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Audience and the Writing Development of Young Bilingual Children

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Audience and the Writing Development of Young Bilingual Children

by

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Dedication

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Audience and the Writing Development of Young Bilingual Children

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The University of Texas at Austin, 2015

Supervisor: Ramón Antonio Martínez

The purpose of this dissertation is to explore how young Latina/o bilingual children's skill at codeswitching might be leveraged in service of their (bi)literacy learning. This study drew on a cultural modeling framework, guided by sociocultural and translanguaging theories of literacy. Using a design-based research methodology, I worked with a first grade teacher to implement a pedagogical innovation in her ESL classroom. This innovation involved a curricular focus on audience awareness, including interaction between writers and bilingual audiences. Students' writing and writing-related talk was ethnographically documented and analyzed in order to see how such an emphasis on audience mediated children's (bi)literacy development. Such analysis suggested that children's language choices in speech and writing were influenced by their experiences with the curriculum, as they moved towards using more Spanish, codeswitching and codemeshing. Students articulated metapragmatic awareness that built on their interactions with readers. Students' awareness of their audience also mediated their rhetorical astuteness, guiding them in choosing between a range of languages and modalities in response to their intended readers. Together, these findings support the proposition that writing instruction for young bilingual children should include

opportunities to write for real purposes and readers.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

“Don’t mix, it’s awful---well it don’t sound to *me* awful, but it would sound awful to a teacher, if I have a teacher visiting me.”
(Participant describing codeswitching in Urciuoli, 1996, p.97)

One of my most vivid memories from my time as a teacher is sitting in a training for a recently adopted reading program, listening to the presenter describe the advantages of this particular curriculum for students in my class of bilingual second graders: “This program is good for students like yours, who come to school with no language.” I found this description of my students jarring and disturbing. Why would she think that my students had no language? As anyone who visited my classroom might see, my students were, on the contrary, in possession of a great deal of language. Their notebooks were full of their stories and questions, the walls of my classroom were papered in elaborate descriptions of what they were learning, and I have many folders of detailed and hilarious letters they wrote me. My second grade students taught me a great deal of language: Spanish and English, words and phrases I’d never heard before, songs and rhymes, riddles and scary stories. They taught me what a **chupacabra** was, and **lo que dicen los pollitos**. When I listened to their parents and family members, they too had plenty of language: “Anthony, **tienes que hacer tu tarea para sacar** good grades.” It was difficult for me to imagine how all of this could be so easily dismissed as ‘no language’, as nothing.

I wish that I could say this memory of mine was an isolated anecdote with little relevance to the current state of education for multilingual children. However, it is more

common than not to walk into a school or read a newspaper article covering education, and hear about the challenge of providing high quality instruction to our increasingly multilingual student population. This is typically framed as a problem in which students' home languages are perceived as barriers to their success in schools (Ruiz, 1988).

The academic outcomes of bilingual children in general and Latina/o children in particular are indeed problematic and troubling (National Center for Educational Statistics [NCES], 2013). Moreover, as the relative percentage of these children in U.S. schools continues to grow (NCES, 2013), the need to understand and address this issue is increasingly urgent. Literacy in particular remains a critical gatekeeper for students' success in school.

For bilingual students, biliteracy in their home language as well as English is associated with better educational outcomes on a number of different measures (Thomas & Collier, 2002). A deep body of research has shown that developing students' literacy skills in their home language serves their literacy development in English as well, even across dissimilar writing systems (Au, 1993; Cummins, 1979; Dworin, 1996; Fránquiz & de la luz Reyes, 1992; Fu, 2009; Gort, 2012; Hakuta, 1986; Lindholm-Leary, 2001; Palmer & Martínez, 2013; Snow, 1990; Wong Fillmore & Valadez, 1986). However, bilingual education is available to only a small fraction of the students who qualify for it, and even within bilingual education, most programs emphasize transition to English far more than the development of students' home language practices or literacies (Dworin & Moll, 2006; Wong Fillmore, 1991).

Likewise, even bilingual classrooms generally take what Kjolseth (1972) characterized as a "burnt bridges" approach, in which students' home language is valued

only as a bridge to standard English, “one to be crossed as rapidly as possible and then destroyed” (p. 106). Schools and U.S. society in general stigmatize codeswitching and other linguistic practices typical of bilingual communities (Urciuoli, 1996; Zentella, 2011). In sum, the most common educational policy for bilingual Latina/os is to discourage the use of their everyday language practices, over time divesting them of important linguistic and cultural resources and hence leaving them vulnerable to academic failure (Valdés, 2001;Valenzuela, 1999).

One particularly promising alternative approach is to consider these students’ home languages not as *barriers* to their learning, but as *resources* that teachers and students can draw on in service of academic learning (Ruiz, 1988). In the words of Carol Lee (2007), “practices and ways of using language in the world that are typically vilified in academic settings may actually be generative sources for both generic learning as well as rigorous literary reasoning” (p. 7). This study takes up that notion, considering how the everyday language practices of bilingual first grade students might serve as a resource for their writing development.

NEED FOR THIS STUDY

Perhaps because the bodies of research on bilingualism and literacy have emerged from their own distinct traditions, there remains relatively little overlap between the two (Dworin & Moll, 2006). Consequently, there is a dearth of research considering biliteracy generally, and the writing development of bilingual children in particular (Matsuda, Canagarajah, Harklau, Hyland, & Warschauer, 2003; Juzwik, Curcic, Wolbers, Moxley, Dimling & Shankland, 2006). Research on primary-aged bilingual students has generally

considered students' writing in one language or the other, but not both, and usually only in English (but see Gort, 2001; 2006; 2012; Zapata, 2013). Another limitation of many of the existing studies on primary-aged bilingual children is their focus on written *products* rather than on the *processes* of composition (Edelsky, 1982; 1986; 1989; Soltero-González, Escamilla, & Hopewell, 2012). Consequently, our understanding of how bilingual students' literacy development can best be supported is still emerging, and particularly our understanding of the relationship between literacy and bilingualism (Dworin, 2003).

Many researchers from the fields of both literacy and bilingual education have expressed the need to approach writing instruction from a position of building on strengths rather than remediating deficits. However, researchers' theories about these possibilities have so far surpassed the development of practical pedagogies, particularly for young children (Canagarajah, 2013; Creese and Blackledge, 2010; Tardy, 2011). A number of researchers have called for more detailed empirical models of powerful writing instruction for bi- and multilingual writers (Dworin, 2003; Dworin & Moll, 2006; Matsuda, Canagarajah, Harklau, Hyland, & Warschauer, 2003).

Many researchers have noted that multilingual children typically use hybrid language practices like codeswitching when speaking with similarly proficient multilinguals (Genishi, 1981; Martínez; 2013; Zentella, 1997) and that such practices facilitates their literacy learning (Martínez-Roldán & Sayer, 2006; Worthy, Durán, Hikida & Pruitt, 2013). Previous studies in composition have demonstrated the value of inviting multilingual students to translate pieces for different audiences (Orellana & Reynolds, 2008), to learn from multilingual picture-book writers (Ranker, 2009), to use

their ability to codeswitch as a resource for sustaining and analyzing their own writing (Gort, 2006) and to write to classmates with different language proficiencies (Laman & Van Sluys, 2008). Michael-Luna and Canagarajah (2008) and Toribio (2004) identified several pedagogic strategies that might leverage young children's multilingualism, including modeling, analyzing and valuing the use of codeswitching in speech and in writing. There is also reason to suspect that students may perceive schools and writing as English-only domains, and without explicit invitation, they will use only a fraction of their linguistic resources (Laman, 2013).

This has been explored, albeit almost entirely with older students and/or in out-of-school settings (Callahan, 2004; Canagarajah, 2011; Cenoz & Gorter, 2011; Fu, 2009; Kells, 2002; Tardy, 2011; Marshall, Hayashi & Yeung, 2012). Martínez (2010) suggested that bilingual students' use of Spanish-English codeswitching overlaps with state language arts standards in potentially generative ways, particularly the language arts standards that articulate the need for writers to shift voices for different audiences. While it was once believed that very young children lacked the cognitive perspective-taking skills to write with their audience in mind, more recent research shows that children can and do consider audience and tailor their writing to fit specific audiences, particularly when given an authentic reason to do so (Kroll, 1984; Wollman-Bonilla, 2001). As such, there is a need for research that explores the how young bilingual children's spoken codeswitching relates to their audience awareness as writers.

OVERVIEW OF THE PROJECT

A synthesis of the above findings informed the design of a pedagogical approach

for teaching writing to young bilingual students, in the form of a writing curriculum organized around audience. I addressed the need for further exploration of multilingual writing pedagogies by studying the products *and* processes of young bilingual children's development in both languages in response to such a curriculum. My study aimed to shed light on moves writing teachers can make to leverage and develop students' multilingualism, writing ability and communicative competence (Hymes, 1972). Using a design research framework, I worked with a teacher to ethnographically explore and document how an audience-based writing curriculum might value, build on and develop her students' existing knowledge about language and writing. I took as a guiding design principle Paris' (2012) idea of *culturally sustaining pedagogy*: that schools should be not only relevant to students' languages and cultures, but should "perpetuate and foster students' ...linguistic, cultural and literate pluralism as part of the democratic project of schooling," (Paris, 2012, p.95). In this particular case, it means that culturally sustaining writing instruction for bilingual Latina/os should invite, value and develop students' proficiency in and dexterity in using all of their linguistic resources.

My teacher-collaborator and I met during the summer before the fall semester began to consider potential ideas. Based on her interest in codeswitching as part of her students' *funds of knowledge* (Moll, Amanti, Neff & Gonzalez, 1992), we modified her existing writing curriculum in a way that we hoped might draw from the full spectrum of students' linguistic resources, including codeswitching. This designed curriculum included units of study oriented towards readers with different language preferences, such as English-dominant pen pals, Spanish-dominant family members, and bilingual peers and siblings.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Below, I present the research questions guiding this project:

- What happens when a group of first-grade bilingual students are asked to address their writing to multiple audiences with varying language preferences?
 - How does such a focus on audience leverage these students' existing linguistic repertoires?
 - How does such a focus on audience mediate students' writing development? How might this be reflected in their writing and in their writing-related talk?

MY PERSPECTIVES ON LANGUAGE AND LITERACY

In this section, I briefly present how I understand language and literacy and what I mean by those terms. In my review of the literature in Chapter Two, I expand more on the discipline-specific theories informing my study design and data analysis.

Language and Literacy as Social Practices. In this study, I draw on an understanding of language and literacy as situated and dynamic social practices, rather than static, autonomous objects. In other words, language is something that people use and do, and this use emerges from and is suited to their particular social, historical and political context (Blommaert, 2010). Linguistic structure emerged (and emerges) from repeated patterns in people's communication within their communities; as a result, there is always both continuity and change in linguistic structures (Makoni & Pennycook, 2006). As noted by Bourdieu (1991), borders (between places, but also between

languages) are not natural, scientific phenomena, but rather social and political constructs. Even the most rigid of grammatical rules are not inviolable, and language users can and do exercise a great deal of creativity and agency in the way that they use and adapt linguistic structure (Larsen-Freeman, 2002).

This understanding of language as a social practice also fits with a theoretical understanding of literacy as a social practice. Rather than understanding reading and writing as autonomously existing sets of skills, I understand literacy to be sets of practices that emerge from particular social contexts and are learned through participation in those contexts (Barton, 1995; Heath, 1983; Street, 1995). These literacy practices are, of course, built on and around a person's language practices and social worlds. As argued by Scribner and Cole (1981), "literacy is not simply knowing how to read and write a particular script but applying this knowledge for specific purposes and specific contexts of use" (p. 237). In learning to read and write, children are not only learning to encode sounds into symbols; they are also entering into the society that gives meaning and weight to those symbols (Geertz, 1973). Indeed, composing a text may be considered analogous to composing a place in the social world. Canagarajah (2013) added to this, noting that in an era of globalization, migration and digital communication, both people and texts are increasingly mobile. As such, literacy practices and products are not restricted to any one local context, but rather reflect the influences of other circulating practices and norms. This does not contradict the idea that literacy practices are situated in local contexts; however, the global is increasingly part of the local.

Bilingualism and Biliteracy as Dynamic Social Practices. For many years, ideal bilingualism was conceived of as *parallel monolingualism* (Heller, 1999) within one

person, or what Cummins (2008) critiqued as a *two solitudes* paradigm. In more recent years, researchers have proposed an alternate way of considering bilingualism, holding that a bilingual person's linguistic repertoire should be understood holistically, as more than the sum of two separate parts. Rather, as put forth by Grosjean (1989), Cummins (2008), García & Kleifgen (2010) and others, bilingualism is dynamic, flexible and integrated across languages. In this understanding of language and multilingualism, bilinguals do not possess two separate and stable codes, but rather they draw simultaneously across multiple changing linguistic repertoires to achieve their communicative goals and make sense of the world. In other words, people learn the language that they need to accomplish the work of conversation across the different domains of their life. This linguistic knowledge is always evolving according to use and context.

Additionally, bilingual children may become literate in very different ways than their monolingual peers, given the uneven supports that schools offer them. Moll, Saéz and Dworin (2001) argued,

“literacy, whether bilingual or otherwise, must be conceptualized as intricately related, not only to the children's histories, but to the dynamics of social, cultural, and institutional contexts that help define its nature. Becoming literate in two languages, then, implies not only the acquisition and development of a set of skills or abilities but how children become competent in a range of practices or uses of literacy that constitute the experience of living and going to school in a bilingual community,”(p. 447).

Bilingual children may become literate in languages they do not yet speak fluently, or have greater written than oral fluency in one language but not another. For simultaneous bilinguals, “first language” and “second language” may be terms with limited usefulness, given the complex array of factors influencing each language’s development. Following this, the relationship between their literacies is reciprocal rather than unidirectional. For Spanish-English bilinguals, this is further complicated by the increasing points of convergence between the varieties of Spanish and English spoken in the U.S. (Otheguy, 2011).

Literacy research on bilingual Latina/os in the U.S., then, should take into account these theories: that bilingual students have an evolving and interconnected linguistic repertoire of practices, not easily divided into “L1” and “L2”. Belying the idea of codeswitching as a marker of ‘semi-lingualism’, the most fluent bilinguals move adeptly and often between languages, and do so in a way that is qualitatively different than less fluent bilinguals (Poplack, 1980; Toribio, 2004; Zentella, 1997). Indeed, it can and has been argued that codeswitching allows for greater communicative power than monolingual speech (Sayer, 2008).

Notes on Terminology. Most of the important ideas that this study addresses are identified in the research literature using multiple and contested terms. Here, I explain which terms I use, why I use them, and how they relate to other terms that are in circulation. In this dissertation, I use a number of imperfect terms—Spanish, English, codeswitching, codemeshing—but have chosen them carefully, with consideration for both their affordances and constraints. I present below a discussion of both.

Linguists have historically used *codeswitching* to refer to the use of lexical and grammatical structures from more than one language within one conversational turn or utterance, often distinguishing between *inter-sentential codeswitching* and *intra-sentential codeswitching*. *Inter-sentential codeswitching* refers to the alternation of languages or varieties between sentences or utterances, while *intra-sentential codeswitching* refers to the same alternation within the boundary of a single sentence or utterance. However, as long as ago as 1985, Urciuoli noted the difficulty and dubious value of distinguishing between English and Spanish as separate codes when describing the language practices of Puerto Rican New Yorkers. She found that what was often described as New York Puerto Rican English and New York Puerto Rican Spanish were functionally unified, to the point where “English fits with Spanish because it belongs to a Puerto Rican *us*,” (Urciuoli, 1985, p.368). Zentella (1997), studying a similar community over two decades, described the speech practices of her participants as inclusive of a number of related varieties: Standard Puerto Rican Spanish, Popular Puerto Rican Spanish, Puerto Rican English African American Vernacular English, Hispanized English and Standard New York City English. Here, one can see that the language practices of a bilingual community can be described in both extremely broad terms (one single unified code) or with fine-grained detail (7 or more codes). While it is typical to distinguish between Spanish and English as separate systems, the boundaries between the two are fuzzier than “common sense” might dictate, as Spanish and English in the U.S. have increasing points of convergence in both syntax and lexicon (Otheguy, 2011). In this dissertation, I use the broad (and imprecise) terms Spanish and English. However, I do so with Ofelia García’s (2009) perspective that these, “are not fixed codes by themselves;

they are fluid codes framed within social practices” (p. 32). In a similar vein, scholars like Pennycook (2010) have argued that all language(s) are really “*linguaging*”, or collections of practices with social history, rather than fixed structures. In this understanding of *linguaging*, language users draw on all the linguistic resources that are necessary and useful in a particular place, space and community, in ways that often diverge from the forms and structures described in language and grammar books. The distinction between a loan word and a lexical codeswitch, for example, is somewhat subjective, relying on judgment of phonological integration and frequency of usage by other community members.

This theoretical turn towards language as a social practice rather than an object has also led to scholars challenging not just the idea of “language as code”, but also the term *codeswitching*. Educational scholars have experimented with a number of alternative means of describing bilingual language use, including *translanguaging* (García, 2009), *polylinguaging* (Jorgensen, Karrebaek, Madsen, & Moller, 2011) and *hybrid language practices* (Gutiérrez, Baquedano-López & Tejeda, 1999). *Spanglish* is often used specifically to describe the mixing of English and Spanish. Popularized in the 1970’s by Nuyorican poets like Luis Piñero and Tato Laviera, the term has been critiqued by some scholars as misleading and derogatory (Otheguy & Stern, 2011), but is widely used by Latinos/as who routinely engage in this this practice, as well as a number of scholars (Martínez, 2010; Sayer, 2008; Zentella, 1997).

Translanguaging (García, 2009) and *hybrid language practices* (Gutiérrez, Baquedano-López & Tejeda, 1999) can refer to a set of practices that may includes *codeswitching*, but also the many other ways in which bilinguals use multiple linguistic

systems at once, such as translating, or reading in one language and discussing in another. *Translanguaging* has several important advantages over *codeswitching*, in that *translanguaging* does not imply strict boundaries between codes, it can be applied to multilingual as well as bilingual contexts, and parallels the construction of “*linguaging as a practice*” rather than “*language as an object*”. However, it also, lacks the specificity of *codeswitching*, in that *translanguaging* can describe a very wide range of bilingual practices.

I consider Garcia’s (2009) proposed term *translanguaging* as a broader umbrella term, which might encompass *codeswitching* and *codemeshing* as well as practices like translating or identifying cognates. This parallels García’s own usage, as she noted, “*Translanguaging includes code-switching—the shift between two languages in context—but it differs from it in significant ways, for it includes other bilingual practices that go beyond a simple switch in code, such as when bilingual students read in one language and then take notes, write or discuss in another,*” (García & Kleifgen, 2010, p. 45). I use *codeswitching*, as defined above, as the spoken combination of linguistic features from Spanish and English within an utterance or conversational turn.

I also distinguish here between *codeswitching* as a spoken practice and *codemeshing* as a written practice. I use *codemeshing* when referring to written *codeswitching*, meaning the composition of texts that include both Spanish and English. However, my use of *codemeshing* does not always coincide with how others scholars have used the term. Canagarajah, for example, has used *codemeshing* more broadly, to include hybridity not only at the lexical and syntactic level, but also rhetorical and discursive level (Canagarajah, 2011; Michael-Luna & Canagarajah, 2008). In contrast, I

am using *codemeshing* with in the more limited (and specific) sense of “codeswitching in writing.”

Lastly, I sometimes repeat the terms that my participants used to describe their own language practices. The children I worked with often referred to both codeswitching and codemeshing as “doing it both” or “doing it bilingual”, lending credence to scholarly assertions that mixing Spanish and English is a normal and integral part of growing up bilingual.

I also use the term *bilingual* to describe the students in this study, rather than *English language learner* (ELL) or *Limited English Proficient* (LEP). In this, I agree with García & Kleifgen’s (2010) assertion that the terms *bilingual* or *emergent bilingual* best lend themselves to the project of recognizing and building on these students’ strengths, rather than remediating their limitations. I also at times refer to the different kinds of programs that serve elementary bilingual students. *ESL (English as a Second Language)* programs vary greatly in the degree of home language support offered; however, English is the primary language of instruction for all subjects. *Transitional bilingual* programs offer home language and literacy support to students in the primary grades, but then transition students to all-English instruction within a few years. *Dual-immersion bilingual* programs offer English and home language instruction together, typically through the end of elementary school.

My Investment. This particular topic calls to me for a number of reasons: a concern for the inequitable opportunities to learn offered to bilingual students, an intellectual curiosity about the relationship between bilingualism and (bi)literacy, and the topic’s connection to my own family history and language use.

Recently, my paternal grandfather sent me a collection of his essays, entitled *Diario de un Aprendiz de Filósofo*. As I read, I was deeply grateful to be able to understand his writing, given how quickly most Latina/os in the U.S. experience language loss. Although some of my grandfather's books are published in English, this book is available only in Spanish. In the preface, I read a description of my grandfather's experience as part of the generation of **"los que llegamos refugiados a México de niños tras la guerra civil...no pertenecemos ni a la española ni a la mexicana...una generación nepantla, palabra nahuatl que significa 'en medio': ni estamos en el mundo de los unos, ni en el de los otros."** Through this text, my I caught a glimpse through space and time of my grandfather's experience as a refugee, and the languages that shaped it: the Spanish of the text itself, the description of his Catalan poetry, the lasting feeling of in-betweenness best captured by the Náhuatl word *nepantla*, meaning the space in between worlds. Seeing *nepantla* on the page was startling, a reminder of the link between the work that I do and where I come from. *Nepantla*, the borderlands, is also where my former students and Ms. Barry's students live, both figuratively and, to an extent, literally¹. Anzaldúa (1993, as cited in Fránquiz & Reyes, 1992) described this same liminal space as one that offers the potential for transformation and exploration. Bilingual scholars Fránquiz and Reyes (1992) argue that to build on this experience of *nepantla*, to position it as a resource rather than a limitation, teachers need to ask,

What understandings of what counts as learning are available in this space? Who decides how long an individual can be in the space for exploration? Who models *nepantla* as a source of transformation? Who guides persons forced to enter (e.g.

¹ The Austin area is about 225 miles north of the current border between the U.S. and Mexico. It is well south of the 1819 border, which was bounded by the Red River to the North and Sabine River to the east.

the non-native English-speaking immigrant) and persons choosing to enter (e.g. the English dominant Chicana/o child) the state of *nepantla*? (p. 217)

My own research questions contain echoes of these. How can educators better account for what it is that bilingual children know? How can the linguistic hallmarks of *nepantla*, the codeswitching and codemeshing born of bilingual living, be positioned as transformative knowledge? How can writing become a space for bilingual children to explore and transform language? What can teachers do to guide them through this?

These questions are also personal in another way, because of my concern for the opportunities for learning offered to bilingual children in U.S. schools, children like my former students. As the opening vignette from this chapter suggests, it was during my time as an elementary school teacher that I first began to notice and question the way that schools and teachers so often pathologize the language practices of Latina/o students. Hearing the many different iterations of the phrase “those poor kids come to school speaking a hodge podge” (Walsh, 1991, p. 106) is both so common as to be unremarkable and deeply troubling, in that it has serious, material consequences for the kinds of opportunities to learn offered to bilingual children. If, as Nell Noddings (1995) argued, caring requires a continuous search for competence, then part of my work as an educational scholar who cares about bilingual children is to look for ways to organize curriculum and instruction that are built on assumptions of linguistic competence. This study explores one such approach.

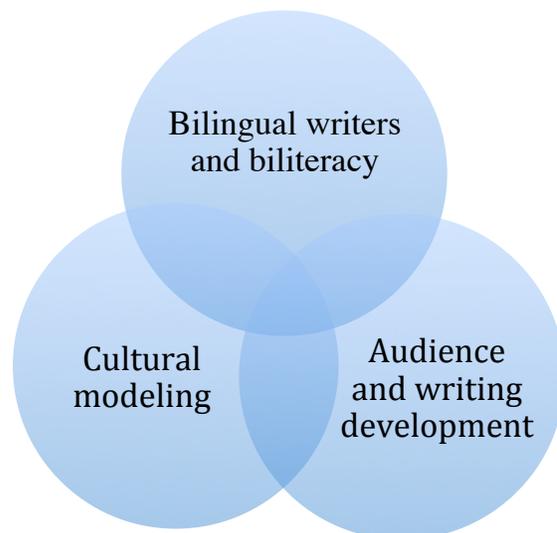
CHAPTER TWO: REVIEW OF RELEVANT LITERATURE

“A word is a bridge thrown between myself and another. If one end of the bridge depends on me, then the other depends on my addressee.”

(Volosinov, 1973, p. 86)

This section provides a review of relevant literature in order to situate my dissertation. My study, I argue, sits at the relatively unexplored intersection of three separate, but interrelated fields: cultural modeling, audience awareness as part of writers’ development, and biliteracy. Here, I present important theoretical considerations and relevant empirical studies work in each of these three areas. I follow this with a discussion of how my study relates to each field. Below I present Figure 2.31, which represents the place this study occupies at the intersection of these three fields of inquiry.

Figure 2.1. Overview of Relevant Fields



AUDIENCE AWARENESS AND THE WRITING DEVELOPMENT OF YOUNG CHILDREN

In this section, I outline the theoretical and empirical work describing the relationship of audience and audience awareness to writers' development. As little of this work has been done with bilingual children, I follow existing theoretical and empirical work on audience with a brief consideration of how it might apply to the young bilingual students in my study, drawing not only on research in rhetoric and composition studies but also on what researchers have demonstrated about the role of audience or interlocutors in bilingual oral communication.

Key Theoretical Considerations. The relationship between readers and writers can be described as fundamentally a matter of how language works to connect self and other. We use words in dialogue, and they depend not only on abstract rules of usage or grammar, but most fundamentally on who we address, and why, and the history of the relationship between the speaker and listener, and by extension, the reader and writer. Volosinov (1973) suggested, "Word is a two-sided act. It is determined equally by whose word it is and for whom it is meant. As word, it is precisely the product of the reciprocal relationship between speaker and listener, addresser and addressee" (p. 86). The immediate social context and the broader social milieu determine which utterances and codes are available for use as well as which ones are appropriate to use for particular contexts and people. Part of children's development is learning to negotiate this complex web of relationships governing language use, and by extension, literacy practices.

Vygotsky (1978) argued that children learn both cognitive skills and sociocultural conventions through interaction. What he labeled higher cognitive skills occur first in

dialogue with other, and then children gradually internalize and become independent in using the kinds of skills and processes made available in dialogue with others. Language in particular plays a critical role: it both serves as a cognitive tool and can be used to help children internalize other such tools for thought. Children appropriate socially and linguistically available tools for thought and this becomes the basis for their growth, both as language users and problems solvers. In the *zone of proximal development*, children participate jointly in activities that are slightly more cognitively demanding than they could do independently. Through this joint participation, they learn how to become skilled participants in the valued activities of their context.

Extending this Vygotskian orientation to writing, I understand that children select and order the language resources available to them as they compose, in order to achieve their purposes for writing. Interactions with others are central to developing their understanding of which words to choose when. As young children learn writing in schools, they are also learning the ways that text differs from speech. Unlike a speaker or a listener, a writer is often removed in space and time from his or her reader. To generalize, speech is impermanent, spontaneous, contextualized, and allows for immediate repair and clarification. In contrast, writing is permanent, planned, decontextualized, and does not allow confusion or ambiguity to be immediately resolved (Lippi-Green, 2011). Consequently, children need to learn how to lexicalize and grammaticalize (Michaels, 1981) information that might otherwise be conveyed through tone, gesture, timing and other nonverbal or contextual cues.

While speech cannot be retracted or altered once it has occurred, a critical feature of writing is that it can be perpetually revised and re-imagined to produce a closer match

between the writer's intention and execution (Sommers, 1980). Writing is fixed in time in space, and yet can be revisited and reworked. Unlike the linear process of speech, writing is recursive. It is shaped by the writer's consciousness of her or his audience, and in particular, an awareness of potential sources of dissonance between what the writer means and what the reader sees. This involves a certain amount of perspective-taking, in which young writers must learn to distance themselves from a text and imagine how a reader or audience might understand it.

However, writers do not only respond to the needs of readers. Ede & Lunsford (1984) theorized audience awareness is twofold, consisting of both the *audience addressed* and the *audience invoked*. The *audience addressed* consists of actual readers who already exist in the world with particular expectations, within already-existing discourses. To reach them, writers need to adapt their writing to the experiences, expectations and conventions of these readers. However, as argued by Ede and Lunsford, writers are not exclusively bound by the demands of their readers. Writers also *invoke* audience: creating readers and roles for readers where none before existed. Through composing, writers can guide readers to take on particular roles or orientations, suggesting a range of interests, conditions and knowledge, which may or may not fit any existing reader. This means writers both consider specific readers' expectations and beliefs, and provide textual cues as to what they hope potential readers will think, believe, and do. Audience awareness is not only responsive, but also agentic.

Considering ways that students might learn how to position themselves and position their readers—to address and invoke audience—Bawarshi (2003) highlighted the possibilities of genre analysis for cultivating this skill. Reminiscent of Lee's exhortation

to ask students “to play a game about which they already knew something” (p. 79), Bawarshi (2003) argued that students can “learn the rules of the genre game and participate in it at the same time,” (p. 164). Although providing students with thorough knowledge of all possible genres of academic and professional writing would be prohibitively time-consuming, students can learn how to anticipate and respond to the expectations of their readers and how to negotiate the relationships between readers and writers in specific contexts. Through genre analysis, students can become *rhetorically astute*: “more effective and critical ‘readers’ of the sites of action in which writing takes place” (Bawarshi, 2003, p. 165). Reading these sites of actions involves attending to the relationships between writer and reader, what expectations readers already have for writers, and where such expectations came from. This writing skill, *rhetorical astuteness*, is similar to the social knowledge that many students, bilingual and monolingual alike, already possess to some degree. Social awareness is an analogous skill, the way that one might enter a room and take cues from the behavior or dress of those already in the room. One might imagine that bilingual children also already possess a particular kind of rhetorical awareness: the understanding of which language or variety to speak to which people, in which settings. To do so in writing, however, involves learning how particular genres work, and what purposes writing is used for within those genres.

Empirical Contributions. Sommers’ (1980) study of the revision processes of expert and novice adult writers indicated that while expert writers did not concern themselves too early in the process with lexical choices, as they revised their writing, they,

Imagine a reader (reading their product) whose existence and expectations influence their revision process. They have abstracted the standards of a reader and this reader seems to be partially a reflection of themselves and functions as a critical and productive collaborator—a collaborator who has yet to love their work. (p. 50)

In contrast, the less skilled student writers tended to revise in a way that reflected an internalized audience of a teacher-reader, primarily concerned with compliance to grammatical rules like “never end a sentence with a preposition.” When these less-skilled writers no longer perceived any rules violations, they stopped revising. In this case, the nature of the audience that these writers experienced and internalized seemed to be a key factor in their writing development and ability to make substantive revisions to their work.

While Piaget’s (1976) description of young children’s egocentrism might suggest that they would lack the cognitive perspective-taking skills to do this, more recent research shows that children can and do consider audience and adjust their writing in response. Rowe’s (1989) work with very young children (ages 3-4) showed the ways that they developed understandings of the functions and conventions of writing through social interactions and conversations about and around their writing. Some of these children were able to consider the perspectives of peers who were not present, making authorial decisions on the basis of their classmate’s expected responses. Rowe hypothesized that the development of this perspective stemmed from students’ conversations around the writing table, which invited them to consider their texts from the perspective of their classmates, and revise accordingly.

Wollman-Bonilla's (2001) study of first graders writing in Family Message Journals found that young children could indeed demonstrate audience awareness. In these journals, first grade students wrote daily messages to their parents about the day's activity or curriculum. Given an authentic purpose and context (such as persuading their parents to buy them a kitten), they employed a wide range of the kinds of strategic writing moves outlined by Hayes et al. (1990): *naming moves* (which position the audience in a particular way), *context moves* (in which the writers provide the audience with important unknown information), *strategy moves* (like humor or emotion) and *response moves* (which anticipate a readers' potential response). All of these entailed the young writer considering her or his reader, and selecting from language resources accordingly. Wollman-Bonilla (2001) speculated that these journals might have worked to develop students' writing skills because they served a genuine purpose, in that they communicated information that readers did not know but wanted to. Moreover, parent readers were able to provide extensive and timely (though not immediate) feedback regarding the message's clarity and effectiveness. Wollman-Bonilla (2001) cautioned that the suburban, affluent community in which her work was conducted might make it difficult to generalize about the value of Family Message Journals as a pedagogical tool in other contexts.

Dyson's (1993) ethnographic study of K-3 children noted that although teachers may have been the official audience for students' writing, children highly valued and sought out responses from their peers. She found that children often wrote with the purpose of amusing their classmates, as well as establishing or manipulating social relationships. Through the composing and sharing process, these young children forged

social relationships, and attempted to elicit compliments or reassurance. At times, these social worlds and motives for writing overlapped with the official curriculum in meaningful and generative ways; at other times, they diverged in ways that led children to become disconnected from the official school world. Dyson (1993) considered the permeability of the official curriculum to children's purposes and social worlds to be an important factor in supporting student learning and meaningful work.

Building on this understanding of young children's writing as a social endeavor, Bomer & Laman's (2004) study of young children's talk during writing time found that the process of learning to write can be fraught with risk precisely because it is so public. Whereas adult writers may have an internal dialogue to help them analyze and conceptualize their work, young children's process is often externalized in talk. For these young children, writing in front of others opened the door for students to be positioned as smart or not smart, competent or not, a good friend or a bad one. In the words of Bomer and Laman (2004), "individuals may elect to stay out of a zone of development, regardless of its proximity, because attempting what it requires of us is socially and emotionally too risky" (p. 455-456). One can imagine this is particularly relevant to children whose language practices are not considered to be valuable in school.

Since these studies do not explore how audience awareness might mediate bilingual students' language choice in writing, I turn here to the literature on bilingual children's speech to consider what kind of factors might be important. Despite the stigma, codeswitching continues to be one of the most typical practices of bilingual communities, and by extension, bilingual children. Many scholars, like Zentella (1997), make the argument that codeswitching is one useful tool through which bilinguals

accomplish important cultural and conversational work. Zentella (1997) also argued that the field as a whole is overly concerned with specific features of codes and codeswitching rather than the contexts that give rise to different ways of “doing being bilingual”.

Considering notions of *addressivity* as proposed by Volosinov (1973), audience would seem to be a critical determining factor of what language bilingual children choose to write in. Many researchers have noted that multilingual children typically use translanguaging practices like codeswitching when speaking with similarly proficient multilinguals (Genishi, 1981; Martínez, 2010; Sayer, 2008; Zentella, 1997), and that they bring a translingual perspective to written texts as well (Martínez-Roldán & Sayer, 2006; Worthy et al., 2013). Although traditionally disparaged as *crutching* (using one language to cover gaps in another) or evidence of language erosion, recent years have brought forth considerable evidence that codeswitching is, in fact, regular, rule-governed, systematic and serves a number of important semiotic functions. Poplack’s (1980) foundational work describes the ways in which codeswitching is in fact a sensitive indicator of bilingual ability, given that bilinguals mix languages in systematic, regular ways that maintain grammaticality in both language. Toribio (2001) further built on this by describing the ways that skilled bilinguals have an intuitive sense of what a well-formed codeswitch looks like, and can distinguish between permissible and unacceptable examples.

As mentioned above, Genishi (1981) found that young bilinguals tended to use the language their interlocutors preferred or spoke best. In the case of multiple addressees with differing preferences or abilities, children tended to favor the monolinguals. Since teachers are frequently both the sole audience for children’ work and, for the most part, upholders of a monolingual standard language ideology (Lippi-Green, 2011), we can

surmise that most multilingual writers do not have the opportunity in school to use the full breadth of their linguistic repertoires. Indeed, Laman (2013) posited that multilingual students in the general education classroom are unlikely to use their home language in writing unless explicitly invited to do so. Moreover, the widespread and often internalized beliefs about the inferiority and undesirability of practices like codeswitching (Martínez, 2013) might prevent students from using such practices in their writing *even* when invited to do so.

The relationship between codeswitching and audience awareness is complex. One might conjecture that accommodating an audience that includes monolinguals may prompt a writer to use only one language. However, Zentella (1997) noted that one of the strategies used by bilingual children when addressing a mixed crowd of bilingual and monolingual interlocutors was *more* codeswitching, presumably with the intent to communicate in multiple modes and to multiple audiences simultaneously. Likewise, communication accommodation theorists note that codeswitching may continue to be a widely used communicative style in spite of its stigmatization because, “it engages a delicate balance between convergence—to demonstrate willingness to communicate—and divergence—to incur a health sense of group identity,” (Sachdev, Giles & Pauwels, 2013, p. 391). In other words, through codeswitching, bilinguals can both accommodate the potentially restrictive linguistic needs of monolinguals and at the same time sustain important personal and cultural identities. In using codemeshing in writing, bilingual writers might be able to both address their audience’s needs and invoke an appreciation for the literary merits of codemeshing a way of conveying a distinct cultural perspective and voice.

Lastly, multilingual children possess a wealth of strategies beyond language for accommodating their interlocutors, including interpersonal strategies like rephrasing, clarification, and the use of gestures (Gumperz, 1982). Indeed, Higgins (2003) found that bilinguals have attitudinal resources like flexibility and humility that help them be more successful at negotiating English variation than their monolingual peers. It may be young bilingual writers are also able to skillfully use *nonlinguistic* aspects of bilingualism as they take their reads into consideration, drawing on other semiotic tools to make themselves understood.

BILITERACY AND BILINGUAL WRITERS

Theoretical Considerations. Nancy Hornberger's (2003) *continua of biliteracy* provided one tool for analyzing biliteracy and the conditions of biliterate development. In her model, she considers biliteracy along multiple continua: content, development, media, and context. She noted the ways that some ends of the continua tended to be privileged over others: literary over vernacular forms of literacy, monolingualism over bi(multi)lingualism, majority language over minority language(s), decontextualized over contextualized knowledge. Hornberger & Skilton-Sylvester (2003) suggested that educators intending to support biliterate development need to be attentive to all points along the continua, and not only those that are traditionally associated with power. Indeed, through attending to traditionally less powerful end of the continua—vernacular literacies like letter writing, codeswitching as an integral part of bilingualism—teachers can transform the currently inequitable opportunities to learn offered to bilingual students. As later argued, “bi/multilinguals’ learning is maximized when they are allowed and enabled to draw from across all of their existing language skills (in 2+ languages),

rather than being constrained and inhibited from doing so by monolingual instructional assumptions and practices” (Hornberger, 2005, p. 607 as cited in García & Kleifgen, 2010). Rules regarding language separation or English-only policies, for example, reflect monolingual assumptions and practices, and hence limit bilingual students’ learning.

Canagarajah (2013) extends this notion of biliteracy, proposing a translingual orientation to literacy. As he described it, “The translingual orientation moves literacy beyond products to the processes and practices of cross-language relations. This orientation can focus on the construction, reception, and circulation of mobile texts, including those that are code-meshed” (p. 40). He uses translingual rather than bi- or multilingual to emphasize that communication in a multilingual works draws across multiple languages as well as across sign systems. This approach stands in contrasts to what Street (1995) labeled autonomous views of literacy, which hold that a written product has a stable and transparent meaning, outside of its site of production.

Canagarajah (2013) draws on applied linguistic scholarship documenting the ways that speakers in linguistically diverse settings co-construct and negotiate meaning across linguistic difference, using diverse modalities to help achieve understanding. Both authorial intent and community expectations contribute to what makes for an effective text, in ways that parallel Ede and Lunsford’s (1984) argument that writing should be neither entirely reader- nor writer-based. In this translingual approach to literacy, both reader and writer negotiate from a position of equal power, jointly responsible for achieving communication. A translingual orientation in writing classrooms also implies a shift in writing assessment, away from the decontextualized evaluation of written products and towards a focus on the trajectory of the writer: the degree of their audience

awareness and reflexivity, their growth over time in rhetorical astuteness and dexterity.

Empirical Contributions. For inclusion in the empirical section of my review, I looked for work that addressed bilingual students' writing development in both languages, particularly those that also considered codeswitching and/or translanguaging. I included studies that took place in ESL, transitional bilingual, and dual immersion contexts, focusing on student development and teacher moves rather than programmatic orientations. Perhaps because I draw on work from a range of different subfields—literacy, composition studies, bilingual/bicultural studies—not all of these researchers were in conversation with each other. To that end, I present the studies I found most relevant in roughly chronological order, followed by a synthesis of what I see as the implications for my study.

De la luz Reyes (1992) considered how bilingual fifth graders experienced writing workshop in an ESL context. In the classrooms she studied, students wrote primarily in English for academic purposes and in Spanish for informal purposes, like journal writing. Although the teachers themselves were bilingual and often used Spanish in informal or oral communication, they generally discouraged students from using Spanish in formal writing. In general, both teachers and students expressed dissatisfaction with the workshop's effects, with teachers reporting that students did not seem to be improving, and students expressing a dislike of the reading and writing experiences. De la luz Reyes speculated that the construction of English as the language of academic reading and writing played an important role in this. She noted that in contrast, when students were permitted the choice of language as part of informal journaling, their writing fluency and quality did improve. Flexibility of language seemed to have important effects on

students' motivation as well as their writing development.

Dworin (2006) described a project conducted with fourth grade bilingual students in a dual-immersion setting. He and a research assistant asked students to solicit narratives from their parents and family members, then translate and revise the stories in response to feedback from their peers. The books were shared with the class and students received personal copies of the family stories collection. Dworin (2006) noted that although this was the first occasion in which any of the students had been asked to create a written translation, the students were adept translators, and drew on their biliterate skills to do so. Like Martínez et al. (2008) and Orellana and Reynolds (2008), Dworin (2006) characterized the translation experience as one that both leveraged and developed students' existing metalinguistic knowledge. He stated as implications for practice that bilingual students should be encouraged to work collaboratively, to write for multiple audiences, and to use both languages. Also worth noting was Dworin's (2006) deliberate decision not to correct English-influenced forms like *la traila* (the trailer) and *agarraron sus papeles* (they got their papers). These often-stigmatized forms, used by students and their parents, are typical of U.S. Spanish, and the researcher did not wish "to put students in the untenable position of correcting their parents' Spanish" (Dworin, p. 516). In other words, all of students' everyday language practices, including hybrid ones, were considered valuable and suitable for academic work.

Gort (2006; 2012) studied young bilingual writers' experience of a writing workshop within a dual-immersion program. Both the English-dominant and Spanish-dominant students participated in writing workshop in each language. She found that codeswitching was an important composing strategy for these children, even when

producing monolingual texts. Students used their ability to code-switch as a resource for sustaining and analyzing their own writing (Gort, 2012). Gort labeled “bilingual echoing” the process by which children repeated themselves, often out loud in more than one language in order to emphasize, to clarify, to explain, to build their own vocabulary, to define, and to contextualize their writing.

The first grade writers in Gort’s (2006) study applied language-specific grammatical conventions first in one language (usually their dominant language), then in both, then only in the target language. For example, they learned to capitalize “I” in English (“When I went to the store”), then began capitalizing the equivalent un conventionally in Spanish (“Cuando Yo fui a la tienda”), then returned to capitalizing only in English (“Cuando yo fui a la tienda”). For them, linguistic transfer seemed to represent their emerging understandings of the conventions of each code.

Students regularly codemeshed within their writing, particularly for proper nouns like Disney World, foods, and in narratives set in Latin America. Gort (2006) noted that some of these combinations were likely instances of “crutching”, or using one language to plug a lexical hole in the other. Others were demonstrably not and more related to communicative goals. For example, some culturally-based references to community places or people (like ‘bodega’ or ‘YMCA’) were used regardless of whether the child was participating in English writing workshop or Spanish writing workshop. In other words, “regardless of the classroom or language context in which the conversation transpired, children maintained the culturally and linguistically relevant reference and pronunciation for some terms, sometimes resulting in a code-switch” (Gort, 2006, p. 62). This is interesting in that it somewhat parallels what Callahan (2004) described in

patterns of codemeshing found in published adult writing. It seems that mixing languages in writing often serves literary purposes, such as communicating nuanced meaning and evoking specific settings.

Several of the young multilingual writers described in Laman and Van Sluys' (2008) study of a primary ESL classroom used multiple languages in their writers' notebooks in order to study language, and to record and compare the way that English and other languages and scripts like Korean and Hebrew functioned. Unprompted, they translated their writing, created pictorial glossaries, and used these texts to teach classmates and their teachers. For them, codemeshing and translating served as ways to express and develop their metalinguistic awareness. As noted elsewhere, the kinds of language they used reflected their readers' needs, as well as their own purposes.

If members of the class all shared similar linguistic backgrounds, like the dual language first grade studied by Gort (2006; 2012), then students were more likely to write using all of their shared linguistic resources. In contrast, the multilingual writers described by Laman and Van Sluys (2008) often addressed peers who did not share all their languages, and used less codemeshing in these compositions. In this classroom, which contained many students with different home languages, one first grade girl chose to code-mesh Spanish and English in her personal notebook writing, but shifted to entirely English when composing a letter to an English-monolingual friend.

The teacher featured in Ranker's study (2009) of a first grade ESL class intentionally used codemeshing mentor texts as models for multilingual writing. In this study, the teacher highlighted for her students "that this author sometimes used Spanish words in an English-medium text...point[ing] out that students might take up this

strategy in their own writing” (Ranker, 2009, p. 411). Ranker found that students did indeed take up the kinds of strategies and approaches offered by the teacher, albeit in their own ways and not necessarily the day that such ideas were offered. One such example was the teacher’s read-aloud and discussion of the picture book *Mice and Beans* (Muñoz Ryan & Cepeda, 2001). The teacher offered this example of codemeshing as a technique students could use, and several did. However, Ranker also noted that, “because of the aforementioned restrictive language policy... hybrid language practices did not emerge as much as they might have in a context where multiple languages are expressed and viewed as equally valuable”(p. 33). One implication then, is that the use of mentor texts that feature language mixing might not *by itself* change the classroom environment significantly. Teachers hoping that students consistently perceive that their language practices are welcomed and valuable may need to consider other approaches as well.

The middle school immigrants recently arrived from China that Fu (2009) described wrote primarily in Chinese at the beginning of the year, with the exception of words that had no direct Chinese equivalent: “Yankees”, “The Gettysburg address”, “yard sale”, “spring fever.” Here, they chose to use the English term rather than distort the meaning by finding an approximate translation. By the end of they year, they had shifted to writing primarily in English; however, they shifted back to mostly Chinese when the complexity of the topic increased. Fu found that the writers who were given the freedom to mesh Chinese and English in their writing learned English at a faster rate than those who were only allowed to compose in English, with 70% (as compared to 20%) able to produce close-to-standard English compositions by the end of a school year. She theorized this might have been influenced by their greater motivation to write more

extensively and in more genres than those students who were only permitted to write in English. It seems that even when the goal was to transition to English-only writing, it still served teachers to encourage students to make strategic choices about what language to write in. It is worth noting that in this case, teachers were the sole audience of students' work. Not all of the teachers could read Chinese, and so students' ability to tailor their language to their audience and use all of their linguistic resources were somewhat opposing factors.

When considering how young writers, such as the ones described by Laman and Van Sluys (2008) or Ranker (2009), differ from the undergraduates featured in the majority of research on codemeshing in composition, one particular difference stands out. Many older multilingual writers articulated caution or hesitation about using nonstandard or codemeshing language practices within the classroom. For example, the multilingual students enrolled in beginning composition classes in the university described by Tardy (2011) consistently used all of their linguistic repertoires in the 'behind the scenes' aspects of writing: taking notes, pre-writing, and orally discussing their ideas. However, unlike the young writers described by Gort (2012) or Laman and Van Sluys (2008), they generally limited their formal, "published" work to Standard Edited English only.

This may be related to restrictive language policies of the schools or universities, like those described by de la luz Reyes (1992) and Ranker (2009), or older students' longer exposure to messages about which language practices are acceptable or appropriate for school. It also may reflect the rhetorical context, in that younger students are likely to have more opportunities to write in the kinds of genres (fiction, poetry, personal narrative) in which codemeshing is more likely to be sanctioned (Callahan,

2004). Or, perhaps, it is because their primary reader was their teacher. Given these conditions and the predominance of Standard English ideologies within the academy, it is perhaps unsurprising that older multilingual writers were reluctant to use their full linguistic repertoires without an explicit invitation (Canagarajah, 2011; Marshall, Hayashi & Yeung, 2012; Tardy, 2011). The context of the classroom setting also affected the frequency and nature of younger bilingual students' use of their linguistic resources. In the classrooms described by de la luz Reyes (1992), the teachers expressly limited the use of Spanish to informal, private writing. In Ranker's study, the teacher encouraged codemeshing, but some students were reluctant to take up the invitation. These similar findings across several studies raise the question of how power dynamics and language ideologies might also mediate writers' choices of which languages to draw on during the process of composition.

CULTURAL MODELING

In this section, I provide an overview of the theoretical underpinnings, development, and evolution of the *cultural modeling* approach to literacy instruction, particularly as it relates to bilingual students. The framework of cultural modeling as developed by Carol Lee, "involves the recruiting of cultural practices as strengths, building from language and literacy used in the daily lives of children to bridge their understanding of oral and written conventions taught in formal educational environments," (Purcell-Gates et al, 2011, p. 24.). In other words, this pedagogical approach is based on the idea that all students already possess valuable linguistic resources that can and should be drawn on by their teachers.

Key Theoretical Considerations. As developed by Carol Lee (2007), the *cultural modeling* approach fosters students' success in academic spaces by asking them "to play a game about which they already knew something" (p. 79). By identifying students' out-of-school language practices, and welcoming them as valuable additions to official classroom spaces, cultural modeling builds the kind of generative hybrid learning spaces advocated by Gutiérrez, Baquedano-López & Tejada (1999). This approach is situated within a larger movement in sociocultural research towards a resource-based paradigm for understanding and supporting literacy learning.

A number of researchers from the sociocultural tradition have worked to move from a *deficit* to a *resource* paradigm to better serve children from marginalized communities. In contrast to a *deficit* paradigm, which assumes that children from marginalized communities are lacking essential knowledge, intellect or cultural traits, a *resource* paradigm hold that teaching and learning are situated within sociocultural contexts beyond the classroom, and that the kinds of language and literacy practices fostered by these contexts and communities both overlaps with and diverges from the kinds of language and literacy practices privileged in schools. This perspective has been articulated perhaps most notably by Moll, Amanti, Neff & González (1992), who posited that all children possess valuable *funds of knowledge* based on their participation in family and community life, and these funds of knowledge can and should be drawn on by teachers.

The premise of the funds of knowledge approach is "people are competent and have knowledge, and their life experiences have given them that knowledge," (González & Moll, 2002, p.625). However, such knowledge is not neutral; schools and teachers

privilege, acknowledge, and reward some kinds of knowing over others. In particular, most of the knowledge possessed by working class households and people of color is typically excluded from schools and/or considered irrelevant to academic learning. Moll, Amanti, Neff & González (1992) documented the ways that the Latina/o households they studied relied on tightly connected and diverse social networks, and that through these networks, children acquired a great deal of knowledge, skills and information in areas like agriculture, mining, economics, masonry, botany, and religion, among other disciplines. Most critically, teachers attuned to such forms of knowledge were able to organize instruction to create powerful and meaningful contexts for learning inside of schools, attending to points of overlap as well as points of divergence. While schools have historically not taken advantage of the wealth of knowledge that working class Latina/o children and families possess, there remains tremendous potential to do so.

Carol Lee developed the cultural modeling framework as a way of organizing literacy instruction in the secondary classroom to build on students' cultural and linguistic skills. In doing so, she drew on theories of *cognitive apprenticeship* (Collins, Brown, & Newman, 1989; Collins, Brown & Holum, 1991). Cognitive apprenticeship is distinguished from traditional notions of apprenticeship into trades like carpentry, in that what the apprentice learns is not easily observable because it occurs inside the mind. The goal of a cognitive apprenticeship is to make visible for novices the kinds of complex thinking strategies that experts use in a particular domain or discipline. Providing students with a cognitive apprenticeship involves analyzing the domain-specific knowledge (i.e., how do skilled writers demonstrate audience awareness?) and then designing instruction so that students can observe and appropriate such knowledge.

Collins et al. (1991) suggested that the key to providing children with a cognitive apprenticeship is to, “situate the abstract tasks of the school curriculum in contexts that make sense to students” (p.9). This suggestion highlights the relationship between literacy skills as presented in language arts standards and the sociohistorical context in which such skills developed and came to be considered valuable: the society in which people participate in reading and writing, and the reasons that they do so. The kinds of “in the mind” skills outlined in cognitive apprenticeship occur in sociocultural settings, in which habits of mind and social knowledge have also evolved over time. A sociocultural view of intellectual development also holds that nothing is every entirely “in the mind”, but rather embedded in the context of social relationships, tools and practices (Rogoff, 1990; Vygotsky, 1978). The relationship between culture and cognition is mutually constitutive, in that children are both acquiring socially constituted practices, and applying them in their own ways to suit their own purposes.

Theories of cognitive apprenticeship also parallel Rogoff’s (1990) notion of *guided participation* as a key source of children’s learning, in which adults (or more skilled children) organize activities and interactions in order to present children with the opportunity to develop competence in posing or solving problems. Growth happens in interaction, as children learn with and from those who are more skilled in the use of cultural tools like writing or literacy.

Empirical Contributions. Carol Lee’s body of work (1995; 1997; 2000 2007) demonstrated how the cultural modeling approach could be used with African American high school students. Giving examples from her own teaching, Lee described how as a teacher, she recognized, valued and leveraged the linguistic practice of *signifying*.

Finding that many of her students were familiar with this practice, she highlighted for them how the verbal adeptness and skill with double entendre inherent in *signifying* could serve as a generative tool for literary analysis. She also assembled what she termed “cultural data sets” to supplement the English curriculum. These cultural data sets consisted of materials students were familiar with, like rap videos, lyrics, spirituals, and television clips. Beginning with these texts, she invited students to exercise their already-existing knowledge of symbolism and narrative structure. Later, in discussing literary texts like Toni Morrison’s *Beloved*, Lee points out how stylistic features of African-American Vernacular like prosody, intonation, and syntax worked in service of complex literary reasoning.

Extending this approach to bilingual middle school students, Orellana and Reynolds (2008) drew on extensive ethnographic inquiry into the translation work that many multilingual youth do out of school. Where Lee highlighted the relationship of *signifying* to the discipline-specific practice of literary analysis, Orellana and Reynolds (2008) aimed to connect students’ translation across languages to the cross-disciplinary skill of paraphrasing across forms or registers. They coined the term ‘*para-phrasing*’ to describe the oral translation of written English texts that many students do for their families and highlighted its connection to the analogous literacy task of paraphrasing or summarizing school texts.

Using close discourse analysis of out-of-school *para-phrasing*, Orellana and Reynolds (2008) noted how children used multiple strategies to make sense of difficult texts on behalf of their audiences. However, in observation of school paraphrasing tasks, students were not often asked to paraphrase beyond the word or sentence level. Of

particular relevance to my study was Orellana & Reynolds' finding that, "students' apparent awareness that their words do not count impeded their ability to develop communicative competence in these activities," (p.60). In contrast with the specific and familiar audience that they directed their words to while *para*-phrasing, school paraphrasing tasks asked students to write for an unknown, unspecified audience, with no clues as to what their reader knew or needed to know. If, as was generally the case, the audience was their teacher, they were not expected to take that knowledge into account. Orellana and Reynolds (2008) recommended that schools hoping to leverage students' skill as *para*-phrasers modify the school task by inviting students to paraphrase for specific audiences and purposes, as well as to mix languages and create hybrid genres as part of their meaning-making.

Martínez, Orellana, Pacheco and Carbone (2008) took up this recommendation, working with a sixth grade language arts teacher to design language arts curricula that leveraged her bilingual students' experience in translating between Spanish and English. Although students had a range of levels of proficiency in Spanish and English, all of them had some experience translating. Together with students, the researchers explored the kinds of translation that students already did outside of school. Collectively, students described the social value of translation, or how they used this skill to help others. With the goal of illustrating the cognitive value of this practice, or how it could help the students themselves, students were asked to re-enact instances of translation. In this, researchers hoped to make visible the kinds of skills and choices the translator had made in shifting voices for different audiences, moving beyond choice of language and into metalinguistic talk about tone, grammar and vocabulary. Finally, researchers invited

students to write persuasive essays, emphasizing that these should be addressed to real people to whom they could actually send letters. The researchers noted one of the primary challenges of this endeavor was highlighting for students the intelligence inherent in their translation skills, and how it mapped on to the kinds of tasks demanded by schools.

Martínez (2010) highlighted the skills embedded in middle school Latina/o students' Spanish-English codeswitching, or *Spanglish*, as well as the hegemonic ideologies of linguistic purism that prevented students and teachers from recognizing this as an intelligent practice with overlaps to school literacy tasks. He described students' skillful use of *Spanglish* to shift voices for different audiences and communicate subtle nuances of meaning, alongside the ways in which those skills paralleled the sixth grade language arts standards. Finally, he suggested that teachers might engage their students in "meta-linguistic instructional conversations"(p.143) as a way of calling students' attention to the connections between *Spanglish* and school tasks. He highlighted discussions of audience and its connection to students' codeswitching skills as one potential avenue of inquiry.

This *cultural modeling* tradition has been researched primarily with older students, but could potentially be used with young children as well (Purcell-Gates et al., 2011). Martínez (2010) argued, "leveraging the skills embedded in students' use of Spanglish could thus radically transform how students view the relationship between everyday and academic knowledge, and thereby have a transformative impact on their academic literacy learning" (p. 146). So far, this connection between the everyday practice of codeswitching and the academic skill of audience awareness has gone

relatively unexplored.

In the case of bilingual students, codeswitching is typically perceived as a linguistic inadequacy, or sign of laziness (Urciuoli, 1996). This deficit perspective on codeswitching has likely prevented teachers from recognizing how this skillful practice overlaps with school-based literacy tasks. Design research, with its orientation towards iterative refinements to both theory and practice, can serve to illuminate how teachers can connect the skills bilingual students already possess (facility with codeswitching) to the literacy skill of shifting voices for different readers.

SYNTHESIS OF RESEARCH

A synthesis of the above findings would imply that young multilingual writers select from quite different aspects of their linguistic repertoires when composing for different audiences and purposes. A story to amuse a friend might draw on multiple languages and popular culture, an essay written in front of a disparaging peer might call for minimizing risk-taking, and a message home to parents might use only the home language and invoke the readers' sympathy for a kitten in need of a home. It also seems that inviting students to use and develop all of these different parts of their linguistic repertoires has positive consequences for their enjoyment of the process of writing, meta-linguistic awareness and their growth as writers.

However, although several of the studies describing multilingual writers touch on the influence of students' intended audiences, this concept is not explored in depth in the research on biliteracy. Likewise, the studies concerned with the relationship between audience awareness and writers' development make little mention of what this might

mean in the context of bilingual writers and the development of biliteracy. As evident Fu's (2009) study, these two goals may not always be aligned. Moreover, it seems as though teachers allowing or modeling the use of students' home language is necessary but perhaps not sufficient for the development of students' biliteracy, given the widespread stigmatization of their everyday language practices. Lastly, studies of *cultural modeling* suggest that students' language practices—including Spanish, English and codeswitching—could be developed and leveraged as part of a language arts curriculum; however, the details of what this would look like have not yet been explored. In particular, it remains to be answered: What might happen if teachers of bilingual students focused on audience awareness in their writing pedagogy? What kinds of authentic audiences would call on students to draw on and develop the range of their linguistic repertoires? How might such a focus on audience mediate students' writing development? How might this be reflected in their writing—and in their writing-related talk? This study takes up such questions, exploring how asking bilingual children to write for authentic audiences mediated their language use and literacy development.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODS AND METHODOLOGY

This section describes the methods I employed in considering the relationship between audience and the writing development of young bilingual children. This qualitative study is framed within a design-based research (DBR) framework. I have organized key components of this chapter into the following subsections. First, I present the context for the study, including the research site, the participants and my own positionality. Second, I describe the designed curriculum along with important aspects the design and design process. Finally, I describe data collection and analysis.

CONTEXT FOR RESEARCH

This study took place at Kimball Elementary² in Ms. Barry's first grade classroom, located in a rural fringe³ community on the outskirts of Austin, Texas. Recently built, Kimball Elementary School drew students from two distinct areas. One was the east side of the city proper, which Kimball served as overflow capacity for a previously overcrowded school in the urban core. This part of Austin has historically been home to the majority of the city's Black, Latina/o and immigrant population (Cuban, 2010). However, rapid growth and development of the city have led to rising housing prices, particularly in this part of town. Consequently, more and more low-income and immigrant families have moved from the city proper to the rural fringe communities

² All names are pseudonyms

³ According the National Center for Educational Statistics, this is defined as rural territory that is less than or equal to 5 miles from an urbanized area, as well as rural territory that is less than or equal to 2.5 miles from an urban cluster.

outside it (Novak, 2013).

This rural fringe area is where Kimball itself is located, and where the remaining student population lives. This area has seen a huge growth in both poverty and immigration in the last ten years, particularly compared with the urban core. In the past 5 years, this district and others like it have seen a 56% growth in the number of students receiving free and reduced lunch (Brookings Institute, 2013). Students and families living in the rural fringe also have less access to public transit and other social infrastructure like public libraries than their counterparts in the urban core (Brookings Institute, 2013).

According the 2012 Texas Education Agency report card, Kimball Elementary School's student population is currently 93.6 % economically disadvantaged, 85.1 % Latina/o, 10% African American, and the rest are White, mixed-race, American Indian or other. 50.3% are labeled "Limited English Proficient" and are served in the school's ESL or bilingual programs.

THE PROGRAM

Texas law requires than any district enrolling 20 or more bilingual students with the same home language must offer bilingual or English as a Second Language (ESL) services (TEC Chapter 89, Subchapter BB §89.1201, 2012). Ms. Barry's classroom was designated as an ESL classroom. At the time of this study, the district's current program design and Ms. Barry's principal encouraged bilingual teachers to use Spanish orally to support students' understanding of the curriculum. However, Ms. Barry reported that her principal emphasized that reading and writing should be taught in only in English.

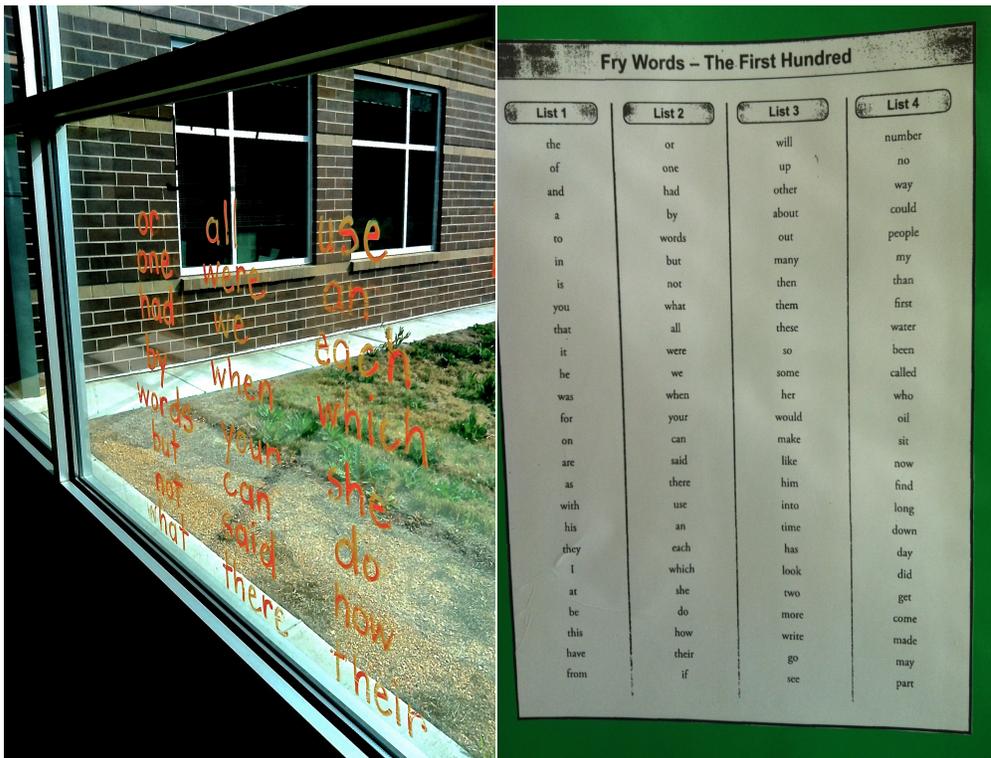
Curricular material, including reading and language arts textbooks, were provided only in

English. The district's language policy handbook for bilingual students also stated, "for optimal language development, the languages are separate for the specific instruction of the lesson...The two language are not mixed or used interchangeably" (p. 30-31, 2013). In other words, hybrid language practices like codeswitching were not only not officially encouraged or allowed, but explicitly prohibited and linked to suboptimal language development.

According to Ms. Barry, prior to her arrival in the district, there had been a bilingual program, and due to dissatisfaction with student outcomes under the current ESL model, administrators were phasing in a return to a bilingual education model. In practice, this meant that bilingual students in kindergarten were learning Spanish literacy, and Ms. Barry anticipated that the following year, she would also be teaching both Spanish and English literacy to her next class of first grade students. In anticipation of the increased district focus on Spanish literacy in the upcoming years, Ms. Barry and other first grade teachers were offered training in Spanish-language reading materials and programs; however, at the time of the study, all the textbooks and instructional resources provided to teachers were in English. This presented a unique context for research. Although the ESL model was a restrictive one, Ms. Barry stated that she felt she had some "wiggle room" to exercise professional judgment about how best to teach her classroom of bilingual children. Also as part of her own commitment to supporting bilingualism, Ms. Barry had supplemented the English-language curricular materials supplied by the district with a personal collection of picturebooks, many of which were bilingual or Spanish-language.

However, the English-only nature of the school model was reinforced by mandated standardized testing, including literacy testing for first grade students. Students were assessed on their literacy development using English language measures only, primarily the DIBELS (Dynamic Indicators of Basic Early Literacy Skills) and the number of high-frequency words students could read from the Fry Word List. Words from this list were posted in the hallways, and there were bulletin boards for every grade level with the names of students who were able to read the target number of Fry words for their grade. Both the DIBELS and Fry Word assessments were given only in English. All students except one were labeled “at-risk” by the district at the beginning of the year, based on their DIBELS scores.

Figure 3.1. Hallway Displays Related to Fry Words





THE WRITING WORKSHOP

Ms. Barry's writing instruction was based on a process writing or writing workshop (Graves, 1983; Calkins, 1986) approach. This approach to writing instruction generally emphasizes engaging children in the process of writing, stressing students' development of ideas and as writers over written products, or mastery of specific forms. A typical writing lesson in her room lasted between 20 and 45 minutes, and usually consisted of a brief mini-lesson, followed by students writing in booklets for 10 to 20 minutes, and concluded by one or two students sharing their work with the class using the document camera and projector. During this sharing time, students often received feedback, typically compliments or questions, from peers and/or Ms. Barry. During writing time, Ms. Barry conferred with students about their work, either individually or in small groups. When students had completed a booklet, they either saved it in their writing folder to later revisit, or put it in the class library for others students to read later on. As

the year went on, students sometimes read their completed books to each other in pairs before adding the book to the library.

During the course of the year, the class engaged in several genre studies or specific writing projects, as is often the case in writing workshop; more detail about these designed units of study follows below in the description of the study design. When not participating in these units of study, students wrote on self-selected topics. Ms. Barry repeatedly stated that students were free to write in whatever language they liked. However, for roughly the first month and a half of school, all but one student chose to write only in English.

THE RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS

As one of the central tenets of design-based work is collaboration with teachers, my research site was selected in order to best facilitate this kind of collaboration. I chose Ms. Barry's classroom because of her interest in collaborating with a researcher, as well as her interest in codeswitching specifically. A recent graduate of the Bilingual/Bicultural master's program at my university and an involved member of the local chapter of the National Writing Project, she had a stated (and observed) passion for continuing to grow as a writing teacher. Now in her fourth year teaching for this district, Ms. Barry had also previously taught elementary school for several years in the Rio Grande Valley and in Honduras. She self-identified as White, was certified as a bilingual teacher in the state of Texas and self-assessed her Spanish proficiency as "fluent, but not native."

In Ms. Barry's class, all students had been identified as native Spanish speakers, based on the district's identification procedures, which consisted of a home language

survey and language proficiency test. Having been designated as English Language Learners, they qualified for bilingual services, which meant a classroom with a bilingual teacher. All 21 students except one had been given literacy instruction only in English the previous year. Almost all students were of Mexican heritage, with the exception of one, whose father was from El Salvador and mother was from Mexico. All of the students reported that their parents spoke primarily Spanish at home. Several students reported that their parents also spoke some English, or were in the process of learning to speak English. All parents except for one mother preferred to communicate with Ms. Barry in Spanish, choosing Spanish versions of paperwork and initiating communication with her in Spanish.

Reinking and Bradley (2008) proposed that the ideal site for design-based research is “one where initial conditions suggest that the intervention’s success will face some barriers and challenges, but where conditions are not so overwhelmingly challenging as to doom the intervention to failure” (p. 59). Here, I have chosen a site that appears to fall in that in-between zone. There are several aspects of the setting that appeared to be supportive of a writing curriculum focused on bilingual audiences, primarily an experienced bilingual teacher (7+ years) with expertise and interest in the writing development of bilingual students. However, at the time of the study, Ms. Barry’s district offered little support for the home language development of bilingual students, and her students had had little to no formal instruction in reading or writing in Spanish. Before the study, both Ms. Barry and I questioned whether the lack of institutional support for Spanish literacy might present serious or insurmountable obstacles to students’ ability and motivation to write in Spanish.

FOCAL STUDENTS

Below, I present brief narrative description of the six students I followed most closely. These descriptions are based on my own observations, Ms. Barry's observations, and writing samples collected over the course of the year.

Paco. Paco came to Kimball midway through kindergarten. While Ms. Barry knew less about his schooling history than students who had only attended Kimball, she heard from him and his parents that he received some Spanish literacy at one of the schools he had attended previously. Paco was also unusual among his classmates in that he was one of two students who was an oldest child. Knowing that he lived with his mother and younger brother, Ms. Barry theorized that he spoke more Spanish at home than most of his classmates with older siblings who had been enrolled in school for longer. Paco used Spanish with me and in front of prior to most of his classmates, and was the first student that I noticed speaking Spanish in whole-class settings like "carpet time", when students sat on the floor on the carpet for an activity or lesson. Although he used Spanish more often than his classmates, he did not volunteer himself as a "Spanish expert" when Ms. Barry asked for volunteers to go around and help others with Spanish letters from pen pals or Kindergarten pals.

Paco's books often contained very detailed, elaborate pictures. His written text tended to vary in length and complexity according to language. If writing in all English, he often used short captions like, "Ninjas fight". In Spanish or when mixing, he was more likely to write longer sentences like, "**Te gusta play en la nieve?**" He often wrote stories drawing on knowledge of pop culture, for example, writing about Batman and using his Batman t-shirt to help him write. Over the course of the year, Paco wrote a substantial

number of books that used Spanish and codemeshing. Ms. Barry also noted that Paco received some speech services, although he was never pulled out during the writing times that I witnessed.

Yamilet. Both Ms. Barry and I observed that Yamilet appeared to be consistently highly engaged in the process of creating text, but not always focused on the products themselves. At the start of the year her books were often titled in ways that reinforced this emphasis on process, as in “Today I’m working about sharks.” She tended to write and draw quickly, and did not often add in color to her illustrations unless specifically instructed to as part of “publishing”. When “publishing”, she often used color everywhere, preferring not to leave any white space on the page. Although a prolific writer, Yamilet was not always able to read back what she had written earlier, or necessarily interested in doing so. In describing Yamilet’s writing process during workshop, Ms. Barry noted,

...She would really crank those out, a book or more per day. It was very, this is how many I have! A lot of it was about the production, about how many, about getting the writing down, but not... some of them [other students] were really anxious to share on the doc[ument] cam[era], asking, when can I share, can I take this home? They really wanted the feedback from someone else. And with her, she didn’t really do that a lot. It was more like I’m done, I’m coloring my circle, that was book 10, now I’m on to 11. It seemed like it was more for herself, for the act of writing, rather than who’s going to read this. I guess that is how some of us write, diary writing or journal writing, doing it for yourself in the moment, but not necessarily really concerned about where it’s going.

(Teacher Interview, 6/12/15).

Yamilet wrote books mostly in English, but when she read them to peers, she would often add on detail and explanation bilingually. Over time, she began to compose some pieces in Spanish, beginning in December with a book made for her older sister. When writing in Spanish and bilingually, she produced texts that were similar in length and complexity as when writing in English, albeit with less conventional spelling. As the year advanced, Yamilet often made books that contained humorous dialogue about imaginary characters, like a crazy robot that couldn't stop dancing. She also drew on songs and religious texts when writing in Spanish, particularly during the poetry unit.

Jesenia. Jesenia described herself as someone who enjoyed writing, and wrote both in school and out of school for fun. She described her experience with writing workshop in Ms. Barry's class generally as contributing to her view of herself as an author, noting, "I was doing a lot of work, every day 2 or 4 or 3 poems, that's why it makes me like an author, writing and writing every day," (Jesenia Interview, 6/2/14). She typically used workshop time to write a mix of "real stories" and "fake stories" that she had invented.

At the end of the year, Jesenia self-assessed her writing abilities as equally strong in English and in Spanish. However, she rarely wrote books in Spanish unless writing to a bilingual reader as part of one of the audience-focused units of study. All but one of the books she created during unstructured workshop time were written only in English. She also often appropriated writing techniques she had noticed in books but that Ms. Barry had not taught directly, such as the use of ellipses to create suspense between pages, or double-page illustration spreads. Jesenia remarked that her older sister spent time with

her teaching her how to write in Spanish, and that the two of them often wrote bilingual poems at home. Her sister had also helped her with English homework in previous years.

Omar. Ms. Barry named Omar as a particularly strong writer in English, and a generally strong student. He sometimes served as a spokesperson for the class as a whole, telling visitors important information, and volunteering himself for tasks like writing me a Valentine's Day card. When writing books during general workshop time, Omar often drew on popular culture in his texts, writing stories about ninjas, zombies, and Minecraft.

Omar wrote much more often in English than in Spanish, and his spelling was much more conventional in English than in Spanish, where he often drew on English letter-sound patterns (i.e., **escwela** for **escuela**). Although Omar frequently used Spanish and codeswitching when talking to his classmates, he stood out as being especially careful to only use English with Ms. Barry, with me, and in whole-class settings where he was speaking to the group. Of the focal students, he was also one who used the least Spanish in his writing, using almost entirely English until the end of the spring semester. However, when he did, his Spanish and codemeshed texts were of similar length and sometimes greater grammatical complexity than his English ones.

Marta. Marta's work was notable in that she frequently wrote bilingual books with parallel, translated text in Spanish and English. She was attentive to using writing conventions like punctuation and capital letters, consistently using them in English and often experimenting with new conventions in Spanish, like tildes and virgulillas (ñ). Also unlike most of her classmates, she seemed to write books with the understanding that her family would eventually see most of them, as Ms. Barry had stated that students would be taking their writing folder home at the end of the year. She repeated this promise on

several occasions to her tablemates, most of whom did not seem to remember this. Marta also wrote meticulously detailed and neatly illustrated books.

Marta's older sister, a fourth grade student at Kimball, played an important role in supporting her literacy development. Her sister made, assigned, and graded Marta on extra "homework", which Marta occasionally brought to school to show Ms. Barry. The writing homework devised by her sister often consisted of fill-in-the-blank cloze activities. Marta's sister also frequently translated for her mother and came to parent teacher conferences. Both Marta and her sister wrote on behalf of their parents in the Family Message Journal.

Kelsey. Kelsey arrived from another school district mid-year. In her previous school, she had been learning to read and write in Spanish, and she frequently remarked upon the difference in school climate between her old school and Kimball. Although she used both Spanish and English regularly in speech, and Ms. Barry identified her as being extremely articulate and comfortable speaking in English, she initially wrote only in Spanish. Ms. Barry noted that after roughly a month at Kimball, "it seemed like something just clicked" and she began to write in English as well, with a similar level of detail and complexity.

Ms. Barry noted that Kelsey's strengths as a writer included her ability to elaborate extensively on one idea, as well as her attentiveness to writing things in precisely the way she had envisioned. She often asked both Ms. Barry and me for help in choosing just the right word, and for most of the year was adamant about maintaining text all in one language. For example, when unsure how to say "brownie" in Spanish, she asked me to look it up on my phone, as her mother often did. When my online search

revealed two possible options, “**el brownie**” and “**el bizcocho de chocolate**”, she strongly preferred the latter. Kelsey also frequently commented on language use at Kimball, comparing it to her former school.

Kelsey also tended to be somewhat hesitant to make mistakes, frequently seeking reassurance that she was doing an assignment “the right way”. Kelsey noted that one of her ideas about good writing was handwriting size, and she actively (and successfully) wrote in a smaller and smaller size handwriting as the year progressed. She also expressed a great deal of enthusiasm for writing generally, and, at the end of the year, for mixing languages in poetry. She reported extensive reading and writing on the computer at home, and she would frequently bring in to school typed and printed letters in Spanish that she had written for Ms. Barry or for myself.

MY POSITIONALITY

Given the central role of ethnographic methods in my study, my presence and position necessarily mediated the phenomena that I observed. As noted by Emerson, Fretz and Shaw (1995), “no field researcher can be a completely neutral, detached observer, outside and independent of the observed phenomena”(p. 3). My presence in this setting affected what happened in it; my positionality affected what I observed and how I made sense of what I observed. In writing field notes, positioning an audio or video recorder, and even in the act of transcription, I necessarily left out some details in order to focus on others (Emerson, Fretz & Shaw, 1995; Labov, 1972; Ochs, 1979). The decision to focus on some things as significant and others as non-significant is to some extent beyond the level of conscious control. As described in more detail below, design-based

research shifts the researcher's role from "being a so-called participant observer to becoming an especially observant participant" (Erickson, 1999, p. 7, as cited in Mehan, 2008). Where a detached observer might be inclined to "tell it like it is," a participant involved in the design of a curriculum might instead feel called to advocate for a preferred design (Mehan, 2008). Rather than aiming for neutrality and unobtrusiveness, I instead hoped to be aware of how who I am mediated what I saw. Following the example of Mendoza-Denton (2008) and in the interest of giving readers that same ability to interpret what I perceived as significant, I present below some relevant biographical details.

Unlike many of the students in this study, I grew up in a middle-class household, and my parents are both native English speakers. My grandfather and his siblings were born in Spain. Fleeing the fascist Franco regime, they immigrated to Mexico as young children. He met my grandmother there and moved to the United States as an adult, although the family returned to Mexico City for a time during my father's childhood. Much of my family on my father's side still lives in Mexico City, and I visit them regularly. I read, write and speak Spanish fluently, and my parents are both Spanish-speakers. However, I grew up speaking and hearing mostly English at home, and there were few Spanish-speakers or Latina/os in my hometown of Concord, New Hampshire. There are many common language contact phenomena —including codeswitching— which I learned only after moving to Texas as an adult. Consequently, I was particularly careful in my transcription of students' Spanish and codeswitching, cross-checking my initial impressions with audio, video and/or second opinions from other scholars.

Likewise, although there were ways that Ms. Barry's students resembled the ones I worked with as a second grade teacher—bilingual and primarily of Mexican heritage—there were many aspects of the community and school that are different from my experience, such as the relatively significant distance between many students' homes and the school, and the absence of a school or district-wide focus on developing students' literacy in their first language. During the course of my research, there were several occasions in which I was surprised by things that seemed unremarkable to Ms. Barry, such as students' tendency to use English phonological patterns when writing in Spanish rather than Spanish phonology when writing in English. This was perhaps valuable, in that the ethnographic goal of "making the familiar strange" (Mills, 2002) required less effort than had I been working in a classroom more like the one in which I had taught.

Perhaps most important, my positionality demonstrably mediated how students used language in my presence, as I later describe in Chapter Four. Early in the year, Ms. Barry speculated that some of her students' tendency to speak English to her—even when she initiated questions or clarifications in Spanish—might be related to her position as White woman and a non-native speaker, or her role as a teacher and authority figure in an institution that privileges English. Given my similar phenotype, age and my ambiguous role in the classroom, it is possible that some of her students perceived me as a somewhat similar, unspecified authority figure, and may have adjusted their language use accordingly. In my initial interactions with students, I asked if they preferred to use English, Spanish, or both, and responded to them according to their stated preference. Almost all of the students indicated that they preferred English. However, during time spent in the classroom for my pilot study, I noticed that students seemed to be using

much more Spanish with each other when I was not immediately next to them. My proximity and that of their teacher appeared to mediate their language use. Taking that into consideration, I began to privilege Spanish and codeswitching in both my one-on-one conversations and occasional statements to the whole group. Over the course of several months, the student talk done in close proximity to me began to closely resemble the kinds of Spanish and codeswitching that I had previously only observed across the room. As I discuss in Chapter Four, this reflects larger patterns of language use that I documented during my data collection.

In considering the effect of my own positionality, it is also worth noting that my interest in this topic stems in no small part from an ideological conviction that students have “a right to their own language—to the dialect that expresses their family and community identity, the idiolect that expresses their unique personal identity,” (NCTE Resolution on Students’ Right to Their Own Language, 1974). I also consider multilingualism an important and powerful resource that teachers can and should draw upon. These are values shared by some, but not all, educators and researchers. However, as stated by Fairclough (2001), “the scientific investigation of social matters is perfectly compatible with committed and ‘opinionated’ investigators (there are no others!), and being committed does not excuse you from arguing rationally or producing evidence for your statements” (p. 4). This is particularly acute given that in DBR, “there is a tendency to romanticize research of this nature and rest claims of success on a few engaging anecdotes or particularly exciting transcripts” (Brown, 1992, p. 173).

As such, the researcher must take particular care to avoid unwarranted claims, triangulate data and avoid premature conclusions. Moreover, one critical aspect of design

research is that researchers “must not initiate the project convinced that the intervention they wish to study will certainly produce the desired results” (Reinking & Bradley, 2008, p. 60). In this case, that means that it must be possible for me to conclude from my observations and analysis that an audience-based writing curriculum provides no unique benefit to the language or literacy development of bilingual children. Given my investment in this idea, methodological rigor also involved intentionally looking for flaws, weaknesses and limitations of this approach. This meant consciously searching in the data for disconfirming evidence, non-examples or discrepant cases. It also meant considering that the curriculum’s potential lack of effectiveness or appeal might have been practically or theoretically important.

METHODS AND METHODOLOGY

A fairly recent arrival to literacy research, *design-based research* holds tremendous potential as a way of closing the troubling gap between educational research and practice (Brown, 1992). It can be argued that experimental and quasi-experimental research attempts to answer the question, “What [method] is best?” Ethnographic work asks questions like, “What is happening?” and “How is it happening?” (Heath & Street, 2008). Both of these approaches to research are designed to document what already exists.

Bradley and Reinking (2011) argue that design-based research is a methodology with tremendous potential to widen the scope of the kinds of answers that research can provide. To do this, design-based research asks the question, “What is possible?” By this, design-based researchers mean, what happens when current theory is applied to real

classrooms, schools and teachers? What are important factors in how specific theories translate to practice? How can and should these theories be modified to reflect specific realities of everyday life and practice?

Experimental studies look to find quantifiable measures of “best practices.” Insofar as this demands that researchers eliminate as many confounding variables as possible, this type of research may oversimplify the complexity and breadth of factors that affect student learning. Moreover, it may lead to a misplaced confidence that there is one best practice that works well in all contexts. The concept of fidelity, important to controlling the number of variables at work, may limit the extent to which teachers and researchers can generalize from the tightly controlled experiment to the everyday classroom environment.

In contrast, ethnography can illuminate the messy complexities and tensions of a school or classroom, and give the field a deeper understanding of students, teachers and classroom life. However, the impact of naturalistic studies and ethnographic work on teachers and schools is often indirect, cumulative and long-term. The ethnographer as observer and even participant-observer may influence what he or she observes—the so-called “observer’s paradox” (Labov, 1972)—but this field of research is not explicitly intended to cause changes in teachers’ practices or beliefs. In both of the above cases, teachers are largely left to their own devices to figure out how educational research should be applied in their day-to-day decisions around curriculum and instruction.

Design-based research, in contrast, is centered on the idea of a designed intervention—specifically, one that occurs in iteration and is repeatedly modified in response to challenges, setbacks and failures. Reinking and Bradley (2008), among

others, propose that design-based research is “intervention centered in authentic instructional contexts; theoretical; goal-oriented, adaptive and iterative; transformative; methodologically inclusive and pragmatic” (pp.18-22). Researchers collaborate with a teacher or teachers to design a possible instructional intervention. Once the intervention is underway, researchers cyclically identify factors that inhibit or facilitate its effectiveness and modify the intervention in response. They note changes in the environment as a whole—whether or not it has been transformed in significant ways—as well as unanticipated effects (positive or negative) of the intervention. Design researchers aim for what Messick (1994) called *consequential validity*. This includes taking into consideration an intervention’s efficiency (relative to other alternatives) as well as its appeal to teachers (Reinking & Bradley, 2008).

One of the primary goals of design-based research is to systematically record “the wisdom of practice” (Shulman, 2004): the many micro-adjustments teachers constantly make as they respond to how students take up the planned curriculum. To the extent that design-based research is iterative and adaptive, it parallels Schön’s (1987) steps of reflective practice: exploratory experimentation, move-testing experimentation and hypothesis testing. In extending this principle to education research, researchers hope to systematically record, analyze and conceptually ground their findings. In short, design-based research hopes to bring the kinds of insight generated by reflective teaching to a wider audience, one that includes practitioners, policymakers and scholars.

STUDY DESIGN

Taking into consideration the need for design-based research to be *theory-driven*, *collaborative*, and *goal-based* (Reinking & Bradley, 2008), I worked with Ms. Barry to modify her typical yearly writing curriculum in ways that foregrounded an explicit focus on students' potential readers and audiences. This study had the following goals: (1) to support these bilingual students' language and writing development, (2) to explore how an audience-centered writing curriculum mediates students' bilingual and biliterate development, and (3) to advance theoretical understandings of how to build on bilingual students' linguistic abilities to support their writing development.

When considering how Ms. Barry's existing writing curriculum and pedagogy might be informed by theories of language and literacy development, Ms. Barry and I took into account Vygotsky's (1972) theory that language is learned in and through interaction, as well as Purcell-Gates, Duke & Martineau's (2007) finding that language forms and genres are best learned through authentic literacy events. They defined authentic to mean, "the literacy event serves a social communicative purpose, such as reading for information that one wants or needs to know or writing to provide information for someone who wants or needs it" (p. 41). Considering this idea for my own work, I took this concept to mean an authentic audience required that children were writing to real people, and those people wanted to hear what children had to say.

In the process, Ms. Barry and I used *culturally sustaining pedagogy* (Paris, 2012) as a guiding design principle: that schools and teacher should "perpetuate and foster students'...linguistic, cultural and literate pluralism as part of the democratic project of schooling," (Paris, 2012, p. 95). I defined *culturally sustaining* writing instruction for

bilingual Latina/os as encouraging, valuing and developing students' proficiency in varieties of Spanish, English and codeswitching, as well as their dexterity in choosing between them to meet their communicative goals. Essential components of the curriculum were: (1) students wrote for real readers and audiences; (2) many of those audiences were bilingual or Spanish-dominant; and (3) students were given the opportunity to interact with readers around their writing.

I also considered how the tacit knowledge embedded in students' everyday language practices overlapped with the forms of language and literacy articulate in the language arts standards outlined by the state (Martínez, 2010; Martínez, Orellana, Pacheco, & Carbone, 2008). I looked at the Texas Essential Knowledge and Skills (TEKS) language arts standards and identified the following as standards that reflect skills that students likely already possess to some degree:

- 2 (B) ELLs must learn how rhetorical devices in English differ from those in their native language.
- 17(E) Students are expected to: publish and share writing with others
- (19) Writing/Expository and Procedural Texts. Students write expository and procedural or work-related texts to communicate ideas and information to specific audiences for specific purposes.
- (26) Research/Organizing and Presenting Ideas. Students organize and present their ideas and information according to the purpose of the research and their audience (Grade 1 TEKS, 2013)

These particular standards highlight metalinguistic knowledge, as in 2 (B), as well as the ability to adapt one's writing to specific (and variable) audiences, as in 17 (E), 19 and 26.

They also align with notions of skilled writing as outlined by the Common Core State Standards (CCSS), which ask students to, “Produce clear and coherent writing in which the development and organization are appropriate to task, purpose, and audience” (CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.W.5.4).⁴ Moreover, the presence of audience awareness in elementary language arts standards is echoed by scholarly work that describes such awareness as critical to skilled writing, as described in further detail in Chapter Three.

Having identified audience awareness as a potential overlap between bilingual students’ skills and curricular expectation for writers, Ms. Barry and I revisited her writing plan for the year, revising and adding to her yearly plan in order to ensure that for all units of study, children were writing for authentic bilingual readers, and receiving feedback from those readers. These audience-based units of study, listed in Table 3.1 below, are described briefly here, and in greater detail in Chapters 4 and 5.

Table 3.1, Audience-Based Units of Study

Audience-Based Units of Study		
Unit	Audience	Genre and Purpose
Friendly Letters	Author Carmen Tafolla; Pen pals in California learning Spanish	Narrative; letters to establish and build relationships
Picture Books	Parents; Kindergarten partners	Narrative picturebooks; gift for family and entertainment for kindergarten partners

⁴ This strand of the CCSS is not introduced until third grade, perhaps reflecting the belief that audience awareness is cognitively beyond what young children are capable of. For further discussion of the CCSS and young children’s literacy development, see Bomer & Maloch (2011).

Table 3.1, Audience-Based Units of Study, cont.

Black History Month hallway display	School and community members	Expository; To teach about the U.S. Civil Rights movement
Family Message Journals	Family members	Expository; to communicate information related to school
Animal Project	Parents, siblings and peers	Multimodal expository; to teach about selected animal
Poetry	Parents, siblings and peers	Poetry; to play with the aesthetic of language and evoke emotions or moods

These units of study were incorporated into the regular routines of writing workshop. Between units of study, students wrote and composed on topics and in genres of their choice, and regularly shared their writing with each other as part of the writing workshop routine.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Below, I present the research questions guiding my inquiry. These questions directed and focused my collection and analysis of data.

- What happens when a group of first-grade bilingual students are asked to address their writing to multiple audiences with varying language preferences?
 - How does such a focus on audience leverage these students' existing linguistic repertoires?

- How does such a focus on audience mediate students' writing development? How is this reflected in their writing and in their writing-related talk?

METHODS OF DATA COLLECTION

Given the focus on understanding the nuances of classroom life and consequential validity, qualitative and ethnographic methods are particularly essential for design-based research (Brown, 1992). To that end, I engaged in participant observation, taking extensive jottings in the classroom three times a week, for approximately 45 minutes each visit, and expanding those jottings into detailed field notes within 24 hours (Emerson, Fretz & Shaw, 1995). During this process, I attempted to capture not only classroom activity, but also some verbatim talk. In my expansion, I added a number of *observer's comments* (Saldaña, 2009), in which I speculated, inserted my opinion or hypothesized how what I was seeing related to my research questions and the study as a whole. I hoped that by flagging my own perspectives as such, I would be better able to distinguish between my opinions and my observations. These observer comments were often expanded into full-fledged analytic memos, and often informed the development of codes. In addition to visiting the classroom during writing time, I also participated in some activities taking place at other locations and times, such as accompanying the class on a field trip and occasionally joining students for lunch.

I also video-recorded and audio-recorded most of these observations (Erickson, 1992). Given that some, but not all students, gave consent for audio or video recording, my choice of whom and where to record was affected by who gave consent and their location in the classroom. At times, I left the video or audio-recorder running in my

absence, with the thought that the recording device might mediate students' talk in different ways than my presence. At other times, I engaged students in conversations around their writing in view of the camera. As a participant-observer, I also sometimes put my researcher tasks (like taking jottings or pictures of students work) on hold in response to requests for help from students or the teacher.

I chose six focal children to follow closely, as described earlier. These six focal students were chosen using purposeful sampling (Merriam, 2009). In choosing focal students, my selection criteria was informed by the desire to have a range of different literacy strengths and language preferences represented. To that end, I generated a list of potential focal students, and after consulting with Ms. Barry, revised the list so that that we both judged it to be representative of multiple trajectories towards biliteracy. Given my interest in biliteracy, I included the two students who wrote the most in Spanish, although this characteristic was unusual for the class. As mentioned earlier in the focal student profiles, Kelsey arrived mid-year from a district that taught Spanish reading and writing, and had highly developed Spanish literacy. Similarly, Paco had changed schools several times the previous year, and had received some Spanish literacy instruction as a result. Given that at the start of the year, all other students only wrote in English, it was difficult to evaluate if any of the focal students represented the opposite tendency, i.e., being more likely than average to write in English. Also given my choice to include two students who had had some formal Spanish literacy instruction, my focal students were representative of different trajectories towards biliteracy, but not necessarily representative of the class as a whole.

Assessment of bilingual writing development is still not as well-defined as monolingual writing assessment. However, work by Gort (2001, 2006) and Soltero-Gonzalez, Escamilla & Hopewell (2012) suggests that appropriate writing assessment for young bilingual children should consider students' work over time in different genres and languages, with an eye towards the strategic use of codeswitching. Given that my research questions consider students' (bi)literacy development, I used assessment tools not to evaluate children as writers but to direct my attention to important aspects of their writing development. The aspects of biliterate development I considered were informed by the Bilingual Writing Profiles developed by Gort (2001; 2006; 2012) for use in dual immersion schools. These Bilingual Writing Profiles were designed to assess writing development in young bilingual children and consist of lists of writing behaviors and skills, as observed in Spanish, English and both (See Appendix B). Although the different instructional context complicated their direct application to my study, I drew on these as a heuristic for considering the various dimensions of literacy in each language as well as the potential forms and functions of language mixing. In addition, I collected samples of student writing across time and genres, as well as photos and/or video of work in progress. For focal students, I collected multiple photographs of drafts as they worked on a piece across several days. For the designed units, I collected copies or photos of final projects from all students. Lastly, influenced by Canagarajah's (2013) translanguaging orientation to literacy, I looked at students' talk about their writing for evidence of audience awareness and reflexivity, and students' own stated perspectives on whether their text was received in the way that they intended.

I conducted several semi-structured interviews with the teacher in order to elicit

her perspectives on students' language and composition practices and how they related to the curriculum. These interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed. I also conducted semi-structured interviews at the end of the year with my focal students about their writing and language use. Using students' writing as a conversation starter, I asked them to engage in *participant retrospection* (Rampton, 2003), discussing their compositions with me, and how the intended audience received them.

Finally, I observed and documented—using field notes and audio-recording— the process of co-designing and implementing this curriculum. As noted in Table 3.1, this consisted of 6 units of study, and consequently, 6 *microcycles* within the larger *macrocycle* of design, experiment and reflection (Cobb, McClain & Gravemeijer, 2003). During each of the cycles of design and implementation of different units, I documented my interactions and discussions with the teacher as we collaborated and reflected. We looked at preliminary data together and generated ideas for lessons and activities that were connected to students' knowledge, language practices and the first grade language arts content standards. I also wrote *field reports* at the conclusion of each microcycle, focusing on “problems, progress and plans,” (Glesne, 2006, p. 194).

DATA ANALYSIS

All of these data were analyzed using an inductive approach informed by the constant-comparative method (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Analysis occurred in three overlapping but distinct phases: data reduction and organization, initial coding, and focused/hypothesis coding (Saldaña, 2009). In many kinds of qualitative research, data reduction and data analysis were difficult to neatly disentangle. As noted by Erickson (2004), “field notes, interview transcripts, and archival records (as well as audiotapes and

videotapes) are most appropriately conceived not as “data” in their unreduced form— they are resources for data construction within which data must be discovered” (p. 486). In the case of design-based research, there is a substantial overlap between the two. The field reports mentioned above, for example, were both data and a space for in-the-moment analysis. Likewise, my regular analytic memos were written in order to help me to make sense of patterns and further inform data collection, particularly my search for discrepant cases. They were also revisited during later stages of analysis and layered onto as a means of building theory.

Below, I present a table, 3.2, that details the sequence of my data collection and analysis. This table also describes which sources of data were obtained at which points in the investigation.

Table 3.2: Overview of Research and Data Collection

Overview of Research and Data Collection

Date	Phase of Research	Activities	Data sources
8/26/13- 2/24/14	Pilot study	Obtaining consent, collecting baseline qualitative data, establishing familiarity Co-planning curriculum	Field notes Audio and video recordings Teacher artifacts (lesson plans) Student artifacts (booklets, drafts)
2/24/14- 2/30/14	Phase 1 Entering the Field	Collecting qualitative measures of students language and literacy practices	Field notes Audio and video recordings Teacher artifacts (lesson plans) Student artifacts (booklets, drafts)

Table 3.2, Overview of Research and Data Collection, cont.

5/1/14- 6/1/14	Phase 3: Participant retrospection, retrospective analysis	Interview participants Revisit and revise design of units of study	Semi-structured parent, teacher and child interviews
6/1- 6/15/14	Field exit	Sharing preliminary findings with community, Reflecting on design modifications	Field notes Analytic memos Transcripts
6/15- 12/26/14	Formal analysis	Data reduction, transcription and analysis	Field notes Analytic memos Transcripts
12/26/14-5/1/ 2015	Writing	Writing, revising and defending dissertation	Analytic memos Data displays (tables, charts)

In my initial phase of data reduction and organization, I first generated a list of all of my data sources and their form. This included: 44 audio files, 29 video files, 150 hard-copy artifacts, 62 sets of field notes, 11 field reports/interviews and 437 digital artifacts. Most of the video files averaged 40 minutes in lengths, and most of the field notes were around three pages long, making roughly 155 pages of fieldnotes and 15 hours of video. I reduced and analyzed all of the video data by creating activity logs in which I watched the recordings, wrote summaries of the kinds of activities occurring, and flagged relevant sections for close transcription and analysis. These activity logs were included in my corpus of data for coding, as were transcripts of the interviews with Ms. Barry and the field reports.

During my initial round of coding, I read the entire data set and generated a set of preliminary descriptive codes “in vivo” or preliminary codes (Glesne, 2006), pausing periodically to write analytic memos. These analytic memos served to help refine and collapse my initial codes, organizing the resulting preliminary codes into categories and subcategories. When the first round of coding was complete and my preliminary codes were organized, I reviewed my research questions and revisited my corpus of data for a second time. This time, I used the TAMS (Text Analysis Markup System) Analyzer program (Weinstein, 2006). After my initial coding, I revisited the original video files and selectively transcribed all student, teacher, and parent interviews, with awareness that this process, too, was an act of analysis (Ochs, 1979).

In my second round of coding, I used my original list as a starting point, but added and modified codes during the process. For example, one important code from my first list was *audience*. In my second round of coding, I added subcategories, such as *audience>revision*, *audience>peer*, *audience>family*, and *audience>multiple*. A list of these codes is included in the appendix to this study. For digital and physical artifacts, I grouped work both by writer and by design unit to better see trends across time and across the group as a whole. In looking at artifacts, I also engaged in some close analysis of language use, noting which audiences and circumstances were associated with English, Spanish and/or codeswitching and codemeshing. I also “zoomed in” to look closely at a number of examples of codeswitching in talk and codemeshing in writing to consider how these two modalities of hybrid language related to each other. The second phase of coding also included a search for disconfirming evidence and discrepant cases. As I began generating hypotheses about my data, I re-read for both examples and counter-

examples of the patterns I was noticing. As I found counterexamples, I revised or qualified my claims. For example, in the following chapter, I present one focal student's written interactions with readers in her Family Message Journals, and describe how these interactions seemed to mediate her language use. However, inspection of other focal students' journals revealed dissimilar patterns, suggesting to me that the influence of these Family Message Journal interactions varied depending on who students wrote to and who they heard back from.

CHAPTER FOUR: SHIFT IN LANGUAGE USE OVER TIME

This chapter describes patterns, themes and trends in student writing and writing-related talk over the 6 iterations of the designed curriculum. Through analysis of students' writing process and products, I found the following:

- An audience-focused writing curriculum mediated a shift in students' language use in speech and writing towards the use of more Spanish, codeswitching, and codemeshing.
- Students' interactions with their readers developed and displayed their audience awareness.

In the following section, I discuss the first finding: how over time, students shifted from writing and speaking almost exclusively in English in *public* to using English, Spanish and both in a wide variety of contexts. My analysis indicates that this shift was mediated by Ms. Barry' instructional moves as well as by students' interactions with bilingual readers. In Chapter Five, I provide an in depth discussion of the changes in student' understandings of audience and how those changes influenced their writing. Here in Chapter Four, I describe changes in students' language use in their writing-related talk and written compositions, describing how and why their use of Spanish, codeswitching and codemeshing increased over time.

INCREASE IN STUDENTS' USE OF SPANISH, CODESWITCHING AND CODEMESHING

Britton described the composing processes of young children as occurring “afloat a sea of talk” (1970, p. 29). One of focal students, Kelsey, described her classmates and Ms. Barry’s classroom in ways that echoed Britton’s: “I’m trying to write here, and you guys are like blah blah blah,” (Fieldnotes 3/24/14). No idle chatter, this writing-related talk serves important function in building understandings of written language (Dyson 1990), in rehearsing ideas (Clay, 1995), in appropriating literacy knowledge (Larson, 1995), and in negotiating relationships and social positions (Bomer & Laman, 2004). Moreover, for bilingual children, codeswitching in writing-related talk serves both metacognitive and metalinguistic functions (Gort, 2012). In the case of the students in Ms. Barry’s class, my analysis indicates that the curricular focus on audience mediated students’ choice of language(s) in talk as well as in writing.

Over the course of the year, the frequency of students’ use of Spanish and codeswitching talk in *public* spaces gradually increased, as did students’ use of Spanish and codemeshing in writing. In my analysis of student talk, I distinguish between *private* talk and *public* talk. In differentiating between the two, I consider conversations between individual students to be “private” and comments made in whole-group settings to be “public.” These two categories tended to be spatially distinct as well, with *private talk* primarily occurring at students’ desks and in line, and *public talk* occurring on the carpet, typically during the mini-lesson or sharing components of writing workshop, or in the hallways. One exception to this spatial distribution of public and private was pair-share talk on the carpet, which I also considered *private*.

Although all of this talk was somewhat public, in that there were always people listening in, the talk occurring at desks, in line, and in partners was markedly different from the talk during whole-group carpet time, particularly in the beginning of the year. Moreover, students sometimes articulated an explicit consciousness of the teacher's presences as a mediating factor in their behavior. For example, the video camera recorded several comments about whether the teacher was watching, such as, "**¡Está mirando, la maestra te está mirando!**"

In the table below, I present some examples from my coding scheme that distinguish between *public* and *private* talk, in order to further illustrate what I mean by these terms.

Table 4.1. Codes Related to Language Use

Code	Definition	Example
1. <i>Public_v_Private</i>	Indicates a distinction between “public” and “private” language use in talk or in writing	Observer Comment: Kelsey got very embarrassed when I read out loud her mom’s note in her Family Message Journal addressing her as ‘baby’, and told me not to read that out loud.
2. <i>CS>Student>Private</i>	Indicates students mixing languages in conversations between children in which no adult is addressed directly	Anthony: Mi big brother hace eso. Matías: Why are you talking to yourself? Kelsey: He’s talking to his [Anthony: [Friend camera
3. <i>CS>student>public</i>	Indicates students mixing languages in whole-group “public” setting	Ms. Barry: “Look at this border that Avery did. She loves dogs, is that like you? Who can raise their hands and tell something that’s the same between them and their pen pal?” Álvaro: “I have a fat chivo. ” Ms. Barry: “You have a fat chivo too, un chivo gordo? Very good.”

Here, the first example describes how the *private* written exchange between Kelsey and her mother became embarrassing when I read it out loud. In the second exchange, students talked at their *private* tables, and no adults participated in the conversation. In the third exchange, students were seated on the carpet, and Ms. Barry guided the discussion by asking questions and revoicing student talk.

In my analysis, I also assume that changes in language use in students’ talk were related to changes in the language they used in their writing, and that and print was a metaphorically *public* space. All of the booklets that students made over the course of the

year were kept in the classroom and could be read by others. Consequently, although some pieces reached a wider audience than others, there was very little student writing done during the school day that could be considered truly *private*.

My Presence as a Mediating Factor. At the start of the year, when I began regularly visiting Ms. Barry's classroom, I observed a clear distinction between students' language in *public* and *private* settings. When students gathered on the carpet and raised their hand to share a comment with the group, such comments were almost always made in English. In contrast, when students talked in partners on the carpet or to neighbors at their desks, they frequently used Spanish and mixed both languages, as in the following exchange in table groups while students worked on illustrations:

S1: **Yo lo voy a pintar. Mira, tengo blanco.** [I'm going to color it. Look, I have white.]

S2: ¿**Qué hace negro con white?** [What does black and white make?]

S3: **Se hace grey.** [It makes grey].

Here, students' talk around their work made fluid use of both languages. In the exchange above, students' presumably knew and understood both "**blanco**" and "white". Neither Spanish nor English seemed to be marked, although different students seemed to use them in differing proportions. When joining in to *private* conversations like the one above, I intentionally used Spanish to initiate my conversations with students. However, for several weeks, most students did not codeswitch or use Spanish in their replies, and they often switched to talking only English when I approached. This may have been mediated by my perceived positionality as a teacher-figure, or by the notebook and

camera I carried with me, which perhaps served to render previously *private* conversations *public*.

However, after several weeks of visiting the classroom three days a week, most students began to use Spanish and English in my presence as well as in *private* talk in a manner similar to what I had earlier observed from a distance. While I suspect that my presence as an adult continued to mediate the topics discussed in conversation involving me, students no longer appeared to be restricting their use of Spanish or codeswitching in front of me. For example, in a typical exchange later in the year, I approached a table where students were working. One student, Amy, noticed the cracked screen on my cell phone, and asked me in English, "What happened to your phone?" I responded in English that I had dropped it and Amy's neighbor Carlos chimed in, "**Yo pensé que** your dog bite it. That would not be cool. It would have dog **saliva,**" (Fieldnotes, 3/3/14). Here, although I had made no special effort to encourage Spanish, Carlos used both Spanish and English to participate in our conversation, assuming that both Amy and I would understand. In this conversation, as in the majority of *private* talk, Spanish, English and mixing the two were all unmarked ways of talking, and over time, students stopped shifting into *public* talk as I approached. Even though they were aware that I was recording their talk, it no longer seemed to be perceived as *public* in the same way that it had before. As one student reminded another in front of the camera, "Remember what Ms. Barry said, imagine the camera's not here," (Video Activity Log, 3/30/14). Students in general seemed willing to adapt to my presence and talk in front of me in similar ways to how they talked when they did not notice that I was listening or taking notes⁵.

⁵ Although student talk captured by the camera in my absence did feature "edgier" topics, such as who might have a boyfriend, and whether or not **el diablo** was real.

One student stood out in exception to this general trend in which students over time allowed me to be privy to *private* bilingual conversations. Focal student Omar used English exclusively with me, even when I initiated conversations with him in Spanish, resulting in non-reciprocal exchanges. Until April, he also used English exclusively in whole-group settings, even as many of his peers had begun to use Spanish *publically*. While I could hear him using Spanish and codeswitching with other students at his table, he did not do either with me until I directly addressed the issue with him. During a visit in the first week of April, I overheard Omar across the table talking extensively and fluently with a classmate in Spanish. Puzzled, I directly asked him why he spoke Spanish to other children but never to me. He paused for several seconds before answering, **“Porque algunas personas se ríen de mí. [Because some people make fun of me.]”** While I hoped Omar might tell me more, he did not further explain. However, I suspect that something about my positionality – my age, or gender, and/or phenotype – reminded him of others, perhaps teachers, who had discouraged and ridiculed his use of Spanish on other occasions. While after this interaction, Omar began to use Spanish in front of me, his reaction made it clear to me that using Spanish *publically* could be (and had been) socially and emotionally risky.

PUBLIC CODESWITCHING AND CODEMESHING

Students’ ability and willingness to write in Spanish was mediated by the instructional moves Ms. Barry made, and the writing contexts the designed curriculum provided. Although she was not permitted to provide direct instruction in Spanish graphophonemic relationships, both the designed curriculum and Ms. Barry’s

pedagogical moves encouraged what de la luz Reyes (2012) called *spontaneous biliteracy*. I will describe the former in more detail in Chapter Five; here I focus on the latter – what she did to communicate to students that Spanish, codeswitching, and codemeshing were all acceptable and valuable modes of communication. Ranker’s (2009) study of students’ appropriation of codemeshing in mentor texts suggested that bilingual students needed not only the invitation to use their home language(s) as part of their composing resources, but also for Spanish to be used during official, *public* whole class instruction. My analysis of *when* and *how* students began to take up Ms. Barry’s invitation to use both Spanish and English in their writing supports this suggestion.

As the year progressed and students began writing more often in Spanish, there was substantial evidence that they were transferring print conventions from English to Spanish. Focal students often drew on English graphophonemic patterns when composing in Spanish, such as writing **haola** for **jaula** [cage], **cwando** for **cuando** [when], **tyene** for **tiene** [has] or **kamesa** for **camisa** [shirt]. In contrast, students’ invented spelling in English infrequently showed the reverse transfer of Spanish graphophonemic patters into English writing. Rather, common invented spelling patterns reflected overgeneralized or still-developing understandings of English patterns, as in words like “uv” (of), “sed” (said), “wodrmelen” (watermelon) or “sckorf” (scarf). The lone exception was focal student Kelsey. Having received Spanish literacy instruction, Kelsey demonstrated notably different composing patterns than her peers, choosing to write in Spanish most of the time and, when writing in English, frequently applying Spanish graphophonemic patterns, such as **sori** for ‘sorry’, **pliz** for ‘please’ and **bay** for ‘buy’.

With the exception of Kelsey, then, students' transfer of print conventions from Spanish to English was infrequent, but transfer from English to Spanish was common. As one might expect, enrollment in an ESL setting meant that students had greater literacy knowledge in English than in Spanish. It is perhaps unsurprising that when given the choice of what language to write in, students would consistently choose English. For such young students, the process of encoding language into symbols required them to expend substantial effort and time, even when using the symbols and conventions with which they had the most fluency and practice. Composing in Spanish was likely significantly more difficult than composing in English for most students. Despite this barrier, while at the beginning of the year, the majority students wrote only in English, by the end, all students had also added Spanish and bilingual writing to their repertoire of composing practices.

It was mid-October before I documented students using Spanish or mixing languages in *public* whole-group carpet settings. This coincided with the class author study of local Chicana author Carmen Tafolla. Ms. Barry read out loud several of Tafolla's books, all of which were bilingual, featuring English text above or alongside parallel translations in Spanish. The English text also featured codemeshing, as in the following excerpt from *What Can You Do With a Paleta*: "...and where the **paleta** wagon rings its tinkly bell and carries a treasure of icy **paletas** in every color of the **sarape**...THAT'S my **barrio!**" This mixing of Spanish and English in Tafolla's work was echoed in students' *public* talk in whole-class discussions of the book. Ms. Barry captured some of this *public* talk in a language chart (Roser, Hoffman, Labbo & Farrest, 1992) comparing the different books. This chart, presented in Figure 4.1 below, recorded

students' observations and discussion of several of Tafolla's books: *What Can you Do With a Paleta?*, *What Can You Do With a Rebozo?*, and *The Old Woman and the Coyote*. While language charts can serve a variety of classroom purposes, this one directed students to "read like writers," paying attention to the author's craft and which aspects of that craft they might take up in their own writing.

Figure 4.1. Language Chart from Carmen Tafolla Author Study

Book Titles	What we noticed	Connections	Things to try in our own writing	Story Structure
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - pueden hacer bigotes (Marta) - La niña le dio un pedacito al perrito (Pablo) - You can paint your tongue blue and scare your brother (Pablo) - The man with the cart went down the hill. (Marta) - The girl shared with the woman vendiendo frutas. (Cristina) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Sandra shared a paleta de paleta con su mamá. - You got a paleta from her Vecinos Paletería (truck). - buy paletas que te pica at the store with his mom. - Carlos had a banana paleta. - She had a paleta de limón from a truck. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - a book about paletas - write bilingual books (words in English and Spanish) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Spanish English Spanish English Colors of Sarape (Daisy) What you can do with a paleta (Marta)
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - You can use a rebozo to carry a baby. (Marta) - The girl sleeps with her rebozo as a cobija. (Cristina) - The abuela wraps the girl in a rebozo when it's cold. (Cristina) - The mom puts a rebozo to look like a butterfly. (Cristina) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Diana's mom wraps her in a cobija when she's scared. (Cristina) - Pablo and his brother have blankets. - Juan has a hello Kitty rebozo. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - make a book about scarfs and all their colors (Oscar) - a birthday (Marta) - butterflies (Daisy) - dancing (Adam) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Pattern of English and Spanish - All things do with a rebozo (Marta)
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The lady left the trash outside. (Marta) - They recycled paper, cans, and bottles. (Marta) - The viejita used boxes to carry the paper. (Marta) - The sky had many colors. (Cristina) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - We love tamales too, especially de pollo. (Marta) - Juan has recycled cans too. - Juan's mom threw away vasos de vidrio. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - A story with a coyote. - A recycling book about the earth. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Beginning Middle End - English Spanish - Sun = up + down - nuts + pecans

Here, children's *public* talk about Tafolla's writing included both codeswitching ("The girl sleeps with her **rebozo** as a **cobija**") and metalinguistic talk about Tafolla's language choices. Under the category of "Things to Try in Our Writing", Ms. Barry recorded the suggestion: "Write Bilingual books (books in Spanish and English)", as well

as students' observations about the patterned distribution of Spanish and English text. In addition to students' talk about language, Ms. Barry also engaged in *public* codeswitching and metalinguistic talk, telling students that, "If you want to make a bilingual book, like Carmen, **con palabras en español**, you can do that." (Fieldnotes, 10/10/13). Not only did she explicitly encourage students to draw on their bilingual repertoires in their writing, she modeled for students, in her own speech, that it was acceptable to do so. Several students took up this invitation that same day, beginning to codemesh by including some Spanish words in their books. Ms. Barry publicly lauded them for this effort, using the classroom behavior management system to recognize and reward their use of codemeshing in their writing. In her explanation to the whole class of why such codemeshing was rewarded, she praised students for their effort and willingness to take risks. She highlighted one student's attempt to sound out the long and difficult word **zoológico**, and another's book about popsicles, which featured a description of "**comiendo las paletas**" in Spanish (fieldnotes, 10/10/13). Ms. Barry repeated this invitation to codemesh and use Spanish at multiple points throughout the year: "If you want to do it **en español**, or both, you can do that." (Fieldnotes, 4/24/14). Students themselves revoiced this to each other, reminding peers that they could choose between languages, as in Derek's comment to his neighbors that "you can do it in Spanish or English or the both." (Fieldnotes, 4/24/14). Ms. Barry's explicit invitations and modeling of codemeshing seemed to be effective in persuading students that all three of those options were legitimately available.

In addition to providing mentor texts that feature codemeshing, recording students' codeswitching talk on a language chart, and *publically* modeling codeswitching

herself, Ms. Barry asked students explicitly to engage in *public* use of codeswitching, passing around a scarf, and directing each student to use the sentence stem, “A **rebozo** can be...” to imagine out loud other possibilities for its use, much like the child narrator in Tafolla’s *What Can You Do With A Rebozo?* As students each took a turn talking through possibilities, she connected their talk to Tafolla’s books. For example, as one student took the scarf and draped it over his upper lip, Ms. Barry highlighted a similar scene in Tafolla’s writing where the narrator uses a popsicle to paint a big blue mustache: “That’s like *What Can You Do With a Paleta?*, where she makes the **bigote azul**.”

Several students in their writing directly appropriated this public talk. Building upon Bakhtin’s (1981) theories of revoicing and dialogue in writing, Wertsch (1998) used the term appropriation to describe the process of one of taking up something that belongs to another and making it one’s own: reusing something in similar and then subsequently original ways. In this case, students appropriated Tafolla’s codemeshing through both direct imitation and then their own innovative ways of combining languages.

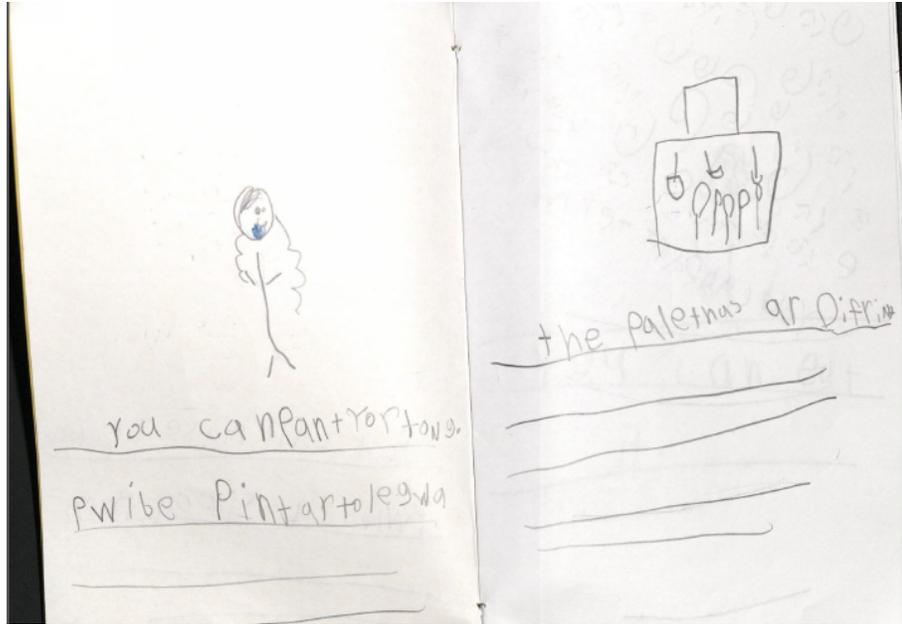
For example, in the book excerpted below, titled, “Scarvs can bi [Scarves can be...]”, Omar directly drew on the pattern “A **rebozo** can be...” Much like Tafolla’s *What Can You Do With a Paleta?*, his book imagined other possible uses for a **rebozo**:

Figure 4.2, A **Rebozo** Can Be a Bed, A **Rebozo** Can Be a Rainbow



His book went on to describe many different possible uses, appropriating both the pattern of the class's *public* talk and Tafolla's subject matter and book structure. Many of his classmates similarly appropriated Tafolla's topic, structure and bilingual style. For example, Omar's seatmate Amanda wrote the following:

Figure 4.3. You Can Paint Your Tongue. **Puede Pintar Tu Lengua.** The **Paletas** Are Different.



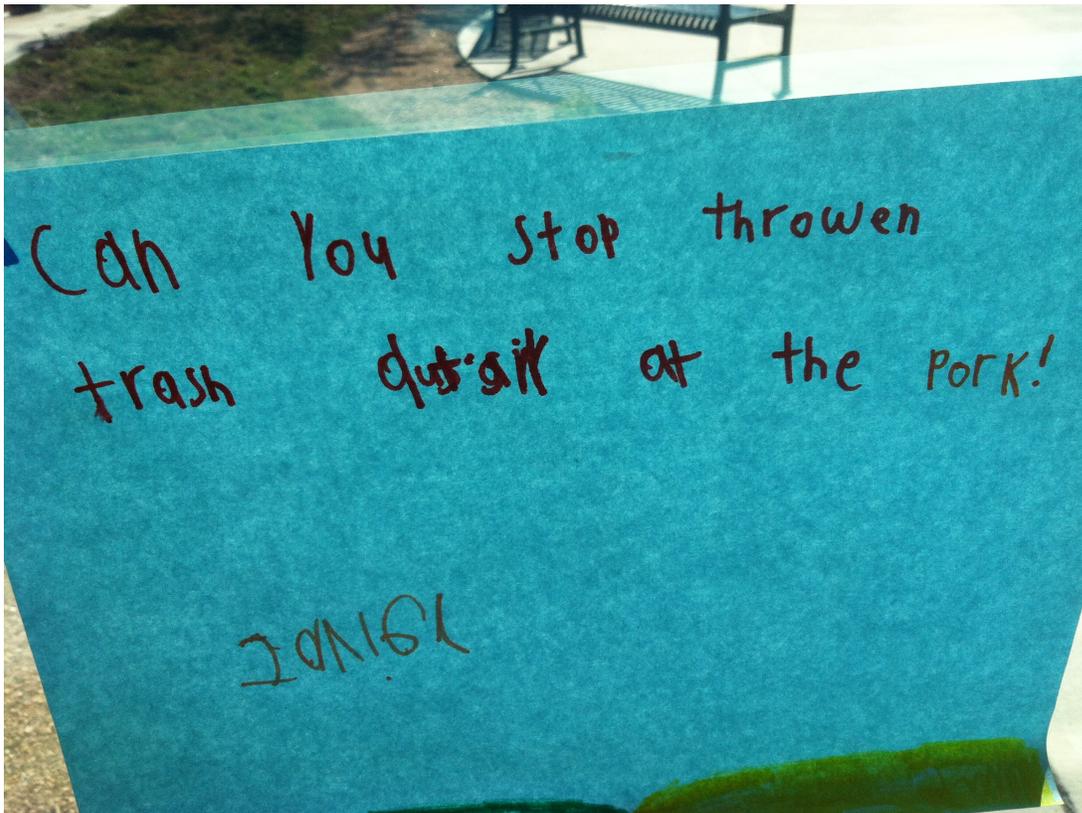
Where Omar had echoed *What Can You Do With a Rebozo?*, Amanda’s book was similar to *What Can You Do With a Paleta?* Indeed, most students’ first forays into codemeshing in their writing directly appropriated the words **paleta** or **rebozo**. Likewise, they generally followed Tafolla’s style of codemeshing, with single-word insertions of Spanish nouns into English sentences. However, over time, students also began to incorporate new words or phrases in Spanish into their English texts, and to do so in ways that departed from those modeled by Tafolla.

Over the course of the year, students began to incorporate Spanish into their writing for increasingly broader – or more *public* – audiences. When students wrote letters to Carmen Tafolla after the author study, most of them chose to use both Spanish and English in their letters. Most letters used Spanish for the opening (“**Querida Carmen Tafolla**”) and closing (“**con cariño**”) of their letters, and three students also

used Spanish in the bodies of their letters. Several students codemeshed in similar ways to Tafolla, asking her questions like, “What is your favorite **paleta?**” As a whole, students seemed to write with the assumption that Carmen Tafolla would understand and/or welcome a bilingual letter. This assumption was ratified when the class received letter back from the author, who wrote a long response back to the class as a whole. In her letter to Ms. Barry’s students, Tafolla answered many of the questions that students had asked (“Yes, I like Halloween”) as well as used Spanish (“**Gracias por sus lindas cartas**”) and mixed the two (“For **Día de los Muertos**, I wore a **calavera** mask (a skull”). Tafolla’s letter was displayed prominently on the wall for several months following her correspondence with the students. This *publically* enacted bilingual correspondence, along with the *public* talk about bilingual writers and bilingual writing seemed to be associated with an increase in students’ interest in and willingness to compose bilingually, at least in certain contexts.

Public Space and Bilingual Audiences. Despite this increase in students’ students’ use of Spanish and appropriation of codemeshing as a literary technique, bilingual writing was visible in particular contexts and absent from in others. For example, following the class author study, and inspired by the ecological message of Tafolla’s (2000) *Baby Coyote and the Old Woman /El Coyotito y La Viejita*, children wrote “public service announcements” for the school community, encouraging them to keep the playground free from trash. These posters were placed in the hallways of the school near the exit to the playground, and all students exclusively wrote in English. In Figure 4.4 below, I present one typical example:

Figure 4.4, “Can You Stop Throwing Trash Outside at the Park!”



As students considered how to persuade members of their school community to take better care of the playground, it is possible that they assumed that English-only signs would be more effective or more appropriate. Although more than 50% of the school’s student population was identified as bilingual⁶, Ms. Barry’s students did not seem to perceive the need to write in Spanish for their peers. It may also be that writing for public display in the hallways of the school was a context in which they did not perceive that Spanish or codemeshing would be accepted. At the time, none of the hallway displays in the school, whether teacher or student created, featured Spanish.

⁶ According to the school demographic report, “Limited English Proficient”

It was not until February that students wrote bilingually or in Spanish in the school's most *public* spaces—the hallways and bulletin boards visible to all members of the school community. At the conclusion of students' study of Civil Rights movement leaders Martin Luther King, Jr., Ruby Bridges, and Rosa Parks, the class created a large display on butcher paper, for display in the large Commons Area visible as one entered the school. This hallway display was noteworthy in its use of Spanish in a *public* hallway space. Prior to the display, the only Spanish I had seen visible on school walls was located in the entryway to the school, and consisted of flyers with information for parents. In a similar vein, I very rarely heard Spanish spoken in the hallways, despite frequently passing groups of teachers and students on my way to or from Ms. Barry's class. In considering why this *public* writing featured Spanish and the recycling posters did not, two differences appear salient: Ms. Barry's mini-lesson, quoted below, and students' increasing awareness of their many bilingual audience and readers.

In her mini-lesson before the writing sessions focused on this hallway display, Ms. Barry prompted students to consider who might see the display, and what language would be best for those readers. She described the project as, “making a big giant bulletin board to teach the kids in our school,” and added, “We have some parents who are reading this, too. Should we do this just in English, or just in Spanish? Or in both?” To which, students responded, “Both!” in unison (Fieldnotes, 2/12/14). As they composed pieces for this display, many students did indeed write bilingual texts, with parallel translation of each sentence. In discussing this choice with me, several students cited the need to reach their Spanish-speaking readers. Most of students' contributions to the display were structured with each sentence written once in Spanish and once in English.

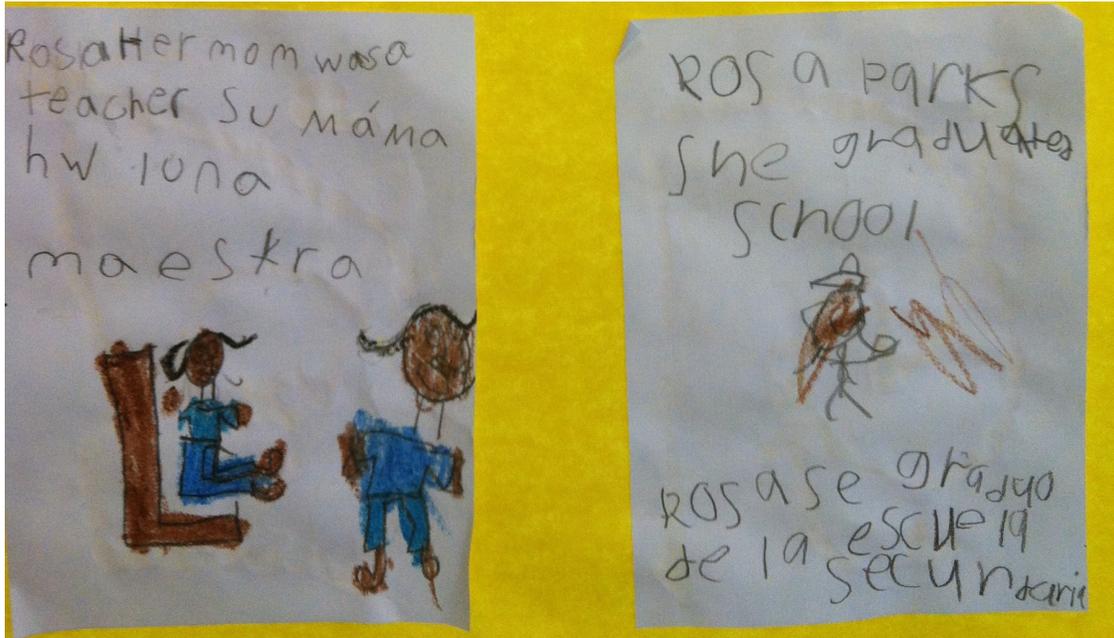
In this display, the few pieces written only using English were the exception rather than the rule. I present below in Figure 4.5 several representative examples of students' work for the hallway display.

Figure 4.5. Representative Pieces from Black History Month Hallway Display.



*Transcribed Conventional Spelling: Martin Luther King changed everything. **Martin Luther Rey** cambi6 todo. Happy.*

Figure 4.5. Representative Pieces from Black History Month Hallway Display, cont.



*Right Transcribed Conventional Spelling: Rosa her mom was a teacher. **Su mamá fue una maestra.***

*Left Transcribed Conventional Spelling: Rosa Parks she graduated school. **Rosa se graduó de la escuela secundaria***

As visible in these examples, students wrote bilingually, with English text above Spanish. Likewise, when writing flyers to encourage members of the school community to stop by the hallway display, students wrote messages in both Spanish and English, as visible in Figure 4.6:

Figure 4.6. Examples of “Publicity Flyers” for the Hallway Display



Left Transcribed Conventional Spelling: “First grade, do you want to come to the Commons Area? It’s gonna be great and fun.”

Right Transcribed Conventional Spelling: “¿Tu quieres aprender de M.L.K. Jr, Ruby Bridges y Rosa Parks que cambiaron las reglas?”

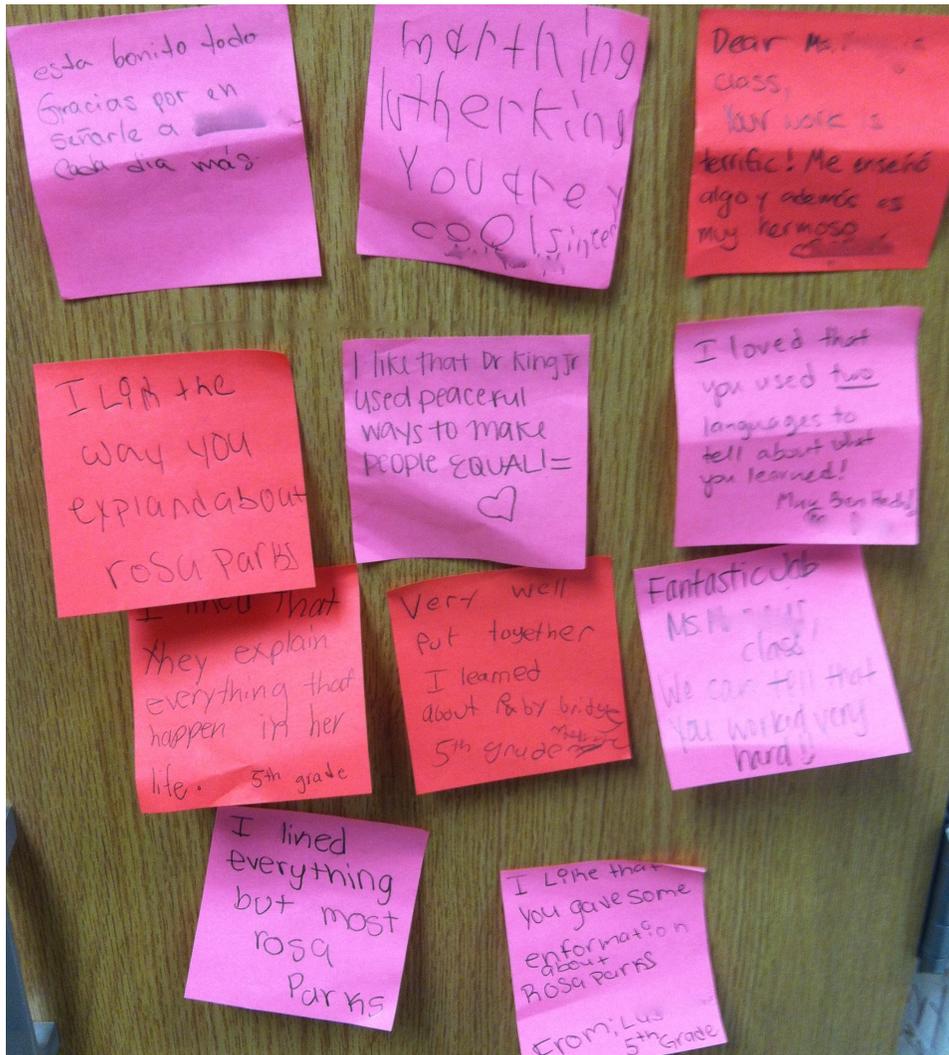
Children requested to write the flyers for specific grade levels where they had a sibling or friend. In discussing these flyers, students arrived at the consensus that they should write both Spanish and English flyers, and so for each grade level, small groups of children worked together to compose in either Spanish or English. Worth noting is that these posters were not displayed near each other, nor were they exact translations. Each poster was composed and posted separately. This marked a significant change in the linguistic landscape of the school hallways. To my knowledge, this was the most *public* display of student writing in Spanish; in my visits to the school, I had not previously seen other examples of student writing in Spanish or of Spanish unaccompanied by an English

translation.⁷ This marked a significant change in students' willingness to use Spanish *publically*.

Talk About Writing and Language Choice. Students' use of Spanish in *public* school space may have been a risky move, in that no other students or teachers had done this yet, and the school policy restricted Spanish literacy instruction. Despite the risk, children's use of Spanish in *public* seemed to be favorably received. The hallway display included post-its, and visitors were encouraged to leave a message for the authors in an envelope stuck to the wall. Ms. Barry's students eagerly anticipated these responses from readers, and reminded Ms. Barry to check the envelope daily. In Figure 4.7, I present a collection of some of the notes, re-posted on walls in Ms. Barry's classroom. Some of them were anonymous, or identified only as "a 5th grader". The signatures and the handwriting suggest that a wide range of community members read and responded to the display, including teachers, students, and parents.

⁷ However, I did not usually pass by the Pre-K or Kinder hallways. It's possible that student writing in Spanish was posted visibly in those spaces, and I was not aware of it.

Figure 4.7. Notes on Black History Hallway Display



These notes from passersby, many anonymous, tended to be praise for the display (“I liked everything but most Rosa Parks” “Very well put together. I learned about Ruby Bridges”). While many notes complimented the content of students’ writing, there were also notes that responded to and/or commented on students’ bilingual composing. This included both responses in Spanish, presumably from parents (**Está bonito todo. Gracias por enseñarle a Enrique cada día más.** [It’s all lovely. Thank you for teaching Enrique more every day.]) and notes from other teachers about students’ language use (“I loved

that you used two languages to tell about what you learned! **Muy bien hecho!**") The responses written in Spanish by Spanish-speaking readers tacitly ratified student' choice to compose bilingually. The metalinguistic comment from an anonymous teacher ("I loved that you used two languages to tell about what you learned!") did the same explicitly, highlighting the use of two languages as a key component of the project's appeal.

Students also received both tacit and explicit messages about the value of Spanish from their pen pals in California. These pen pals were other first-grade students from an affluent and predominantly White school in Santa Barbara, where Ms. Barry's cousin also taught first grade. With some help from their Spanish teacher, the California pen pals wrote letters that both *tacitly* and *explicitly* positioned bilingualism as desirable. All of the letters from the pen pals included text in Spanish, albeit often in somewhat formulaic ways: "**El chile es rojo.** The **chile** is red. **El dulce es azul.** The candy is blue. **El esponja es amarillo.** The sponge is yellow." As many of the students had some difficulty reading letters from their pen pals, Ms. Barry read a number of them out loud. The following mini-lesson occurred *publically*, with students following along as Ms. Barry displayed a letter written to Anthony on the document camera and considered how Anthony might respond to his pen pal:

Ms. Barry: ((reading from letter)) "What is your favorite color? Is **tu casa grande?** How old are you? What is your favorite game?"

Ms. Barry: ((looking up)) So, at some point in your letter back, Anthony will want to answer that question. You could do it in English or Spanish, maybe say '**mi color favorito es amarillo y azul**', or you could say 'my favorite

color is blue and yellow’. Then he has another question. ‘Is **tu casa grande?**’ Eric wants to know, **si la casa de Anthony es grande**. Anthony, **es grande?**

Anthony: ((shakes head))

Ms. Barry: “No? OK, you would say, no, **mi casa no es grande**. Then, oh boy, he has another question. How old are you? So Anthony would tell Eric he’s six...

(Fieldnotes, 2/3/14)

Here, as Ms. Barry modeled how to write back a letter, she considered issues of genre, namely how in letter-writing, people ask and answer questions (“So, at some point...Anthony will want to answer that question.”) She also made explicit how to interpret linguistic cues: the buddy’s use of “Is **tu casa grande?**” meant that it would probably be appropriate to use either Spanish or English when writing back.

A few letters from pen pals also included some metalinguistic talk *about* Spanish. For example, Yamilet’s pen pal, Madison, wrote a letter stating, “I really like **clase de español**. I really hope I can speak with you and show you what I know **en español**. **Español es** great for me.” Ms. Barry read this letter out loud *publically* during carpet time, sharing with the rest of class the bilingual letter with its explicit valorization of Spanish. Here, Madison’s letter highlighted the value of knowing and learning Spanish. The last sentence (“**Español es** great *for me*. [emphasis added]) and the reference to Spanish class also highlights the contradictory messages in the public discourse about the

value of Spanish and bilingualism; while affluent White parents in places like Santa Barbara demand, finance and receive Spanish instruction, Latina/o children in low-income schools like Kimball are denied access to bilingual instruction (R. Callahan, 2015).

Writing as Public Performance. Students' language choice as they composed also appeared to be influenced by tacit messages about what was appropriate or normal for school. As noted by Ranker (2009), a school climate in which students' home language is officially restricted or unofficially subordinated can curtail hybrid or non-English composing practices even when invited or modeled by individual teachers. Kelsey arrived at Kimball early in January, and immediately stood out to me as someone I should include in my group of focal students because of her unique perspective on language use in the classroom. She had previously attended a dual-immersion bilingual program in another district, and wrote in Spanish much more often than anyone else. This did not seem to have been related to her language proficiency; she both codeswitched and spoke only in English regularly. According to Ms. Barry, Kelsey's mother was one of the few parents who seemed most comfortable in English and who initiated most parent-teacher communication in English. Rather, Kelsey's experience in a dual language program seemed to have provided her not only with Spanish literacy skills, but also an alternative perspective on what to expect from school.

Kelsey commented to me on multiple occasions that at her old school, people spoke much more Spanish than at this one, that they had many more books in Spanish, and that at her old school, she was a "level G" in Spanish (Fieldnotes, 1/8/14). She seemed conscious of the schoolwide emphasis on English literacy at Kimball, noting the

absence of Spanish in the *public* sphere and the devaluing of her Spanish literacy skills. Since Spanish literacy was not assessed at Kimball, being a level G in Spanish was no longer *publically* meaningful or valued.

As Kelsey learned the routines of writing workshop in Ms. Barry's class, she composed a number of books in Spanish and volunteered comments in Spanish during whole-group discussion. However, she seemed to be aware that this was atypical in the classroom, and somewhat self-conscious that her use of Spanish differed from the observed norms at her new school. Although she described her writing abilities as much stronger in Spanish than in English, she sometimes chose to write in English in ways that seemed motivated by the environment rather than her intended audience. In the following example, Kelsey and her classmates were researching and recording information about a chosen animal for later use in an "Animal Project" display. Ms. Barry stated that students could write in English, Spanish or both, and framed the task as one in which they were writing for themselves, rather than for any external audience. During this lesson, Kelsey approached me for help in writing her notes about dolphins. Over the course of the conversation, she changed her mind several times about whether to write in Spanish, English or both. Her decision to write in English appeared to be primarily influenced by the impression that all of her classmates were writing in English:

Kelsey: Can I write Spanish or English? I want to do both.

LD: You can do both.

Kelsey: **No tengo espacio.**
[I don't have space.]

LD: **Sí, pero, mira, hay mucho espacio. Puedes escribir chiquito, ¿no?**
[Yes, but look, there's a lot of space. You could write small, right?]

- Kelsey: **Oka:y: La voy a hacer en inglés. Pero ¿cómo se dice ‘los delfines se comen los pescados’?**
 [I’m going to do it in English. But how do you say dolphins]
 se comen los pescados’?
 [eat fish?]
- LD: **Los ya sabes, ¿no?**
 [You already know **los**, right?]
- Kelsey: **En inglés.**
 [In English.]
- LD: **Oh. ¿Y porqué en inglés?**
 [And why in English?]
- Kelsey: **Más gente habla en inglés aquí.**
 [More people speak English here.]
- LD: **Ah. ¿Y lo vas a – ¿quieres escribirlo dos veces?**
 [And you are going to, you want to write it two times?]
- Kelsey: **No, nomás voy a escribir en inglés, como todos.**
 [No, I’m just going to write in English, like everyone.]
- LD: **¿Cómo todos qué?**
 [Like everyone what?]
- Kelsey: **Porque unos de esta escuela, este, no sé ((inaudible)) en inglés;**
 [Because some people in this school, um, I don’t know ((inaudible)) in English.]
- LD: **Yo creo que Paco está apuntado en español, imagino que Josué también,**
 [I think that Paco is taking notes in Spanish, I’m guessing Josué too,]
 hay otros. Puedes hacer lo que quieras. Si quieres hacerlo en español, lo
 [and others. You can do what you want. If you want to do it in Spanish,]
 puedes hacer.
 [you can.]
- Kelsey: **Okay, yo voy a escribir en español ((inaudible)) Si Paco lo hace.**
 [I’m going to write in Spanish [inaudible]. If Paco is.]
 ((Leaves to go check if he’s writing in English or Spanish, returns to seat))

Kelsey: **La voy a hacer en inglés.**
[I'm going to do it in English.]

LD: Okay. **¿Por qué?**
[Why?]

Kelsey: **Todos lo está [sic] haciendo en inglés, ya miré la de ((inaudible)).**
Everyone is doing it in English, I already looked at [inaudible].

(video, 2/26/14)

In the interaction above, Kelsey originally inquired into which language she was allowed to write in, and expressed a desire to write both in Spanish and in English. After I affirmed that she was indeed allowed to do this, she reconsidered, noting that writing in both languages would require her to write in very small print, due to the limited space in the sheet where she was recording her information. She had mentioned in previous conversations that writing smaller, while one of her goals for herself as a writer, was difficult for her. Upon deciding to write exclusively in English, she once again recruited my help. However, in the moment, I was surprised that she chose English, and initially misinterpreted her question, “**¿Cómo se dice los delfines se comen pescados?**” as a request for help in sounding out the Spanish words, rather than as a request for translation. Her choice to write in English surprised me, since both her observed writing behavior and her talk about writing suggested that this was more difficult for her. Since this writing was ostensibly just for her own later use and she had been invited to write in the language of her choice, I was curious as to why she would choose to write in English. When she explained that she wanted to write in English “**como todos**” and that “**más gente habla en inglés aquí**”, I challenged her assumption that all of her classmates were writing in Spanish by naming several students who I had seen writing in Spanish on other

occasions. She left her seat to check if these students were indeed writing in Spanish, and indicated that she would want to write in Spanish too, as long as she was not the only one doing so. Finding that the classmate I named was not, in fact, writing in Spanish, she decided definitively on English, and explicitly stated that this decision related to her observation that everyone else was writing in English. In that, she was correct that “**más gente habla en inglés aquí**”. Even in January, when most students had begun to compose bilingually on some occasions and for some readers, Kelsey was correct in noting that children generally wrote in English unless they had a reason not to.

Here, Kelsey seemed to perceive that while Spanish writing was allowed, encouraged and modeled in the classroom by Ms. Barry, English writing was still the default mode. Spanish in print stood out to her as unusual and even aberrant, and she was clearly made uncomfortable by this. As noted by Bomer & Laman (2004), learning to write, especially for young children, is socially visible and consequently writing is a socially vulnerable activity. The process of composition is witnessed and often audible to the people around them, and a part of how they negotiate relationships and identities with their classmates. As children learn to write, they are also learning about being writers, and how to be among fellow writers. Kelsey’s writing choices were not private, even if Ms. Barry had not designated an official means of sharing them. Rather, Kelsey was aware that her own choice to write in Spanish or English was made *publically*, and might position her as belonging or not belonging to the group. Her choice to write notes about dolphins in one way or another had social repercussions, and she seemed to feel that fitting in might be worth the extra effort that writing in English would require of her. However, two days later, I noticed that Kelsey had decided to write in Spanish after all. I

asked her about her change of heart, and she said it was because it was “easier to write in Spanish, even though people use more English here”. Here, you can see her working to make sense of conflicting pressures. As someone who both wanted to fit in and wanted to write in Spanish, she experienced tensions that were not easy or straightforward for her to resolve.

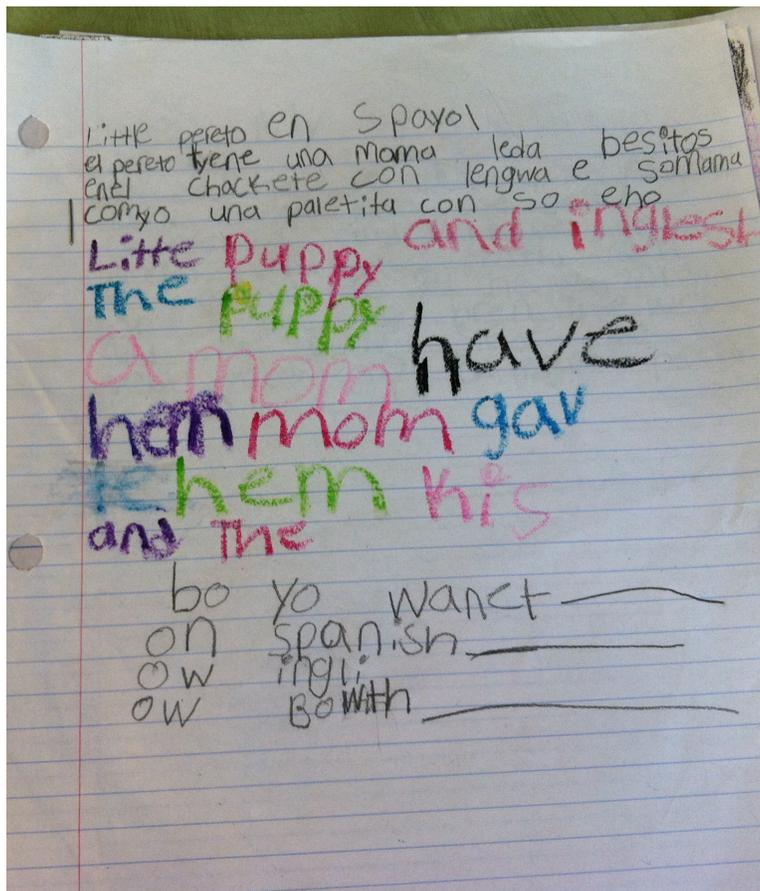
Moreover, this social context was influenced by the larger political context surrounding the classroom. Not only the instructional practices mandated at the school but also the absence of Spanish or bilingual print in the hallways reflected the controversial nature of Spanish in *public* space. This larger context in which English was privileged over Spanish worked to make Kelsey second-guess her use of Spanish in her writing and writing-related talk despite her strong Spanish literacy skills and a teacher who explicitly and publically valued biliteracy.

“DOING IT BOTH”: DRAWING MORE WIDELY ACROSS LINGUISTIC REPERTOIRES

While designing the curriculum, Ms. Barry and I hypothesized that asking students to write to parents and other “Spanish-dominant” readers might elicit writing in Spanish. Many of the students did indeed write in Spanish to their parents; however they also wrote *bilingually*, drawing widely across the span of their linguistic repertoires. Many of the pieces written by students over the course of the year were composed for, read, understood and appreciated by fellow bilinguals, and this created possibilities for students to create texts that were not just English or just Spanish, but both. In both word and deed, they contested the notion that texts needed to be either English or Spanish. As has been widely documented in the literature on bilingualism, children frequently brought all of their linguistic resources to bear on the task at hand, rather than electing to use just

English or Spanish (Fránquiz & Reyes, 1998; Martínez-Roldán & Sayer, 2006; Martínez, 2009). As the year went on, Ms. Barry began presenting the options for composing as not “English or Spanish” but “English or Spanish or both.” Students revociced these three options to each other in talk, and sometimes in writing, as in this poem by Yamilet:

Figure 4.8. “Little **Perrito en Español/Little Puppy in English**” by Yamilet



In this poem, which Yamilet wrote for a kindergarten student, she provided her partner with the option of writing in the blank to signal a preference for Spanish, in English, or both. While I do not know which option Yamilet’s kindergarten buddy chose, Yamilet herself and her classmates wrote many pieces of work that could best be characterized as “both”, and explicitly labeled this as desirable. Moreover, this option—

doing it *both*, doing it bilingual—was one that presented a wide variety of ways of being bilingual.

Ms. Barry also invited students to consider *why* bilingual writers codemeshed. In the following mini-lesson during the poetry unit, Ms. Barry shared bilingual poems from Pat Mora’s collection *Confetti*. After students read it, she asked them to point out the Spanish words in the English text, and then asked, “Why do you think that she made some words **en español** and some **en inglés**?” Kelsey volunteered, “Maybe its because it won’t make sense. She wants people who know Spanish and people who know English to understand it.” Yamilet followed this with, “I think a lot of people know English,” (Fieldnotes, 5/14/14). Here, one can see two different perspectives on how codemeshing affects audience, and in that, two different understandings of who “the reader” is. Kelsey perceived the audience as potentially bilingual, and seemed to think that mixing languages could help more people understand and appreciate Mora’s poem. In contrast, Yamilet seemed skeptical, and to hold that English monolingual readers were a bigger part of Mora’s audience, and they might not want codemeshing. While they did not agree about whether codemeshing was a generally helpful strategy for readers in general, both children did frequently use codemeshing when writing to readers that they knew were bilingual.

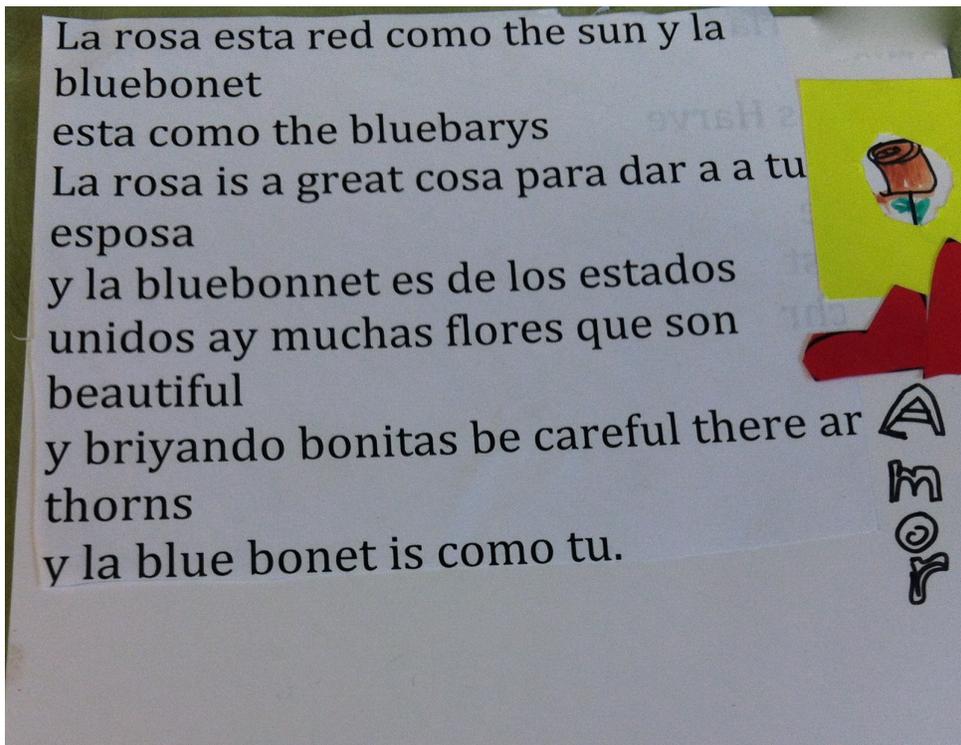
Following Ms. Barry’s encouragement, students began to mix language(s) in their writing in a wide variety of ways. While most students’ initial forays into codemeshing involved single-word Spanish nouns, as described above, over the course of the year, they began to combine the two in more extensive way. By the spring semester, all of the focal students had created several pieces of work in which they used both languages,

combining them at the book, page, and/or sentence level. One nonfocal student, Luis, decided to color-code his bilingual poems by using a yellow marker for English and a blue one for Spanish. The rest of his classmates generally left their codemeshing unmarked, or if marked, indicated by spatial divisions like top/bottom or left/right sides of the page.

The poetry unit in particular, in which students studied many examples of bilingual, codemeshing poems, and in which Ms. Barry conducted a mini-lesson on mixing languages, was associated with a large number of codemeshing compositions.

Below, I present one example from Kelsey:

Figure 4.9. Poem by Kelsey



Kelsey noted that this piece was very well received by her classmates, as well as by other members of the school community. Indeed, her fluid use of both Spanish and English

words and phrases contributes to the musicality of the piece, most notably in the line, “**La rosa** is a great **cosa para dar a tu esposa**.” Here, her mixing languages created a rhyme that would not have been possible if using just one language. Neither, “A rose is a great thing to give your wife,” nor, “**La rosa es una cosa genial para dar a tu esposa**” have quite the same ring. As described by Valdés (1988), “[I]t is helpful to imagine that when bilinguals code-switch, they are in fact using a twelve-string guitar, rather than limiting themselves to two six-string instruments,” (p. 126, as cited in Toribio, 2004). Here, Kelsey joined the tradition of distinguished Latina/o poets like Tato Laviera, Gina Valdés, and Gary Soto in engaging in what Rudin (1996) called *literary bilingualism*, writing creatively and skillfully across linguistic boundaries.

The chance to write this way, using the full spectrum of linguistic resources available, also seemed to mediate students’ experience of writing and how it felt to be a writer. For example, in conversation with Kelsey about her work, she noted that her experiences writing for bilingual readers and especially writing pieces like the poem in Figure 4.9 energized and inspired her:

Kelsey: Well, remember the time, remember when I told you I wanted make a lot of poems and feeling just like, I want to make a lot of poems and have more time, I don’t know why I get this feeling...

LD: This feeling that you just want to keep writing? I remember you said that.

Kelsey: Uh huh. I don’t know why.

LD: Do you have any ideas?

Kelsey: Just one. Because its fun to be creative [inaudible] and make different things (shakes head) and do what a part of me wants... **Es que** I like all the poems, **todas las** poems **que están** creative, that are doing their best, because they rhyme, or they just can be in Spanish or English, they can have a lot of pictures, the writer and the artist did a good job trying their best making a poem...

(Interview, 6/2/14)

Kelsey named poetry specifically as a genre where it was permissible to write in both languages and to be creative. This perception may relate to relative greater frequency of published examples of codeswitching in genres like poetry as compared with prose or expository text (L. Callahan, 2004). Ms. Barry had shared a number of collections of bilingual poetry as mentor texts, such as Pat Mora's (2007) *Yum! ¡Mmmm! ¡Qué Rico!: America's Sproutings*. Perhaps due to this and other bilingual poems shared with the class, students' poetry as a whole contained more language mixing as compared to expository genres such as Animal Reports. For Kelsey, this creativity seemed to be part of its appeal as a genre: the freedom to use all of the semiotic resources available to her. Nor was Kelsey the only student who named poetry specifically as a favored genre. Jesenia repeated to me on two occasions that poetry "made [her] feel like an author", and reported that she wrote many bilingual poems at home as well as at school.

Jesenia also stated that writing like this, bilingually, was preferable to writing either all English or all Spanish. Here, I present an excerpt from her end-of-the-year

interview.

LD: Is it easier for you to write in English or in Spanish or in both?

Jes: Both.

LD: Both? And is there one you like better?

Jes: Both.

LD: You like both.

Jes: Yeah.

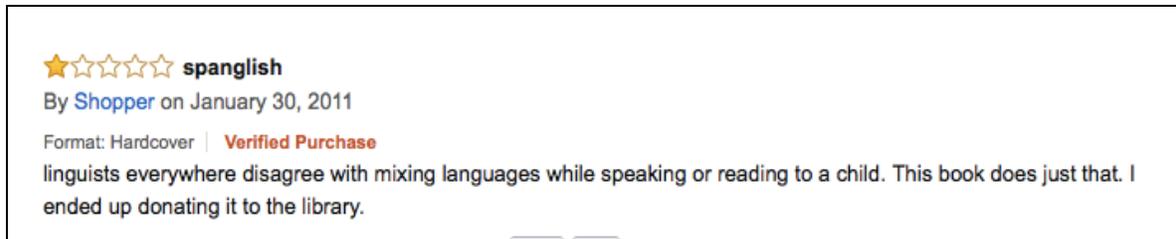
(Jesenia Interview, 6/2/14)

It seems as though for Jesenia, being able to write bilingually and mix languages was both easier and preferable to writing in one language or the other. Since she most often spoke “both” in *private talk*, it may be that writing bilingually shortened the distance between talk and text. Poetry, the unit of study in which students codemeshed most frequently, was also the genre that Kelsey said made her want to “make a lot of poems” and gave her “the feeling just like, I want to make a lot of poems and have more time [to write].” In Jesenia’s interview, presented at length in Chapter Five, she expressed a similar sentiment - that writing lots of bilingual poems made her feel like an author. This association between bilingual writing and ease may have important implications for cultivating young bilingual children’s fluency in writing.

Over the course of the year, I documented many comments by students about how writing was hard; that it was both cognitively and physically taxing. Watching children laboriously write, sound out, erase, and evaluate their writing, I was reminded of the effort it required to put thought on paper. Jesenia and Kelsey’s comments suggested that for at least these students, the ability to write bilingually decreased the effort required, and presumably contributed to a greater fluency in the process of composing.

CODEMESHING IN PUBLIC

Figure 4.10. “One Star, Spanglish” by Shopper. Amazon.com Review of Pat Mora’s (2007) *Yum! Mmmm! Qué Rico! Americas' Sproutings*.



I came across the review above when ordering a copy of *Yum! Mmmm! Qué Rico: America’s Sproutings* to share with Ms. Barry’s students. The difference between the review it received from “Shopper” and the reviews it received from Kelsey and her classmates illuminates some of the critical issues around text and hybrid language practices. I would contest the claim that “linguists everywhere disagree with mixing languages” and I suspect that linguists everywhere would, too. However, there is considerable evidence that many people, including teachers, parents, and students, see hybrid language practices much like “Shopper” does: as dangerous and confusing, with no place in school nor instruction (Palmer & Martínez, 2013; Martínez, 2013; Sayer, 2013).

In contrast, Kelsey understood the book quite differently in the interview referenced earlier. I suspect, if asked, that she would give it five stars:

Sabes el book que dice ‘Mmm, yummy’, you know that poem, **Es un book como así** ((gestures)) **Y es mi** favorite. Maybe when I grow up, I’m going to make a book like that. Pretty. And [inaudible], if I’m making a book everybody read it...

And you got to put the words upside down and you gotta twist the book, and it was in English and Spanish.

(Kelsey Interview, 6/6/14)

She labeled this book as beautiful and a beloved favorite, specifically because of its bilingualism, the author's use of Spanish *and* English together. While Kelsey had, on occasions, produced both monolingual Spanish texts and monolingual English texts, this codemeshing poetry was the kind of book that she saw herself writing someday, and she perceived the world as welcoming of this kind of hybrid text. Indeed, she herself had demonstrated a remarkable skill in creating poems that mixed languages, which were applauded by her teacher and classmates. However, she was also aware that not all readers valued this, noting that her grandmother specifically did not like her bilingual poems, and preferred her Spanish-only work. Considering these two together, it is clear that Kelsey and her classmates are entering a "wickedly complex" (Selfe, 2009) discursive world, in which their everyday ways with words are still discouraged by and stigmatized by some, including powerful gatekeepers as well as anonymous Amazon shoppers.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I have described how students writing and writing-related talk was mediated by their experiences with the designed curriculum. Looking across the year at students' increased willingness to use Spanish and mix languages in *public* contexts, several factors appear salient: the examples provided by others in the public sphere, like Ms. Barry and Carmen Tafolla, explicit talk naming Spanish, codeswitching and codemeshing as valuable, and students' growing awareness of their many bilingual

readers. As students saw bilingual ways of writing and speaking modeled, encouraged and discussed, they slowly began to try out using Spanish and mixing languages in *public* spaces. As they did, they received consistent feedback from multiple sources that such language use was indeed highly appropriate and welcome in the *public* sphere, particularly in a predominantly Latina/o community like the one they lived and went to school in. In their correspondence with both Carmen Tafolla and their Santa Barbara pen pals, students also received tacit and explicit messages about the value of bilingual writing from both members of their own community and readers who were separated in time and space. In the following chapter, I elaborate more on students' interactions with their readers and how such interactions mediated their audience awareness.

CHAPTER FIVE: AUDIENCE AWARENESS, METAPRAGMATIC AWARENESS AND RHETORICAL ASTUTENESS

Marta's book that she was working on today was bilingual, translated line by line in parallel text. For example, on one page, she had: "I see fireweracs. Yo mira cowethes" ["I see the fireworks. **Yo mir[o]cohetes,**"]. I asked her about it and she said that this book was for her family and, "They don't talk like this," (pointing at English line), "they talk like this," (pointing at Spanish line).

(Fieldnotes, 1/27/14)

As my conversation with Marta illustrates, even in the absence of formal instruction in Spanish reading and writing, the children in Ms. Barry's classroom displayed a remarkable ability to interpret, use, and create texts in two languages. Moreover, Marta and her classmates' skill in "talking like this" to some people and "talking like that" to others reflects a sophisticated understanding of audience that overlapped with the writing skills of audience awareness outlined in the Texas language standards. Over the course of the year, students grew increasingly aware of their audience as they composed, and this awareness was reflected in both their writing and their writing-related talk.

In this chapter, I look closely at my six focal students, considering evidence (and counterevidence) for their *audience awareness*, and how such awareness was related to their composing choices. In this analysis, I look at focal students' writing-related talk, their written products over time, and what they later said about their writing in their interviews. I consider audience awareness in both linguistic and rhetorical dimensions, and

analyze both what students said about their audience and what they did in their writing for the benefit of their readers. As stated earlier in Chapter Four, my analysis suggested:

- An audience-focused writing curriculum mediated a shift in students' language use in speech and writing towards the use of more Spanish, codeswitching, and codemeshing.
- Students' interactions with their readers developed and displayed their audience awareness.

In this chapter, I focus on this second finding. In this strand of my analysis, I found that interactions with bilingual audiences called upon students to develop and display audience awareness. Specifically, I note students' interactions with readers developed and displayed their *metapragmatic awareness* of which language(s) to use with which readers. I also describe how students' *audience awareness* mediated their *rhetorical astuteness*.

Here, I first define the terms used above. I then present examples from my coding scheme to illustrate how I applied theories of audience awareness to my fieldnotes and transcripts. I also describe how I looked for evidence of audience awareness in children's written products. Following this, I present data and analysis for the two findings referenced above. I conclude with a brief discussion of possible implications for practice and future iterations of the designed curriculum.

OPERATIONAL DEFINITIONS

As stated above, I assert that students' interactions with bilingual readers informed their *audience awareness* generally and *metapragmatic awareness* specifically. I borrow the term *metapragmatic awareness* from linguistics, considering it a subcategory of

metalinguistic awareness. Pragmatics describes the way that language is used in accordance to the social context of the interaction. *Metapragmatic awareness*, as described by Freed (1995) is a “meta-cognitive awareness of sociolinguistic differences and potentially conflicting pragmatic demands” (p. 27). This is a complicated proposition in a linguistically complex world.

I understand metapragmatic awareness as overlapping with audience awareness, but where I use audience awareness specifically in relation to writing and readers, metapragmatic awareness describes oral language as well. Here, I use a theory of audience awareness that includes both *addressing* one’s audience, meaning taking into account “the experiences, expectations and beliefs” of one’s readers, and *invoking* audience, meaning envisioning a particular kind of role for a reader and providing cues to alert readers to that role (Ede & Lunsford, 1984, p. 165). In other words, audience awareness means that writers hold an idea of their audience in mind as they write and revise, helping them craft a text so that it better serves its intended purpose.

I also consider here the relationship between audience awareness and *rhetorical astuteness*. *Rhetorical astuteness* (Bawarshi, 2003) is used to describe a writers’ ability to analyze and respond to the site of action where writing takes place. This involves using one’s understanding of context, purpose and audience to construct an effective text. Ms. Barry’s students’ sensitivity towards norms for *public* and *private* talk provide an example of both metapragmatic awareness and rhetorical astuteness, since students’ initial reluctance to use codeswitching and Spanish *publically* seemed to reflect the general marginalization of Spanish and stigmatization of codeswitching in U.S. schools.

In looking at students' audience awareness, metapragmatic awareness and rhetorical astuteness, I considered to what extent these were demonstrated *tacitly* through students' writing moves and to what extent they were *explicitly* articulated in students' talk about their writing. In the example referenced above, students' decisions about how and when to use Spanish or codeswitching were generally *tacit*, meaning embodied rather than articulated. The exception was Kelsey, who *explicitly* articulated her thinking about which language to use in *public* and why, as described in Chapter Four.

ANALYSIS OF AUDIENCE AWARENESS

Over the course of the year, these students' writing and writing-related talk increasingly reflected audience awareness, or consciousness of how writers can reach their readers through the many semiotic tools at their disposal. As described in the previous chapter, interactions with their parents, peers, and other community members were one of several factors associated with students' increased use of Spanish and codemeshing. Here, I expand more fully on this metapragmatic awareness: how students learned about their bilingual readers' linguistic preferences, and how they applied this knowledge in their writing. I also consider their rhetorical astuteness, or ability to respond to their reader and purpose in ways that extend beyond choice of language(s). This understanding of rhetorical astuteness included questions of language but also topic choice, text layout and illustration design.

I documented instances of audience awareness in children's writing-related talk in my fieldnotes, interviews, and video transcripts, all which were coded. In Table 5.1 below,

I present several examples of the important audience-related codes that I used in analyzing children’s writing-related talk, in order to illustrate my analytic scheme:

Table 5.1. Examples of Codes Related to Audience Awareness

Examples of Codes Related to Audience Awareness

Code	Definition	Example
1. <i>Audience>Awareness</i>	Comments in which student indicates an awareness of audience or readers	I asked Marta who her book was for, and she said her family...but then added that her mom wouldn’t be able to read it, because her sister and dad could speak English, but not her mom. Seemingly thinking out loud, she said that maybe she was going to do the next two pages in Spanish so that her mom could read it, too (Fieldnotes, 2/26/14) ...
2. <i>Audience>Lack of Awareness</i>	Comment in which student indicates a lack of awareness of audience or readers	I asked David who he thought might read his book and he shrugged. “I dunno”. (Fieldnotes, 4/21/14).
3. <i>Audience>Revision</i>	Comments which suggest students are revising in response to their potential audience or readers	Yamilet reread her minibook: “I was gonna erase it but didn’t have any time. Because I wrote it wrong.” LD: “Do you want to erase it now?” Yamilet erased the title from the cover of her book and added that she “didn’t want to write anything else cause then they gonna know what’s in the book, cuz I wrote what’s in the book”. She stated that she wanted it to be a surprise, and that’s why she was erasing what she had written on the cover (Fieldnotes, 3/24/14)

In my analysis, I take what Canagarajah (2013) described as a *translingual orientation* to literacy, which,

...moves literacy beyond products to the processes and practices of cross-language relations. This orientation can focus on the construction, reception, and circulation of mobile texts, including those that are code-meshed. Furthermore, this orientation expands the consideration to diverse other semiotic products beyond the code-meshed texts of multilinguals (pp. 40-41)

In considering how an audience-based curriculum mediated children's writing development, I looked for evidence of audience awareness present or absent in their writing-related talk and in their written compositions. Sometimes students' awareness of their audience was visible in both process and product; students said that they were going to do a particular thing for their reader, and then did it. For example, in the third excerpt in the table above, Yamilet decided that she wanted her readers to be surprised when they read her book about Chihuahuas, so she erased information from the title page. When her readers read the "published" book during the Animal Report showcase, they did not encounter any previews of the content on the title page, just as Yamilet had decided she wanted for her readers.

Sometimes students thought out loud about what they might do to reach their intended audience, but their written products did not necessarily reflect their stated intentions. In the first example from the table, Marta stated that she was going to write in Spanish because she wanted her mother to read her book, and her mother would be better able to read it in Spanish. However, as I followed her writing across several days, I

observed that she continued composing only in English, and eventually abandoned the book altogether. She may have changed her mind, or forgotten about her decision to write in Spanish; she may have told me that she was going to write in Spanish because she thought I would want to hear that; she might have decided that she could translate for her mother in person; or she could have decided that she had already gone too far in English to switch. Without knowing more about what happened in between her stated intent and the final product, my understanding of her audience awareness was based on witnessing her writing-related talk during composition rather than the product itself.

Likewise, some student compositions seemed to stand alone as indications of the writers' audience awareness; the text itself revealed something about the readers' conception of their intended audience. This was clearest when students directly addressed their readers, like Omar's poem for his kindergarten buddy, which read "**el flor is el color rosa e is bneta como el flor que is rosa e la niña que mi pedo que yo escrdyera esta poema,**" [The flower is pink and is pretty like the flower that is pink and the girl that asked me to write this poem]. Here, although I did not witness Omar's composing process, the direct reference to his intended reader suggests to me that he was aware of his intended audience (the girl that asked him to write the poem) as he composed.

Looking at evidence of change over time, the increase over time in coded instances of audience awareness in writing-related talk was likely mediated by changes in my behavior as a participant-observer. While there were a number of instances of students discussing their readers unprompted by me and/or in the absence of any adults, many of the examples of audience-related talk were in response to my introduction of the topic. As part of evolution of the designed curriculum, I began regularly asking the students I

interacted with who they thought might read their compositions, and what, if anything, they were doing or thinking about doing for their readers. Students' responses varied, but, perhaps unsurprisingly, the more I asked these questions, the easier it seemed to be for students to answer. Consequently, the frequency of instances of talk that could be coded as indicative of audience awareness increased over time, and the relative frequency of examples of lack of awareness declined. It is possible that this question was pedagogically important as a design modification, and that during future iterations of an audience-focused curriculum, teachers and/or researchers could use questions like these more systematically to support audience awareness.

AUDIENCE AND METAPRAGMATIC AWARENESS

As described in the previous chapter, students' language use in both talk and writing changed over time, and this seemed to be related to several important factors: Ms. Barry's *public* modeling of Spanish and mixing, the presence of Spanish and codemeshing in mentor texts, and, critically, students' increasing awareness of their many bilingual readers. Chapter Four provides a description of how students' language use changed over time; in this chapter I describe how this change was mediated by students' experience writing for and interacting with their bilingual readers as part of the designed curriculum.

The Family Message Journal curricular unit, in which students regularly exchanged messages with their families, provided the opportunity to examine multiple interactions over time between students and bilingual readers. In the spring semester, students wrote messages in these journals approximately twice a week, brought the journals home, and invited someone in their family to write back. Sometimes students wrote on topics suggested by Ms. Barry, such as upcoming school events; other times,

they wrote messages of their own choice. Ms. Barry often talked through potential topics with the class as a whole, and modeled some relevant phrases in Spanish and English. In the beginning, she provided sentence stems in both languages as well, as a form of scaffolding.

When writing for her family members in her Family Message Journal, focal student Jesenia developed over time a metapragmatic awareness of which language to use with which reader. Jesenia adeptly moved between Spanish and codeswitching in *private* talk with her classmates and English in *public*. However, despite her fairly strong Spanish literacy skills, during school she chose to make picturebooks in English almost exclusively. Her Spanish literacy skills did not seem to be a barrier to composing in Spanish or codemeshing; while her schooling had emphasized English literacy development, she reported that her parents and especially her older sister helped her read and write bilingual and Spanish books at home. Her writing for bilingual readers, however, showed a pattern of change over time. The following table summarizes language use in her journal:

Table 5.2. Jesenia’s Family Message Journal

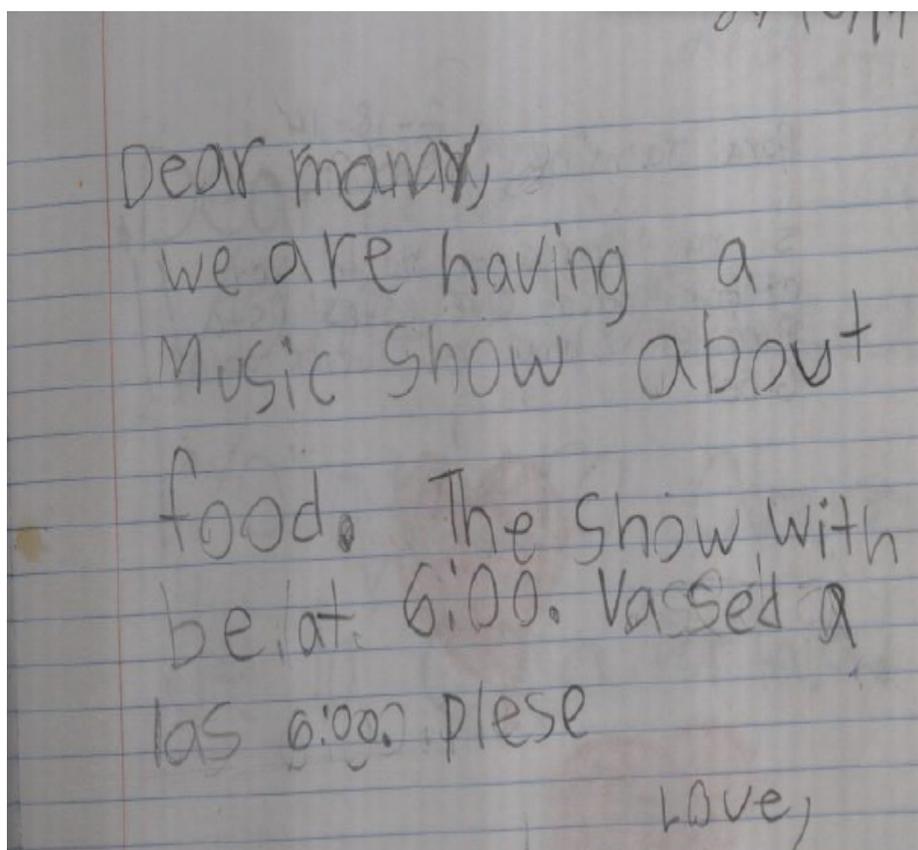
Jesenia’s Family Message Journal			
Date	Addressee	Language used by Jesenia	Language of response
1/15/14	Family	English and Spanish	Spanish
1/17/14	Father	English and Spanish	Spanish
1/23/14	Sister	English and Spanish	English
2/4/14	Mother & Father	English and Spanish	Spanish

Table 5.2, Jesenia’s Family Message Journal, cont.

2/18/14	Mother	English and Spanish	Spanish
2/25/14	Mother	Spanish	Spanish
3/18/14	Sister	English & Spanish	English & Spanish
4/1/14	Mother & Father	Spanish	Spanish
4/9/14	Sister	English	English
4/24/14	Mother & Father	Spanish	Spanish

Jesenia’s earlier entries (labeled as “English & Spanish” in the table) were written mostly in English. They typically contained the majority of the message written in English, often with one sentence in Spanish at the end, as in the entry below:

Figure 5.1. Jesenia’s Family Message Journal



Transcribed Conventional Spelling: Dear Mommy, We are having a music show about food. The show with [will] be at 6:00. Va sed [ser] a las 6:00. Please. Love, Jesenia

In contrast to Jesenia's bilingual entries, responses from Jesenia's parents were written entirely in Spanish. This nonreciprocal pattern of language use seemed to influence Jesenia's composing choices over time. The first four interactions between Jesenia and her parents were nonreciprocal, with Jesenia writing bilingually and her parents responding only in Spanish. However, on February 25th, for the first time, Jesenia wrote her entry using only Spanish. This marked a shift, in that Jesenia also wrote the last three entries to her parents using only Spanish. However, this was not just a general shift from writing bilingually to writing in Spanish, since Jesenia continued to write bilingually and in only English when addressing her sister. Rather, this change suggested that her written interaction with her parents and sister had led her to conclude that monolingual Spanish entries would be more appropriate for her parents, while English or bilingual entries would be better for her sister.

My independent analysis of language use across journal entries suggested that Jesenia was developing here metapragmatic awareness through these exchange. My analysis was supported by Jesenia's own sense-making, when she later reflected on her work. Jesenia also interpreted this series of interactions as one in which she learned something about how to choose language(s) strategically according to her readers' needs. In the interview excerpt below, I discussed Jesenia's Family Message Journal with her as she looked back on her entries:

LD: You said your family reads in Spanish and in English.

Jes: Mhmm.

LD: How did you decide which one to use?

Jes: Um, so I did in English and Spanish and they only did Spanish.

LD: Ah. Why do you think that is?

Jes: Because kind of they know more in Spanish, not English.

LD: Got it. So did you change which one you wrote, then?

Jes: Yeah (1.0) If I were gonna do another one, I'd put it all in Spanish.

LD: Oh yeah? How come?

Jes: Because they only talk in Spanish. (1.0) And a little bit English.

(Jesenia Interview, 6/2/14)

Here, Jesenia noticed that while she used both languages when writing to her parents, they only responded in one, likely because “they know more in Spanish, not English.” After multiple nonreciprocal interactions, which presumably communicated that her parents preferred to correspond in Spanish, Jesenia switched to all Spanish as well. Moreover, not only did Jesenia move towards using more Spanish in response to her assessment that her parents understood her better when she did; she adjusted her language use based on *which* family member she was addressing. In the interview above, for example, Jesenia noted that her parents read both Spanish and English, but took note of the balance: “they know more in Spanish, not in English”. Jesenia’s description of her parents’ linguistic proficiencies also indicates nuance. In stating that, “they only talk in Spanish. (1.0) And a little bit English,” she seems resistant to classify them as monolingual Spanish speakers. Rather, she placed them along a bilingual/biliterate continuum (Hornberger, 2003).

While Jesenia began writing monolingual Spanish entries to her parents, she continued to use both Spanish and English with her sister. Later in the interview, Jesenia described her sister as someone who read and wrote well in both languages, closer to the bilingual end of the continua (Hornberger, 2003). Jesenia wrote to her sister flexibly, and her sister seemed to respond with equal flexibility. Jesenia's last entry (4/9/14) to her sister was written exclusively in English, perhaps responding to her sister's earlier all-English entry (1/23/14) as indicative of a preference for English.

Jesenia's unprompted comment that "If I were gonna do another one, I'd do it all Spanish...because they only talk in Spanish" also suggests her own sense of growth, that she had learned something through this experience that she would take with her into the next time she encountered a similar rhetorical situation. As she exchanged messages with her parents in print, she learned about them as readers and language users. Jesenia's reflection on what she would do differently next time implied that she perceived her choice to write initial entries mostly in English was a misstep stemming from a lack of metapragmatic awareness. With her better understanding of her audience at the end of the year, she would make different choices.

Jesenia's responsiveness to her addressees' language choices echoes earlier studies of oral codeswitching, particularly the finding that young bilingual children assessed their interlocutor's linguistic knowledge during conversation, and followed a general rule of speaking to listeners in the language she or he spoke best (Genishi, 1981; Zentella, 1997). Jesenia's Family Message Journal entries support the idea that bilingual children's skill in codeswitching in response to contextual cues might be extended to writing as well. While in speech, a bilingual child might ascertain an interlocutor's linguistic abilities within

seconds during one conversation, in writing, this process unfolded gradually over time. Although I did not observe Jesenia at home with her family, it is very possible that in her oral speech, she used mostly Spanish with her parents and both languages with her sister, as has been documented elsewhere regarding language use in Latina/o immigrant families. However, As Erickson (2004) noted, speakers, including children, “are able to do much of what they do in talking without thinking about it in the moment of doing” (p. 10). In contrast, for these young writers, writing was still very much a labor- and time-intensive process. Children were learning not only to encode, but also the relationship between spoken and written modalities, and how to translate to print what they already knew how to do in talk.

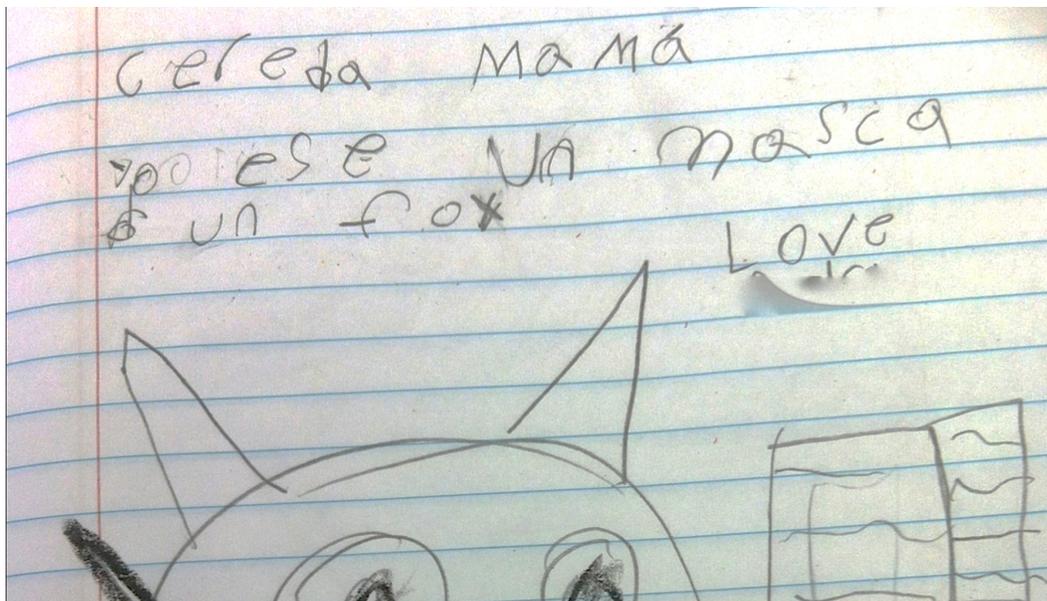
However, the process by which students developed an understanding of their readers’ preferences was not universal. In the case of Family Message Journals, the nature of reader-writer interactions varied depending on whom children wrote to and whom they heard back from. In Kelsey’s case, her Family Message Journal exchanges with her grandmother were in Spanish only. Kelsey’s mother, in contrast, wrote back to Kelsey in both Spanish and English, and so exchanges between the two followed the same pattern of flexible language use seen between Jesenia and Jesenia’s older sister. Most of Omar and Marta’s exchanges were in English with older siblings, who wrote and/or translated on behalf of parents.

Paco, however, did not have a record of interaction over time in his Family Message Journal, because he was one of the two students who consistently did not receive replies in their journal. Ms. Barry reported that his mother expressed some confusion about expectations for the journals, as well as concern about her literacy skills and

whether they were sufficient. Ultimately, Paco’s journal primarily contained entries only from him. While Paco articulated a nuanced awareness of his family’s linguistic preferences and responded to those preferences in his writing, his metapragmatic awareness seemed to be informed by fact-to-face interactions rather than written ones.

During the following exchange between Paco and Ms. Barry, Paco wrote a message in his journal inviting his mother to the upcoming Animal Report showcase, in which students shared multimodal expository texts that they had written about a particular animal. In his journal message to his mother, Paco described to his mother his project, in which he had made a fox mask to accompany his report on foxes.

Figure 5.2. “Querida mamá, yo hice una máscara de un fox. Love, Paco.”



He wrote this entry in his Family Message Journal to his mother, describing his Animal Report on foxes, which included a fox mask he had made. As he worked, Ms. Barry

approached him, and paused beside him to help him sound out words. As she sat by him, they had the following conversation around his intended message:

Ms. Barry: ((reading Paco's journal)) **Yo hice una máscara.**
[I made a mask]

Paco: **¿Así se escribe máscara?**
[Is this how you write mask?]

Ms. Barry: ((nods, reading)) **Yo hice una máscara de un... ¿Cuál animal?**
[I made a mask of...what animal?]

Paco: **De un zorro**
[Of a fox]

Ms. Barry: ((sounding out slowly)) **D:e:**
[o:f]

Paco: **Mi mamá sabe qué es fox.**
[My mom knows what fox is]

Ms. Barry: Ok, you want to put it **en inglés?**
[in English]

Paco: ((Nods))

Ms. Barry: Ok. **De un fox. D:e: u:n fo:x.**
[Of a] [O:f a:]

(Video transcript, 4/9/13)

As she read his work, he checked that he was writing the word **máscara** [mask] correctly, and she nodded⁸ and continued reading. Paco had not yet finished his sentence, and so Ms. Barry prompted him to describe what kind of mask (“¿**Cuál animal?**”). He answered her in Spanish, telling her that it was a fox mask (“**de un zorro**”), and so she began to slowly sound out the phrase “**de un zorro**” in order to help him write. He quickly cut her off, clarifying that he was not planning on writing “**zorro**”, but rather “fox” and that his

⁸ As readers may notice, Paco's wrote 'masca' than 'rather máscara'. However, Ms. Barry generally refrained from correcting unconventional spelling.

mother would understand him. While I can only speculate as to the reasons why Paco preferred “fox” rather than “**zorro**”, his word choice was informed at least in part by his awareness of his audience and her linguistic knowledge. He seemed to understand his mother’s linguistic preferences with a fair amount of precision, at least in this case, and he drew on this knowledge in ways that helped him communicate his message. This was true even in the absence of the written reader-writer exchange that Jesenia experienced in her Family Message Journal.

In a similar vein, Marta’s metapragmatic awareness was acquired over time, through multiple oral interactions. In the following excerpt, Marta worked on a book for her family about horses, next to her seatmate Luis. At this point in the year, Marta had made a number of bilingual books, most of which were written with parallel text in English and Spanish. In contrast, I had not yet observed her seatmate Luis using any Spanish in his writing. Although he often used Spanish and codeswitching in *private* talk, he had commented to me that he didn’t like Spanish and I had not observed him using Spanish in public. As I sat down next to both of them and asked Marta about her work, she said that she was making a book about horses for her family, because “it’s a long story, but my grandmother used to have a lot of horses.” As she continued talking, her seatmate Luis chimed in:

Marta: I’m doing it bilingual, because my mom and my dad, they know bilingual.

Luis: I don’t know bilingual.

Marta: Yes, you do. Because when we were in kinder you know it.

(Fieldnotes, 3/31/14)

Here, Marta articulated her metapragmatic awareness of her parents' linguistic preferences, its relationship to her own composing choices, and her own understanding of Luis' linguistic preferences as observed over time. First, she expressed her own ability and intention to "do it bilingual," to write books that used both Spanish and English. She directly linked this choice to her possible future readers: "Because my mom and dad, they know bilingual." On other occasions, Marta had rejoiced to her seatmates Ms. Barry's promise that at the end of the year, students would bring all of the books they had made in the year home for their families to see. She seemed to be keeping this in mind as she composed, even though the book had been written outside of any of the explicitly audience-focused units of study.

Marta also articulated a metapragmatic awareness not just of her intended readers, but of her fellow writers. When Luis responded to Marta's stated intentions to write bilingually, he positioned himself as, unlike her, not capable of creating bilingual text ("I don't know bilingual"). Marta, however, did not accept his self-proclaimed lack of bilingualism, retorting, "Yes, you do." While Luis did not seem to see himself as a bilingual writer or capable of writing bilingual books, Marta challenged this self-assessment, based on having known him across the span of several years: "Yes, you do. Because when we were in kinder you know it." Luis seemed to be evaluating his language abilities based on the recent past, in which he used Spanish infrequently and *privately*. However, Marta's interactions with him over time prompted her to ascribe more linguistic knowledge (or potential) to him than he ascribed to himself. She saw him as a writer capable of "doing it bilingual", just like her. Indeed, he could and did "do it bilingual" as a writer, as he demonstrated later in the year during the poetry unit.

Some children articulated a metapragmatic awareness not only of the linguistic backgrounds of *individuals*, but of different *groups* of possible readers. While composing for the Black History Month display, Kelsey described her purpose --to share what she had learned with everyone—and said that she was, “going to write in Spanish so that the kids from kinder can understand,” (Fieldnotes, 2/12/15). While I did not ask Kelsey what led her to say that children in kindergarten would need or want to read the display in Spanish, it may have been related to the interactions between Ms. Barry’s class and their buddies in a kindergarten class. Kelsey and her classmates visited the partner classroom on at least two occasions, and received thank you notes (in Spanish) from their kinder reading buddies. Her identification of kindergarten students as readers who would best understand Spanish was supported by my own observations as well. I accompanied Ms. Barry’s class on several “field trips” within the school. Although student demographics appeared to be similar across grade levels, I noted much more Spanish and codeswitching during visits to the kindergarten partner class than when visiting a fourth grade classroom. Since the school was phasing in a bilingual program, the kindergarten students had been learning to read and write in Spanish first, rather than only in English, like most of Ms. Barry’s students had, or, like most of the children in the older grades. Moreover, when discussing with Ms. Barry the affordances and constraints of writing partnerships with classes in different age levels, Ms. Barry theorized that the kindergarten students were more likely to use Spanish and hence elicit Spanish and bilingual writing from her students. Kelsey’s comment supports this theory. All of the 6 focal students chose to write in Spanish or bilingually when composing books for their kindergarten partners, supporting Ms. Barry’s theory. In contrast, when students wrote encouraging messages for fourth grade students

about to take the high-stakes STAAR test, all students wrote messages exclusively in English.

Audience Awareness and Rhetorical Astuteness. While students' growing metapragmatic awareness was a valuable end in and of itself, a key aspect of the cultural modeling framework is the search for ways in which students' cultural and linguistic funds of knowledge overlap with disciplinary skills, practices and modes of reasoning. Consequently, I looked not only to see how writing for authentic, bilingual readers mediated students' choice of language (i.e. Spanish, English, both) but also how it mediated audience awareness as described in the state language arts standards: the use of language and rhetorical devices, "To communicate ideas and information to specific audiences for specific purposes," (Grade 1 TEKS, 2013).

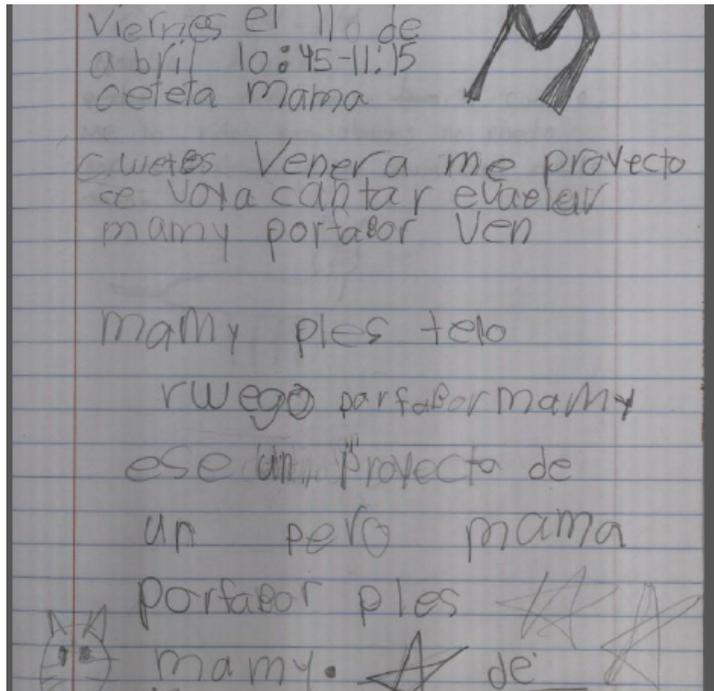
In looking at students' use of these rhetorical moves when writing "to specific audience for specific purposes", I collected the subset of student compositions that could be considered as pieces of persuasive writing. As a genre, persuasive writing offers a window into the thinking of the writer, in that it necessarily demands that the writer consider the stance of the reader, in order to change it (Hayes et al., 1990). The kinds of writing students did that I categorized as persuasive included invitations to class events like the animal report showcase, flyers written and distributed around the school and the entries in the Family Message Journals which contained requests. In these writing samples, students generally stated their purpose in the text itself: a request for a particular lunch item, for example, or for the addressee's presence at an event. Although Ms. Barry provided no explicit guidance on the use of any of specific rhetorical strategies, the

experience of writing for real readers seemed to have been sufficient for students to develop their ability to use language in rhetorically strategic ways.

In considering evidence or lack of evidence for audience awareness in student work, I used the heuristics put forth by Hayes et al., (1990) and Wollman-Bonilla (2001). They analyzed student writing samples by identifying the following moves in children's writing as suggestive of audience awareness: *Naming Moves*, in which writers address their readers directly or position them in particular ways; *Context Moves* in which the writers provided important context or background knowledge; *Strategy Moves* in which readers appealed to their readers' interests and emotions; and *Response Moves* in which the writer anticipated and pre-emptively responded to potential concerns or objections that writers might have.

All of these persuasive texts employed a combination of all of *Naming*, *Context*, *Strategy* and *Response Moves*, often in high density. In the following excerpt, representative of typical Family Message Journal requests, Yamilet invited her mother to attend the Animal Report showcase in order to see her project about Chihuahuas:

Figure 5.3. Yamilet's Invitation in Her Family Message Journal



Transcribed Conventional Spelling: Viernes el 11 de abril 10:45-11:15. Querida mamá, puedes venir [a ver] mi proyecto que voy a cantar y bailar. Mami por favor ven. Mami please te lo ruego por favor mami. Hice un proyecto de un perro, Mamá por favor, please mami. De Yamilet.

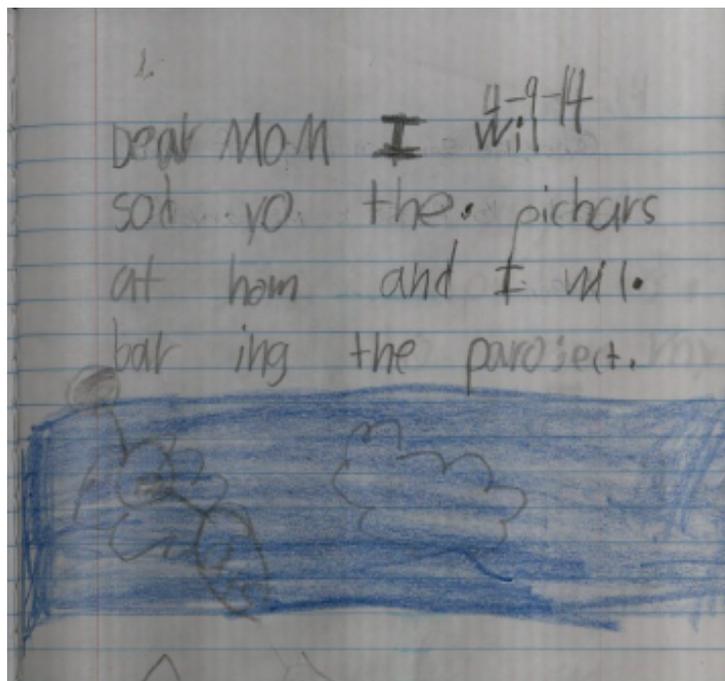
Translation: Friday April 1 10:45-11: 15. Dear mama, Can you come see my project, I'm going to sing and dance. Mami, please come. Mommy, please, I beg you, please mom. I am doing a project about a dog. Please mamá, please Mommy. From Yamilet.

Yamilet provided some context about the event (“I am doing a project about a dog”). In contrast to many of her entries, which used her mother’s first name, here she named her intended reader “Mami” and “mamá” in intimate terms, and repeatedly. She intensified the basic *Strategy Move* of “please” with both bilingual emphasis “please **por favor**” and the more formal “**te lo ruego** [I beg you.]” She provided the time and date of the show,

essential background knowledge and a useful *Context Move*. Lastly, her description of what might happen at the showcase (“**voy a cantar y bailar** [I’m gonna sing and dance]”) was likely a strategic enhancement of the event description, as Ms. Barry had not mentioned or planned for any singing or dancing. In sum, she used a number of rhetorical moves suggesting audience awareness. Her peers’ Family Message Journal likewise demonstrated the ability to astutely use language and rhetorical devices in service of their goals as writers.

However, I would not necessarily argue that messages with higher number of rhetorical moves displayed more audience awareness than those containing fewer. For example, Enrique’s entry that same day was considerably shorter and contained no requests:

Figure 5.4. Enrique’s Family Message Journal



Transcribed Conventional spelling: Dear Mom, I will show you the pictures at home and I will bring the project. Love Enrique

However, this lack of request, appeal or persuasive tactics did not reflect that he was inattentive to considerations of audience. He had mentioned, both to the group and to me individually, that he already knew his mother could not attend, and that she very much wanted to, that she had been upset and crying earlier when he talked to her about it.

Indeed, there were a number of significant barriers to parent attendance that no amount of rhetorical dexterity could overcome: the showcase occurred in the middle of the work day, Kimball Elementary was not accessible by public transportation, many of the students lived far from the school, and all visitors to the school were required to show state identification at the doors. Aware of his mother's inability to attend the project showcase, Enrique chose to use his journal to reassure her rather than persuade her. In saying, "I will show you the pictures at home and I will bring the project," he displayed a great deal of audience awareness, and, I would argue, compassion. Rather than make an ungrantable and upsetting request, Enrique instead used his Family Message Journal to comfort his mother.

In considering hallway flyers and invitations, students' metapragmatic awareness was evident in their strategic choice of language, in that they often wrote bilingually or in Spanish for students in younger grades and for parents. Moreover, as they worked in small groups on the hallway posters describing the display, the kinds of *Strategy Moves* students drew on varied according to the intended audience. When writing to peers, students highlighted the fun and interactive nature of the display ("Do you want to learn and write about Martin Luther King?"; "It's gonna be great and fun!") and when writing for parents,

students appealed to parental pride: “**Por favor pueden a venir por que tus y jos asieron mucho trabajo.** [Please can you come, because your children did a lot of work.]”).

Kelsey, the primary author of the “because your children did a lot of work” flyer, articulated this line of strategic persuasion on multiple occasions when writing personal invitations to her parents for other events. Moreover, for her, at least, there was truth in advertising. When I asked her my standard questions as she worked (“Who do you think will read this? What are you doing so that they will like or understand it?”), she described not only features of the writing (putting more than 8 animal facts in her Animal Report, putting words *and* pictures), but also of the process (“I’m trying my best”). In her view, hard work and attention were important aspects of writing for others generally, and her parents specifically. Ms. Barry’s observations also supported this notion that writing for others led to an increase in effort. In her judgment, books written for students’ kindergarten buddies and parents were generally of higher quality than books written outside of the audience-focused units of study. Kelsey’s comments suggest that this effort may have been not only out of the desire for a better product, but because of the awareness some readers, like parents, cared about effort part of the writing process.

Rhetorical Astuteness and Symbol-weaving. While I began this study with an almost exclusive focus on language over other forms of semiosis, children’s talk about audience made it clear to me that drawings and visual design were an important dimension of their audience awareness and rhetorical astuteness. While writing for real readers offered students the chance to think carefully about how they used language, students did not seem to separate the kinds of linguistic moves described above from the way they intentionally used other modalities to reach their readers. When I asked children what they

were doing for their readers, they often described design aspects-- “making it beautiful”, “making it cool”, using marker, using colors, writing pretty — as well as decisions involving word, language or topic choice. Similarly, when I observed or asked about their revision processes, students often articulated the aesthetic dimension: whether to orient a page horizontally or vertically, adding colors, using markers, placing texts in different locations on the page. Students appeared to be highly conscious of the visual aesthetics of their writing, and in particular, how their intended audience might respond to their visual composing choices. Indeed, these young writers seemed to be doing what Dyson (1989) labeled *symbol-weaving*, using language(s), talk and art together in service of their goals as writers.

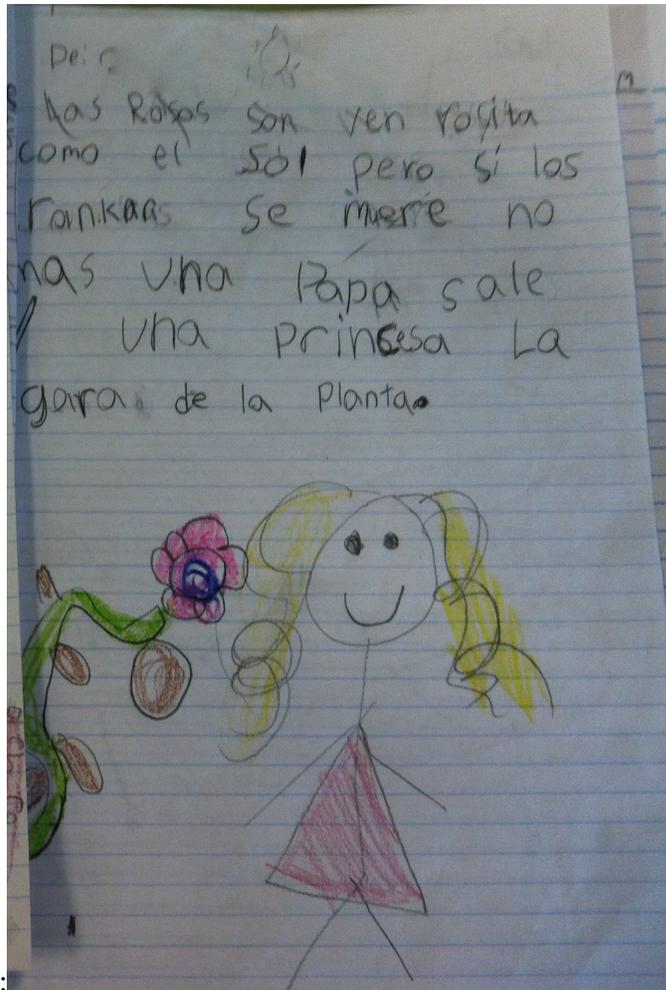
As described earlier regarding metapragmatic knowledge, students’ rhetorical astuteness was developed and displayed through interactions with their readers. As an example of how the curricular design provided for reader-writer interaction, during the poetry unit, students interviewed a partner in kindergarten, and wrote an “occasional poem”⁹ specifically for that student. In those interviews, students typically inquired about favorites—favorite foods, favorite numbers, favorite colors—and incorporated this knowledge into their poems. As an example of symbol-weaving that included topic, text, and visual design, I present below a description of Jesenia’s discussion of the “occasional poem” she wrote for her buddy.

Jesenia reported to me that she had learned from the interview that her buddy liked **rosita**, **princesas** and **papas**. Her poem for her buddy incorporated all of these elements

⁹ An occasional poem is written for a particular event, and often publically read, such as Elizabeth Alexander’s “Praise Song for the Day”, written for the inauguration of President Barack Obama. Here, I use quotes around “occasional poem”, because the occasion would probably best be described as “The Day When Ms. Barry’s Students Read Poems for Their Buddies.” It was an occasion, but an occasion created in order to give students the opportunity to share their writing.

into both the text and the accompanying illustrations, as visible below:

Figure 5.5, First Draft of Poem by Jesenia



Transcribed Conventional spelling: De Jesenia. Las rosas son bien rosita como el sol pero si las arrancas se muere nomás una papa sala. Una princesa la agarra de la planta.

Translation: Roses are very pink like the sun but if you pluck them it dies just a potato comes up. A princess picks it from the plant.

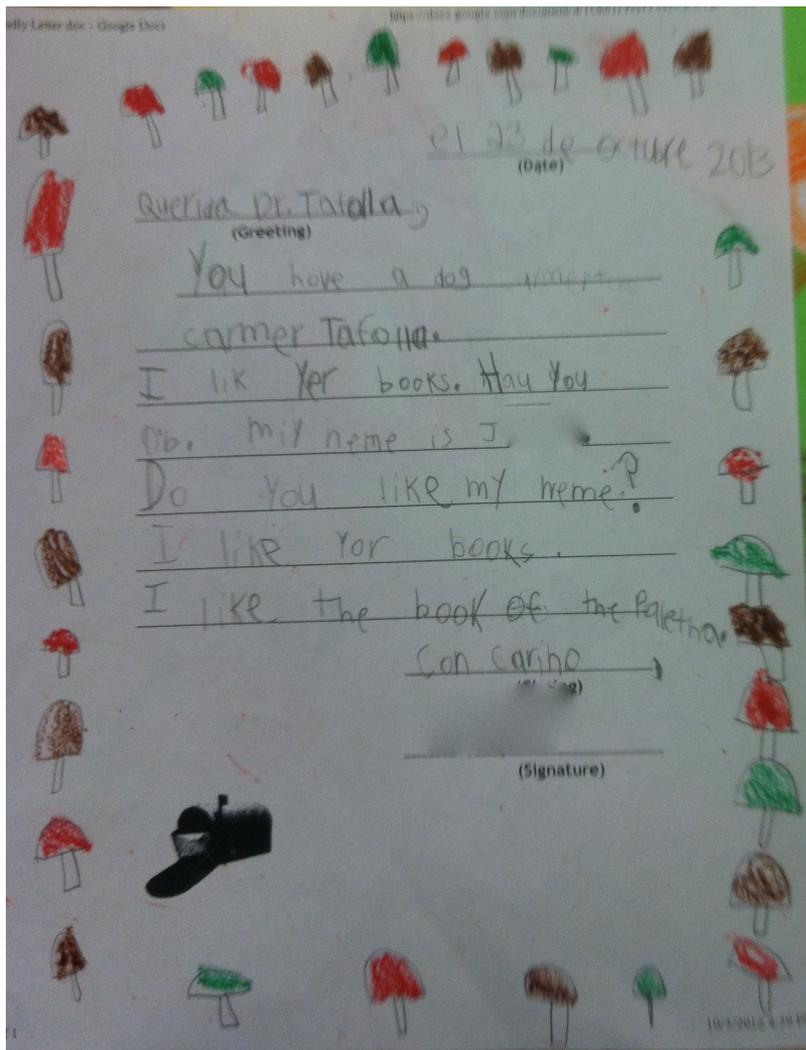
As I sat near Jesenia during her composing process, she also appeared to be composing with unusual deliberation, soliciting my help in deciding whether ‘**aggarar**’ or

‘arrancar’ was closer to the action she hope to described, and crafting a text which included all of her buddy’s favorite elements. Not only in the text but also in the illustrations, Jesenia drew heavily on her knowledge of her intended reader’s preferences, coloring the princess’s dress pink as well as the rose. She also articulated her conversation with her buddy as a direct influence: “I told her what’s your favorite food and she said **papas.**” (Jesenia Interview, 6/6/14). Here, she herself articulated how her interactions with her intended reader directly influenced her choices as a writer. Jesenia reported to me afterwards that her poem was well received by her buddy, who was sick and couldn’t eat **papas**, and so appreciated the topic all the more. This level of attentiveness to the partners’ interests was typical of all of the focal students’ poems for their kindergarten classmates, which all featured one or more of the various favorite colors, foods, plants and animals of their intended readers.

Particularly when composing persuasive pieces for individuals they knew, students chose colors carefully based on their readers’ known preferences: blue markers for a friend who likes blue, and red and black for a sister who liked red and black. Much like the 2 and 3 year-old authors described by Rowe (1989), the intentional selection of colors reflected that children had internalized their audiences’ perspectives, drawing on this understanding of their readers even in their physical absence. This intentional selection of specific colors was most evident when composing pieces for individuals (as in pen pal letters, invitations), rather than groups (as in hallway displays); when writing for groups, students were more likely to more generally state that they were “making it beautiful” or “making it pretty”.

Students also appropriated symbols and design elements linked to their social worlds and intended readers. For example, in writing letters to Carmen Tafolla, author of *What Can You Do With A Paleta?*, many students drew pictures of **paletas** on the backs or borders of their letters.

Figure 5.6. **Paleta** Border on Letter to Carmen Tafolla.



Although the use of repeated **paletas** as a border motif was not directly appropriated from the illustrations in Tafolla's work, students seemed to be responding to their sense that

Tafolla was someone who liked **paletas** and who would appreciate the visual reference. This use of **paletas** both responded to and reworked Tafolla's multimodal message.

Students also attended to drawings and symbols as important to their readers' understanding. When writing hallway posters advertising their Black History Month display, for example, students were unfamiliar with the name of the area in the school where it was displayed ("the Commons Area", according to Ms. Barry). As they collectively drafted and illustrated flyers, most of them decided that it was necessary and/or useful not only to name the Commons Area as the location in the text of the flyer, but also to put arrows which directed passersby in the appropriate direction, engaging in considerable debate about which way the arrows should point, as the flyers would be placed in different hallways according to the grade level addressed.

Lastly, students seemed to approach symbols and artwork as an integrated part of their semiotic toolkit as they went about making and using texts. While I had, perhaps myopically, focused on linguistic aspects of composition, students often emphasized the multimodal aspect of books and writing. For example, in the following interview, I asked Kelsey what she considered important aspects of being a writer:

LD: **¿Qué es importante saber para ser una escritora, una autora?**

[What is important to know to be a writer, an author?]

Kelsey: **Lo que yo pienso es que, pensar en lo que vas a escribir, que vas a que le va a gustar a los niños, que van a aprender, y escribir, porque en los libros puedes escribir más mejor, hacer dibujos, y ahora me gusta hacer libros que, puedo hacer con todo lo que hice, que puede ser como un real book. Sabes el book que dice 'Mmm, yummy', you know that poem,**

Es un book **como así** ((gestures with hands)) **Y es mi** favorite. Maybe when I grow up, I'm going to make a book like that. Pretty. And ((inaudible)), if I'm making a book everybody [would] read it.

[What I think is that, thinking about what you're going to write, what you're going to do, what kids are going to learn, and writing, because in books you can write better, make drawings, and now I like making books, I can make with everything that I did, that can be like a real book. You know the book that says, "Mmm, yummy", you know that poem? It's a book like this ((gestures like hands)) and it's my favorite, maybe when I grow up, I'm going to make a book like that, pretty. And ((inaudible)), I'm making a book, everybody [would] read it.]

LD: What made you like that book especially?

Kelsey: I like the detail. I like that, like, I seen like a poem that has a yo –yo.

LD: Oh yeah, you did one like that, right?

Kelsey: ((Nods, makes spiral with hands)) And you got to put the words upside down and you gotta twist the book, and it was in English and Spanish.

(Kelsey Interview, 6/2/14)

Here, Kelsey described being a writer as requiring careful consideration of audience in the process of composition, saying that it's important for writers to be "thinking about what you're going to write, what you're going to do, *what kids are going to learn*,"). She also

draws connections to the illustrated picturebooks that Ms. Barry shared and her own work as an author in the writing classroom: “because in books you can write better, make drawings, and now I like making books ... that can be like a real book.” Writing better *and* making drawings seemed to be equally important in the work of real authors making real books. Moreover, she placed herself in the category of a real author, making a real book.

The book she referenced here (“¿**Sabes el book que dice** ‘Mmm, yummy’?”) and identified as her favorite was Pat Mora’s poetry collection *Yum! ¡Mmmm! ¡Qué Rico!: America’s Sproutings* (2007). The things that stood out to Kelsey as worthy of emulation included the book’s aesthetic dimensions (“A book like that, pretty”) as well as its use of codemeshing (“it was in English and Spanish”). She labeled this book as beautiful and a beloved favorite, specifically because of its bilingualism, the author’s use of Spanish *and* English together. While Kelsey had over the course of the year written both monolingual Spanish, monolingual English and codemeshing texts, it was this codemeshing poetry that she imagined herself writing someday. Importantly, she perceived the world as welcoming of this kind of hybrid text and expressed confidence that if and when she were to write book like Mora’s, beautiful and bilingual, that “everybody [would] read it.” In sum, she saw the work of an author as intentionally considering one’s readers, and then drawing widely from all of ones’ semiotic resources in order to reach those readers.

Students’ comments to each other about their work primarily involved compliments and suggestions related to the writer’s choices around topic and artwork. However, they were also able to imagine how other readers besides peers might respond to a given text. In the following example, Ms. Barry called students to the carpet to share

poems that they had written that day. Many had written poems about food, perhaps inspired by the food poems in *Yum! ;Mmmm! ;Qué Rico!: America's Sproutings*. Omar shared with Marta a poem he had written entitled, “Pecan **Sabroso**”, and she read him her untitled poem about strawberries.

Ms. Barry called students back to the carpet to share with a partner and directed partners to give one compliment to the author and then ask one question.

Marta complimented Omar: “I love when you draw your pecan,” and then asked him, “How do you draw a pecan?” Omar explained his drawing process.

Marta then read her poem about strawberries to Omar.

Omar responded: “I liked how you draw your picture,” followed by the question “Why do you do a strawberry?”

Sitting near them, I asked them both who else they thought would like to read their poems.

Omar said, “My family would like to read it because they love what I do in school.”

Marta said, “My family, because they love strawberries.”

(Fieldnotes, 5/15/14)

Here, while Marta and Omar expressed an awareness that while other readers, like their families, might be interested in reading the poems because of the topic (strawberries) or the author (in the case of Omar’s family), they themselves centered their appreciative inquiry primarily on the visual and design aspect of composition. They seemed to be distinguishing between what they as readers (and perhaps as children) liked and appreciated in poetry and what they imagined that family members would value or enjoy.

SYMBOL-WEAVING AND AUDIENCE INVOKED

The examples presented above illustrate how students *addressed* their audience, responding to their readers’ stated preferences. Students also *invoked* audience, displaying audience awareness in ways that shaped the circulation and reception of texts. For example, in the following exchange, Omar talked to me about the book he was writing,

titled, “A Book About Minecraft”, based on the popular computer game. He explained to me the difference between this book and another book about Minecraft, which he had written earlier:

Omar: ...They’ve got some weapons in there and they can shoot the people. And they will fight.

LD: Ah. Who do you think is going to read this book?

Omar: Um, all of us.

LD: Does everyone know about Minecraft? Is it that I don’t know because I’m old? Do all of your friends and classmates know about that?

Omar: Everyone knows about that.

LD: Oh (1.0)((to Amanda across the table)) Amanda, do you know about Minecraft?

Amanda: ((Shakes head)) Huh?

LD: Do you know about Minecraft?

Amanda: No. ((shakes head))

Omar: ((Looks at LD, smiles and shrugs))

(Fieldnotes, 3/3/14)

Here, Omar described his intended audience as “all of us”, and asserted, “everyone knows about [Minecraft].” Unfamiliar with Minecraft and its associated terms (i.e., creepers, bases), I found his story hard to follow, and wondered if my confusion stemmed from my position as an adult, outside of child culture. I inquired about this, suspecting that when he said “all of us”, he meant “all of us kids”. I was curious to what extent “everyone” was familiar with Minecraft, having seen some, but not all, of his peers

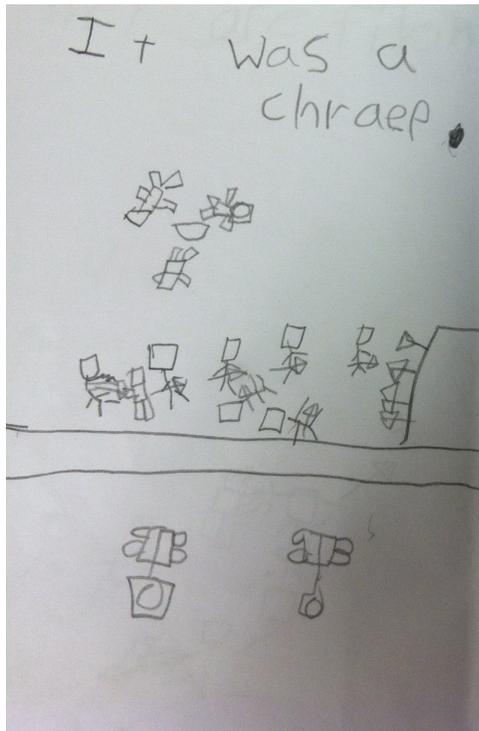
reading, writing and talking about Minecraft as well. Looking to his classmate Amanda across the table, I asked her if she too knew about Minecraft, which she denied (“No.”) Omar seemed surprised by this, and aware that this contradicted his claim that “everyone knows about that.” His final turn here, in which he looked at me and shrugged, seemed almost sheepish. He appeared to be aware that Amanda’s comment contradicted his own assertion that, “everyone knows that.” Kroll (1978) argued that, “Powerful learning occurs when children experience the failure or success of their words to communicate to peers” (p. 831). In other words, moments of cognitive dissonance like this are how writers revise their understanding of audience.

I returned to talk with Omar about his book on my next visit, curious about what, if any, impact this conversation had had on his audience awareness. I discovered in this conversation Omar had not made any revisions to his book based on his interaction with Amanda. However, when I returned to my usual questions (“Who do you think might read this? What are you doing so that they will like or understand it?”), Omar’s answer had changed. Rather than stating that his intended audience was the class generally (“everyone”), he stated that that he thought his friend Derek would want to read it. Derek could often be seen reading a dog-eared Minecraft “how-to” manual, composing books and poems set in the world of Minecraft, and referencing Minecraft in his talk and play. In my opinion, he did indeed seem to be a reader who would appreciate and understand Omar’s work. What seemed to have changed for Omar was not necessarily the text that he was creating, but rather his understanding of his intended audience. He seemed to have re-oriented his work from “everyone” to those readers who were already positioned to understand it. Here he was not *addressing* his audience, in the sense of making his

references more clear to those who did not already know about Minecraft. But Kroll's (1978) argument that misunderstandings of audience could be generative for learning seemed to be true in a different way than I would have anticipated.

Omar's decision to revise his intended audience rather than his writing prompted me to seek out more information about Minecraft. I found that as I learned more about Minecraft, I understood and appreciated more of Omar's composing choices. In the example below, I present an excerpt from one of his Minecraft books. In a departure from the illustration style in his other work, Omar's Minecraft series of books all featured boxy drawings with small square-headed people.

Figure 5.7. “It was a trap,” from Omar’s *A Book About Minecraft*



Even with my very rudimentary knowledge of the game, I was able to see that these square-headed figures echoed the game’s signature 8-bit, pixilated visuals. While I had initially missed this visual allusion, I suspect his fellow Minecraft enthusiasts (like Derek) had not. Indeed, I had in other moments seen Derek lean over to his neighbor’s page to draw similarly stylized, boxy Minecraft figures. Considering this, it may be that Omar was *invoking audience* (Ede & Lunsford, 1984), envisioning and writing for a particular kind of informed reader. His realization that not everyone shared a common set of knowledge did not mean that he provided additional clarification of background knowledge in order to adapt his work “to everyone.” Rather, he instead revised his ideas about the circulation of his text, with the intention of reaching a specific kind of informed reader.

Metapragmatic Awareness and Rhetorical Astuteness. Children’s developing metapragmatic awareness overlapped with their growing audience awareness more

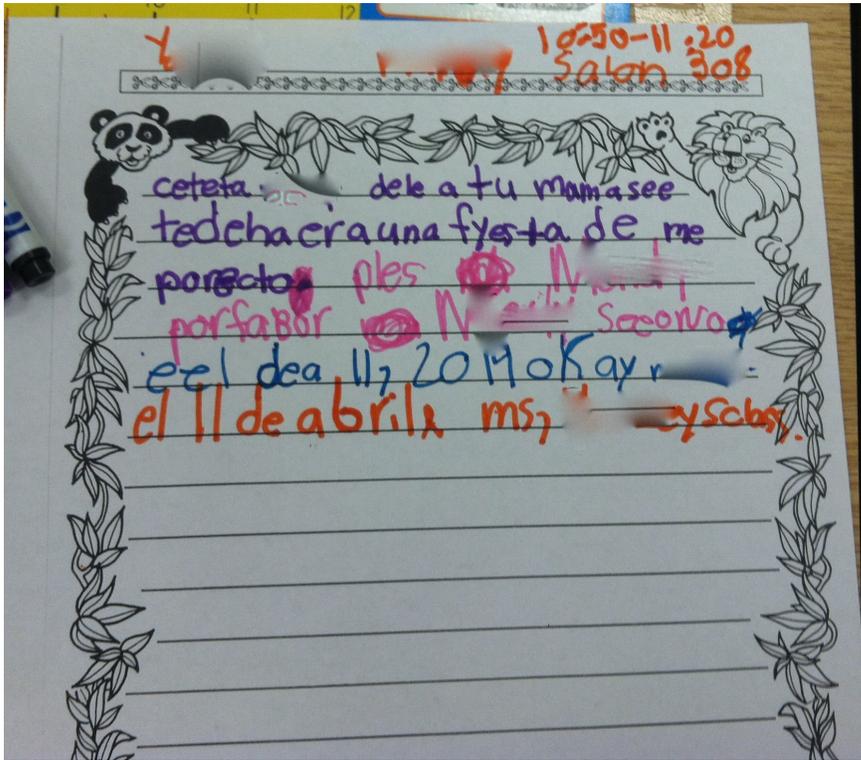
generally. However, metapragmatic moves sometimes appeared to be more salient to students than other kinds of rhetorical moves. For example, as students wrote invitations to various community members to convince them to attend the Animal Report Showcase, I sat next to Yamilet and asked her about her invitation:

Me: What are you going to write so that she comes?

Yamilet: *Querida Nayeli*, because she talks in... Spanish and she doesn't talk in English.

Here, Yamilet described her own strategic use of language as limited to language choice; she was going to use Spanish, because Nayeli talked in Spanish. However, her actual message included a wide variety of rhetorical moves. Here, I present a photo of Yamilet's invitation to Nayeli, taken shortly before she delivered it.

Figure 5.8. Yamilet's Invitation to her Cousin



Transcribed Conventional Spelling: Querida Nayeli, dile a tu mamá si te deja ir a una fiesta de mi proyecto. Please Nayeli, por favor Nayeli. ¿Sí o no? El día 11, 2014. Okay Nayeli? El 11 de abril, Ms. Barry's class.

Translation: Dear Nayeli, ask your mom if she will let you go to a party for my project. Please, Nayeli please. Yes or no? [It's] the 11th, 2014. April 11th, Ms. Barry's class.

Although Yamilet articulated only that she considered Nayeli's linguistic consideration, examining her writing reveals a high density of rhetorical moves. Like many of the Family Message Journal entries written by children, she directly addressed her intended reader. This included literally naming her reader ("Please, Nayeli, **por favor**") as well as her readers' social location as a child ("**dile a tu mamá** [ask your mom]"). In another *Naming Move*, Yamilet also positioned Nayeli as capable of deciding

to accept or decline the invitation (“¿**Sí o no?**”). Yamilet’s use of “please”, a basic *Strategy Move*, was repeated in both languages. Yamilet also drew on several *Context Moves* in which she provided some key information: the date (**el día 11, 11 d abril, 10:50-11:20**) and the location and nature of the party (“**una fiesta de mi proyecto**” “**Salon 308**” “Ms. Barry’s class.”) She also used four different colors of markers, suggesting that she was attending to the aesthetic concerns as well.

Yamilet and her classmates appeared to be capable of effectively using persuasive writing strategies even in the absence of direct instruction. However, unlike metapragmatic knowledge, which Yamilet frequently articulated, her command of these rhetorical strategies seemed to operate below the level of consciousness. This perhaps relates to the regular *public* discussion of metalinguistic and metapragmatic strategies, and the relatively infrequent explicit discussion of rhetorical strategies. As suggested by Purcell-Gates, Duke & Martineau (2007), the experience of writing for authentic purposes can be as or more effective as direct instruction in learning how genres work. Students received feedback indirectly, based on the whether or not their readers were persuaded to do the things that had been requested, and seemed to be drawing on their situated knowledge of the people that they wrote to. Nayeli, for example, did indeed come to the Animal Project showcase.

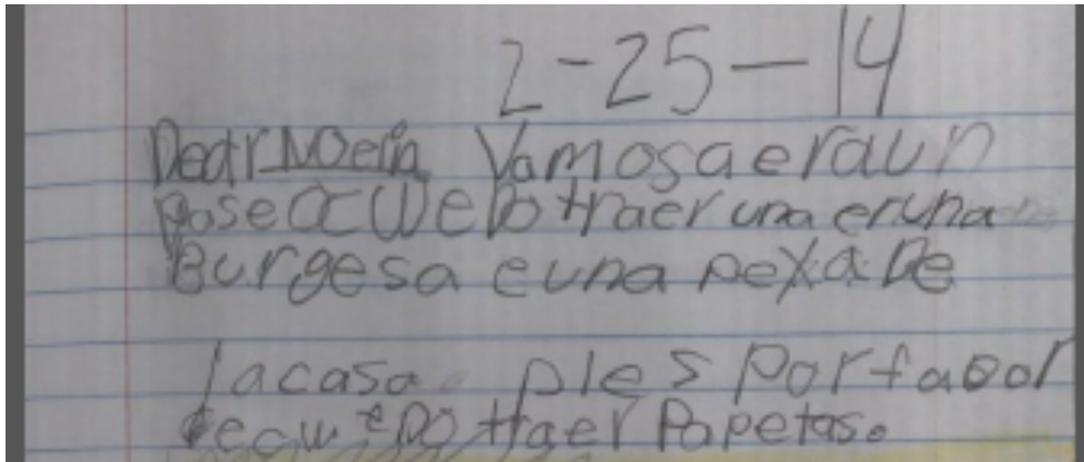
However, when one of Yamilet’s messages failed to have the intended effect, she attributed this to issues of language choice, even in the absence of evidence for this interpretation. For example, in one exchange in her Family Message Journal, she wrote her mother informing her of an upcoming field trip, asking that her mother send her with lunch: pizza, hamburger, and chips. She received the following reply from her mother:

“Hola Yamilet, hoy no supe que escribir, perdón pero no entendí lo que escribiste.

[Hello Yamilet, today I didn’t know what to write, I’m sorry but I didn’t understand what you wrote.]” (Family Message Journal, 2/25/14). When I asked Yamilet why she thought her mother had not understood her message, she said that it was because she had written in English, and that next time she would write her mother in Spanish or “bilanguage”.

However, upon later investigation, I noticed that the entry her mother had been responding to had been written almost entirely in Spanish, albeit Spanish with unconventional spelling that might not have been easy to decipher. (i.e. **cwedo** for **puedo**, **vamosaerun** **paseo** for **vamos a ir a un paseo**.)

Figure 5.9. Yamilet’s Family Message Journal



*Transcribed Conventional Spelling: Dear Mom, **Vamos a ir a un paseo. Puedo traer una hamburguesa y una pizza de la casa please por favor puedo traer papitas.***

Translation: Dear Mom, we are going on a field trip can I bring a hamburger and a pizza from home please please can I bring chips?

Although Yamilet was indeed aware of her mother as her intended audience and of possible impediments to her mother’s understanding, she attributed this misunderstanding

to metapragmatic concerns and did not consider other factors which might impede or facilitate communicative effectiveness. This stands out as potentially important. A key component of the *cultural modeling* framework is identifying not only points of overlap and leverage between students' language practice and school literacy skills, but also points of possible confusion, "misconceptions or naïve understandings," (Orellana & Esker, 2006). In this case, neither Ms. Barry nor I revisited this point of dissonance with Yamilet, but I suspect that it might have been pedagogically valuable to do so. As described above with Omar, students were capable of revising their understandings of their audience, and often did so through talk. A possible implication for the design of the curriculum is to seek out and build on moments of cognitive dissonance, to consider how to more intentionally provide opportunities for students to notice and reflect on the gaps between their reader(s) and their ideas about their reader(s).

CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I described how a curriculum focused on authentic bilingual readers mediated the growth of students' *audience awareness*, including *metapragmatic awareness* and *rhetorical astuteness*. Students' awareness of their audience shaped how they drew from the wide range of semiotic resources at their disposal. All of the focal students' demonstrated ability to assess and respond to their intended audience. However, students varied in the degree to which this knowledge was tacit and to what extent they could articulate how they were reading and responding to various rhetorical sites of action. Lastly, moments in which students made sense of the different between their perspective as writers and their readers' experiences stood out as pedagogically valuable.

CHAPTER SIX: OPENING UP POSSIBILITIES FOR BILINGUAL WRITERS

If you want to really hurt me, talk badly about my language. Ethnic identity is twin skin to linguistic identity- I am my language. Until I can take pride in my language, I cannot take pride in myself. Until I can accept as legitimate Chicano Texas Spanish, Tex-Mex and all the other languages I speak, I cannot accept the legitimacy of myself. Until I am free to write bilingually and to switch codes without having to translate, while I still have to speak English or Spanish when I would rather speak Spanglish, and as long as I have to accommodate the English speakers rather than having them accommodate me, my tongue will be illegitimate. (Anzaldúa, 1999, p. 81)

In this chapter, I revisit my findings from Chapters Four and Five. I follow this by discussing how this study fits into the cultural modeling framework, the theoretical significance of my findings, and present implications for practices in different contexts. Finally, I conclude with limitations and directions for future studies.

In beginning this study, I asked the following questions: What happens when a group of first-grade bilingual students are asked to address their writing to multiple audiences with varying language preferences? How does such a focus on audience leverage these students' existing linguistic repertoires? How does such a focus on audience mediate students' writing development? How might this be reflected in their writing and in their writing-related talk?

As documented in the previous two chapters, students' experiences as part of the designed curriculum mediated a shift in their language use in speech and writing towards more Spanish, codeswitching and codemeshing. Students' interaction with bilingual

readers, their study of bilingual authors, and the tacit and explicit messages they received about the value of Spanish and codeswitching were all associated with an increased use of Spanish, codeswitching and codemeshing. While at the start of the year, almost all students used Spanish and codeswitching only in *private* talk, at the end of the year, many students used Spanish and codeswitching in *public* talk and all students had used Spanish and codemeshing in writing. This shift seemed to be related to students' writing fluency and enjoyment of writing, and their growing sense of identity as writers, perhaps because it meant that they drew from a wider range of their linguistic repertoires.

Looking more closely at my six focal students in Chapter Five illustrated how through these interactions with bilingual readers, students developed and displayed audience awareness. Through interactions with their readers, students grew increasingly aware of metapragmatic concerns in writing—which modes to use with which readers. Students also developed and displayed rhetorical astuteness, reading rhetorical sites of action as they composed and drawing on language(s), rhetorical strategies, colors, drawings and symbols in order to reach their readers.

CULTURAL MODELING, BILINGUAL CHILDREN AND AUDIENCE AWARENESS

Over the course of this year, I worked with Ms. Barry to design a writing curriculum that built on the everyday language practices of her students. Carol Lee suggested that a critical aspect of doing this is that we must be “attuned to seeing where connections between everyday knowledge and school-based knowledge are most fruitful and for what ends” (Lee, 2007, p. 35). To that end, I discuss here how what I observed these children do, say, and make, related to disciplinary modes of reasoning and school-

based literacy tasks. In other words, how did students' codeswitching abilities—their skill at “talking like this” to some people and “talking like this” to others—relate to larger constructs of *audience* and *audience awareness*? What were the connections between everyday and school-based ways with words? In what ways was this a fruitful point of leverage? Returning to Bawarshi's (2003) description of rhetorical astuteness helps illuminate the relationship between what students knew and what the curriculum hoped to teach. Bawarshi uses rhetorical astuteness and rhetorical awareness to describe what skilled writers do, but notes that,

In many ways, it is a skill our students already possess, since to survive as social beings we must all possess at least a modicum of rhetorical awareness. When they enter a room, especially an unfamiliar room, for example, most students first survey or “scope out” the scene. They first analyze who is in the room, how different people are dressed, how the room is structured, who is talking to whom, in what way, on what subject, and so on. Such an analysis of the scene enables them to position themselves and participate within it more effectively. Students are already rhetorically perceptive and adjust at times with uncanny ease from one discursive and ideological context to the next—from their dorm lives to their classroom lives to their family lives and so on. (p.165)

Here, he describes how rhetorical awareness connects to students' ability to interpret and respond to social cues. In doing so, he highlights the potential for teachers to draw parallels between students' social knowledge and the writing skill of rhetorical astuteness.

In looking at Ms. Barry's students' classroom interactions, it is clear they did indeed possess this rhetorical astuteness, especially in matters of language choice. As described in Chapter Four, they initially seemed to perceive that the general environment of school privileged English over Spanish or codeswitching. This finding echoes Urciuoli's (1996) description of how bilingual Puerto Ricans in New York responded to linguistic prejudice. She noted how her participants' speech patterns responded sensitively to power relationships. Because of the ways in which their everyday bilingual language practices were racialized and stigmatized, these participants needed to work hard to be heard across power differentials. As Urciuoli noted,

The familiar, comfortable mixed Spanish-English world of New York Puerto Ricans is seen by social workers doctors or teachers as a paradigm of sociolinguistic disorder. Puerto Rican clients, patients or students are responsible for keeping their English orderly and their Spanish out of earshot (p. 77).

The children in Ms. Barry's classroom had already learned this lesson by the start of first grade, and did indeed keep their (*public*) English orderly and their Spanish *private*. These children were also sensitive to Ms. Barry's efforts to change the sociolinguistic climate of the classroom, as evidenced by their increased willingness to use Spanish and codeswitching in public in response to her consistent efforts to position both as acceptable and valuable tools for writing and writing-related talk.

Moreover, while this metapragmatic awareness did not automatically translate to writing, students learned over time to make similarly sensitive decisions about language choice in writing, much like they already knew how to do in talk. Likewise, Ms. Barry was able to connect metapragmatic decisions made by children about the linguistic

preferences of their readers to the broader literacy skill of rhetorical astuteness. This skill of reading a rhetorical site of action and deploying a wide range of semiotic resources was articulated in the standards, including both the Texas Essential Knowledge and Skills (TEKS) state standards and the more widely adopted Common Core State Standards (CCSS). I cite those standards again here:

- 2 (B) ELLs must learn how rhetorical devices in English differ from those in their native language.
- 17(E) Students are expected to: publish and share writing with others
- (19) Writing/Expository and Procedural Texts. Students write expository and procedural or work-related texts to communicate ideas and information to specific audiences for specific purposes.
- (26) Research/Organizing and Presenting Ideas. Students organize and present their ideas and information according to the purpose of the research and their audience (Grade 1 TEKS, 2013)
- Produce clear and coherent writing in which the development and organization are appropriate to task, purpose, and audience. (CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.W.5.4).

In the data shared above, I have detailed how students published and shared their writing, strategically wrote in different modes for different readers, tasks and purposes, and selected appropriate semiotic resources from their repertoires to suit their audiences and purposes. Their skill at the above tasks, what I described as rhetorical astuteness (Bawarshi, 2003), was mediated by the designed curriculum, including Ms. Barry's talk about writing, the examples of other bilingual writers, and the feedback they received

from their bilingual readers. All of this suggests that students' bilingualism and codeswitching skills did indeed serve as a fruitful point of leverage for their biliteracy development and skill as writers.

However, students varied to the degree in which they were able to articulate the strategies and decisions they made as writers. This may have been in part because they were very young and still developing their metalinguistic vocabulary. It may also be that their codeswitching and the social work it did sometimes operated below the level of consciousness. Considering bilingual middle school students, Martínez (2010) found that, “[Students’] use of Spanglish sometimes appeared to be deliberate—or strategic. Usually, however, it appeared to be intuitive—or tactical,” (p. 178). It may be that the connection between intuitive metapragmatic awareness and rhetorical astuteness might be made more explicit and accessible through a teacher’s talk about it. Over the course of the year, students moved from describing their language choices in vague terms (“talking like this”) to invented terms like “bilanguage” to explicitly articulating “Spanish, English and the both” as potential choices. It may be that naming the different rhetorical strategies students’ used would similarly work to highlight the multifaceted nature of audience awareness.

Finally, I return to the guidelines for cognitive apprenticeship outlined by Collins, Brown, & Holum (1991). They argued that in order to adapt the traditional model of apprenticeship to “invisible” cognitive skills like writing, that teachers need to, “identify the processes of the task and make them visible to students; situate abstract tasks in authentic contexts, so that students understand the relevance of the work; and vary the diversity of situations and articulate the common aspects so that students can transfer

what they learn,” (p. 3). In this study, Ms. Barry and I conceptualized audience awareness as closely related to rhetorical astuteness, drawing on both language arts standards and composition theory regarding what constitutes expert practice in writing. During a number of mini-lessons across the various units of study, Ms. Barry thought out loud as she read and wrote, and prompted students to do the same, making the different components of audience awareness visible (or at least audible). Considering the need to situate abstract tasks in authentic and varied contexts, the study provided students with the opportunity to use writing for a wide variety of purposes with a wide variety of readers, in service of preserving as much as possible the complexity and relevance of writing in out-of-school contexts. In the last dimension, articulating how skills transfer to new contexts, the evidence presented here suggests that students’ metapragmatic awareness was more explicit and available to them for transfer to novel situations than other dimensions of rhetorical astuteness. Future iterations of the curriculum, then, should include mini-lessons or student-teacher conferences in which the teacher(s) make more explicit the relationship between metapragmatic awareness and rhetorical astuteness.

THEORETICAL SIGNIFICANCE

Authentic Audiences as a Design Principle. Notions of audience awareness as articulated by the state language arts standards for first graders included: “Students write expository and procedural or work-related texts to communicate ideas and information to specific audiences for specific purposes” and “Students organize and present their ideas and information according to the purpose of the research and their audience,” (Grade 1 TEKS, 2013). Here, in the official curriculum, *audience* and *purpose* are closely linked;

albeit within certain parameters. The standards argue that purposes and audience should shape children's composing choices, and that the purposes of those genres are predetermined. A procedural text is to teach someone how to do something; an expository text is to communicate information, and so forth.

In designing the curriculum, Ms. Barry and I hoped to provide *authentic audiences*, meaning that children wrote for real readers. In this, we hoped to make the curriculum more permeable to the children's existing facility with language and talk, allowing them "to play a game about which they already knew some of the rules" (Lee, 2007). In retrospect, this approach, while valuable and powerful in a number of ways, involved a partial understanding of *authenticity* in writing. Considering what would make the writing tasks outlined in the designed curriculum *authentic*, I return to Purcell-Gates, Duke & Martineau's (2007) operational definition: "Authentic purpose or function, for us, meant that the literacy event serves a social communicative purpose, such as reading for information that one wants or needs to know or writing to provide information for someone who wants or needs it," (p.14). In other words, what makes a literacy event authentic or not is not just whether or not real people are reading a text, but also whether reading it serves a purpose for the reader or writer. Looking to the genres featured in the TEKS, we see a focus on expository, procedural and work-related texts. An authentic audience would mean not just someone who reads a child's work, but someone who has a reason to do so. For expository or procedural writing to be authentic, students would need to write in order to teach procedures or communicate information to someone who does not already know it. Audience and purpose together, then, are what make a literacy event authentic. Authenticity, then, is not guaranteed by simply giving children the opportunity

to write for real readers.

Looking at students' work in the Black History Month Hallway display illuminates some of this complexity. Teaching about Rosa Parks, Martin Luther King Jr., and Ruby Bridges is a well-worn curricular path in U.S. school. (See Alrige, 2007; Carlson, 2003; Kohl, 2007 for limitations of this approach to social studies.) Presumably, many of those who passed by the hallway display to read students' work already knew many of the biographical details that Ms. Barry's students chose to share. However, in their Family Message Journal, students asked parents what they already knew about these figures, and what they wanted to know. The background knowledge of parents varied. While some parents and siblings knew more about these historical figures than Ms. Barry's students, other parents expressed what seemed to be genuine curiosity. If parents had not attended elementary school in the United States, for example, students would authentically be teaching them something they did not yet know, and that they might want to learn. Whether or not students had an *authentic* purpose for writing about Martin Luther King, Jr., Rosa Parks, and Ruby Bridges depended on the child and the reader.

In a similar vein, students' composition of Animal Reports, another classic school genre, varied greatly in the degree of *authenticity of purpose*. Kelsey reported knowing more about dolphins than her family, having learned about dolphins both on a family trip to Sea World and through independent Internet research at home. She seemed to be quite interested in teaching others about dolphins, and often asked me to use my phone to look up hard-to-answer questions, and then included this esoteric information in her poster. Other students did not necessarily know more about their chosen animal than their readers, limited as they were to gaining information about the rhinoceros or

pteranodon through a single book which may or may not have been written at an accessible level for them. Moreover, much of what students wanted to know about their animals was not possible to find out through the means available to them in the classroom. For, example, when generating questions about Chihuahuas, Yamilet wanted to know: “Do they play when you’re running [Do they play when you’re running]?” Unfortunately, the book on Chihuahuas she had checked out from the library did not address this. Her own written book on Chihuahuas seemed to reflect her interest in telling a story about her dogs, rather than in teaching others factual information about Chihuahuas. This may have been due to her inability to find out the facts she was interested in, or simply that her purpose for writing was not the one outlined by the curriculum. She seemed excited to share her work and predicted that that her cousin would think her book was cool; her cousin confirmed with me that he did, indeed, think it was cool. Yamilet’s purpose (“making a cool book”) and audience (her cousin) could both be considered authentic, and her delivery effective, albeit not necessarily in line with the unit of study as envisioned beforehand.

Nor did children necessarily always want to use writing as a means of communicating information, even when writing in a nominally informative genre and writing from a position of expertise. Marta, for example, described herself as an expert on horses, having previously owned them in Mexico. When speaking to me about horses, she explained aspects of taking care of horses which I had not known, and which many of her readers may also have wanted to learn. She used her animal report book, however, for multiple purposes, not limited to teaching others about horses. Her book contained questions to her readers like, “Can horses talk? No! Do you love horses? Yes!” These

direct reader addresses suggested that she was keeping her audience in mind, in ways that both diverged from and aligned with the official purposes of the project. Part of what she and Yamilet (and other children) seemed to see as an important relationship between audience and purpose was the act of writing as an artful performance: making something beautiful, funny, interesting or engaging. This self-selected set of purposes likely would hold true for any genre studied.

All of this is to say, while students' work was consistently read by authentic readers, whether or not those readers had authentic purposes for reading proved complicated to predict or design ahead of time. Rather, authenticity of purpose was closely tied to complex constellations of relationships and the various expectations, knowledge and experience brought to bear by the many different readers in children's social worlds. This complex relationship between child, text, purpose and audience has both theoretical and practical implications. Ede & Lunsford (1984) remind us that, "Any discussion of audience which isolates it from the rest of the rhetorical situation or which radically overemphasizes or underemphasizes its function in relation to other rhetorical constraints is likely to oversimplify," (p.1 69). Indeed, rhetorical astuteness involves awareness of one's audience, but also of the context in which the reader and writer meet.

Genre writing, when conceived of as a series of units with predetermined purposes, is likely to privilege the development of particular forms over the social goals of children (Yoon, 2013) or the development of rhetorical astuteness. Children, of course, are willing to bend those forms and genres to suit their purposes. However, this requires a teacher who is willing to co-construct curriculum with children, to make it *permeable* (Dyson, 1993) to their interests and goals, as well as to the language(s) such interests

were expressed in. Ms. Barry was quite willing to make the curriculum permeable to her students' purposes; indeed, a number of unforeseen genres snuck into the curriculum at children's urging, such as the "public service announcements" about littering and the hallway flyers advertising their Black History Month display. As suggested by Ms. Barry, the designed curriculum itself was and should be complemented by anticipation that children will have unforeseeable purposes of their own for their writing, and that those too deserve space and time in the classroom. One of the most important modifications Ms. Barry suggested for future iterations curriculum was to build in time to make sure that children also had chances to write outside of these audience-focused units; to *invoke* their own audiences for their own unpredictable, undesignable purposes.

Authentic Bilingual Audiences. In the section above, I emphasized some of the limitations of audience as the primary way of organizing writing curriculum. At the same time, I wish to highlight here the particular affordances of an audience-based curriculum for *bilingual Latina/o* children in particular, and for children who speak marginalized language(s) in general. Chapter Four of this dissertation suggests that writing for bilingual audiences, coupled with an explicit acceptance and valorization of children's everyday ways with words, mediated how children used language in the classroom in significant ways. When these bilingual children began first grade, having had only one or two years of schooling, they already seemed to have learned that *doing school* often means *doing school in English*. Or, put slightly differently, that *doing school* is incompatible with *doing being bilingual* (Auer, 1983).

Nor is this so surprising; it is in living memory that children in Texas were physically punished for speaking Spanish in school. There is ample evidence, across age

groups, that many bi- and multi-lingual children perceive that standardized varieties of languages are “academic” and “appropriate for school” and that hybrid ones are not (de la luz Reyes, 1992; Dyson, 2015; Fitts, 2006), limiting themselves to writing only in English in school, even when encouraged to bring more of their linguistic resources to bear (Canagarajah, 2011; Ranker 2009; Tardy, 2011). Here, this may be rhetorical astuteness on the part of writers. In schools, most writing is read only by teachers (Frank, 1992), and most of those teachers hold ideologies that privilege standardized forms of English over other ways of talking and writing (Lippi-Green, 2011).

In this study, children’s initial reluctance to use Spanish and mix languages in *public* suggests that it was not only the lack of Spanish literacy instruction that prevented students from using Spanish in their writing when given the choice to do so. Rather, they seem to have received both explicit and tacit messages that school is a place for English only. Ms. Barry’s permission to use Spanish orally but not teach Spanish literacy suggests that school writing activities may in fact be policed more strictly than classroom talk. Urciuoli (1996) posited that normal, skillful bilingual language practices are racialized when they are labeled out of place, a bad habit, a sign of laziness or indicative of the inability to speak just one language. I argue that bilingual children’s language is racialized when bilingual ways with words are excluded from public space and especially public print. It took significant time and effort for Ms. Barry to counteract this racialization, to reposition her students’ codeswitching as a useful and important resource for meaning making and literacy learning.

Author and literary critic Toni Morrison (1992) argued that literature too has been historically understood as White, as “free of, uninformed, and unshaped by... African

and African-Americans,”(p. 5) and that literature in the U.S. is often understood as being written for and by a White public of readers and writers. I would add “monolingual English speaker” to the list of unstated, assumed characteristics of readers as imagined and invoked by teachers and standards. Indeed, students themselves seemed unsure about whether readers would appreciate or understand codemeshing, as referenced in Chapter Four, when Yamilet contended about readers in general that, “I think a lot of people know English.” What this dissertation suggests, however, is that this imagined and invoked White monolingual audience bears little resemblance to many of the authentic audiences of bilingual children’s lives.

The real people that bilingual children have real reasons to write to and for, the authentic audiences that makes up the community of Kimball Elementary and schools like it, is linguistically diverse and complex. There were White, monolingual “Standard English” speakers in the audience students addressed. There were also many students and parents and neighbors who were bilingual, and writing for these bilingual audiences gave students reasons to use a wide array of their linguistic repertoires. The writing curriculum that these students need, then, is the one that both values and extends the linguistic, cultural and semiotic resources children bring with them, and gives them the opportunity to assess which resources to bring to bear in any given context. Multilingualism and codemeshing in writing can be understood as “one tool in a writer’s wider rhetorical repertoire” (Fraiberg, 2010). To be a skilled writer in an increasingly complex world is to have command of and flexibly draw from a range of discourses, styles, registers, language practices and rhetorical strategies. This means that students need the

opportunity to try out and develop all the linguistic skills they already possess, rather than putting aside Spanish and codeswitching.

IMPLICATIONS FOR PRACTICE

One of the most significant findings of this study was the degree to which students were able to read and write effectively in Spanish, given that they had not received any formal instruction. These children were able to figure out how to transfer what they had learned about writing in English and (re)invent Spanish graphophonemic relationships, even as they were still learning what writing does. This remarkable *spontaneous biliteracy* (de la luz Reyes, 2012) suggests that even in a restrictive language policy context and with minimal material resources, teachers can support biliteracy and bilingualism. However, in Ms. Barry's case, this required a substantial effort in modeling bilingual talk, sharing bilingual mentor texts, recruiting bilingual audiences to read student's work, and explicitly, repeatedly, naming codeswitching and codemeshing as welcome and important resources for literacy learning. Moreover, a number of older siblings and parents engaged in extensive *linguistic motherwork* (Ek, Sánchez & Quijada, 2013) to support this project. These Spanish literacy skills shared by siblings and parents at home were then distributed in the classroom, as those children who were more skilled in Spanish writing leaned across the desk to share what they knew with their seatmates. All of this is to say that such *spontaneous biliteracy* in an ESL context was not entirely spontaneous, but rather built on the concerted efforts of many actors.

What teachers can and should do to support biliteracy in similar contexts includes: explicitly inviting bilingual talk and writing, providing models of bilingual talk and

writing, and creating rhetorical contexts where Spanish and codemeshing are appreciated. This study also suggests that in order to help children develop rhetorical astuteness, teachers should provide a wide range of audiences and possible purposes for communication, encourage the use and development a broad array of semiotic tools, and give children opportunities for sustained interactions with their readers in order to notice and analyze which tools best match the reader and context. This approach is as applicable to monolingual children, who bring a variety of registers, dialects, and styles, as it is to bi-or multi-lingual children. Nor does this necessarily require the teacher to be bilingual, although Ms. Barry's bilingualism certainly helped her in her efforts to model codeswitching and codemeshing.

When considering the role of codeswitching and codemeshing in bilingual children's writing, Guerra (2011) suggested that,

Our students must also learn how to adapt themselves to each rhetorical or discursive situation they encounter by calling on whatever languages or varieties they deem most productive, knowing always that it is their responsibility to resist and respond to constraining limitations imposed by each rhetorical or discursive situation in order to make themselves fully heard. In short, it is not up to us as educators to tell our students how they should deploy their linguistic and semiotic resources; it is up to them to decide which of those resources they wish to invoke based on the rhetorical or discursive circumstances they're facing. (p. 11)

Our role as teachers of bi- and multilingual students is not to decide for them which varieties are acceptable in school, but to help them navigate in a world in which linguistic prejudice is both rampant and still socially acceptable in many quarters (Lippi-Green,

2011; Wolfram, 2009). I suspect that children are more capable of this than they have generally been given credit for. Ms. Barry's first graders, for examples, used codemeshing in quite different ways in the *public* space of the hallway than in the poems and books that they shared with each other. In hallway writing, students wrote full sentences in English with Spanish translations underneath. It may be that this performance of competence in both languages left no room for students to be perceived as *languageless* (Rosa, 2010). In contrast, children's *private* talk and writing was deeply hybrid, in ways that were welcomed by their classmates and teachers, but, I suspect, more likely to be censured by the general public.

Considering Canagarajah's (2011) call for attention to and guidance in what makes for effective or powerful codemeshing in composition, it seems as though there were a number of aspects of this curriculum which might help students become more rhetorically astute. Students' evolving metapragmatic and audience awareness over the course of the year suggest that there is an important role for teachers in planning for interaction between young writers and their potential readers. Likewise, consistently asking students during conferences about their purposes and readers may have served to draw their attention to writing as a task that concerned purpose and audience, and not just form. Lastly, the published codemeshing in children's book by authors like Pat Mora and Carmen Tafolla served as examples to children of what kinds of codemeshing had made it past the gatekeepers of the publishing industry and were likely to be sanctioned, at least in particular genres and contexts.

However, there may also be aspects of codemeshing that were not considered here, such as the distinction between societal bilingualism and literary bilingualism. As

argued by Barrera & Quiroa (2003), “In literature an aesthetic canon is obeyed, not a social communicative one, ” (p. 249). In this study, the primary emphasis of the curriculum was social and communicative. However, students did not explore in depth the difference between how bilingual writers write and how bilingual speakers talk. Nor did the curriculum ask them to consider how to codemesh in ways that were equally accessible to monolingual *and* bilingual readers. All of these bear further investigation, especially if extending this framework to secondary school contexts.

IMPLICATIONS FOR POLICY

As mentioned in Chapter One, the district language policy stated that, “For optimal language development, the languages are separate for the specific instruction of the lesson...The two languages are not mixed or used interchangeably” (ELL Handbook, 2013, p. 30-31). This referred to the bilingual program, which Ms. Barry’s class was not yet part of. However, as evidenced by the demonstrated usefulness of codeswitching and codemeshing, this policy of language separation would prevent students and teachers from making metalinguistic connections, from writing and talking freely, from enjoying the work of many bilingual authors, and from communicating with bilingual readers. Such a policy is unlikely to support the biliterate and bilingual development of young writers.

This question is particular relevant to dual language bilingual programs. Despite its ubiquity in bilingual communities, codeswitching has often been stigmatized and discouraged within bilingual education (Palmer, 2009; Lindholm-Leary, 2001; Martínez, Hikida & Durán, 2013). This is usually with the intent of protecting Spanish from the

encroachment of English. As asserted by Cloud, Genessee, and Hamayan (2000), language learning, “is most effective when students focus on one language at a time, and interrupting use of the target language can interrupt learning” (p. 22). However, this insistence on “uninterrupted” language often has the opposite of the desired effect. Rigid language separation policies have been shown to constrain the language and literacy development of Spanish speaking students (López & Fránquiz, 2009). McCollum (2009) described the negative consequences of teachers’ disapproval of codeswitching on students’ Spanish use and investment in a bilingual identity. This very investment in a bilingual identity is crucial to the mission of promoting bilingualism and biliteracy (Palmer & Martínez, 2013). A policy that acknowledges the centrality of codeswitching to bilingual living would better support bilingualism and biliteracy. Moreover, this study suggests that supporting students’ Spanish maintenance would be better achieved by providing contexts and audiences where using Spanish is genuinely necessary and useful. In other words, students will be invested in their own bilingualism and Spanish abilities not because Spanish is the “language of the day”, but because there are people who they want to communicate with, and some of those people prefer Spanish.

IMPLICATIONS FOR TEACHER EDUCATORS

One key aspect of this project was that Ms. Barry and I shared a common understanding of codeswitching as a skillful, valuable linguistic practice. While I suspect that an audience-based approach to writing curricula could be adapted to a number of different policy contexts and ages, I doubt that it could be successfully implemented by a teacher who thought that codeswitching was something to be avoided or discouraged.

This is a serious obstacle, since linguistic prejudice is widespread and deeply entrenched. However, at different points in our careers, Ms. Barry and I had both been told that codeswitching was bad and should be avoided by teachers and students. It was in part through graduate study that she and I both had reason to question this widespread assertion. This suggests that such beliefs are changeable, and that teacher educators can and should ask teachers to investigate linguistic prejudice as part of their course of study. This is critical for teachers who will work in linguistically diverse schools, which is arguably all teachers.

LIMITATIONS AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Several researchers working within a *cultural modeling* framework call for extended ethnographic inquiry into children's linguistic repertoires, before then mapping them onto the kinds of practices already valued in schools (Orellana & Eksner, 2006; Orellana & Reynolds, 2008; Martínez, 2010). Likewise, González & Moll (2002) argued for the need to engage in extended ethnographic inquiry in order to be able to build on students' *funds of knowledge*. In this case, as a relatively short-term design study, I did not engage in extensive ethnographic work beforehand, nor did I visit students' homes during the study.

However, this is similar to the original work done by Carol Lee, whose assumption that her students would be familiar with *signifying* was drawn from her experience of living and working in the community in which she conducted research. She confirmed this assumption in the course of her cultural modeling research. Likewise, the design of my study was done with the assumption that since all students in the class were

identified as bilingual and attended school in a bilingual community, that they would be familiar with and likely proficient in codeswitching. This assumption was grounded in my own experience living and teaching bilingual children in Central Texas, as well as informed by the extensive work of other researchers studying bilingualism and codeswitching in bilingual communities (Genishi, 1981; Gort, 2006; Martínez, 2010; Martinez-Orellana & Reynolds, 2008; Martínez-Roldán & Sayer, 2006 Poplack, 1980; Sayer, 2008; Toribio, 2001; Toribio 2004; Zentella, 1997). In my field entry, I confirmed that children in Ms. Barry's classroom did indeed mix languages frequently and this is documented extensively in my fieldnotes, video and audio data.

One important limitation of my research design is that my study does not offer evidence for causal claims about the *effects* of this curriculum. Both the small number of focal students and the lack of any comparison group mean that I cannot conclude that this particular approach to writing instruction is more or less effective than alternative ways of organizing instruction. Rather, this study is exploratory. I have sought to “thickly describe” (Geertz, 1973) children's writing process and products within the context of the designed curriculum in order to inform future iterations and contribute to collective knowledge about how schools can better support bilingual students.

However, while this study does not provide evidence for claims of cause and effect, it does lay the groundwork for later studies that might. Earlier, I referenced the micro-cycles of refinements over the course of the study. I also envision this study as one iteration of a larger project. Having documented here how writing for bilingual audiences mediated these children's biliteracy development, I plan to later use a study design that will allow for causal claims about the effects of audience-focused biliteracy curriculum.

As argued by Sleeter (2012), one of the reasons why culturally responsive pedagogies have not been widely adopted by teachers is the lack of research demonstrating their impact on student learning. While demonstrating impact on student learning is outside of the scope of this dissertation, I hope to investigate such a question in my future research. I envision conducting similar work on a slightly larger scale, in the vein of Lee's (2007) original work on cultural modeling across four classrooms. Given promising findings, I also hope to conduct a large-scale study which would offer convincing causal claims, as done by Purcell-Gates, Duke and Martineau (2007) regarding authenticity in writing instruction and Cabrera, Milam, Jaquette, & Marx (2014) regarding Mexican American Studies and Chicana/o high school students' achievement.

CONCLUSION: OPENING UP POSSIBILITIES

Many researchers from the fields of both literacy and bilingual education have expressed the need to approach writing instruction from a position of building on strengths rather than remediating deficits. This research explores one possible way of approaching the everyday language practices of Latina/o children as rich resources for literacy learning. These audience-focused units of study offered a rhetorical context in which students wrote for linguistically complex audiences, who read their work and offered them feedback about how their work was received. Writing for these readers opened up possibilities for children to develop metapragmatic awareness, to develop audience awareness and rhetorical astuteness, to develop biliteracy even in an ESL context, and to draw more widely across the space of their linguistic repertoires.

This study extends current research by advancing understandings of emergent biliteracy, expanding theories of audience and its role in the writing development of bilingual children, and by contributing to the development of translingual pedagogies for literacy instruction. The findings suggests that teachers hoping to sustain and build on the linguistic resources that young children bring to the classroom invite them to write for real readers and real purposes, connect their knowledge of codeswitching and shifting voices to the rhetorical moves that writers make, and ask children to write for bilingual audiences to support their biliteracy and growth as writers. As argued by García & Kleifgen, “Any language-in-education approach—be it monolingual or bilingual—that does not acknowledge and build on upon the hybrid language practices in bilingual communities is more concerned with controlling language behavior than in educating,” (García & Kleifgen, 2010, p. 43). I hope that this dissertation has convincingly demonstrated that codeswitching and codemeshing are resources to be embraced rather than behaviors to be controlled. Children’s work and talk in this dissertation suggest that even at a very young age, they already possess a great deal of audience awareness and rhetorical astuteness, developed by their lived experiences in linguistically complex communities. Our ability as educators to recognize this, name it as such and build on it can open up new possibilities for such children’s biliteracy development and skill as writers. Moreover, it opens up possibilities for us as readers as well, to appreciate bilingual writing for itself, to enjoy more of “**todas las poems que están** creative.”

Appendix A: Coding Scheme

Codes	Sub-codes
Audience	audience>absence audience>awareness audience>topic audience>family audience>language audience>multiple audience>everybody audience>interaction audience>lack_of_awareness audience>parents audience>peers audience>positive audience>revision audience>self
Authenticity	authenticity>absence authenticity>purpose
Biliteracy	
Circulation	
Conventions	
Codeswitch	cs>student cs>student>private cs>student>public cs>written cs>teacher
Decoding/ Encoding	
Disconfirming	disconfirming>audience disconfirming>crutching
Identity	
Ideology	
Kids Vs. Adults	
Knowledge	knowledge>pop_culture>Frozen knowledge>pop_culture>Minecraft knowledge>computer knowledge>family knowledge>sibling knowlege>invented
Language Choice	

Mentor Text	mentor_text>English mentor_text>Spanish mentor_text>bilingual mentor_text>peer
Metalinguistic/Metapragmatic	MLT>absence MLT>phonology MLT> word meaning
Minilesson	minilesson>audience minilesson>convention minilesson>literary minilesson>procedural minilesson>strategy
Persuasion	
Positioning	
Public v. Private	
Purpose	purpose>child based purpose>school based
Reader Address	
Repair	
Revision	
Saltshaker	
Technology	
Transgressive Talk	
Translanguaging	
Visual Composition	
Writing Related Talk	WRT>Quantity WRT>affective>negative WRT>affective>positive WRT>process WRT>analogy WRT>coauthorship WRT>encoding WRT>genre WRT>materials WRT>procedural WRT>reader writer interaction WRT>effort

PHASE 3: Early Writing

L	L	Content, Organization and Contextual Understandings
1	2	
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> uses a small range of familiar text forms chooses topics that are personally significant uses basic sentence structures and varies sentence beginnings can explain in context, some of the purposes of using writing, e.g. shopping list or telephone messages as a memory aid uses partial organizational framework, e.g. simple orientation and story development often writes a simple recount of personal events or observation and comment uses time order to sequence and organize writing is beginning to use some narrative structure is beginning to use some informational text structures, e.g. recipes, factual descriptions writes simple factual accounts with little elaboration includes irrelevant detail in "dawn-to-dark" recounts attempts to orient, or create a context for the reader, but may assume a shared context rewrites known stories in sequence includes detail in written retellings includes several items of information about a topic is beginning to use "book" language, e.g. "By the fire sat a cat" applies "book" language from one language to another joins simple sentences (often overusing the same connectors, e.g. "and", "then") uses knowledge of rhyme, rhythm and repetition in writing repeats familiar patterns, e.g. "In the jungle I saw..." can explain/articulate purpose of writing aids (e.g. graphic organizers, have-a-go pads, idea banks) can explain/articulate writing process (i.e., preparing, drafting, revising, editing, publishing)
		Word Usage
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> experiments with words drawn from language experience activities, literature, media and oral language of peers and others uses words in the other language drawn from language experience activities, literature, media and oral language of peers and others discusses word formations and meanings, noticing similarities and differences notices similarities and differences between languages discusses word formations and meanings in two languages transfers words encountered in talk, or reading, to writing highlights words for emphasis, e.g. BIO
		Editing
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> begins to develop editing skills deletes words to clarify meaning adds words to clarify meaning begins to proofread for spelling errors responds to requests for clarification attempts the use of a proofreading guide constructively jointly by students and teacher

Grade/Year	Color
K _____	pink
1 _____	orange
2 _____	yellow
3 _____	green
4 _____	blue
5 _____	purple
6 _____	pink
7 _____	orange

L	L	Language Conventions
1	2	
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> attempts to use some punctuation applies punctuation from other language sometimes uses full stops (periods) sometimes uses a capital letter to start a sentence uses capital letters for names attempts the use of question marks attempts the use of exclamation marks sometimes uses apostrophes for contractions (English) uses contractions in Spanish (e.g., <i>al día</i>) attempts the use of accents (Spanish) overgeneralizes use of print conventions, e.g. overuse of apostrophes, full stops, dashes and commas often writes in the first person attempts writing in both first and third person usually uses appropriate subject/verb agreements usually uses appropriate gender and number agreements (Spanish) usually maintains consistent tense writes a title which reflects content applies sentence structure from other language applies spelling rules and/or print conventions from other language
		Strategies
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> talks with others to plan and revise own writing talks with others switching codes to plan and revise own writing re-reads own writing to maintain word sequence begins to effectively use graphic organizers attempts to transfer knowledge of text structure to writing, e.g. imitates form of a familiar big book shares ideas for writing with peers or teachers shares ideas for writing with peers or teacher switching codes participates in group brainstorming activities to elicit ideas and information before writing participates (with codeswitching) in group brainstorming activities to elicit ideas and information before writing in consultation with the teacher, sets personal goals for writing development discusses proofreading strategies with peers and teacher and attempts to use them in context discusses proofreading strategies (with codeswitching) with peers and teacher and attempts to use them in context
		Attitude
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> perseveres to complete writing task

KEY

Bold indicators are the key indicators within each phase.
Italicized indicators are indicators unique to bilingual writers

Teacher/English	Teacher/Spanish
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

PHASE 4: Conventional Writing

L	L	Content and Organization and Contextual Understandings
1	2	
		• uses text forms to suit purpose and audience
		• uses language to fit purpose and audience
		• can explain why some text forms may be more appropriate than others to achieve specific purposes
		• writes a range of text forms including stories, reports, procedures and expositions
		• uses a variety of simple, compound and extended sentences
		• groups sentences containing related information into paragraphs
		• takes account of some aspects of context, purpose and audience
		• considers the needs of audience and includes background information
		• considers language/culture of audience in including background information
		• uses rhyme, rhythm and repetition for effect (where appropriate)
		• demonstrates the ability to develop a topic
		• demonstrates knowledge of differences between narrative and informational text when writing
		• organizes the structure of writing more effectively, e.g. uses headings, subheadings
		• can write from another's point of view
		• shows evidence of personal voice (where appropriate)
		• is developing a personal style of writing
		• shows evidence of the transfer of literary language from reading to writing
		• organizes paragraphs logically
		• uses titles and headings appropriately
		• orders ideas in time order or other sequences, such as priority order
		• uses a variety of linking words such as and, so, because, if, next, after, before, first
		• establishes place, time and situation
		• often includes dialogue
		• uses dialogue to enhance character development
		Word Usage
		• is beginning to select vocabulary according to the demands of audience and purpose, e.g. uses subject-specific vocabulary
		• uses some similes or metaphors in an attempt to enhance meaning
		• varies vocabulary for interest
		• includes specific vocabulary to explain or describe, e.g. appropriate adjectives
		• uses adverbs and adjectives to enhance meaning
		• uses simple colloquialisms and clichés
		Editing
		• uses proofreading guide or checklist to edit own or peers' writing
		• edits and proofreads own writing after composing
		• reorders text to clarify meaning e.g. moves words, phrases and clauses
		• reorders words to clarify meaning
		• attempts to correct punctuation
		• recognizes most misspelled words and attempts corrections

L	L	Language Conventions
1	2	
		• punctuates simple sentences correctly
		• uses capital letters for proper nouns
		• uses capital letters to start sentences
		• uses capital letters for titles
		• uses full stops to end sentences
		• uses question marks correctly
		• sometimes uses commas
		• use apostrophes for possession (English)
		• write apostrophes for contractions (English)
		• uses accents correctly (Spanish)
		• writes effectively in both first and third person
		• uses appropriate subject-verb agreements
		• uses appropriate noun-pronoun agreements
		• uses appropriate gender agreements (Spanish)
		• uses appropriate number agreements (Spanish)
		• maintains appropriate tense throughout text
		Strategies
		• uses a range of strategies for planning, revising and publishing own written texts
		• uses both languages strategically in the writing process
		• selects relevant information from a variety of sources before writing
		• can transfer information from reading to writing, e.g. takes notes for project
		• brainstorm to elicit ideas and information before writing
		• brainstorm in other language to elicit ideas and information before writing
		• attempts to organize ideas before writing
		• plans writing using notes, lists or diagrams or other relevant information
		• sets and monitors goals for writing
		• uses knowledge of other texts as models for writing
		• rereads and revises while composing
		Attitude
		• writes for enjoyment
		• writes to get things done
		• experiments with calligraphy, graphics, and different formats
		• manipulates language for fun, e.g. puns, symbolic character or place names (Ms. Chalk, the teacher, Pittsville)

Student Name _____

Note: This Bilingual Writing Developmental Continuum is an adaptation of the *First Steps Writing Developmental Continuum* developed and copyrighted by the Education Department of Western Australia and published in 1994 by Addison Wesley Longman Australia. It is designed to document writing development in Spanish and English for both native English speakers and native Spanish speakers. The development of this document is a project of Title VII staff and Two-Way teachers of the Federal Street School in Salem, Massachusetts. The document was researched and revised through a Title V11 Field-Initiated Research Grant from 1999 to 2001. It is in draft form for comment and pilot testing. For information about general use of the continuum for instruction and assessment see: Raizen O., & Rivalland, J. (1994). *First steps writing developmental continuum*. Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann.

PHASE 5: Proficient Writing

L	L	Content, Organization and Contextual Understandings
1	2	
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> selects text forms to suit purpose and audience, demonstrating control over most essential elements
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> can explain the goals in writing a text and indicate the extent to which they were achieved
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> writes to define, clarify and develop ideas and express creativity, e.g. stories, poems, reports, arguments
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> writes a topic sentence and includes relevant information to develop a cohesive paragraph
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> organizes paragraphs logically to form a cohesive text
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> uses a variety of simple, compound and complex sentences appropriate to text form
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> identifies likely audiences and adjusts writing to achieve impact
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> conveys a sense of personal involvement in imaginative writing
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> conducts research effectively in order to select appropriate information to fulfill task demands
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> demonstrates success in writing a wide range of forms, e.g. stories, reports, expository texts, poems, plays
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> has sufficient quality ideas to fulfill task demands
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> develops topic fully
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> uses a plan to organize ideas
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> sustains coherence and cohesion throughout text
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> demonstrates ability to view writing from a reader's perspective
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> expresses a well-reasoned point of view in writing
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> can justify a decision in writing
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> can write about the same topic from different points of view
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> writes a complete, succinct orientation and develops relevant ideas and events
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> uses complex sentences with embedded clauses or phrases, e.g. "My friend Jane, who lives next door..."
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> discusses and uses a range of linking words, e.g. thus, furthermore, in addition
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> signals cause and effect using <i>if, then, because, so, since, result in, brings about, hence, consequently, subsequently</i>
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> signals comparisons using <i>like, different from, however, resembles, whereas, similar</i>
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> signals alternatives using <i>on the other hand, otherwise, conversely, either, instead (of), whether</i>
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> signals time order using <i>later, meanwhile, subsequently, initially, finally</i>
		Word Usage
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> uses a wide range of words that clearly and precisely convey meaning in a particular form
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> discusses selection of words, clauses or phrases for their shades of meaning and impact on style
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> chooses appropriate words to create atmosphere and mood
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> elaborates ideas to convey coherent meaning
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> sustains appropriate language throughout, e.g. formal language in a business letter
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> uses <i>humor, sarcasm or irony</i>
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> uses idioms and colloquialisms to enhance writing
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> attempts to involve the reader by the use of metaphor, simile, imagery and other literary devices that require commitment from the reader
		Editing
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> edits own writing during and after composing
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> attempts to reorder words, phrases, clauses and paragraphs to clarify and achieve precise meaning
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> uses a revising and editing checklist to improve own writing

L	L	Language Conventions
1	2	
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> demonstrates accurate use of punctuation
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> demonstrates accurate use of: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> capital letters full stops commas for a variety of purposes quotation marks (English) dashes (Spanish) exclamation marks apostrophes for contractions (English) apostrophes for ownership (English) paragraphing brackets and dashes
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> uses punctuation to enhance meaning
		Strategies
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> takes notes, selects and synthesizes relevant information and plans text sequence
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> evaluates writing of others
		Attitude
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> writes for enjoyment, to get things done and for personal expression
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> shows interest in the craft of writing
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> is resourceful in gathering information

PHASE 6: Advanced Writing

L	L	Content, Organization and Contextual Understandings
1	2	
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> controls effectively the language and structural features of a large repertoire of text forms
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> controls and manipulates the linguistic and structural components of writing to enhance clarity and impact
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> generates, explores and develops topics and ideas
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> may choose to manipulate or abandon conventional text forms to achieve impact
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> maintains stylistic features throughout texts
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> makes critical choices of tone and point of view to suit different purposes and to influence audiences
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> writes exploring and developing abstract ideas
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> makes informed choices about the linguistic features, organization and development of ideas and information according to audience and purpose
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> deliberately structures sentences to enhance a text and according to audience and purpose
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> develops ideas and information clearly, sustaining coherence throughout complex texts
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> conceals personal bias where appropriate
		Word Usage
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> selects and manipulates words, phrases or clauses, for their shades of meaning and impact
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> successfully involves the reader by the use of literary devices such as metaphor, simile, onomatopoeia
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> uses abstract and technical terms appropriately in context
		Editing
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> modifies and restructures phrases, clauses, paragraphs or whole texts to clarify and achieve precise meaning
		Language Conventions
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> controls the conventions of writing, but may make a deliberate choice to break them to enhance meaning
		Strategies
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> takes responsibility for planning, revising and proof reading to ensure that writing achieves its purpose
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> reflects on, and critically evaluates own writing to ensure that content and organization suit the purpose for writing and the audience
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> evaluates and synthesizes information from a variety of sources to support view
		Attitude
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> responds to a compulsion to write
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> reflects on, critically evaluates and critiques own writing and that of others

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