track English class to a non-tracked math class are challenged to succeed in classroom practices through the ways in which the teachers provide opportunities for participation. In the non-tracked math class, the teacher uses strategies which involve all students, including ELLs, to solve math problems as a group through ongoing conversations, connecting learners’ personal lives to the topic, acknowledging and using students’ contributions to develop math concepts, and using different modes of interaction (teacher-student, student-student, and student-teacher). The teacher in Haneda’s study has the same expectations for all her students, demands their best from them, and supports the students in the learning endeavor.

Connecting with the second language socialization orientation that focuses careful examination of linguistic forms and their connection to culture are recent studies that take on the concepts of transcultural flows (Pennycook 2009) and translanguaging (Garcia 2009). With these constructs, we can examine successful multilingual language use and the promotion of such use in classroom contexts (Creese & Blackledge, 2010; Canagarajah, 2011) with an eye to the multiple and often intersecting identities that youth enact. These concepts focus on disrupting notions of language by reminding us that “using a variety of languages, mixing languages together, is the norm,” (Pennycook, 2009, p. 137). By extension, we can also argue that classroom contexts are multiple contextual sites or spaces in which multiple identity practices, aligned and not aligned with sanctioned school practices, are also the norm. As Pennycook (2009) suggests, “the location of classrooms within global transcultural flows implies that they can no longer be considered as bounded sites, with students entering from fixed locations, with identities drawing on local traditions, with curricula as static bodies of knowledge” (p. 157). Rather classrooms are sites where competing ideologies and competing agencies interplay as teacher and students interpret the positions in the classroom and develop expertise in the linguistic forms that support their positions in the classroom.

Sayer (2013) illustrates one classroom where what Creese and Blackledge (2010) term a flexible bilingual pedagogy takes place. “This pedagogy adopts a translanguaging approach and is used by participants for identity performance as well as the business of language learning and teaching’ (p. 112). In the context of Room 248, Ms. Casillas’s translanguaging should be widely conceived as (1) teaching standard language forms through the vernacular, (2) using the vernacular to mediate academic content, and (3) imparting lessons that instill ethnolinguistic consciousness and pride. Translanguaging therefore describes the (hetero)languacultural practice through liminal discursive zones and contested ideologies” (p. 85). These three functions of translanguaging align with second language socialization research, focusing on connecting codes with power, teaching from social to academic, and helping to build agency in minority youth.

The current paper aligns with this recent work to explore the ELL as a competent and participating member in classroom culture, and extends the notion of agency and identity by examining the “expert socializing practices” that ELLs themselves engage in at the same time as they are practicing and being regarded as ‘novices.’ By examining both expert as

well as novice identities and practices within an individual, we can expand the concept of agency in the practice of second language socialization.

THE CASE

In this paper, we examine the contexts that ELLs invoke as they take on the role of expert within the content area classroom. We take on the concepts of implicit and explicit socialization and apply them to an examination of the types of socialization that ELLs provide one another in their development of complex identities that are responsive to the wide range of new experiences they encounter as recent immigrants in US secondary schools. In this paper we look around the edges of classroom activities that are content and curriculum-focused to the informal socialization into broader aspects of communicative exchanges in US cultures as enacted by and through recent immigrants in classroom contexts.

Through a detailed case study of a seventh grade emergent bilingual, we illustrate how, Manuel, a recent immigrant student with low proficiency in English takes on the role of expert by constructing particular contexts within the classroom where his expertise is needed. In so doing, we provide a view of an ELL employing a range of resources and engaging in a range of expert practices in the classroom while also negotiating his legitimate peripheral participation in the academic sphere of a U.S. mainstream content class. Employing a Community of Practice (CofP) framework, we investigate the ways in which Manuel, a twelve year old with limited experience in the United States and an emergent knowledge of English, serves as an expert cultural broker to socialize a more recent immigrant peer, Alfonso, to the “ways of doing school” in a new school culture. In particular, we present Manuel’s expert identity practices in his first language, Spanish, in order to uncover the “hidden” expertise or “funds of knowledge” (Vélez-Ibanez & Greenberg, 1992) recent immigrants students possess about life and school in the US, practices that are often invisible to the teacher. By looking around the margins of expected curricular classroom activities, we can examine the complex of intersecting identities an individual can practice, ranging from expert to legitimate peripheral participant to novice or marginal member of a community (Lave & Wenger, 1991; Wenger, 1998) as well as the socializing functions that participants fulfill.

THE CONTEXT

This study draws on a corpus of classroom interactions and interviews gathered over the course of one school year in a mainstream seventh grade science classroom in a Southwestern US city.¹ All but one student in the class was Latino, and the class was composed of approximately equal numbers of monolingual Spanish-speaking recent

¹ Data consist of field notes, written student work and transcripts of audio and videotaped data collected in each class period of the fall semester and monthly visits in the spring semester of 2001-2002. All names of people and places are pseudonyms.

immigrants, monolingual English speakers and bilingual students. The demographics of the classroom with 5 emergent English language learners, 7 bilinguals and 6 self-declared English monolinguals mirrors the demographics of the community in which the school is located—a traditional *barrio* in a city a few hours from the border with Mexico.

The focus of this study is Manuel, age 12, who arrived from Mexico during the summer of 2001, a few months before beginning the seventh grade. He was selected as one of the focal students of a larger study because he fulfilled the criteria of being a recent immigrant, displayed minimal English proficiency at the beginning of the school year, and appeared to be highly motivated to learn both English and science. Ms. Jackson, the science teacher, called *la miss* by the majority of the students, was a monolingual English speaker with a passion for inquiry-based science and working with language minority students. Her classroom created a community in which collaborative work, hands-on activities, and inductive laboratory practices were promoted.

For this paper, we draw on data from in-class interactions on two occasions (November 16 and November 27) and an interview in Spanish (November 16). These dates were chosen for analysis here, because they coincide with the arrival of Alfonso, a new student from Mexico and thus contain detailed interactions between Manuel and Alfonso on ‘how to do school’ and ‘how to be’ in America.

We examine how Manuel takes on the role of an expert in a variety of ways: a) by providing Spanish support to the teacher and other students on the one hand and b) by guiding a newcomer, Alfonso, to life in a U.S. classroom, on the other hand. In so doing, we uncover Manuel’s knowledge about classroom and school cultures, including knowledge about his peers’ language and cultural identities, and practices which situate him as an immigrant in the United States.

Over the course of the year, Manuel’s participation in class was generally active and engaged in the main events of the classroom. He would orient to the teacher and follow her with his eyes, as she moved through the room. He was ‘dressed for school’ with notebook out and pencil ready at the beginning of each class. These practices reflected both his experience as a student in Mexico, as well as his desire to participate in learning in his new school. This image of a school ready youth contrasts with his teacher’s view of Manuel as willing but unable to participate in school, due to his lack of English proficiency. This view was validated by the score of 1 he received on his English proficiency drawn from a standardized measure of language proficiency (LAS II):² Although ready for school, Manuel understood and spoke little to no English in class. Nonetheless, he was often observed asking for help in Spanish from his peers (Bayley, Hansen-Thomas & Langman, 2005) and always wrote something, often in Spanish in his lab notebook. In an interview, the competent side of Manuel that is invisible in class begins to emerge. In Excerpt 1, drawn from an interview in Spanish, Manuel outlines how much he understands from the teacher’s instruction.

² On a standardized measure, the LAS II (Language Assessment Scale) administered at the beginning and end of the year Manuel remained a beginner with a score of Level 1 (out of 5 levels); his raw score is actually lower at the end of the school year than at the beginning.

Excerpt 1

- 1 I Cuando la maestra dice algo en inglés ¿cuánto le entiendes?
 2 M **La entiendo más pero no tanto como mis amigos.**
 3 I Si por ejemplo la escuchas, de lo que la profesora dice ¿qué porcentaje le
 4 entiendes?
 5 M **Como el 30%.**
 (1 I When the teacher says something in English, how much do you understand her?
 2 M **I understand her more, but not as much as my friends do.**
 3 I If, for example, you listen to what she says, what percentage do you
 4 understand her?
 5 M **Like 30%.)**
 (SpInt, Nov 16, 2001)

Manuel portrays himself as a legitimate participant and a learner of English as he gauges his growing ability to understand English, which is **more** (line 2) in November than when he started school in August. He estimates his level of understanding at **30%** (line 5) but further compares himself with his friends, who understand even more than he does (line 2). In this way, he positions his friends in relation to himself in terms of their English language expert identity.

Unlike some immigrant learners who silence themselves because the language and cultural support granted are not enough to function in the new school culture, Manuel positions himself in terms of his growing proficiency and thus growing identity as a legitimate participant in the classroom. Rather than experiencing his lack of English as a form of invisibility and as a negative feature, as some students are reported to do (Valdés, 2001), Manuel's self-report indicates his awareness of blossoming as a participating member of the new community.

In addition to his evolving knowledge of English, Manuel clearly outlines his interpretation of the teacher's practices with respect to his learning. In Excerpt 2, he characterizes the features of his teacher's discourse.

Excerpt 2

- 1 I Dime ¿qué piensas de la Srta. Jackson?
 2 M Hace muchas cosas, **alza la voz** y todo. **Me aclara** cosas. **Explica** esto y otras
 3 cosas **pero no la entiendo muy bien porque ella habla inglés y yo español.**
 (1 I Tell me what you think of Ms Jackson.
 2 M She does a lot of things, **raises her voice** and everything. She **makes things**
 3 **clear** to me. She **explains** this and other things. **But I don't understand her**
 4 **very well because she speaks English, and I speak Spanish.)**
 (SpIn, Nov 16, 2001)

Manuel foregrounds his teacher's practices as oriented to supporting his learning: she does many things to **explain** or **make things clear to him** (lines 2-3) in English. However,

he stresses the lack of success of her practices, “But I don’t understand her very well” because we speak two different codes (line 3). His response indicates a respect for the teacher’s strategies and his awareness of language differences, stated as a “simple fact” of their speaking different codes.

In Excerpt 3, Manuel positions himself as a peripheral language learner, and he clearly sketches the struggles and learning strategies employed to overcome them.

Excerpt 3

- 1 I Regresemos a la escuela un poco. **¿Te has metido alguna vez en algún**
 2 **problema en el colegio?**
 3 M [Con] los exámenes.
 4 I [Con] ¿los exámenes?
 5 M **Los exámenes están en inglés. Un poco, batallo un poco. Busco**
 6 **las palabras que están en las preguntas. Y las busco en el libro.**
 (1 I Let’s go back to school a little. **Have you ever gotten into trouble at school?**
 2 M [With] tests.
 3 I [With] tests?
 4 M **Tests in English. A little, I fight with them a little. I search for the words**
 5 **that are in the questions. And I search for them.)**
 (SpIn, Nov 16, 2001)

To the question posed in line 1, learners will typically name problems with discipline, with peers, or with teachers. However, Manuel’s concern is **with tests** (line 3), particularly **with the words** he finds in them (line 6). For him processing and increasing the English vocabulary is like a “battle” and he **fighters** to learn more words so that he can perform well on tests (line 5). Manuel tries to “conquer” or appropriate the words by searching for them in his textbook.

Together Excerpts 1-3 show how Manuel forms a perspective about his relationship to school suggesting that understanding content, in this case science, means understanding the words and the language of the teacher. Excerpt 4 adds to this perspective since Manuel pinpoints how he manages to participate in class. When he is unable to follow the explanations, he knows whom he can turn to for help.

Excerpt 4

- 1 I ¿Qué haces cuando no entiendes en la clase? **¿Quién te ayuda?**
 2 M Me ayuda Annette. También Nellie. Y también mi amigo de Piedras ya que
 3 él tiene 9 años viviendo aquí.
 (1 I What do you do when you don’t understand? **Who helps you in class?**
 2 M **Annette helps me. Nellie, too. And my friend from Piedras** [a place in
 3 Mexico] since he has been living here for 9 years.)
 (SpInt, Nov 16, 2001)

After three months in this learning community, Manuel knows that not all his peers have a similar level of English or Spanish. Identifying which members are bilinguals and expert members at negotiating the content and instruction is part of his strategy for academic success. His friends, Annette, Nellie, and Big Manuel³, all bilingual, broker the class practices for and with him so that Manuel can follow the lessons and complete his assignments.

As the previous excerpts show, Manuel positions himself not as a marginal member, but rather as an active learner and participant in the school community. He gives himself credit for having started to understand English (Excerpt 1), for trying to understand what the teacher says although they use different codes (Excerpt 2), for recognizing the need to increase his vocabulary (Excerpt 3), and for knowing who to turn to for language support (Excerpt 4). These excerpts as a whole show his investment in learning English (Norton, 2000) as well as how his academic and social identities intersect to draw him into the classroom community.

For Manuel membership and identity in the classroom are tied to the degree of proficiency in both English and Spanish, in other words, being bilingual. Indeed, becoming bilingual is one of the advantages for some ELLs who attend school in the United States.

Excerpt 5

1 M Yo lo veo positivo porque **aprendo más cosas. Aprendo otro lenguaje.** Es
2 interesante. **Hablar dos idiomas**, ser bilingüe.
(SpInt, Nov 16, 2001)

1 M I see it as positive because **I learn more things. I learn another language.**
2 It is interesting **to speak two languages** and being bilingual.

In Excerpt 5, Manuel discusses how schooling in the United States is positive because he can learn **more things**, one of which is **an additional language, English** (line 1). In his view, it is interesting to have this opportunity to become bilingual, an opportunity he did not foresee in Mexico. What he might not be aware of is that to become a proficient bilingual user, he will need to be instructed in English, and that both languages will need to be nurtured.

Because Manuel possesses a strong command of Spanish and is an emergent English learner, the teacher positions him as an expert at times. He reports on how he helps Ms. Jackson when she attempts to incorporate some Spanish in her lesson.

Excerpt 6

1 M **Algunas veces**, ella [la Srta. Jackson] escribe en español, **aunque no sabe mucho.**
2 Algunas veces me pregunta, ¿cuál es la palabra en español?
(1 M **Sometimes**, she [Ms. Jackson] writes in Spanish, **although she doesn't know**
2 **much.** She **sometimes** asks me what the word in Spanish is.)
(SpInt, Nov 16, 2001)

³ Big Manuel is how he is often addressed in class to contrast him with Manuel who is addressed as Little Manuel.

By being asked some words in Spanish and by stressing that Ms. Jackson “**doesn’t know much**” (line 1), Manuel positions himself as the Spanish language expert in relation to his teacher. In turn, Ms. Jackson, **sometimes** (line 1), legitimizes this role by asking him for the word in Spanish when she teaches. Thus his linguistic expertise is an asset that occasionally serves to shift the power hierarchy between teacher and student.

All of the aforementioned practices show the extent to which Manuel’s expertise rests on his identity as a good student as well as his Spanish linguistic identity, which Ms. Jackson validates on occasions. In spite of his emerging English proficiency, he is a legitimate participant in the classroom; the teachers and a number of his classmates construct him as a learner and a follower, one who needs additional support.

Another aspect of his expert identity emerges in mid-November, when Ms. Jackson moves Manuel from a table with ‘his friends’ Nellie and Annette, to sit with Alfonso, a newcomer from Mexico. Manuel spends time during the lessons discussing a wide range of practices in America, sharing his expertise with Alfonso in primarily in Spanish with some translanguaging into English. This expertise ranges from displays of knowledge of what is going on in class, to the seemingly mundane practices of understanding class schedules, to identifying ‘people like us’ (i.e., others who speak Spanish), and to understanding broader cultural practices that differ between the United States and Mexico that characterize the immigrant experience of border crossing and identity erasure.

Just as he turns to his friends with a greater degree of English, Manuel provides Alfonso with support as he orients this newcomer to class. One crucial component of this orientation is “what to do when you don’t understand what’s going on”. As Manuel explains practices to Alfonso, he reveals as well what practices related to science lesson that he does not understand. In Excerpt 7, Manuel, at one and the same time, aligns himself with Alfonso as a newcomer and displays his emerging expert knowledge of science in English.

Excerpt 7

- 1 A fijate, eso xxx **no sé que está diciendo la maestra # no sé # no sé.**
 2 M **yo tampoco** xxx ...Yo sé *how to say rocks*.
 (1 A Look, that xxx **I don’t know what the teacher is saying # I don’t know # I don’t know.**
 2 M **Me neither** xxx ...**I know how to say rocks.**)

(In-class interaction B, Nov 27, 2001)

Manuel both addresses his lack of understanding of what the teacher is actually saying, and also demonstrates his emerging expert identity as a student by naming a concept and translanguaging when talking with Alfonso. Thus he implicitly is socializing Alfonso into practices that make it possible to participate in the lesson by providing a key concept: *yo sé how to say rocks* (line 2).

Wenger (1998) states that, “[t]he concept of practice connotes doing in a historical and social context that gives structure and meaning to what we do” (p. 47). Thus, a particular practice (for example, using English to refer to concepts such as “rocks” or “erosion” during a science class) cannot be perceived as an isolated activity but rather as a

practice that must be linked to a broader context which gives meaning and situates the practice (i.e., what language needs to be used in class to simultaneously learn about science and make jokes). Here, Manuel both exhibits his expert identity as a ‘good student,’ his ability to make jokes and maintain a positive self-identity as one who has agency in the classroom. In this way, Manuel participates in multiple identities at one time, and invokes multiple contexts – student engaging with teacher, and peer entertaining and engaging with peer.

Excerpt 8 shows the same dual stance that Manuel enacts as he discusses an assignment with the teacher and Alfonso.

Excerpt 8

- 1 T Manuel, # where’s your science fair project?
 2 M Me?
 3 BM Mine.
 4 M Oh! # Hold on, Miss # Hold on.
 5 T You gave me your research paper, but I need your procedure step by step how
 6 you will do the experiment.
 7 M Project? **yo no sé nada. No más copio todo lo que dijo a hacer.** (I don’t know
 8 anything. I only copy what you tell us to do.)
 9 T Is that what that was?

(In-class Interactions A, Nov 16, 2001)

The teacher and Manuel engage in a bilingual discussion in which Manuel attempts to follow the thread of the conversation (line 4) and explain in Spanish (line 7) his understanding of what he is required to do. The teacher tells Manuel what she expected from him: a detailed procedure for his project (lines 5 & 6). Manuel has partly produced it because he did not fully understand the task; so he just copied what the teacher told them to do. In English, he employs short utterances (lines 2 & 7) or pre-fabricated chunks (line 4). At the same time, he employs Spanish to editorialize his participation and his stance towards his work – for Alfonso’s benefit. His Spanish (line 7) may signal a way to contest what the teacher actually requested since he states that he followed what he was told to do, a display that exhibits himself to Alfonso and others that he has agency.

Moving the lens outside the classroom to the school, Manuel also socializes Alfonso into the nature of American middle school class schedules and types of courses. The following examples exhibit ways in which Manuel reconceptualizes the context of the science classroom, in which they are following an experiment, as an informal communicative context between peers. When Alfonso, looking at the schedule, asks “what’s that?” about the concept “PE” on his schedule, Manuel answers, “Educación física. Cuando fuimos al gimnasio para levantar los pies. Verdad que está difícil hacer eso.” (When we went to **the gym** to lift our feet. That’s difficult to do, isn’t it?). Manuel further explains the complexity of American schools with shifting schedules on different days (at this school called A days and B days). In Excerpt 9, Manuel and Alfonso continue talking about school routines. Although it seems that Alfonso has grasped part of the schedule, it is Manuel who

translates it for him. These exchanges also suggest that in case Alfonso misunderstands something, Manuel is there to clarify things for him.

Excerpt 9

- 1 A Y luego a mí me toca con ella # hey qué honda?# ¿na[da] más una clase me
2 toca con **usted**?
- 3 M Dos.
- 4 A **Una.**
- 5 M **Dos. Esta y la de [//] la última de ayer.**
- 6 A **Ah, sí,** pero este día # no más eso [la clase de ciencias].
- 7 M **Ah, sí, no más eso.**
- (1 A And then I have a class with her # what's going on # only one more class with
2 **you.**
- 3 M Two.
- 4 A One.
- 5 M **Two. This one and the one [//] the last one from yesterday.**
- 6 A **Yes,** but today # only this one [the science class].
- 7 M **Yes, only this one.)**

(In-class Interactions B, Nov 27, 2001)

A discussion unfolds as to how many classes Manuel and Alfonso have together (2 in total, one on A days and one on B days). As Alfonso seeks clarification, he validates Manuel's expert status. By now Manuel knows what is expected in the classroom, and Alfonso indicates his respect for this knowledge by addressing Manuel with **Usted**, the formal form of you (line 2).

In Excerpt 10, Manuel responds to Alfonso's question on his peers' resident status in the U.S. Manuel knows who are U.S. citizens, leading to a discussion of his own migration status.

Excerpt 10

- 1 M Son **Americans.**
- 2 A ¿Y eres **residente**?
- 3 M Sí, lo soy. Yo [es]toy esperando la carta de migración. Ya [es]toy listo para
4 poder pasar a Piedras, a Méjico. **No más les digo American student.** No más
5 es[toy] esperando mi residencia y le enseñó mi papel.
- (1 M They are Americans.
- 2 A And are you a resident?
- 3 M I am. I am waiting for a letter from immigration. I am ready to go to Piedras, to
4 Mexico. I only tell them "American student". I am just waiting for my green card, and
5 I show him my paper.)

(In-class interactions A, Nov 16, 2001)

Manuel displays the contrast between his friends and himself, translanguaging into English to call them *Americans*, himself an *American student* and back to explain his current status. He needs papers (such as a letter from the Immigration Office) to cross the border when he goes to Piedras (line 3) or a green card to stay in the country (line 5). When crossing, he is cognizant that he can say “American student” (line 4), and he will not experience problems in the process. In addition to the legal concerns and his understanding of border crossing protocol, Manuel also outlines other cultural changes that Alfonso will experience in the United States, such as the change in his name.

Excerpt 11

- 1 M **Aquí no se pone el nombre[apellido] de tu mamá.** En Méjico, en Piedras,
 2 **[y]o me llamaba Manuel Alejandro Robles Pérez**
 3 A ¿Y ahora?
 4 M **Manuel Robles. Aquí sí porque aquí te cambian, te quitan un nombre,**
 5 **te quitan el nombre [apellido] de tu mamá.**

(In – class interactions B, Nov 27, 2001)

- 1 M **Here [in the US] they don’t use your mother’s [last] name.**
 2 **In Mexico, I used to be called Manuel Alejandro Robles Perez.**
 3 A And now?
 4 M **Manuel Robles. Here, because here, they change your name, they take out**
 5 **a name, they take out your mother’s [last] name.**

Manuel outlines for Alfonso the naming deletion practice. **I used to be called Manuel Alejandro Robles Perez** (line 2) he states, but in the United States, he is called **Manuel Robles**. This form of identity erasure (i.e., one given name and one last name) is highlighted as a matter of fact, a common practice, and a practice that is done to you: **they change your name** (line 4). While Manuel does not seem to challenge or judge this practice, he nevertheless highlights it as a “border crossing” practice that he can explain, one that leads to partial identity erasure (Irvine & Gal, 2000).

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Through an analysis of Manuel’s discourse practices in class and in interviews, in Spanish and in English, a picture of Manuel emerges that displays him as a fully functioning member of the classroom community of practice –despite his beginning level of the English language. Taken together, Manuel’s practices demonstrate how he engages in multiple identity practices simultaneously, in a sophisticated manner, allowing him to manage both his academic and social identities, with bilingual peers who help him to follow the class (Excerpt 4), with his monolingual teacher who capitalizes on his linguistic repertoire (Excerpt 6) and who does the best she can to scaffold the class for him (Excerpt 2), and with a newcomer from Mexico who he can orient to life ‘over here, on the other side (Excerpts 8-11).

We have seen how Manuel socializes Alfonso. Manuel is still in the process of socialization and yet simultaneously takes on the role of socializer and creates a context in the classroom in which he can orient Alfonso not only to classroom curricular practices but also to broader practices that will help him to navigate the school day, his relations with other students, and his potential border crossings to home. In so doing, Manuel's knowledge about classroom and school culture, including knowledge about his peers' language and cultural identities, as well as practices that situate him as an immigrant in the US, position him as an expert. The multiplicity of identities is clear for many recent immigrants being socialized into monolingual classrooms in the US. While many studies examine how newcomers turn to their friends with a greater degree of English for support, we also see how Manuel provides Alfonso with support as he orients this newcomer to class, including how to use the linguistic resources at his disposal.

This paper and other recent work shows the need to expand the second language socialization work to examine a broad range of collaborative socialization activities that help to round out the role of the learner into an agent actively involved in multiple discursive practices linked to multiple socialization trajectories within multiple contexts at the same time.

A need for increased focus on peer-to-peer socialization has been identified in other recent work. For example, Heath and Kramsch (2004) discuss how the changing world of youth has shifted from contexts in which adults socialize youth, to a world in which the major socializing influences that occur are from youth to youth. This shift in societal practices of interaction and associated socialization presents difficulties in terms of the potential for narratives of possibility and probability to be articulated to youth.

The paper has focused on the notion of complexifying the context of school as a way of examining the multiple trajectories and multiple identities that individual students choose within such sites. Moreover, in this paper, we have examined the notion of translanguaging as a key resource for individual students who are engaged in practicing multiple social identities, as they engage not only as novices being introduced into the ways of doing school and becoming good students, but also as experts in the ways of doing schools, and being in the US.

IMPLICATIONS

In what ways can teachers, including monolingual teachers, encourage the development of expert identities in the classroom? This study shows how Ms. Jackson and by extension potentially other monolingual teachers can come to render recent immigrants with limited knowledge of English more visible, through the ways in which they encourage multiple and multilingual practices in the classroom community.

Previous research (Duff, 2010) has pointed out the need to a) cultivate meta-awareness of key literacy and speech events (e.g. language functional explicit guidance), and b) help teachers' develop self-awareness needs to grow of own practices and ideologies. Other recent work, drawing on the concept of translanguaging further promotes the idea that educators adapt a flexible bilingual pedagogy Creese and Blackledge (2010). Introducing

teacher to concepts tied to second language socialization can help them to conceptualize their students as engaging in multiple identities, and their classrooms as sites where multiple functions can occur simultaneously through the deployment of a range of linguistic and other resources.

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