





This is to certify that the

dissertation entitled

The Construction and Reconstruction of Two
Discourse Spaces in a Special Education
Classroom: A Sociolinguistic Examination
of Sharing Chair and Morning Message
presented by

Troy V. Mariage

has been accepted towards fulfillment
of the requirements for

Ph.D. degree in Special Education

Major professor

Date April 25, 1996

LIBRARY

Michigan State University

PLACE IN RETURN BOX to remove this checkout from your record.
TO AVOID FINES return on or before date due.

DATE DUE	DATE DUE	DATE DUE
FEB 6 4 3003	_____	_____
NOV 0 2 1998	_____	_____
NOV 0 2 1998	_____	_____
JUL 1 1 2002 JUL 2 5 0 2	_____	_____
APR 0 2 2003 APR 0 2 2003	_____	_____
AUG 2 6 2006 AUG 14 0 0	_____	_____
FEB 1 7 2007	_____	_____

MSU is An Affirmative Action/Equal Opportunity Institution

c:\crl\data\due.pm3-p.1

**THE CONSTRUCTION AND RECONSTRUCTION OF TWO DISCOURSE SPACES
IN A SPECIAL EDUCATION CLASSROOM: A SOCIOLINGUISTIC EXAMINATION
OF SHARING CHAIR AND MORNING MESSAGE**

By

Troy Vaughn Mariage

A DISSERTATION

**Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of**

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Counseling, Educational Psychology and Special Education

1996

ABSTRACT

THE CONSTRUCTION AND RECONSTRUCTION OF TWO DISCOURSE SPACES IN A SPECIAL EDUCATION CLASSROOM: A SOCIOLINGUISTIC EXAMINATION OF SHARING CHAIR AND MORNING MESSAGE

By

Troy V. Mariage

The purpose of this study was to investigate how one exemplary teacher and her fourteen special education students socially constructed and reconstructed the literacy events of Sharing Chair and Morning Message.

Methods of data collection reflected a qualitative/descriptive approach. The focal data sources for this study were the complete transcriptions of five Sharing Chair and five Morning Message events that were videotaped in the spring of the 1992-1993 school year. Other data sources included extensive fieldnotes, bi-weekly videotaping of all literacy events, transcripts of two formal interviews with the teacher and each student, and two informal assessments of students' ability to create and edit a Morning Message story. The data were triangulated and analyzed to determine (a) the participant structures that helped to define the range and types of discourse in the two events, (b) the various types, patterns, and functions of participants' discourse moves, and (c) the range of literate actions that were afforded in the two activities. The discourse spaces of the two activities were compared to determine the potential for studying classroom events that are reflective of the discourse modes of conversation and inquiry.

In both Sharing Chair and Morning Message, the roles of author and audience member, with their unique rights, duties, and responsibilities, allowed for participants to be differentially positioned in the discourse. These various discursive positionings, in turn, required students to engage in different literate behaviors. The teacher played a vital role in orchestrating the discourse in both literacy events. A particularly important set of discourse moves by the teacher were those that maintained the involvement of individuals or the entire group. These involvement moves functioned to realign the content and the social

relat

a po

inter

alliv

Con

link

enga

ab-

to ec

Sugg

of s

relationships of group members.

A comparison of the two literacy events suggested that each literacy event provided a powerful bridge between students' home-based ways of knowing and their inculcation into the conventional knowledge of the larger community of writers. Sharing Chair allowed students to tell their own stories and discuss them in conversations with peers. Conversational strategies such as telling stories, actively listening, and building intertextual links with others were allowed and privileged in this discourse space. Morning Message engaged students in conversations around the entire writing process, including thinking about one's topic and audience, organizing ideas, drafting, and constantly giving attention to editing and revising one's text. This study contributes to emerging research that suggests that becoming literate in schools is related to one's facility in developing a number of school-based discourses (Michaels & O'Connor, 1990).

Copyright by
TROY VAUGHN MARIAGE
1996

farm

disse

my p

dec

comm

star

high

from

State

four

teach

educ

incl

to ex

stud

inst

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

It is difficult to communicate how grateful I am to my colleagues, friends, and family. Without their support, humor, and encouragement, the exercise of writing a dissertation would have been a lonely and transparent experience.

Without my advisor and mentor, Carol Sue Englert, I recognize that the quality of my professional life would be greatly diminished. Carol Sue's dedication to apprenticing doctoral candidates in general, and myself specifically, has reminded me that communication is at the heart of learning. Carol Sue has modeled that compassion can stand comfortably beside tenacity of purpose. Beyond her apprenticeship in conducting the highest quality educational research, it is Carol Sue's laughter, humor, and our close friendship that I will never be able to repay. Thank you.

I also want to acknowledge my committee members and members of the Michigan State University community. With Carol Sue, these four faculty members represent at least fourteen different classes at the Master's or Doctoral level. It is largely through their teaching that I have positioned myself as an educational researcher in the field of special education.

Taffy Raphael helped to remind myself that I was capable. In many ways, including introducing me to her colleagues across the country, Taffy subtly challenged me to expect more of myself and the quality of my work. Her literacy courses and research studies are exemplars of the type of research I hope to conduct in the future. Taffy's instructional research is always aimed at helping children and their teachers to become

better readers, writers, and professionals. Taffy continues to be the pulse and conduit for innovative information from across the country and the world in our college. I admire her professionalism and feel honored that she has spent so much time helping me to think more broadly and critically.

James Gavelek has had a profound influence on my thinking about teaching and learning. His courses on Vygotsky, Social Cognition, and Language, Literacy, and Learning have influenced every published piece of research that I have ever been involved in writing. Re-thinking research and teaching from a social constructivist perspective has allowed our research team to push the entire field of special education to think about the importance of language and other forms of semiotic mediation in leading cognitive development. More importantly, I see everyday from Jim the power in taking the extra time to come to know others as people with rich experience and knowledge. His open door policy of meeting him any day and at any time, in addition to his voraciousness in gathering resources for all the students under his care, have reminded me that scholarship can be intimately connected to the networks and communities that we create for others.

Douglas Campbell and Susan Florio-Ruane have introduced me to methodologies and beliefs about research that have directly influenced the way I view the world. Doug's sociolinguistic and fieldwork classes have provided a forum for conducting an ethnography and sociolinguistic analyses that were the foundation for my dissertation. Similarly, Susan Florio-Ruane's research in writing and discourse analysis classes have been instrumental in furthering my understanding about the incredible power in the microanalysis of naturally occurring talk. I am deeply indebted to these two individuals for other reasons. The brilliance of their thinking stands just behind the quality of their personalities. It matters deeply that doctoral candidates can feel comfort in talking to people who listen so carefully and are committed to their learning. Again, these individuals demonstrate in their daily lives that the "message is the message."

name

para

Rock

exper

ment

Spent

Tang

Tarr

learn

Guar

edid

for t

pin

need

what

sett

for n

br e

big i

Clare

easie

rece

I also am indebted to a wide-range of colleagues who have endured with me. These names are far too numerous to mention, though I need to mention a few. My cohort partners, Carol Crumbaugh, Garnet Hauger, Nancy Knapp, Lauren Pfeiffer, and Julie Ricks have provided a network of friends that will last a lifetime. Our shared collective experiences with each other have enriched me beyond mention. Thank you. I also need to mention a number of colleagues that have worked with me on the Early Literacy Project. Spending four years together has developed friendships that will always be cherished. Tanja Bisesi, Fenice Boyd, Arthur Garmon, Whitney Hosmer, Mary Rozendal, Kathi Tarrant, and Joyce Urba have been constant companions and partners in our collective learning. Also, a special thank you goes out to my colleague and golf partner, Ginny Goatley.

A very special “thank you” is extended to the two teachers and their special education students that allowed me to become part of their classrooms several times a week for four years. You have taught me more about teaching and learning than I ever imagined possible. You reminded me each day that enriched instruction for students with special needs can eliminate the learned helplessness that so often plagues our challenged students.

I often find myself thinking about children and their families. I admit to wondering what the lives of challenged children would be like in different sociocultural activity settings. My parents, Tracy and Sandra Mariage, have and continue to be the barometers for my effectiveness as an individual and a parent. My admiration for them is infinite. My brother Wade, my brother Dane, and my sister Amber have made me feel important as their big brother. I also have had the honor to become the son-in-law of two other parents, Clarence and Helen Allgaier. Their support and wisdom has made this journey much easier.

Finally, my wife Mary and our son Tyler are deserving of a very special kind of recognition. Mary’s gifts as a teacher have repeatedly told me that it is education in

inclusive learning communities that can transform children's lives. Mary has been the closest friend and support person I have ever known. Her humor, flexibility, and openness have given me the permission and courage to create. Our new son, Tyler, has already helped remind me of more important things. He is a very special little boy.

LIS

LIS

CH
INT

CH
LIT

The

Tr

Fr

Se

CH
ME

Th

Pe

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES.....	xiii
LIST OF FIGURES.....	xiv
CHAPTER 1	
INTRODUCTION.....	1
CHAPTER 2	
LITERATURE REVIEW.....	9
Theoretical Perspective.....	9
Sociocultural Theory.....	10
Assisting Development in Classroom Events.....	15
Implications of a Sociocultural Framework in the Study of Literacy Events.....	25
Traditional Modes of Discourse in Schools.....	27
Framing Discourse Possibilities: Modes of Dialogue in Classrooms.....	30
Selected Review of Sociolinguistic Studies.....	40
Aligning Academic Task and Participation Status through Discourse.....	41
Summary and Reflections.....	48
The Santa Barbara Discourse Group.....	50
Summary.....	55
CHAPTER 3	
METHODS.....	58
The Setting.....	59
Rationale for Site Selection and Studying an Exemplary Teacher.....	60
Program Context: Principles of the Early Literacy Project.....	62
The Early Literacy Project Curriculum.....	69
School Context.....	70
Classroom Context.....	73
Participants.....	76

Teacher.....	76
Students.....	79
Sources of Data.....	82
Analysis.....	103
Analysis of Transcript Data.....	106
CHAPTER 4	
THE DISCOURSE SPACE OF SHARING CHAIR.....	116
Constructing a Discourse Space: Indexing Functions and Phases of Activity.....	116
Creating Possibilities for Academic Work: Participation Structures.....	117
Rights and Duties of Student Author.....	118
Rights and Duties of Student Audience.....	124
Rights, Duties, and Responsibilities of the Teacher.....	127
Questioning and Commenting on Authors' Stories.....	137
The Range of Topics and Uses of Sharing Chair.....	144
Using the Discourse Space of Sharing Chair.....	144
Summary.....	158
Educational Affordances in the Sharing Chair Discourse Space.....	159
Verbal Involvement Across the Five Rounds of Sharing Chair.....	159
The Storied and Intertextual Nature of Conversation.....	161
Role Matters: Differential Discursive Positioning.....	171
Author as Positioned.....	175
Author as Positioner.....	178
Author as Listener.....	181
Summary.....	185

CH
THE

Con

Cra

The

Lit

Su

CH
CC

Se

TH

Su

AP
DE
AC

AP
TE

CHAPTER 5	
THE DISCOURSE SPACE OF MORNING MESSAGE.....	186
Constructing a Discourse Space: Indexing Functions and Phases of Activity.....	186
Creating Possibilities for Academic Work: Participant Structures.....	187
Rights and Duties of the Student Author.....	188
Rights and Duties of the Audience Members.....	197
The Teacher's Discursive Moves in Morning Message.....	202
Instructional Moves.....	204
Literacy Content Moves.....	208
Management Moves.....	209
Conversational Involvement and Participation.....	211
Literacy Affordances in Morning Message.....	229
Skills and Strategies in the Writing Process.....	230
Internalization and Transfer of Social Dialogues to Independent Writing.....	256
Editing/Revising Task and Independent Writing: Three Cases.....	262
Summary.....	273
CHAPTER 6	
CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS.....	275
Summary and Discussion.....	275
Theory and Practice.....	279
Theory.....	279
Educational Practice.....	285
Significance, Limitations, and Future Directions.....	292
APPENDIX A	
DESCRIPTION OF EARLY LITERACY PROJECT CURRICULAR	
ACTIVITIES.....	297
APPENDIX B	
TEACHER INTERVIEWS.....	304

APP
STU

APP
DE
MO

LIS

APPENDIX C	
STUDENT INTERVIEWS.....	306
APPENDIX D	
DEFINITIONS AND EXAMPLES OF TRISHA'S DISCOURSE MOVES IN MORNING MESSAGE.....	310
LIST OF REFERENCES.....	327

Tad
Tad
Tad
Tad
Tad
Tad
Tad
Tad

Ta
Ta

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1	Student Information.....	80
Table 2	Sample Videotape Catalogue.....	89
Table 3	Angie's Videotape Catalogue.....	90
Table 4	Students' Group Rankings of Literacy Events.....	101
Table 5	Distribution of High and Low Rankings of Literacy Events.....	101
Table 6	Trisha's Rating of Literacy Events.....	102
Table 7	Verbal Participation in Sharing Chair.....	152
Table 8	Examples of Audience Uptake of Events in Angie's Journal.....	155
Table 9	Distribution of Comments, Stories, and Questions in Role of Audience Member.....	165
Table 10	Author's Verbal Participation Across Five Sharing Chairs.....	174
Table 11	Rank-Order of Editing Changes and Level of Verbal Participation in Morning Message.....	259

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1	The Vygotsky Space.....	14
Figure 2	Modes of Dialogue in Schools.....	32
Figure 3	Trisha's Classroom.....	75
Figure 4	Trisha's Daily Schedule.....	77
Figure 5	Morning Message Editing/Revising Measure	97
Figure 6	Student Rating Scale of Literacy Events.....	100
Figure 7	Transcript Conventions.....	107
Figure 8	Sample Discourse Profile.....	108
Figure 9	Scoring Form for Editing Transfer Measure.....	113
Figure 10	Sample of Tracey's Journal Entry.....	141
Figure 11	Topics and Uses of Sharing Chair.....	146
Figure 12	The Intertextual Building of Story in Sharing Chair.....	169
Figure 13	Trisha's Discourse Moves in Morning Message.....	203
Figure 14	The Anatomy of Two Revoicing Moves in Morning Message.....	218
Figure 15	An Example of Trisha's Scaffolding in the Teaching of Writing Conventions.....	238
Figure 16	April 8 Morning Message.....	244
Figure 17	Hannah's Independently Edited Morning Message.....	264
Figure 18	Danny's Independently Edited Morning Message.....	265
Figure 19	Ray's Independently Edited Morning Message.....	268
Figure 20	Hannah's Independent Writing of a Morning Message.....	270
Figure 21	Ray's Independent Writing of a Morning Message.....	272

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Rationale for the Study

This study examines the nexus between teacher, student, and activity, especially the role that discourse plays in simultaneously creating the social conditions in which meaning is constructed and as a primary tool for thinking. Teachers and students socially construct and reconstruct literacy events differently, including their generic features, the primary modes of discourse, the participant structure, and the discourse moves required to accomplish the cognitive and social goals of the event in that particular community. Two classroom events, Sharing Chair and Morning Message, were examined to understand how these social constructions influenced the ways in which members of a special education classroom community came to value, feel, believe, act, and learn together.

Recent research that examines the socially constructed nature of literacy events proposes that a central tenet of this perspective is the recognition that a foundational research question to ask in instructional research is “what counts” as literacy learning in situated literacy events from the different participants’ perspectives (Heap, 1989). Specifically, it is no longer tenable to assume that a particular instructional event has similar outcomes, goals, and purposes across teachers and classrooms (Anderson, Raphael, Englert, & Stevens, 1991; Myers, 1992). Teachers and students construct and reconstruct literacy events moment-to-moment and over time, resulting in different opportunities to learn, opportunities to participate in a range of literate behaviors, and opportunities to develop a variety of ways of knowing, valuing, and talking (Santa Barbara Discourse Group, 1992b). Studying these constructions and reconstructions through discourse relies upon the methodological tools of ethnography and interactional sociolinguistics that are best suited to describing these complex interrelations.

Several important lines of research have begun to focus on how exemplary teachers

create discourse spaces that allow for rich learning in a variety of subjects (O'Connor & Michaels, 1993; Santa Barbara Discourse Group, 1992b). Specific to each of these lines of research is the focus on how *participant structures*, the various rights, duties, roles and responsibilities constructed for speakers and hearers are developed to allow the teacher and her students to align social and cognitive participation (O'Connor & Michaels, 1993). To begin to understand the educational possibilities or affordances in a particular literacy event, researchers must examine how the participant structure creates or discourages particular types of literate and social behavior (Santa Barbara Discourse Group, 1992b).

Two features of this study attempt to extend the literatures on the social construction and reconstruction of literacy events. First, the prior research on participant structures and their relationship to literacy learning have been examined in activities that encourage instructional discourse (e.g., whole group discussion), but not in literacy events with alternative discourse goals such as inquiry, conversation, or debate (Burbules, 1993). Describing exemplary teachers' actions in a wider range of literacy events can help to build, on a case-by-case basis, the features of alternative discourse spaces that privilege ways of knowing, valuing, and interacting that are often absent or limited in schools. Second, there have been virtually no interactional sociolinguistic studies of highly effective literacy teachers in special education classrooms. With their typically smaller class sizes, diversity in learning abilities, and the historical focus on individualized instruction, the study of innovative curricula is especially important in these unique classrooms.

Theoretical Framework

To understand and describe both the relatively stable (i.e., generic) and the moment-to-moment features of literacy events over time it was necessary to use theoretical and methodological perspectives that emphasized the role of discourse in socially constructing and reconstructing the literacy events of Sharing Chair and Morning Message¹. One such theoretical perspective, the sociocultural perspective, is grounded in

the belief that it is semiotic (i.e., sign) mediation that is at the heart of the uniquely human higher order cognitive processes. The sociocultural perspective is informed by the work of Vygotsky (1978, 1988) and others (Moll & Greenberg, 1991; Wertsch, 1991). Four assumptions that guide the sociocultural perspective of learning and development are that (1) it is social interaction with others that leads to the uniquely human higher psychological functions (Bruner, 1991b; Moll, 1991; Wertsch, 1985, 1991); (2) language learned in these social interactions mediates experience and transforms mental functioning (Bakhtin, 1986; Vygotsky, 1988; Wertsch & Rogoff, 1984); (3) learning proceeds from the interpsychological plane (between individuals) to the intrapsychological (within the individual) plane with the assistance of more knowledgeable members of the culture (Rogoff, 1990; Vygotsky, 1988; Wood, Bruner, & Ross, 1976); and (4) zones of proximal development are created and situated in sociocultural activity settings, including the activities that represent the formal school curriculum (Rogoff, 1990; Tharp & Gallimore, 1988; Wertsch, 1991). These assumptions will be elaborated in Chapter 2.

Particularly important in this perspective is the role of language in mediating and transforming experience (Wertsch, 1991). In schools, it is largely in curricular activities that this mediation between individuals takes place, demanding that researchers study how the instructional event and the quality of assistance provided in these social interactions mediate experience and result in different types of learning (e.g., teacher's use of discourse, sign systems available, opportunities for students to move towards self-regulation). This study of semiotic mediation, especially discourse, is supported by the philosophical orientation of interactional sociolinguistics. Unlike process-product analyses

¹The term Morning Message is the name used by students and teachers on the Early Literacy Project. However, this term is not meant to be confused with the more common use of the term, that of putting a message on the board for students to respond to when they enter the classroom in the morning. In Early Literacy Project Classrooms, the term Morning Message refers to a literacy event that involved the group construction of a written text around the experience of one student.

of
st
st
st
la
g
c
of
st
c
c
c
R
in
cr
m
st
be
the
d
cr
re
dr
c
th
e

of classroom discourse that create predefined categories that are believed to correlate with student achievement, usually on a standardized measure of assessment, sociolinguists study language in the context of its use (Florio-Ruane, 1987). Sociolinguistic analyses take an ethnographic perspective to examine “everyday life in ordinary places where people gather to live and work” (Florio-Ruane, 1987, pp. 186). As a speech community, classroom communication becomes important in understanding how students learn the often implicit rules for participating in the classroom, and how social interactions in the speech event mediate learning. It is this study of social interaction in different speech communities and speech events (e.g., literacy events) that makes up a classroom curriculum that provides the bridge to a sociocultural theory of human learning. Researchers must understand how different forms of literacy instruction develop or alter the interpretative systems of students, or instructional researchers will continue to miss a critical analysis of a program’s purported effectiveness.

For example, O’Connor and Michaels (1993) recognized a recurrent discourse move used by two exemplary teachers, revoicing, that functioned to give authorship to a student’s idea while simultaneously opening it to questioning, brought children’s ideas back into the discussion, and gave authors the right to choose to defend or not to defend their idea, allowing them to control their own level of social engagement. This one discourse move seemed to allow the teacher to align social and cognitive participation by creating a “valence” for the nature of discussions in these teachers’ classrooms. The revoicing move functioned to discursively position students to participate in ways that were dramatically different than the typical teacher-controlled discourse that dominates most classroom talk.

Tannen (1989), in her study of naturally-occurring conversation, noted the use of three recurring moves that functioned to heighten conversational involvement: using dialogue, imagery, and repetition. These *involvement strategies*, though not discussed in

educational discourse, may provide particularly important lenses for thinking about the construction and reconstruction of literacy events through talk, especially those activities that have discourse modes that differ from discourse as instruction (i.e., conversation, inquiry, debate).

Specifically, the literacy event of Sharing Chair was believed to engage students in what Burbules (1993) called discourse as conversation, whereas the literacy event of Morning Message was believed to be representative of discourse as inquiry. In order to conceptualize both the moment-to-moment and historical construction of the respective activities, a sociocultural and sociolinguistic perspective was necessary.

Importantly, it is not only language, but entire ways of knowing and ways of using literate actions that are socially constructed in literacy events as teachers and students assist one another's development (Chang-Wells & Wells, 1993). Barnes (1992) characterizes the central role of student participation in discourse as being transformative, rather than merely adding to some stockpile of words. In this sense, though initially students actions are inherently social as they borrow from the language using practices of more knowledgeable others, these voices come into contact with other voices, transforming their experience. These transformations are "what is meant by saying that we can treat learning as equivalent to changing the interpretative systems by which events are perceived" (Barnes, 1992, pp. 23). Understanding and describing how teachers create different social contexts with their unique interpretative systems (i.e., including ways of knowing and speaking), both moment-to-moment and over time, is at the heart of understanding the interface between sociocultural activities and learning.

The process of moving from social to intrapsychological functioning places a premium on the importance of more knowledgeable others, both teachers and peers, in leading cognitive development and transforming experience.

focus

At the

educat

recon

view

as in

real p

comm

intern

class

(Elev

of l

con

spe

ab

to

the

re

p

a

a

h

The Nature of the Proposed Research

Recent theory and research conceptualized from a sociocultural perspective has focused on the centrality of classroom discourse as a primary mediational tool in education. At the same time, there is renewed interest in how literacy events afford different educational possibilities in discourse spaces where the teacher and children construct and reconstruct the activity and the classroom community (Bloome, 1986). The shift from viewing literacy processes as a series of skills and strategies to be learned to viewing them as inherently social processes involving composing, responding, and comprehending for real purposes, forces researchers to understand how various classroom activities create communicative contexts that allow diverse learners to engage in rich ways of knowing literacy. Curriculum is a mind altering device; it is largely through participation in classroom events that determine “what counts” as learning in various subject matters (Eisner, 1985).

In special education, ways of knowing have often reflected an impoverished view of literacy: reducing complex tasks into a series of subskills removed from any meaningful context and purpose (Allington & McGill-Franzen, 1989). It has been well documented that special education and low achieving students receive a different education from their more able peers (O’Sullivan, Yssledyke, Christenson, & Thurlow, 1990), with the legacy of “slow it down and make it concrete” limiting access to the rich ways of interacting with and through text (Allington, 1992).

The purpose of this study was to examine two literacy events that were believed to represent instruction that was reflective of a sociocultural perspective emphasizing four principles: (1) that activities are meaningful and purposeful to students (e.g., real audiences and purposes, opportunities to publish ideas), (2) that activities are responsive to all students by focusing on socially mediated action, (3) that activities allowed students to move from external, socially-mediated action to self-regulated use of skills, strategies, and

ways

where

these

part

act

Res

eval

Foot

and

at

et

P

s

e

s

ways of knowing, and (4) that activities helped to create an inclusive learning community where students participated with and through the texts of others. This study examined how these two events seemed to afford different forms of literate actions and behaviors on the part of one teacher and her fourteen special education students as they constructed the activities through talk.

Research Questions

In order to gain insight and perspective into the focal research question, this study examined a main question and several sub-questions:

Focal Question: (1) How does one exemplary teacher and her students socially-construct and reconstruct the two literacy events of Sharing Chair and Morning Message?

- (a) What are the participation structures in the two activities?
- (b) How do rights, duties, roles, and responsibilities of participants create opportunities to be discursively positioned?
- (c) What are the range and types of discourse moves used by the teacher and her students in the two literacy events?
- (d) How do different individual students participate in the two literacy events?
- (d) What types of literate behavior do students employ by participating in the two activities? (i.e., What are the educational possibilities or affordances in the activities?)

Methods

The nature of the research questions guiding this study required that data collection and methods of analysis follow a descriptive/qualitative tradition that combined the use of ethnographic and sociolinguistic analysis (Bogdan & Biklen, 1982; Cazden, 1988; Florio-Ruane, 1987; Green, 1983). Hymes (1974) describes this approach as interactional sociolinguistics. Data sources for this study included: (a) transcripts of five videotapes each of Sharing Chair and Morning Message events that occurred during the spring of the school year (i.e., from March to May); (b) students' journals that were the focal source of

reading in the Sharing Chair; (c) Morning Message stories associated with the five videotaped lessons; (d) twice weekly observations and fieldnotes as an observer/participant and participant/observer in the classroom for two years; (e) two formal interviews of the teacher in the classroom; (f) one formal interview of each of the fourteen special education students and one interview asking each child to explain the purpose and procedures of Morning Message; and (g) two transfer measures assessing each child's ability to create and edit a Morning Message story.

The site for this third/fourth grade special education classroom was in a mid-size city in the Midwest. The school was ethnically diverse, with roughly 40% of the population coming from minority homes (i.e., 20% African-American, 15% Mexican-American, 5% Asian). The teacher, Trisha, was chosen to participate in this study for several reasons. First, the author acted as the research liaison in Trisha's room as she participated in an innovative literacy program known as the Early Literacy Project (Englert, Palincsar, Raphael, and Gavelek, 1991) across two years. Second, Trisha's effectiveness, as indicated by both standardized and informal reading/writing assessment measures, suggested that her students were among the highest gainers in a pool of ten Early Literacy Project teachers. Third, Trisha was recognized among project members as being particularly effective in carrying out the two activities, Sharing Chair and Morning Message, that were the focus of this study. This study examined how Trisha created these discourse spaces with her students by examining five Sharing Chair and five Morning Message episodes over a three month period.

This dissertation is divided into the following sections. The research literature and methods and analysis of this study are discussed in Chapters Two and Three, respectively. The findings of the study are discussed in Chapters Four and Five. The dissertation concludes with a discussion of the findings of the study, implications for theory and practice, its limitations, and future directions for this type of research in Chapter Six.

inst

the

cha

lan

eve

inst

soc

con

Wa

Of

as

br

al

th

c

re

pe

E

S

e

P

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter outlines a rationale and argument for the sociolinguistic study of instructional events (e.g., Sharing Chair and Morning Message) that are representative of the discourse modes of conversation and inquiry (Burbules, 1993). In the first part of the chapter, it is suggested that in the complementary relationship between sociocultural and language-based theories of learning lies a critical foundation for the study of instructional events in schools. As evidence of this complementary nature, three constructs for studying instructional events that have their roots in sociocultural theory, language-based theory, and sociocultural theory/sociolinguistics, respectively, are outlined. Taken together, these constructs, activity settings (Tharp & Gallimore, 1988; Gallimore, Goldenberg, & Weisner, 1992), curriculum genres (Christie, 1991), and discourse spaces (Michaels & O'Connor, 1990), highlight some of the key factors that influence the quality of discourse as teachers and students create meaning with one another. The third part of the chapter briefly examines traditional discourse in classrooms and then argues that the study of alternative instructional events would benefit from an understanding of the importance of the dialogical relationship and the primary modes of discourse that are being used to construct meaning (Burbules, 1993). The final section of the chapter focuses on several research groups that are beginning to study specific classroom events from a sociolinguistic perspective. Research studies by O'Connor and Michaels (1993) and the work of the Santa Barbara Discourse Group (1992a, 1992b, 1992c) are discussed. The chapter concludes by summarizing the current research in this area and suggesting that this study extends this examination in several key ways.

Theoretical Perspective

At no other time in recent memory has there been as much interest and importance placed upon understanding the link between language and learning in formal (i.e., school)

a
l
s
r
.

As
the
lar
un
d
q
S
se
as
fu
se
ma

and informal (i.e., home, community) activity settings (Gallimore, Goldenberg, & Weisner, 1992; Wells, 1993, 1994). The complementary nature of sociocultural theory represented by the writings of Vygotsky (1978) and language-based theories of learning such as those outlined by Halliday (1993) and others (Halliday & Hasan, 1989; Lemke, 1989a) have thrust the study of language and learning into the consciousness of researchers across the nation:

It [language-education] is a topic that is of particular educational importance at this time when, fired by the symbolic significance of a new century, reformers plan major changes in the content of the school curriculum and in the manner in which it is to be enacted. For curricular reform is very much a matter of social semiotics and whether explicitly recognized or not, any particular policy proposal is necessarily based on assumptions about the relationship between language and learning. In discussing plans for change, therefore, it behooves those of us who believe language to have a central and unique role in learning--both in school and out--to make our beliefs clear and explicit and to provide warrant for them that is based not just on the evidence of good practice but also in a coherent body of theory and research. (Wells, 1994, pp. 41)

As these fields of inquiry have come into contact with one another, they have served to illuminate one another, creating a more robust theory for understanding the link between language, learning, and activity. A brief overview of the fundamental assumptions undergirding the sociocultural theory is undertaken below. This is followed by a discussion of the importance of studying instructional events as sites for assessing the quality of assistance.

Sociocultural Theory

For Vygotsky (1978) and others (Moll & Greenberg, 1991; Wertsch, 1991), the sociocultural theory of learning and development is undergirded by four overlapping assumptions: (1) it is through social interaction with others that higher psychological functions are formed (Bruffee, 1984; Bruner, 1991b); (2) it is through language and other semiotic tools learned in these social interactions that higher psychological functions mediate experience and transform mental functioning (Wertsch & Rogoff, 1984); (3)

learning proceeds from the interpsychological plane (between individuals) to the intrapsychological (within individual) plane with the assistance of more knowledgeable members of culture (Rogoff, 1990; Vygotsky, 1988; Wood, Bruner, & Ross, 1976); and (4) zones of proximal development are created and situated in both informal (e.g., home, community) and formal (e.g., school) sociocultural activity settings (Gallimore, Goldenberg, & Weisner, 1992).

Higher psychological processes: The role of social interaction. Vygotsky's central question was to ask "How can individual response emerge from the forms of collective life?" (Wertsch, 1985, pp. 59). Vygotsky (1988) characterized mental development as a social process due to the belief that all higher order mental functions are a result of sign-mediated action--language forms that have been constructed sociohistorically across cultures and over time. Vygotsky (1978) saw that language is suffused with meanings from the past and is only imported through social interactions with others in one's culture. Individual development, therefore, is an inherently social, dialogic enterprise that is constructed as individuals participate in their unique sociocultural activity settings with other members (Tharp & Gallimore, 1988).

Individual psychological functioning, then, is believed to be the product of "the aggregate of internalized social relations that have become functions for the individual and forms of the individual's structure" (Vygotsky, cited in Wertsch, 1991, pp. 58). This belief underlies Vygotsky's "General Genetic Law of Cultural Development" that suggests that:

Any function in the child's cultural development appears twice, or on two planes. First it appears on the social plane, and then on the psychological plane. First it appears between people as an interpsychological category, and then within the child as an intrapsychological category. This is equally true with regard to voluntary attention, logical memory, the formation of concepts and the development of volition. We may consider this position as a law in the full sense of the word, but it goes without saying that internalization transforms the process itself and changes its structure and functions. Social relations

among people genetically underlie all higher functions and their relationships. (cited in Wertsch, 1985, pp. 60-61)

Clear in this quote is the fact that internalization is not a mapping of existing reality unto a passive neurology, but the nature of social interaction has a powerful impact on the resulting intrapsychological functioning.

Bakhtin (1986) supports and extends Vygotsky's belief that all higher psychological processes are inherently social processes, and suggests that "there is no such thing as an isolated utterance"; speech is always "half someone else's." But it is not only that we "borrow" a language from those who precede us, but the very types of language used are inextricably tied to the communicative and historical contexts that lead to its use, in speech genres--"the relatively stable, typical forms of construction of the whole" (Bakhtin, cited in Wertsch, 1991). The production of any utterance entails the invocation of a speech genre: Speaking is not a random event.

Other-regulation to self-regulation. If speech "unites the cognitive and social" (Cazden, 1988), then Vygotsky (1988) provides a theory of how social speech is internalized to become self-regulated action. Portes (1985) refers to the Vygotskian perspective as a theory of verbal regulation, emphasizing the privileged role of speech as playing the mediating role between social interaction and higher psychological functioning.

For Vygotsky (1978), the movement of higher mental functions, like comprehending and composing, from an external, social stage to psychological mental functioning is explained semiotically through the genetic movement from social speech to private speech and finally as inner speech. This transference is transformative; even when an individual imports or ventriloquates (Bakhtin, 1986) another's speech to guide their action (e.g., a young child asked to predict what a story is about by looking at the title and illustrations on a cover of a book before they have internalized this behavior), this speech remains *social* and not self-regulatory (inner speech).

Two researchers, Rom Harre (1984) and James Gavelek (1990), have developed and adapted, respectively, what they term the "Vygotsky Space" (see Figure 1) to represent the appropriation and transformation process. The four-quadrant figure, with horizontal and vertical axes representing external, social dimensions (Public, Social) and internal, private dimensions (Private, Individual), is used to represent the theorized movement towards transformation and publication of internalization through the appropriation of social signs in social interactions (e.g., Public, Social). The transformation of these social signs that come into contact and interanimate with previous experiences/voices are made visible through their publication, a process of trying out newly formed social processes (e.g., language, problem solving, hitting a ball); they become conventionalized ways of being in the world. Critical to this model is its recursion over time. The theorized movement towards transformation and publication evolves and changes throughout one's life. Importantly, it is not only word meanings that become internalized and transformed, but entire social processes such as solving math problems or regulating one's writing behavior through the use of brainstorming, organizing, drafting, and editing one's paper.

Importantly, Vygotsky (1978) and others (Rogoff, 1990; Rogoff & Wertsch, 1984) remind us that internalization is not a one-way process from more knowledgeable other to less knowledgeable member. Internalization, and thus learning, is an inherently social and interactive process. Rogoff (1990) convincingly showed that even very young children influence the types of interactions they receive from adults. Reciprocity, or what sociolinguists call reflexivity, is the norm for social interaction. Wertsch (1985) supports this view of internalization in summarizing Vygotsky's theory of internalization: (a) internalization is not a process of copying external reality onto a preexisting internal plane; rather, it is a process wherein an internal plane of consciousness is formed; (b) the external reality at issue is a social interactional one; (c) the specific mechanism at issue is the mastery of external sign forms; and (d) the internal plane of consciousness takes on a

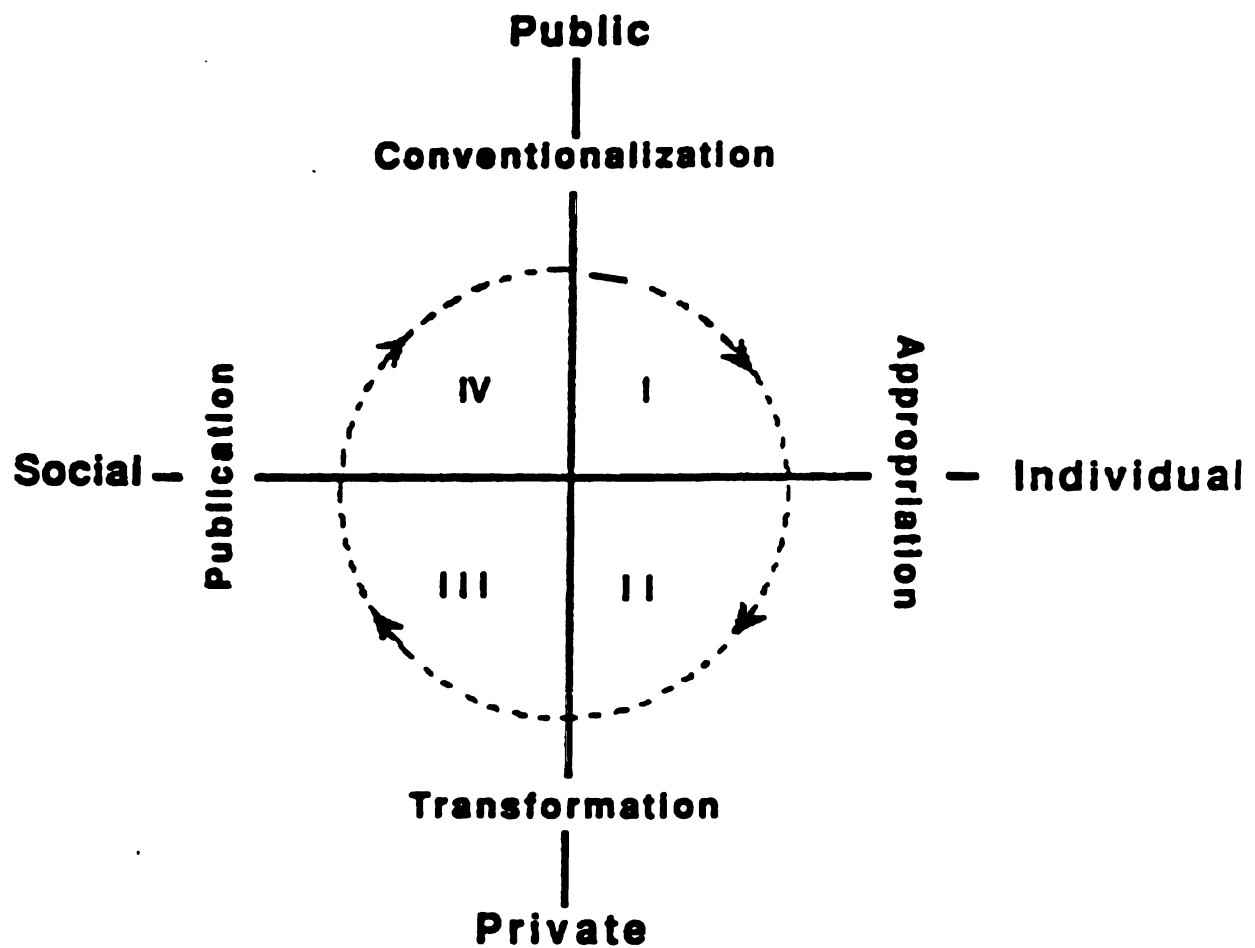


Figure 1 The Vygotsky Space

"quasi-social" nature because of its origins (pp. 66-67).

The zone of proximal development and the role of activity. Arguing that traditional means to assess learning focused almost exclusively on intrapsychological functioning, Vygotsky proposed that constructs such as age, grade level, and mental development can prevent one from seeing what a child could accomplish with a more knowledgeable other. If assessment is to be useful for the purposes of instruction, then it follows that one must gain insight into the "region of sensitivity" in which a child can proceed with help but can not accomplish on one's own. Vygotsky (1988) called this region of sensitivity the "zone of proximal development" and defined it as the distance between a child's "actual developmental level as determined by independent problem solving" and the higher level of "potential development as determined through problem solving under adult guidance or in collaborating with more capable peers" (cited in Wertsch, 1985, pp. 67-68). Vygotsky believed that instruction and assessment should be reexamined as the ability to assist students' mental development by creating and activating zones of proximal development through a form of social interaction that roused to life students' learning zones (Tharp & Gallimore, 1988).

In schools, it is largely through instructional activities that zones of proximal development are created (Hedegaard, 1990). For Vygotsky, the formal learning in schools is responsible for developing the uniquely human higher psychological functions.

Assisting Development in Classroom Events

When taken as a collective, the fundamental assumptions of the sociocultural theory of learning and development are highlighted by the role of more knowledgeable members mediating the experience of others in sociocultural activities (Wertsch, 1991). This nexus of social interaction, semiotic mediation, and activity creates the fundamental conditions for socially constructing and reconstructing meaning. In schools, this view of learning and development demands that researchers and teachers begin to study participants as they

assist one another's development in instructional activities that make up the formal school curriculum.

Recently, researchers from various fields of inquiry, including sociocultural theory (Gallimore, Goldenberg, & Weisner, 1992; Tharp & Gallimore, 1988), activity theory (Wells, 1993), language-based theory (Halliday & Hasan, 1989; Wells, 1994) and sociolinguistics (Gee, Michaels, & O'Connor, 1992; O'Connor & Michaels, 1993; Santa Barbara Discourse Group, 1992b) have begun to conceptualize the study of socioculturally situated activity in school settings. As noted in a series of recent articles by Wells (1993, 1994) and Jacob (1992), these various lines of inquiry are highly complementary and can serve to support one another in powerful ways.

Though it is well beyond the current investigation to compare and contrast these fields of inquiry, a line of reasoning is presented that suggests that: (a) it is possible to think of different constructs for studying sociocultural activity as focusing on different levels of analysis (e.g., macro and micro); and (b) different constructs for studying sociocultural activity tend to foreground different features of the activity, such as the activity's cultural/historical roots, the generic features of the activity, and the moment-to-moment discourse used by participants as they construct meaning with one another in a particular activity.

In order to illustrate the complementary contributions of these fields of inquiry, a brief examination of three recent constructs is presented. These constructs, activity settings (Gallimore, Goldenberg, & Weisner, 1992), curriculum-genres (Christie, 1991), and discourse spaces (Michaels & O'Connor, 1990), while all emphasizing the social interaction of participants in sociocultural activity, also seem to foreground slightly different aspects of instructional events. In addition to this slight differentiation of aspects of these interactions, it is also believed that these three constructs are embedded within one another.

Activity settings. At the broadest level, the notion of “activity setting” includes all of the ways in which “everyday activities embed opportunities to learn and develop through modeling, joint production, apprenticeship, and other forms of mediated social learning that are embedded in goal-directed interactions” (Gallimore, Goldenberg, & Weisner, 1992). Explicit in the notion of activity setting is that it is not only in schools that this form of mediated social learning occurs, but in the daily routines in which children are engaged:

Activity settings are a perceptible instantiation of the ecological and cultural system which surrounds the family and the individual. They are the everyday conduits through which social and cultural institutions affect children’s experiences and their development. What activities children engage in as an ordinary part of their daily lives will have a profound impact on the cognitive and communicative functions they will develop. To study these activities is to identify the cognitive and communicative opportunities of culture. (Gallimore, Goldenberg, & Weisner, 1992, pp. 4)

Critical to the understanding of activity settings is their socially constructed nature. Specifically, researchers, teachers, and parents must not assume that a particular activity setting has the same goals and outcomes for participants. As an example, Gallimore, Goldenberg, and Weisner (1992) cite a study of Brazilian mothers interacting with their children around putting the pieces of a puzzle together (Wertsch, Minick, and Arns, 1985). The researchers assumed that they were examining a teaching opportunity and were interested in how these mothers assisted the development of their children to complete the puzzle task. However, rather than scaffolding performance without providing direct support, these mothers viewed the activity as a “job to be finished” and worked as partners with their children to efficiently complete the task. As Gallimore, Goldenberg, and Weisner conclude, when studying activity settings, researchers must consider both objective and subjective meanings, including: “(1) the personnel present during an activity; (2) salient cultural values and beliefs; (3) the operations and task demands of the activity itself; (4) the scripts for conduct that govern the participants’ actions; and (5) the purposes or motives in the ‘heads’ of the participants” (Gallimore, Goldenberg, & Weisner, 1992,

pp. 7).

While the geographic, demographic, and economic presses of one's ecology exert powerful forces on the routines in which individuals engage, families and other adults (e.g., teachers) are vitally important in developing activity settings for children (Tharp & Gallimore, 1988). Tharp and Gallimore (1988) have applied the concept of activity setting to classrooms in the Kamehameha School in Hawaii. In this context, activity settings refer to "sites for assisting performance," and include specific classroom events in which assisted development occurs. For example, at the Kamehameha Early Education Program (KEEP), students and teachers participate in the activity setting of "Center One," the central activity setting for the teaching of literacy to students in Kindergarten through third grades. At the heart of the success of Center One is the alteration of the traditional participant structure in classrooms, one that "maximizes opportunities for coparticipation and instructional conversation with the teacher" (Gallimore & Tharp, 1990). In Center One, children's cognitive and linguistic abilities are cultivated through a common pattern of highly informal mutual participation, co-narration, volunteered speech, instant feedback, and not being penalized for "wrong" answers. This participant structure significantly alters the rights and duties of speakers, the roles and responsibilities given to "teacher" and "student," and the types of assistance provided in the lesson. In short, this activity setting, with its unique participant structure, creates different opportunities for learning to read, write, speak, and listen than the typical teacher-dominated recitation script that has tended to pervade American education for the past one-hundred years (Gallimore & Tharp, 1990).

It is with this link to formal education that the notion of activity setting comes into contact with Vygotsky's sociocultural theory. For Vygotsky, it was the activity settings of formal instruction that most clearly captured his fundamental assumptions about the uniquely human higher psychological functions:

The trend in Vygotsky's thinking near the end of his life is clear. He was

1982

and a

res

of ge

und

that

des

edu

em

ke

th

te

z

Q

searching for a way to relate the psychological functioning of the individual with particular sociocultural settings, specifically with the setting of formal instruction. The theoretical mechanism that he used to specify this relationship was grounded in his theme of semiotic mediation; his line of reasoning was to identify the forms of speech or discourse characteristic of particular sociocultural settings and examine the impact their mastery has on mental functioning (on both the interpsychological and the intrapsychological plane). (Wertsch, 1991, pp. 116).

Christie (1991) and other language-based researchers (Halliday, 1993; Lemke, 1989b) provide additional support for Vygotsky's interest in the intersection of discourse and activity and suggest that researchers must examine how participants invoke linguistic resources in different situations. These researchers believe that it is through the constructs of genre and register that the mutual constituting roles of language and social context can be understood (Wells, 1994).

The notion of curriculum genre. Schools are the primary sociocultural institutions that are granted the unique responsibility for carrying out two vital functions. Wells (1993) describes these functions as: "(1) to ensure cultural continuity through the transmission to each new generation of the artifacts that embody the achievements of the past; and (2) to enable individual students to appropriate these artifacts and to transform the associated knowledge and practices into a resource that both empowers them personally and enables them to contribute to the solution of problems facing the larger culture in innovative ways" (pp. 32). Wells believes that it is through problem-solving social activity that is mediated through linguistic interaction with teachers and peers that these goals are accomplished. Christie (1991) defines these goal-oriented, staged, and social processes in schools as "curriculum genres":

Genres are referred to as *social processes* because members of a culture interact with each other to achieve them; as *goal oriented* because they have evolved to get things done; and as *staged* because it usually takes more than one step for participants to achieve their goals. (Martin, Christie, & Rothery, 1987, pp. 59; cited in Christie, 1991, pp. 205).

In schools, "...any teaching-learning episode may be thought of as an instance of a

aut

196

re g

Mes

cul

re g

pe

u

in

c

c

c

f

a

v

e

z

z

z

z

z

z

z

z

z

z

z

z

curriculum genre, having a distinctive overall shape and schematic structure” (Christie, 1991, pp. 204). The elements of the schematic structure, such as the phases of the activity (e.g., beginning, middle end) or indexing functions (e.g., “Ok, let’s start Morning Message”) make visible the ways in which goal-directed activity is accomplished in a culture.

Curriculum genres in schools typically are realized in language through two registers, the pedagogical register and the content register (Christie, 1991). The pedagogical register is related to the generation and maintenance of the learning activity, what Bernstein (1976; cited in Christie, 1991) called the “regulative discourse” function of the activity. The content register, on the other hand, includes the discourse related to the content of the lesson, or “instructional discourse.” Register is defined as “...a configuration of meanings that are typically associated with a particular situational configuration of field, mode, and tenor” (Halliday & Hasan, 1989, pp. 38-39), with the field of discourse referring to what is happening in the social event (e.g., reading a book aloud), the tenor of discourse referring to the nature of the participants, including their statuses and roles, and the mode of discourse referring to what the participants are expecting the language to do for them in that particular situation.

Curriculum genres, then, represent both the obligatory and optional elements of a teaching-learning episode, and their sequence or stages. In Christie’s (1991) own research on what she termed the “writing planning genre,” she discovered there were three obligatory elements and one optional element in the completion of the writing planning lesson she observed. The three obligatory elements included the Task Orientation element where the teacher opened the activity, the Task Specification element in which the specific tasks (i.e., writing about wombats) were given, and the Task element where the students were sent back to their seats to complete individual writing. The optional element was the teacher’s ability to Control student’s behavior. Unlike the three obligatory elements, which

seemed to function in a beginning, middle, and end sequence, the Control element could be inserted at any point in the lesson.

Whereas the idea of genre is related to the sequential organization of a particular culturally recognizable type of activity (Wells, 1994), the notion of register accounts “for the probabilistic relationship between particular situation-types and the meaning choices most likely to be realized in the texts that are constructed in relation to them” (Wells, 1994, pp. 49). The features of the situation that help determine participant’s choice of meaning potential are characterized by three dimensions, the field of discourse, the tenor of discourse, and the modes of discourse. Wells (1994) defines these as:

Field concerns the social action that is involved--what is going on; in the case of certain types of event, this semiotic content may be referred to as the “subject matter.” Tenor is concerned with the who of the event--the participants and their relationship to each other, considered from the point of view of status and their roles in the event. Mode refers to the choice of channel on the spoken-written continuum and to the role assigned to language in the event. Together, these features of the situation predict the semantic configurations that are likely to occur in the text that is constructed; or, to put it differently, the participants’ interpretation of the situation in terms of these dimensions predisposes them to make certain types of choice from their meaning potential in co-constructing their text. (pp. 48)

While there is considerable debate as to the relationship between genre and register, these concepts make visible several important points in the sociolinguistic study of curriculum genres. First, the notion of curriculum genre suggests that when researchers study teaching-learning episodes, they must examine the various sequences or phases of these episodes to understand how participants use language to coordinate their interpretation of the situation. Second, researchers need to examine the various roles that develop in different genres and examine how these roles (e.g., student, teacher, author, audience member) and their related statuses influence meaning construction for all participants. Third, the careful examination of how linguistic choices realize meaning in the various elements of the genre is essential to improving the learning opportunities for students. Wells (1994) points to this essential next step in the study of curriculum genres:

Although the way in which we interpret the context of situation largely determines what we say, it is true that what we say plays a part in determining the situation. This is particularly significant, from an educational point of view, when we consider attempts to bring about educational change. As I have pointed out elsewhere (Wells, 1993b, in press), teachers are not entirely constrained by traditional definitions of the situation-types that constitute a typical "lesson." By making different choices from their meaning potential, particularly with respect to tenor and mode, they can significantly change the register and genre that prevail and thereby create different learning opportunities for their students. (Wells, 1994, pp. 49)

To conclude, the notion of curriculum genre is an important conceptual tool for understanding the construction of meaning in different classroom events. However, as is well documented in the literature on classroom discourse, the current range of curriculum genres appears to be quite narrow and includes very typical conversational structures (Mehan, 1979; Cazden, 1988). As a result of the narrow range of curriculum genres, especially for special education students, the linguistic resources available to students in different genres is often limited to responding to known-answer questions asked by the teacher (Tharp & Gallimore, 1988). Moreover, the linguistic choices available to those students who come to school with different home-based ways of using language than their more middle-class teachers and peers are further disadvantaged (Heath, 1983; Michaels, 1985). A number of recent instructional research studies, however, have provided critical insights into how teachers alter curriculum genres and create quite different educational possibilities for their students. Michaels and O'Connor (1990) refer to these unique curriculum genres as "discourse spaces."

Discourse spaces as unique instances of curriculum genres. In explicating a definition of literacy as "reasoning within multiple discourses," Michaels and O'Connor (1990) suggest that becoming literate must be understood as coming to learn specific socioculturally and sociohistorically situated ways of thinking, acting, and valuing. Rather than viewing literacy as something that individuals "have," such as being able to read and write, these researchers view literacy as an inherently plural notion that involves the control

of discourses beyond those first acquired within a family.

When extended to schooling, this view of literacy "...calls into question our standard explanations for why schools are failing so many students, and why a disproportionate number of students who are not served well are poor children and children of color" (Michaels & O'Connor, 1990, pp. 12). Though existing research suggests that low-achieving students (with their higher proportion of poor children and children of color) receive a differential education that has bred dependency rather than empowered these children (Johnston & Allington, 1991), an equally compelling explanation for the failure of so many students in school is that there is a *mismatch*, not a deficiency, in the home-based and school-based discourses these students engage in:

Rather, these students are not gaining access to what we have called school-based discourses. They are not gaining mastery of the particular ways of using language, and integrating and extending knowledge that are valued and privileged in school--ways that are required to enter higher education and many other professional spheres of life. In this sense, they are not developing control over the literacies that are cornerstones of success in academic disciplines. (Michaels & O'Connor, 1990, pp. 12)

In addition to their own research in a multi-ethnic third and fourth grade classroom in the Cambridge, Massachusetts schools, Michaels and O'Connor (1990) reviewed three programs that have proven to be highly successful with a range of students, including minority students and those students from low-SES backgrounds. In keeping with the notion of literacy as reasoning within multiple discourses, these programs included examination of discourse practices in out-of-school settings (Heath, 1983), in reading comprehension instruction (Palincsar & Brown, 1984), in mathematics (Moses, Kamii, Swop, & Howard, 1989), and in science instruction (Michaels & O'Connor, 1990). The three programs included the ethnography of communication studies of Shirley Brice Heath (1983), the reciprocal teaching studies of Palincsar and Brown (1989), and the Algebra Project (Moses, Kamii, Swop, & Howard, 1989).

In summarizing across these diverse studies, Michaels and O'Connor (1990)

suggest that the success of these programs is not a function of any one particular method, curriculum, or teaching style. Rather, what is generalizable is a principled view of learning that is rooted in the construction of a “discourse space” that has the following features:

- 1) In each case, a discourse space is created whereby divergent viewpoints, experiences, and ways of speaking come into contact in a structured, teacher-orchestrated dialogue. As students discuss, debate, question, and collaboratively carry out real tasks in a given domain, they gain mastery over content, concepts, strategies, and ways of speaking. The discourse becomes their own.
- 2) Teachers allow and in fact require the students to generate knowledge on their own and to play the roles of questioner, critic, and expert. The typical relationships between teacher and students with respect to authority and control over knowledge is altered in these discourse spaces. At the same time, teachers participate in the discourse, modeling modes of inquiry and ways of speaking.
- 3) There is explicit talk about talk, and explicit, teacher scaffolded practicing of the discourse. (Michaels & O'Connor, 1990, pp. 22-23)

Michaels and O'Connor's (1990) synthesis of highly-effective instructional programs both supports and extends Christie's (1991) examination of the writing planning curriculum genre. First, although instructional events are staged and goal oriented, a premium is placed upon the choices that teachers make in developing the discourse. These decisions, in turn, affect the opportunities that children have to learn with one another. In contrast to the teacher in Christie's (1991) study of the writing planning genre who controlled the discourse and was unsure about engaging students in rich discussions about the writing process, highly effective teachers make decisions that significantly alter the norms for communicating with one another. For example, highly effective teachers appeared to explicitly transfer control of the meaning-making to students, insuring that students participated in a variety of roles with their unique demands on thinking (e.g., to critique, question); they also actively modeled their own inner thinking to apprentice learners as alternative modes of inquiry and ways of speaking.

Particularly important in O'Connor and Michaels (1993) work is the critical role that

teachers play in using discourse to create the intermental context on a moment-to-moment basis. A teacher's discourse is seen as a series of discourse moves that constantly position and reposition the content under consideration and the social relationships between individuals and the entire classroom community. Effective teachers *create* teachable moments through their deft orchestration of the classroom talk. Understanding the discourse moves of teachers in different curriculum genres like Sharing Chair and Morning Message, and how these moves align and realign both content and social participation is nowhere more important than in special education classrooms.

To conclude, the three constructs of activity settings, curriculum genres, and discourse spaces illuminate several features of assisted development in instructional events that researchers must examine in order to account more fully for how social interactions influence learning. These features relate to how the activity itself influences the linguistic resources made available to the participants, the importance of the social relationship among participants, and the ways in which participants' subjective understandings of the situation influence their perception of the purposes and goals of various instructional events. This theoretical foundation for the study of meaning construction in instructional events points to important implications for the research outlined in this study.

Implications of a Sociocultural Framework in the Study of Literacy Events

The philosophical assumptions of a sociocultural framework are central to the current study and frame a number of research agendas for the study of literacy in classroom settings.

At the most fundamental level, higher psychological processes like comprehending and composing are learned through the various sign (e.g., language, numeracy, etc.) systems made available through interaction with others. The quality of these social interactions (i.e., more knowledgeable others) are key determinants of the range and types of learning that might be afforded students. For example, it is not only literacy skills (e.g.,

decoding, punctuation), comprehension and composition strategies (e.g., summarizing, predicting), and exposure to a wide-range of literature that might be constructed in social interactions with more knowledgeable others, but also the negotiation of various interpretative systems (e.g., reading and writing as problem-solving, beliefs about authority and text) as teacher and students create discourse spaces over time:

The communication system is a matter not only of how the teacher sets up classroom relationships and discourse. The communication pattern of any classroom is the outcome of a history of mutual interpretation by teacher and pupils, in each case based upon previous experiences which they bring to the lessons. (Barnes, 1988, pp. 33)

This awareness that researchers must understand learning as the evolution of interpretative systems as they are constructed and reconstructed is the foundation for the study of Sharing Chair and Morning Message as literacy events. In these two events, (a) a premium is placed upon social interaction through oral and written language with the teacher and peers, allowing for the study of how more knowledgeable others scaffold understanding; (b) these social interactions serve to mediate children's personal experience, and make visible the cultural conventions of literate behavior made available to students; (c) the literacy events occur every day, creating speech events that have relatively stable features that define the discourse space, but allow for the re-creation of new meaning each day; and (d) Sharing Chair and Morning Message differ significantly from the most common form of discourse in classrooms, the Initiation-Response-Evaluation sequence in which teachers have particular speaking rights that give them control of the quantity and quality of talk, allowing for the study of how literacy events having different discourse goals and purposes may allow for different opportunities to engage in literate behaviors not common in schools.

To conclude, in a sociocultural framework, opportunities to learn are inextricably tied to the creation of communicative contexts, with their unique semiotic systems (e.g., sign systems), and to the inculcation of students in a wide variety of speech events and

genres of speaking with both their relatively stable features (e.g., introductions, military commands) and the social languages (e.g., unique vocabulary, jargon, humor) that are unique to different speech communities (Wertsch, 1991). Unfortunately, many children who come from backgrounds with social interactional patterns that differ significantly from the largely middle class ways of speaking of their teachers are perceived as being deficient in the school-based discourses of their middle class peers (Michaels, 1981, 1985; Wells, 1986). Whereas most children share the primary discourse of speaking the English language, students bring vastly different linguistic resources and experiences to school.

Supporting this view of literate development, Gee (1989) suggests that the chief difference between students who are more and less successful in school is their facility and participation in school-based genres, what he calls “secondary discourses.” In the next section, an explication of these different discourses is undertaken and it is suggested that Sharing Chair and Morning Message represent curriculum genres for special needs students that are seldom reflected in traditional special education classrooms.

Traditional Modes of Discourse in Schools

If there is one finding that stands out in studies of classroom communication and discourse, it is the shocking persistence and uniformity in patterns of talk between teachers and students (Cazden, 1988; Goodlad, 1983; Mehan, 1979). In this pattern, the teacher controls the type, quality, and direction of the talk by being afforded the right to initiate the questioning, usually of known answer questions, and evaluate the student’s response. This patterned way of speaking, the Initiation-Response-Evaluation sequence, continues to dominate classroom talk (Cazden, 1988; Mehan, 1979; Wells, 1986).

When teachers initiate the topics allowed on the conversational floor and have the power to evaluate those responses to fit their own conception of correctness, the discourse often appears rather procedural, formulaic, and monologic in nature. In this form of recitation, there are relatively few opportunities for the self-selection of the next speaker by

peers (Florio-Ruane, 1991) or cross-discussion amongst peers (Lemke, 1989c), and students tend to make eye contact with the teacher instead of their peers (Cazden, 1988).

So common is the I-R-E sequence that researchers have noted that it is quite rare to find discourse in classrooms that resembles a discussion or conversation. Barnes (1992) and Cazden (1988) note that the dominance of the I-R-E sequence, especially when the teacher is asking known-answer questions, positions the student to speak in “final draft” or “final form” talk. This form of speaking differs significantly from “exploratory” or “draft” talk, where “...sharing predominates over presenting, in which the teacher replies rather than assesses, encourages pupils when they talk and write to bring out existing knowledge to be reshaped by new points of view being presented to them” (Barnes, 1992, pp. 111). Bloome (1986) found that when teachers developed a communication pattern in which they exclusively assessed students’ accuracy in responding to known-answer questions, children focused on the external acceptability of their answers and their display of knowledge, rather than becoming deeply engaged with the content of the lesson.

In contrast, in their study of classroom discourse, Orsolini and Pontecorvo (1992) found that when the teacher introduced discussions that had multiple interpretations and no single correct answer, students gained access to different conversational cycles, including the discourses of dispute, justification, and explanation. When students are placed in less threatening relationships, like collaborative and cooperative event structures, they are more likely to feel they have a degree of control over their knowledge, have more sympathetic insight into each other’s thinking, and risk inexplicitness, confusion, and dead-ends (Barnes, 1992).

The differences between the more common I-R-E sequence and more open-ended discussions point to a critical feature of classroom talk, the fact that language performs two functions simultaneously:

It carries the message that you are wanting to communicate and at the

same time it conveys information about who you think you are, who you think you are talking to, what you believe the situation to be, and so on. Whenever you talk, your speech both carries the conscious message and--usually unconsciously--negotiates the social relationships which you are taking part in. (Barnes, 1992, pp. 116)

This dual function of language, especially the recognition that language is inextricably tied to the negotiation of social relationships, allows researchers to understand how teachers "align the cognitive and social" through talk and conceive of alternative ways of constructing meaning in classrooms (O'Connor & Michaels, 1993).

It is at this point that the infrequency of discussion in schools is problematic, not only for the study of classroom discourse in schools, but for the induction of students with mild disabilities in the discourse as learners and decision makers. When the instruction in special education settings is geared toward recitation or toward narrow, one-way questions and correct answers, students are denied opportunities to "listen, think, question, and consider alternatives" (Burbules, 1993, pp. 152).

Discussion formats are more likely to provide students with mild disabilities with control of what goes on in their lessons, allowing them to take a larger part in the shaping of meaning, in enacting the various discursive roles, and in formulating the nature of knowledge that constitutes the literacy curriculum. Moreover, the child with mild disabilities who is allowed to talk her way into and through a literacy problem is enabled to "monitor her own thought, and reshape it" in a different way than a child who responds to a question that is designed to elicit predetermined concepts (Reid & Stone, 1991). The type of exploratory talk that characterizes the former situation is associated with frequent hesitations, rephrasing, false starts, and changes of direction--positive indications that the learner is taking an active part in learning, and bringing what he or she knows into interaction with the new content. Thus, as teachers change the form of communication from recitation to discussion, it is likely that the form and substance of what is learnt will also be altered and expanded in profound ways (see Rowe, 1989).

With the dominance of the IRE sequence as the common recitation pattern in classrooms, students are not provided opportunities to participate in other discourse patterns (e.g., debating a point, allowing multiple drafts and discussions around a written text). With new views of literacy that suggest that a critical part of becoming literate is being able to "reason within multiple discourses" (Michaels & O'Connor, 1990) and participate in the many "secondary discourses" beyond the primary discourse learned at home (e.g., second language students, low income, minority), the job of school in allowing students to take multiple roles and their accompanying ways of speaking becomes central. As Cazden (1988) reminds us, the shift from lesson (i.e., recitation) to discussions is to engage in a different conception of knowledge and teaching. Unless these shifts occur to more discussion formats, special education students will continue to be denied access to the range of school-based discourses that might make them successful learners in this setting.

Framing Discourse Possibilities: Modes of Dialogue in Classrooms

The inherent asymmetry in power between the roles of teacher and student creates an interesting dilemma in classrooms: The teacher has the right to control and shape the form that discourse takes, yet if students are to engage in alternate modes of discourse and learning, teachers must balance their authorial rights by insuring that students have opportunities to use language in contexts that encourage a variety of ways of constructing meaning. As the preceding section suggests, the creation of alternative discourse patterns in classrooms continues to be infrequent.

Recently, however, several sociolinguists have attempted to extend their understanding of teaching and learning by studying genres of classroom discourse (Gee, Michaels, & O'Connor, 1992; O'Connor & Michaels, 1993; Santa Barbara Discourse Group, 1992a, 1992b, 1992c; Wertsch, 1991). Gee (1989) and Michaels and O'Connor (1990) argue that becoming literate results from learning particular modes of discourse,

what they called “secondary discourses” or “school-based discourses,” discourses beyond those learned at home. These discourses are not merely ways of speaking or learning new vocabulary, but ways of participating in particular ways of thinking, acting, and valuing. One implication of this view of becoming literate is a different conception of teaching and learning:

It is not enough just to expose students to a print-rich environment, meaningful data, real-world problems, or even highly engaging hands-on experience. Teachers must be aware of and explicitly guide students in the practices of discourse. We don't mean merely teaching the superficial trappings of language, such as vocabulary, algorithms, or definitions of key concepts. We also don't mean explicitly laying out the rhetorical forms or “rules” of the discourse, as is sometimes recommended in the teaching of composition and second language. In most cases, the discursive “rules” are complex, hard to articulate, and in part unconscious. Rather, we mean that teachers must guide, model, and scaffold students in the particular ways of thinking, giving explanations, constructing arguments, and asking questions, which are specific to the domain in question. To do this, teachers need to create appropriate discourse spaces that build on students' home-based ways of speaking and reasoning, as a bridge to new ones. (Michaels & O'Connor, 1990, pp. 23)

Rather than viewing literacy as the ability to read and write, this view of literacy suggests that we must begin thinking about literacy as situated in particular social settings with their unique patterns of interactions (i.e., literacy event, classroom, school, home, church, or community). Within these different interactional contexts, participants learn about particular ways of acting, talking, and valuing literacy.

Burbules (1993) attempted to clarify the possibilities for discourse in schools by posing a framework that takes into account both the valence of the social relationship (inclusive or critical) and the ultimate goals of the discourse (divergent, convergent). When placed in a two-by-two grid (Figure 2), four quadrants that outline a range of discourse modes are created: (1) dialogue as conversation, (2) dialogue as inquiry, (3) dialogue as debate, and, (4) dialogue as instruction. Though these differing forms of dialogue are “ideal” types and may co-occur within different instructional interactions, Burbules is very clear about an underlying social condition that characterizes all four types of dialogue, what

	Divergent	Convergent
Inclusive	Dialogue as Conversation	Dialogue as Inquiry
Critical	Dialogue as Debate	Dialogue as Instruction

Figure 2 Modes of Dialogue in Schools (Burbules, 1993)

he calls the “dialogical relation.”

Underlying Burbules’s (1993) framework is a basic assumption about the dialogic relationship between speakers. For Burbules (1993), dialogue is a unique form of interaction, distinguished by a deep relationship and commitment between speakers. Fundamental to this view of dialogue is the belief that we must look beyond communicative forms (e.g., questions and responses) to understand how different communicative contexts engage participants in social relations, or a “spirit of dialogue”:

A successful dialogue involves a willing partnership and cooperation in the face of likely disagreements, confusions, failures, and misunderstandings. Persisting in this process requires a relation of mutual respect, trust, and concern--and part of the dialogical interchange often must relate to the establishment and maintenance of these bonds. The substance of this interpersonal relation is deeper, and more consistent, than any particular communicative form it might take. (Burbules, 1993, pp. 19-20)

The dialogical relation is socially constructed and reconstructed among participants and consists of three interrelated factors, “the cognitive interest in pursuing understanding, knowledge, or agreement; the affective qualities of concern and commitment that draw us into the dialogue and hold us within it; and the capacity of dialogue to involve us and carry us beyond our intentions” (Burbules, 1993, pp. 21).

In schools, this view of dialogue demands a quite different relationship between teacher and students, one distinguished by mutuality, respect, trust, and maintaining the conversational involvement of community members. This relationship is not static, but necessarily developmental in nature, changing as participants come to know each other, the communicative process, and the content under consideration. Authority, equality, and community are not assumed to exist apriori, but result from the recognition that individuals bring unequal knowledge, experience, and intelligence into any given relationship. It is in this sense that authority and equality become shared among members: As the nature of the content shifts, so too do the roles, participation, and authority given to individual members.

This ebb and flow to dialogue is an especially critical stance for special needs students to participate through, as there is a “strongly pedagogical element; in which participants seek to teach and learn from one another, and the voluntary aspect of this participation is crucial, since a reluctant partner in dialogue is not likely to gain, or contribute, anything at all” (Burbules, 1993, pp. 27). Understanding how special needs students negotiate, appropriate, and transform these complex interactional patterns in various classroom events will require a heightened sensitivity to understanding how teachers construct and nurture this foundational dialogical relationship.

In short, the dialogical relation subsumes the various modes of discourse in schools, with their different emphasis on how members participate (e.g., inclusive, critical) and the goals (e.g., divergent, convergent) of meaning construction. Even in potentially volatile and heated exchanges between community members, dialogue that may be appropriate in certain problem-solving situations, there remains a *relationship* among members that “...binds the partners together in a mutual relation of concern and respect (a relation that is fully cognizant of their differences); and there must be a real chance for everyone concerned to participate in, contribute to, or withdraw from the discussion” (Burbules, 1993, pp. 27). In schools, with the inherent asymmetry in power between teacher and student, the teacher plays a key role in nurturing the dialogical relations of the community:

Maintaining what Gumperz, cited earlier, called “conversational involvement” is particularly important in teaching, where a mutual concern and involvement are needed to counterbalance the potentially critical or conflictual tone of questions, challenges, or counter-arguments. Dialogue without challenges or disagreements is impoverished, but challenges or disagreements without an underlying relation of personal commitment will break down the communicative process very quickly. (Burbules, 1993, pp. 46)

The dialogical relation is an essential feature of all communication we call “dialogues” in classrooms. This relationship among speakers (or readers and writers)

illuminates the inherently social processes involved in meaning construction, and underscores the important role of conversational involvement as speakers attempt to build shared social realities. This heightened attention and sensitivity to the development of this social relationship is nowhere more important than through our interactions with special needs students, students who often come to school lacking such communicative competencies, including how to actively listen and maintain effective conversations. The dialogical relationship provides the backdrop for an examination of four modes or genres of dialogue in schools, instruction, debate, conversation, and inquiry.

However, the model of dialogue in classrooms proposed by Burbules (1993) extends beyond the dialogical relations between speakers to posit four modes of dialogue as occurring in school, depending upon the orientation to one's speaking partner(s) (i.e., inclusive, critical) and the ultimate goal of the discourse (i.e., divergent, convergent). These four modes of discourse are distinguished by their fairly regular prototypical patterns of discourse moves, but should not be construed as having a "pure" form. Rather, the fluid nature of dialogues necessarily move through cycles in which other modes of discourse are operating. Each of the four modes is discussed below.

Critical-convergent: Dialogue as instruction. The aim of dialogue as instruction is to help lead students to a definite conclusion through socially-mediated interactions. Dialogue in this form of teaching is often reflective of a direct instruction model, including the use of critical questions, modeling, and scaffolding that are offered to help lead students' thinking. Burbules (1993) provides two examples of dialogue as instruction, including the Socratic method and reciprocal teaching (Palincsar & Brown, 1989). Underlying both approaches is an emphasis on working in students' "zones of proximal development," a region of sensitivity in which children are on the cusp of learning, but are not able to complete the entire cognitive process without the support and guidance of a more knowledgeable other. Over time, the novice takes over more and more control of the

cognitive work. This form of dialogue might best be characterized as a form of cognitive apprenticeship in which the teacher leads cognitive development through the deft use of discourse, procedural facilitation, and modeling. Palincsar (1986) describes some conditions that may best sustain the dialogical relationship in dialogues as instruction, including:

(a) The extent to which there was teacher support of the students' contribution to the dialogue...; (b) the extent to which there was a deft use of student ideas and linking those ideas to new knowledge; (c) the extent to which there was focus and direction to the dialogue; (d) the extent to which the point of instruction was made explicit to the student and seemed explicit to the teacher; and (e) the way in which evaluative statements were made that changed the complexion of a student response from negative to constructive. (Palincsar, pp. 96, cited in Burbules, 1993, pp. 123)

As these conditions suggest, the critical-convergent nature of dialogue as instruction maintains the dialogical relationship that is germane to all four modes of dialogue. Even though the teacher may take an active role in guiding and leading the discourse (i.e., is afforded opportunities to initiate, question, and evaluate the appropriateness of student answers), apprenticing students into the various conventional practices used by the larger community of readers and writers, the tenor of the discourse retains a sense of mutuality and reciprocity. The teacher assesses the student(s) understanding on a moment-to-moment basis and provides feedback at a level appropriate to lead students to more complex levels of understanding.

Critical-divergent: Dialogue as debate. A second form of dialogue in schools is dialogue as debate. In this mode of discourse, "dialogue has a sharply questioning, skeptical spirit, but doesn't have any necessary aim toward agreement or the reconciliation of differences" (Burbules, 1993, pp. 119). In this form of dialogue, participants assume positions or roles that they are asked to become familiar with, even if they do not necessarily hold these positions in reality. For example, two research teams, one team representing the logging industry and the other representing the Sierra Club, might gather

information and formulate their positions on the potential advantages and disadvantages of clear cutting old growth forests in the Pacific Northwest. The focus of this type of dialogue is to create arguments and positions on a topic, defend these positions in light of counter-proposals and arguments, and ultimately to learn to see the merits of other viewpoints. The potential benefits of this type of discourse are the generation of new information, developing more informed and complex arguments, and gaining a clearer understanding of an issue from various perspectives.

As might be expected, this form of dialogue in schools can carry risks, as can all four modes of discourse presented by Burbules. If debates become highly competitive or aggressive, this form of talk can quickly squelch the dialogical relation between participants. Burbules distinguishes how he uses the term “debate,” noting that more traditional views of debate as having explicit goals of winning, losing, and competition are not necessarily the goals of this form of dialogue. Rather, it is the “spirit” of debate, with its unique potential to contrast opposing positions, that is most important. Students engaging in dialogue as debate are provided opportunities to engage in the discussion of the relative strengths and weaknesses of different arguments and the pros and cons of each position. This form of critical thinking is advocated as being a key goal of public education, yet represents a school-based discourse that few students experience in schools (Cazden, 1988).

In special education classrooms, the absence of this form of discourse has only tended to be magnified, as there continues to be an emphasis on individualized instruction, individual goals, and fragmented curriculum. Students have few opportunities to learn these alternative modes of constructing meaning with peers, further denying them access to thinking resources that can lead cognitive development and alter what it means to be a “student” in schools.

Inclusive-convergent: Dialogue as inquiry. The goal of dialogue as inquiry is the convergence on an outcome that is agreeable to all members. This form of discourse is characterized by its emphasis on a multitude of possibilities and perspectives, with the goal of negotiating the problem-to-be-solved in hopes of finding an answer to it. Burbules (1993) provides five potential types of inquiry in schools: (1) a kind of dialogue that involves an investigation into an issue or question with the hope of finding an answer to it; (2) a kind of dialogue that involves problem-solving, such as approaching a difficulty or conflict that requires the development of a workable, and perhaps novel, solution; (3) a kind of dialogue involving the working toward a political consensus, such as working through conflicting social or political demands; (4) a kind of dialogue that involves coordinating actions to achieve some common purpose; and (5) a kind of dialogue that involves adjudicating moral differences, such as discussing and comparing areas of disagreement in ways that are compatible with and tolerant of one another (paraphrased from pp. 116-117).

In the context of this study, it is argued that Morning Message is illustrative of dialogue as inquiry. In Morning Message, students socially construct a written message around another student's personal experience. The resulting discourse demands negotiation, reaching some level of agreement about the quality of the text, and the coordination of actions to achieve the common goal of having a message that can be published in a monthly newspaper. The analyses of Morning Message transcripts and the elucidation of discourse as inquiry will be presented in Chapter 5.

Inclusive-divergent: Dialogue as conversation. The final discourse mode that Burbules proposes can exist in schools is dialogues that are conversational in nature. Like the discourse forms of debate and inquiry, it is rare to find discourse that reflects conversation in schools, unless it is in the unofficial peer register (Cazden, 1988; Edwards & Mercer, 1987). Discourse as conversation is characterized by "a generally cooperative,

tolerant spirit, and a direction toward mutual understanding” (Burbules, 1993, pp. 112). Typical of this type of dialogue is the goal of understanding another, especially within an atmosphere of genuine and mutual exchanges among speakers.

At the heart of dialogue as conversation is the recognition that it is through conversations with others that we gain a sensitivity towards others, while at the same time making visible our own understandings:

Partners in the dialogue proceed interactively, cooperatively, not toward a specific common goal, but in a *process* of mutual engagement directed toward shared understanding. I am drawn to *this* sort of dialogue with *this* person because in *this* process I see an opportunity to supplement and refigure my own understandings (and presumably my partner is motivated similarly). (Burbules, 1993, pp. 115)

In this study, Sharing Chair represents the discourse mode of dialogue as conversation. In Sharing Chair, students take turns reading their journals and engaging their peers in conversations around their writing. This opportunity to share stories with one another, at first glance, does not involve the teacher in the carefully crafted dialogues seen in discourse as instruction, but she may play an extremely important role in children’s learning. In fact, in summarizing his longitudinal study of home and school discourse, Wells (1986) noted that telling stories, or “storying,” is of central importance:

What I want to suggest is that stories have a role in education that goes far beyond their contribution to the acquisition of literacy. Constructing stories in the mind--or *storying*, as it has been called--is one of the most fundamental means of making meaning; as such it is an activity that pervades all aspects of learning. When storying becomes overt and is given expression in words, the resulting stories are one of the most effective ways of making one’s own interpretation of events and ideas available to others. Through the exchange of stories, therefore, teachers and students can share their understandings of a topic and bring their mental models of the world into closer alignment. (Wells, 1986, pp. 194)

The analyses of Sharing Chair transcripts and the elucidation of discourse as conversation will be presented in Chapter 4.

To conclude this section, the study of classroom discourse and its role in literacy learning is on the cusp of several important breakthroughs. First, the study of classroom

discourse suggests that language carries both the content of the message and negotiates the social relationship. Though this dual function of language has been recognized for a long time, it is less common that researchers have studied how teachers orchestrate conversational involvement in different modes of discourse that alter the I-R-E sequence (Tannen, 1989; Wells, 1986). Second, as researchers continue to study the inherently social nature of reading and writing, it is possible to conceptualize becoming literate as one's facility in using a number of secondary discourses or genres, including specific ways of interacting with text (Gee, 1989; Michaels & O'Connor, 1990). If literacy is, in fact, a "plural notion" in which we have and fail to have, many different literacies, then the study of how literacy is made up of specific discourses or genres is important. Third, the work of Burbules (1993) has provided a framework for extending the teaching and study of school-based discourses that differ significantly from more traditional patterns of talk in schools. This framework may allow researchers to examine how different classroom events develop or fail to develop different ways of constructing meaning with children. Finally, as researchers have come to conceptualize literacy from a sociocultural perspective, there is a continuing need to study how features of social context, including modes of discourse, create zones of possibility and opportunities to learn.

Ultimately, the goal of studying classroom discourse is to improve children's education. With this in mind, we turn to two studies that are studying exemplary practice in order to understand how teachers construct meanings with students that are not typically found in schools.

Selected Review of Sociolinguistic Studies

In this final section, two research programs are outlined. These two research programs were chosen because they represent theoretical and methodological assumptions similar to those of the current study. In both sets of studies, the researchers studied exemplary teachers working in specific classroom events to construct and reconstruct

meaning. The choice of studying exemplary teachers is important to begin to understand how, on a case-by-case basis, teachers engage students in ways of knowing that differ from traditional instructional patterns. The sociolinguistic analysis of teachers working in situated classroom events can then allow researchers to begin to understand some of the generic processes that highly effective teachers use across subject matters and discourse modes.

In the first set of studies, the sociolinguistic work of Michaels & O'Connor (Michaels & O'Connor, 1990; O'Connor & Michaels, 1993) is examined. This line of research highlights the importance of how the norms of interaction, or participant framework, shape the moment-to-moment construction of meaning. The teacher is seen as orchestrating both the content and the social participation of the class through different discourse moves (i.e., revoicing). The second series of study was conducted by the Santa Barbara Discourse Group (Dixon, de la Cruz, Green, Lin, Brandts, 1992; Green, Dixon, Lin, Floriani, Bradley, Paxton, Mattern, & Bergamo, 1992; Heras, Yeager, Floriani, Dixon, Jennings, & Green, 1993; Tuvay, Jennings, & Dixon, 1993). This work also looked at the moment-to-moment construction of meaning among exemplary teachers and students, but extended the examination to include how literate actions are situated in social interactional environments that afford different educational possibilities.

Aligning Academic Task and Participation Status through Discourse

A fundamental feature of classroom life is the socialization of students into various ways of knowing and using literacy, including what counts as literacy in different contexts. This socialization occurs largely through the use of language both on a moment-to-moment basis and in larger discourse communities, including school-based discourses and home-based ways of knowing. Important to this socialization process is the recognition that the teacher plays a particularly important role in negotiating the participant framework within various instructional activities. O'Connor and Michaels (1993) use the term 'participant

framework' to include the features of both participant structures, the interactional rights and duties that occur in different activities (e.g., turn-taking rules), and Goffman's (1981) notion of 'animation,' the ways in which speakers use talk to negotiate roles and social identities on a moment-to-moment basis.

Participation frameworks are created through patterned ways of speaking, or discourse moves (Burbules, 1993). These discourse moves, including such things as questions, initiations, evaluations, and repeating what a speaker says carry the content of the message, but also negotiate the social relationship among speakers. It is in this sense that discourse moves serve to position others both to respond (or not respond) to the content of the talk and also to align others in terms of their perceived role.

O'Connor and Michaels (1993) studied a recurring discourse move of two exemplary teachers known as revoicing. In this move, the teacher discursively positions members of the class both to align the content of the talk and to negotiate the social relationship among members, including the right to choose or deny an uptake of an idea. Typically, the anatomy of a teacher revoicing move includes an inference source (i.e., a speaker or speakers), the content of an inference made by the inference source, and the teacher as inference maker. In this tripartite relationship, the teacher uses her speaking right as mediator to interject a discourse move with the hopes of realigning the content and the identities of speakers. Revoicing served at least three functions in classrooms: (1) it positions students in differing alignments with propositions and allows them to claim or disclaim ownership of their position, (2) allows the sharing of reformulations in ways that credit students with the teacher's warranted inferences, and (3) scaffolds and recasts problem-solution strategies of non-native language students (paraphrased from O'Connor & Michaels, 1993, pp. 318).

Revoicing: Claiming or disclaiming ownership of positions In the following transcript of a sixth grade class working on ratios, for example, a student named Paulina has lost her lemonade concentrate ratio (O'Connor & Michaels, 1993). In this exercise, students were asked to keep track of the number of teaspoon fulls of lemon juice and sugar, respectively. The resulting table was then to be put into graph form. Paulina recalls that she had used at least 2 spoonfuls of sugar, but cannot remember how many teaspoon fulls of lemon juice, only that it was believed to be somewhere between 10 and 22 spoonfuls. The group is faced with the problem of either computing an average for the missing value or deciding whether to reconstruct the study. A student named Sarita suggests that computing an average between 10 and 22 will not be her "real" first concentrate. However, Steven suggests that it may be acceptable to substitute the mean of the two extremes. The teacher, Lynne, then interjects with a revoicing move to align speakers:

- (4a) Steven: ...um/but if she/**kept** her/um/sugar
and used **that**/
and then/took her/thing of ten to twenty-two/
and just picked another number/like/halfway/
like Allison said/
and then just made **that** her concentrate//
- (4b) Lynne: So then, you don't **agree** with Sarita that if she/
picks a number halfway between/
and **that's** not **really** making her first concentrate **either**//
(O'Connor & Michaels, 1993, pp. 322)

In this sequence, Lynne has created a participant framework that positions speakers in several ways, including..."(a) she herself has taken the opportunity to draw a further inference from Steven's utterance; and (b) Steven has the right to validate her inference and, thus, take on a position himself with respect to an aspect of the current academic task (represented by the proposition expressed in the complement of "agree"); and (c) Steven has been positioned in opposition to Sarita in an activity that involves discussion of the relative merits of two proposals" (O'Connor and Michaels, 1993, pp. 322).

In this example of revoicing, the teacher accomplishes a number of academic and

social goals. First, unlike the I-R-E sequence in which the teacher positions herself to evaluate a student's response, the use of the discourse marker "so" serves to open a speaking turn slot at the end of her revoicing so the originator of the inference source (i.e., Steven) has the opportunity to respond to her revoicing. In this sense, the teacher is distancing herself as the sole source of authority in the construction of meaning, relinquishing her right to evaluate and to effectively end the contribution of the student speaker. Control for choice of next speaker, and thus, the opportunity to position others is given back to the original authors. Second, the teacher effectively "animates" both the addressee, Steven, and the previous speaker Sarita through casting Steven as opposing Sarita. Lynne positions Steven directly by saying "So then, **you don't agree** with Sarita...", even though the two speakers have not mentioned each other in previous exchanges. In this sense, in creating an opposition between speakers (and ideas) Lynne makes possible a discussion or debate in which different views are defended. Finally, in giving ownership of ideas to speakers through creating an opposition of ideas, Lynne allows herself the opportunity to reintroduce the original proposition in a form that is clearer for all members of the classroom. The revoicing move allows the teacher to clarify ideas for the benefit of all class members, and to give ownership of the content of the proposition to the inference maker.

Revoicing: Sharing reformulations. A second instance of revoicing reported by O'Connor and Michaels (1993) occurred when the goals of a task required students to refine a random guess into a decision supported by some form of evidence. In this particular mathematics lesson, each student in Lynne's class was asked to create three possible trips on the mass transit system in Boston. From the resulting 87 possible trips that were listed on a chart, Lynne guided the students in an academic task structure that required a sequence of turns in which students were asked to give their reasons for guessing which particular station was the most frequently selected as the starting location.

Lynne opens the floor for students to bid for turns, setting the expectation that multiple opinions must be considered. Particularly important to Lynne was creating a discourse community in which students' rich experiential knowledge was used as the content for introducing students to more conventional knowledge used by the wider world, including ways of using language to describe and defend hypotheses with evidence. In the following partial transcript, Lynne uses revoicing to reformulate a student's idea in more conventional ways:

- .
- .
- .
- (b) Marshall: I / I started at Alewife / in the / the beginning //...
because / um / it's just the beginning / um / I think Alewife's
a good terminal // [students laugh] and I been to Alewife
three times and I liked the way it looked //
- (c) Lynne: Okay / so you chose Alewife based on your own personal
experience with Alewife station and liking the way it looks /
and /
If it's such a nice looking place why wouldn't people want to
start there? //
...Michael //
- (d) Michael: I / I picked Alewife too //
because / like / a lot of people like / like to ride on the train
for a long time //
Some people might just ride / to Alewife / just for the heck
of it //
- (e) Lynne: So you made your guess based on what you know about
human behavior?
[students laugh a little]
- (f) Michael: Uhm hmm //
- (g) Lynne: Uhhuh // ...Pierre
- (h) Pierre: Well / I picked / Alewife / based on the information that
was / on the um / tacked up on the board / cause I / I looked
at it and I saw that / almost fifty percent of the trips were
starting at Alewife //
- (i) Lynne: So you based it on the information that you got from reading
the two charts // (O'Connor & Michaels, 1993, pp. 327)

In this sequence, the teacher, Lynne, reformulates Marshall, Michael, and Pierre's rationales for choosing Alewife as the most frequent subway station to begin a trip. In each instance, Lynne used the content of the original inference to make a link towards a more conventional language using practice. Equally important, though, is how Lynne's reformulation lends power and authority to students who may not have a strong voice in the classroom. For example, in turn (c), Lynne takes Marshall's seemingly impoverished explanation, that he likes Alewife terminal because it's a "good" terminal and because he has been there, and authorizes the ideas by suggesting that it was based on personal experience and its appearance: "If it's such a nice looking place why wouldn't people want to start there?... In this one revoicing move, Lynne reformulates Marshall's budding idea for the rest of the class in more standard terms, gives Marshall's idea a bigger voice in front of his peers, and supports Marshall's attempt by supporting his belief that the appearance of a station can in fact be a source of evidence. Though not nearly as sophisticated as Pierre's calculation of the percent of trips starting with Alewife on the board, Marshall's source of evidence is sanctioned as being appropriate when the class is formulating hypotheses about claims.

Revoicing: Scaffolding and recasting problem-solution strategies The final use of revoicing described by O'Connor and Michaels (1993) occurred when the teacher, Judy Richards, uses the revoicing move to hold the floor for a non-native English speaking student, Renee, who had only recently begun to offer ideas in class. In this particular discussion around balance and torque in a third and fourth grade classroom, Judy reformulates Renee's often unintelligible answers, and provides a space for her ideas to be heard:

(7) Excerpt from class discussion:

(a) Teacher: Renee / what about you? //

(b) Renee: [unintelligible]

- (c) Teacher: We're your audience / we can't hear you // You're doing fine // You think it will balance because...//
- (d) Renee: [unintelligible]
- (e) Teacher: Yes / yuh / three of them at three //
- (f) Annie: Could you speak up? //
- (g) Renee: [unintelligible]
- (h) Teacher: So it's ten and ten? //
- (i) Dorian: Yeah! //
- (j) Teacher: (disciplinary interruption)
- (k) Marta: Renee / I have a comment for you // Um / I like what you did / I like / cause usually we just / like do what Sadja did on the board / weight times distance // But you added the / the five and the three / and then you added the two // And then you added the other ones and I think that's a neat way //
- (l) Teacher: So instead of / I'm going to give a little louder voice to what I think I hear Renee say // She was saying she wasn't adding five and two / and saying it's seven / she was saying five and five / knowing that if you double something it's like adding it to itself //
- (m) Child: Yeah right // five and five...//
- (n) Teacher: Five and five and on this side she was saying three and three and three is.../ nine / (O'Connor & Michaels, 1993, pp. 329-330)

In this sequence, the teacher provides extensive scaffolding in order to gather enough information to revoice Renee's claim in line (l). The teacher directly calls on Renee to seek her opinion in line (a) and follows this call by providing supporting statements in line (c) about the role of the other class members and her first attempt at formulating her ideas in line (b). The teacher provides an explicit scaffold by using the starter sentence "You think it will balance because..." to help position Renee to respond. Renee then responds (though unintelligible) in line (d), again getting support through the teachers repetition of her idea "three of them at three." The teacher's question in line (h), "So it's ten and ten?" serves as a revoicing of the partial information Renee had provided. This

revoicing then opens the door for two students, Dorian and Marta, to support Renee's contribution. Without the teacher's revoicing of Renee's ideas, she would not have been in a position to receive the alliance of other class members. This alliance then grows further after the teacher's extensive revoicing in turn (1), where she further clarifies and reformulates Renee's original contribution. In fact, O'Connor & Michaels (1993) report that a student who was unfriendly and even hostile towards Renee aligned herself with Renee during this episode of revoicing, though it was difficult to determine whether the effort was genuine.

Summary and Reflections

The study of the revoicing move in classroom discussions makes visible many important considerations in the sociolinguistic study of classroom events. O'Connor and Michaels (1993) take a significant step forward in helping to understand the tightly linked coupling between language use and socialization. These authors show how one conversational strategy, revoicing, serves to create participant frameworks that serve multiple sociocognitive purposes, including the alignment of opposing speakers, giving a bigger voice to those students who typically do not participate in class discussions, reformulating students' incomplete ideas so their ideas are privileged and included in the fabric of discussion, and creating opportunities for students to build alliances with others through their revoiced ideas.

Embedded within their study of the revoicing move, O'Connor and Michaels (1993) draw upon and utilize a number of concepts that take researchers beyond more traditional process-product studies of classroom discourse (Brophy & Good, 1986). First, when researchers examine how discourse is used to create meaning in discourse formats like discussions, it is important to examine the types of *discourse moves* that are used by teachers and may be afforded by the nature of the particular event (Burbules, 1993). The patterned nature of discourse moves like revoicing, questioning, and repeating

are important in that they tend to *position* others discursively and to create a participant framework in which both the speaking and non-speaking members respond (Davies & Harre, 1990).

Second, as O'Connor and Michaels work illustrates, the resulting participant framework that develops as a result of various positionings aligns and reformulates both the content and the social relationships among class members. This finding has important ramifications for understanding how speech communities are formed and their ability to influence facility in a number of school-based discourses.

Third, as researchers begin to examine how exemplary teachers use discourse in patterns that differ from the I-R-E sequence, especially those forms of discourse that see the teacher and students develop a dialogical relation based on mutuality and respect, there is a need to study how teachers create conversational involvement with students (Tannen, 1989). Tannen (1989), in her study of naturally occurring conversation, noted the use of three recurring discourse moves that functioned to heighten conversational involvement, including the use of dialogue, imagery, and repetition. These *involvement strategies*, though only recently discussed in educational discourse (Burbules, 1993), may prove to be particularly important in furthering our understanding of how teachers align cognitive and social participation and build a classroom community.

Finally, the work of O'Connor and Michaels (Michaels and O'Connor; 1990; O'Connor & Michaels, 1993) helps researchers to think further about the socialization of students from diverse backgrounds into school-based discourses. Through their study of the revoicing move, they showed that students who were less likely to offer their ideas or who lacked the complexity of other language users were brought into the fabric of more conventional ways of knowing through the teacher's reformulation of their ideas. This careful attention to the way in which intermental contexts are created through discourse is a critical area for future research, especially with students who have not tended to be

successful in traditional school settings (O'Connor, in press).

This study extends our understanding of the moment-to-moment creation of intermental contexts by studying how one exemplary special education teacher attempted to bridge the gap between students home-based ways of knowing and inculcate them into the conventional practices used by the larger community of readers and writers. Studying how exemplary teachers create these social contexts to support children who bring diverse backgrounds and abilities to school is essential to understand how experiential, home-based language practices comes into contact with the more conventionalized school-based discourses that are necessary for school success.

The Santa Barbara Discourse Group

The Santa Barbara Discourse Group consists of a group of researchers and teachers working together to better understand the practice of teaching (Santa Barbara Discourse Group, 1992b). Particularly important to the development of this group is a shared interest and participation in several writing projects, including the South Coast Writing Project, the California Writing Project, and the National Writing Project. The South Coast Writing Project has been in existence for 12 years, bringing expert teachers together to explore what it means to become a writer by providing opportunities for teachers to write, to share writing, and to discuss the ideas of other teachers and experts in the fields of language, literacy, and composition (Santa Barbara Discourse Group, 1992b).

The research team of the Santa Barbara Discourse Group includes numerous researchers and teachers from first grade through high school (Santa Barbara Discourse Group, 1992b), including studies in bilingual English/Spanish classrooms (Santa Barbara Discourse Group, 1992c; Tuvay, Jennings, & Dixon, 1993). Though it is not possible to summarize each of the studies conducted by the Santa Barbara Discourse Group, a discussion of the theoretical and methodological assumptions and findings from their research will be outlined. Examples from various studies will be used to illustrate

particular points.

Research agendas and assumptions. There appear to be at least three overarching research agendas for the Santa Barbara Discourse Group, including (a) the importance of studying exemplary teachers as they construct their classroom communities over time and across grade levels, (b) cross-classroom comparisons of the educational possibilities that are developed as teachers create different types of classroom communities, and (c) continued study of the process of constructing and reconstructing the roles of teacher, student, community, activity and what counts as literate behavior through an interactional sociolinguistic perspective.

A particularly important research agenda for the Santa Barbara Discourse Group is the study of exemplary teachers in a variety of grade levels and settings. At the most fundamental level, it is only when researchers develop images and understandings of how exemplary teachers construct their classroom communities that researchers and teachers will be able to challenge the status quo and have an empirical basis for suggesting alternatives (Santa Barbara Discourse Group, 1992b). Rather than thinking of students in terms of deficits, the Santa Barbara Discourse Group's studies of culturally and linguistically diverse classrooms indicate that students in particular classroom communities could socially construct new ways of "studenting" in classrooms. Importantly, the goal of this type of research was not the development of a set of prescriptions, but rather identifying some general processes and principles that could guide teachers and students. This line of research is particularly important for those students in special education classrooms, where reducing complex processes like composing and comprehending is often the norm (Allington, 1992).

A second line of inquiry, building upon the first, is to study how different classroom communities tend to create differential opportunities for students to learn, including what counts as knowing and doing in this particular community and which

actions are valued. The Santa Barbara Discourse Group uses the term 'educational possibilities analysis' to describe how researchers can make visible the often invisible ways in which exemplary teachers construct particular possibilities with particular groups of students. The following premises undergird the cross-case comparison of teachers and their classrooms:

- (a) all classrooms are places in which a group comes together and construct ways of engaging in life in schools;
- (b) in all classrooms a world is constructed--not all possible worlds or the world;
- (c) differential access and experiences are the norm and not the exception, since all individuals bring unique histories;
- (d) from differences a community is formed;
- (e) the nature of that community defines what is possible and what is valued within the local group;
- (f) the community is formed through the roles and relationships, rights and obligations, and norms and expectations that the group constructs;
- (g) therefore, a community of difference and separation is possible as is a community of commonality (Santa Barbara Discourse Group, 1992a, pp. 34).

All classrooms construct a *form of community* through the actions and interactions, norms and expectations, and roles and relationships that are negotiated and established by members as they affiliate over time (paraphrased from Santa Barbara Discourse Group, 1992c, pp. 1). Viewed this way, classrooms can be perceived as either expanding or limiting the opportunities for children to learn.

A third theme that runs through the work of the Santa Barbara Discourse Group is the theoretical and methodological underpinnings of social constructivism (Vygotsky, 1978) and interpretive research traditions (Erickson, 1986), including interactional sociolinguistics (Hymes, 1974). In order to study the social construction and reconstruction of classroom communities, it is necessary to study classrooms across time,

in a variety of settings, and with multiple data sources (e.g., observations, interviews, transcripts, and especially outside influences such as district policies).

Research findings. The Santa Barbara Discourse Group illustrated how the study of life in one classroom can inform the study of school life in other classrooms. Three concepts were identified as being generic across classrooms.

First, the roles of teacher and student are roles that are constructed in interactions among members of the group (Santa Barbara Discourse Group, 1992b). The ways in which these roles were constructed resulted in differential access to particular resources, where and with whom interactions took place, and the content and purposes of the interactions. Importantly, these and other studies supported the finding that even when the content and tasks are similar, individual teachers and students may socially construct different lessons, different classrooms, and different ways of knowing what counts as academic content in a given classroom. Learning in schools is an intensely situated and social phenomenon.

A second major finding of this series of studies was the referential nature of classroom life. The referential system of classrooms is socially constructed over time as members engage in language using practices, develop common meanings for terms, patterned ways of interacting and the norms and expectations of how oral and written discourse was to be used in classrooms. It is this referential system that defined what it meant to be an inside member of the culture of a particular classroom. Though individual students may hold personal interpretations that may or may not match the group's referential system, this perspective suggests that common meanings exist at the level of group.

As an example of developing the referential system in a classroom, The Santa Barbara Discourse Group (1992a) describes fifth-grade students entering a classroom and seeing their desks arranged in groups of four. In the middle of each desk sat a watermelon.

The teacher directed the students to discover how much per pound the watermelon cost. Weighing scales and an insert in the local newspaper telling how much the watermelon cost were provided. Students had to find the price per pound of the watermelon, return to the whole group after conducting their analysis and explain their problem solving, and take the roles of facilitator, recorder, and mediator in their groups. What makes this example significant is that this happened on the *first* day of school. The teacher was beginning to create the norms for learning mathematics in her classroom. Students would be asked to collaborate and cooperate, mathematics knowledge would be viewed as a problem-solving activity, and knowledge would be a public and social affair involving other class members. In another classroom, the referential system might be constructed quite differently, resulting in different opportunities to participate and learn.

A final theme that emerged from the study of four different classrooms, including elementary, junior and senior high schools, was the intertextual nature of classroom life. Intertextuality refers to the ways in which texts are tied across events. Intertextual relationships are constantly being constructed by members of the classroom to accomplish individual and group goals. Over time, these socially constructed relationships become a cultural ideology that helps give the group a shared system for defining meaning within the group. Particularly important to this finding were the ways in which cycles of activity were developed, including how what occurred at one point in time was related to other points of time in the past. Cycles of activity within the class were often related to cycles of activity outside of the class.

In a study of an innovative, student-oriented high school English program that met in the summer, students were originally sent a letter that was unclear about the grading system to be used in the summer course. The instructors asked the school district if they could give a pass/fail grade if the class was to count for graduation. The district said that letter grades must be given, altering the teachers' format for assessing the course (Santa

Barbara Discourse Group, 1992b), and the nature of the content. The result of this change in grading system impacted which elements of the curriculum were seen as most important. This finding suggested that researchers must examine influences both within and outside the class to understand the intertextual ties within classrooms.

Summary

The importance of studying how exemplary teachers create learning communities, and necessarily, the opportunities children have to learn, has never been greater.

This chapter began by outlining a theoretical perspective, social constructivism, that highlights the inherently social processes of higher order learning. With other, more knowledgeable members of the culture, students are apprenticed into a variety of sociocultural practices, including learning various forms of language use. These language using practices include both the primary discourse that the child learns at home, and the more conventional forms of talk learned at school, or school-based discourses (Gee, 1989; Michaels & O'Connor, 1990).

Until recently, there has been little insight into the possible modes of discourse that might be played out in classrooms. Burbules (1993) provided a framework, a starting point, to begin thinking about how teachers might engage students in different ways of talking. These modes of discourse, including instruction, debate, conversation, and inquiry, provide a possible structure for beginning to examine how different classroom events create possibilities for different school-based (including literate) discourses to be developed. Put another way, an important question to ask is "How do different literacy events afford students opportunities to engage in conventionalized ways of becoming literate?" This analysis would include the study of a variety of literate behaviors, including specific language using practices, norms of interaction, literacy skills and strategies, and opportunities to produce, critique, and publish written and oral texts.

Though there have been some important strides made in altering traditional patterns

of discourse in schools, especially the importance placed upon discussions and instructional conversations (Goldenberg, 1993), discourse in school continues to be dominated by teacher-led instructional discourse (Burbules, 1993). Burbules (1993) argues that what continues to be underrepresented in classroom discourse is the importance of the authority, power, and status that originates in the role of teacher. If dialogues are to be successful, teachers must begin to develop a “dialogical relation” with one’s students, regardless of the mode of discourse being played out in classrooms. The dialogical relation is a vivid attempt to remind ourselves that language not only carries the content of our message, but is negotiating the social relationships we are building with other members of the classroom.

The studies of O’Connor and Michaels (1993) and the Santa Barbara Discourse Group (1992a, 1992b, 1992c) of exemplary teachers, demonstrated that their teachers were acutely aware of the existing social relationships of various community members, and actively modified those patterns of relationships through various discursive moves (e.g., revoicing) or through creating conditions that afford students to negotiate and renegotiate relationships with other members (e.g., changing referential system). Moreover, these research teams provided two complementary sets of lenses for the construction and reconstruction of specific classroom events (i.e., discussions) and entire classroom communities. The Santa Barbara Discourse Group’s studies show how the negotiation of the classroom community between teacher and students, including what is meant by the roles of “teacher” and “student,” the referential system, and the intertextual ties made possible combine to create different educational possibilities for students. O’Connor and Michaels (1993) provided a microanalytic view of how the single discourse move of revoicing created participant frameworks that aligned the cognitive and social participation of group members. In this one move, the roles, relationships, and content was being negotiated to create a particular referential system of how actors participated in this

particular classroom. Combined, these two sets of studies provided an important backdrop for this study.

This study extended previous work on the interactional sociolinguistic examination of classroom events in several important ways. First, this study occurred in a special education classroom, a setting that differs significantly from a regular education classroom. Second, this study examined two literacy events, Sharing Chair and Morning Message, that were believed to represent the modes of discourse as conversation and inquiry, respectively. Currently, there are few interactional sociolinguistic examinations of classroom events that alter the more traditional question-answer sequences that pervade most classroom talk (Lemke, 1989c; for exceptions, see Michaels, 1981; O'Connor & Michaels, 1993), including I-R-F sequences (Wells, 1993) and other instructional conversations (Goldenberg, 1993). Third, the literacy events of Sharing Chair and Morning Message were daily events in the classroom community, allowing unique opportunities to study the construction and reconstruction of the event over time. Finally, this study extended the work of the Santa Barbara Discourse Group (1992c) by examining the educational possibilities (i.e., literate behaviors) that appeared to be afforded in each of the literacy events.

CHAPTER 3

METHODS

Methods

In this study, the primary unit of analysis was the literacy event, Sharing Chair and Morning Message. Each literacy event was considered as a case study, a bounded system with its unique norms of participating, including the rights, duties, roles and responsibilities given to different speakers (Merriman, 1988). As such, this study did not focus on individual students, *per se*, though understanding what the activity afforded students necessarily involved examinations of individual student's participation in the two events.

In order to understand how the literacy events of Sharing Chair and Morning Message were socially constructed and reconstructed, I used an interactional sociolinguistic approach to understand how discourse and other mediational tools (e.g., written language) were used to negotiate meaning among participants. In this qualitative research tradition, the researcher examined naturally occurring talk in order to gain an understanding of both the linguistic form and the social function that speech played in establishing rules, roles, and relationships. However, in order to understand more fully the local meanings of this particular community, especially what counted as literate behavior, it was necessary, to the extent possible, to become an inside member of the working community of this classroom. This ethnographic component to sociolinguistic interpretation was a necessary step in order to interpret and accurately represent what counted as literacy.

While these two interpretive traditions, ethnography and sociolinguistics, guided my examination, several qualifications are necessary to understand the focus of the study. First, this study was embedded in two larger studies, the Early Literacy Project Study (see next two sections on site selection and program context) and my own ethnographic study that occurred over a two-year period in one of the two special education teachers'

classrooms with whom I worked. Moreover, I had followed six of the fourteen students in this study from first through fourth grades (i.e., four years) across two different special education teachers (Mariage, 1993). The focus of this study, however, was on five episodes each of Sharing Chair and Morning Message that occurred within a three month period in the last year of the project (e.g., March-June).

Second, the focal data source for this study included the five videotaped episodes of Sharing Chair and Morning Message and their accompanying transcripts. While the ethnographic data (i.e., interview data, fieldnotes, audio/videotapes, artifact collection) surrounding the discourse analysis of the transcripts was important in interpreting the transcript data, this study does not represent the full ethnographic study conducted in this particular classroom.

Third, this study focused specifically on the naturally occurring construction and reconstruction of two literacy events, and was not intended to be an intervention study. However, there were at least three ways in which I influenced the existing context: (1) I made a decision to study an exemplary teacher, and not randomly select a teacher from a pool of candidates; (2) I developed specific questions apriori to the study, and adapted these questions as data analysis evolved; and (3) I utilized two transfer measures that were implemented during the Morning Message period to help better understand the internalization of the group discourse on individual students' abilities to produce and edit a Morning Message story.

The remainder of this chapter outlines the setting of the study, including a rationale for choosing an exemplary teacher and the literacy events of Sharing Chair and Morning Message, the participants, data sources, and a description of data analysis.

The Setting

The study took place in a third/fourth grade special education classroom in a mid-size city in the Midwest. The teacher in this classroom, Trisha Williams², was a two-year

participant of the Early Literacy Project (ELP)³, a teacher-researcher community that met on a bi-weekly basis to discuss the creation of rich contexts for literacy instruction in special education classrooms.

Rationale for Site Selection and Studying an Exemplary Teacher

In 1989, four researchers asked the question "How can teachers and researchers create learning contexts to develop self-regulated literacy learners among primary grade mildly impaired (i.e., learning disabled, emotionally impaired, educable mentally impaired) students?" (Englert, Palincsar, Raphael, & Gavelek, 1991). There has been a marked absence of research on how literacy programs developed around a sociocultural perspective might alter the social contexts of literacy learning for primary-grade special education students. As a result, a four-year, Federally-funded research study was undertaken that would bring together several research traditions, including early literacy (Sulzby & Teale, 1991), cognitive strategy instruction (Englert, Raphael, Anderson, Fear & Gregg, 1988; Palincsar & Brown, 1989; Pressley et al, 1992), metacognition and self-regulation (Paris & Oka, 1986), whole language (Edelsky, 1991; Goodman & Goodman, 1991), and a sociocultural perspective to teaching and learning (Bakhtin, 1986; Wertsch, 1985, 1991; Vygotsky, 1978, 1988).

As a research liaison and project participant since the inception of the project, I was assigned to work at Longhaven school with one of the original ELP teachers, Kathryn Barnes, the primary (grades K-3) grade special education teacher. In the first year of the study, I spent two days per week observing, taking extensive field notes, and conducting a series of literacy assessments in the Spring of the year. In year two, I continued to follow Kathryn's students in her classroom, especially the six learning disabled students she had returning, now second grade students. In year three, Trisha Williams, the middle

²The names of the teachers, their students, and the school in this study are all pseudonyms.

elementary special education teacher (grades 3-4) at Longhaven, joined the project. This created a condition in which all of Kathym's students, who had the ELP curriculum for a year (in Year 2), would continue into Trisha's ELP room for two more years. At this point of the study (beginning of Year 3), I became the ELP liaison for Trisha's room and embarked on a two-year ethnographic study of her classroom (Year 3 and 4 of the study). The data for this study was taken from year four of the study in Trisha's classroom.

The teacher, Trisha, was chosen to participate in this study for several reasons. First, the author acted as the research liaison in Trisha's room as she participated in the ELP across two years. This long-term relationship provided extensive qualitative (Mariage, 1994) and quantitative (Mariage & Englert, 1993) data to suggest that Trisha was an exemplary teacher. Second, Trisha's effectiveness, as indicated by both standardized and informal reading/writing assessment measures, suggested that her students were consistently among the highest gainers of the ten other Early Literacy Project teachers (Englert, Raphael, & Mariage, 1994; Englert, Garmon, Mariage, Rozendal, Tarrant, & Urba, 1993). Third, Trisha was recognized among project members as being particularly effective in carrying out the two activities that guided this study, Sharing Chair and Morning Message. Evidence that Trisha was considered an exemplary teacher came from both anecdotal evidence provided by peers and district administrators, as well as from her presentations at several state level conferences, including the Michigan Reading Association, the Michigan Council for Exceptional Children, the Learning Disabilities Association, and Michigan State University. In conferences, inservices, and teacher education classes, videotapes of Trisha as she conducted Morning Message and Sharing

³This research was part of a larger project, "Transforming the Learning Disabled into Self-Regulated Learners: The Development and Implementation of a Sustainable Early Literacy Curriculum," which was funded by a grant from the Office of Special Education Programs (No. H023C90076). The name used by researchers and teachers to describe the project was "The Early Literacy Project" (ELP).

Chair have been and continue to be shown as instructional models of the two activities. Trisha was also chosen by her ELP colleagues to present these two activities to other teachers at conferences and district wide inservices.

Program Context: Principles of The Early Literacy Project

The ELP curriculum grew out of weekly team meetings in which researchers from the university and special education teachers from five urban elementary schools discussed the literacy needs of their primary grade students. Discussions centered on identifying appropriate activities that would support the four principles of the project. These principles related to assumptions that teachers led students' strategic and cognitive development by (a) embedding literacy in meaningful, purposive, and contextualized activities; (b) engaging students in social and dialogic interactions with others, and demonstrating responsive instruction that supported and scaffolded students' learning in their zones of proximal development; (c) teaching strategies for self-regulated learning, and (d) building literate communities where literacy was shared among all its members (see Englert & Palincsar, 1991).

Since the principles figured heavily in the design of the literacy curriculum, these principles are described in depth in this section.

Embedding literacy within meaningful, purposive, and contextualized activities. In order for students to gain a holistic perspective of the meaning and uses of literacy in their culture and avoid the often fragmentary knowledge that results from reducing literacy into a series of discrete subskills, students need to participate in the whole literacy enterprise (e.g., reading and writing extended texts) even when they are not conventionally literate. However, that which is meaningful and purposive derives from both the knowledge and experience that students bring to the classroom and the meanings and purposes that can be intersubjectively negotiated between the teacher and students (Heap, 1991). It was recognized that there exists an inherent tension between teaching students the conventions

of the literate use of language and their need and right to transform that which is taught. Accordingly, the literacy skills and strategies were embedded in activities that focused on real audiences and purposes (e.g., writing for publication, writing to pen pals, reading in Author's Chair) in order to make the conventions of language meaningful to students as they saw the utility of these skills and strategies (e.g., planning, organizing, drafting, editing, and revising) in the whole process of communication.

Furthermore, the many forms, genres, and functions of literacy were presented by requiring that students participate in multiple activities that allowed for adopting different roles, including those involving oral literacy (e.g., oral storytelling, story dictation, listening to oral stories), reading/written literacy (e.g., reading stories, writing stories, critiquing stories), as well as combinations of language modes such as choral reading, read-along tapes, and paired readings. These various roles helped students develop the unique ways of speaking, acting, reading, and writing in genres that were commonplace in the wider culture, such as defending a point of view, comprehending a story from the newspaper, or writing a letter. At the same time, students came to see literacy as a range of tools that allowed access to multiple perspectives, including the conventional forms of cultural literacy as they were useful in accomplishing meaningful goals.

Literacy activities allow for responsive instruction. Effective instruction relies upon and is constituted by making visible a child's background knowledge. Knowing where a child is functioning cognitively and affectively requires that instruction and assessment are inextricably intertwined through collaborative interactions between teacher and students. Rather than asking the more common question, "How can assessment inform instruction?", teachers need to look at developing and using activities that privilege an understanding of learning in a socially constructed process. Literacy events that feature discourse and assessment of students' communication can make visible and public a student's thinking in an effort to reach intersubjectivity. This give-and-take between teacher and student creates

its own context that provides critical information about a student's state of knowledge that influences the moment-to-moment decisions required to skillfully negotiate the next instructional move (Tharp & Gallimore, 1988). For example, Wertsch (1991) uses the term "addressivity" to describe the process a listener goes through in "laying down answering words" while another speaker is speaking. The teacher, primarily through listening to the students' speech, must make judgments as to how to respond and build upon students' answers in anticipation of how they might respond.

Effective activities allow the teacher to have many opportunities to make ties between the new and known. When introducing an activity, students background knowledge is activated (e.g., brainstorming, mapping, questioning) to gain insight into the class' conception of the task and to provide entry points into helping to connect their ideas to the content under consideration (Dudly-Marling & Searle, 1991). Similarly, when students come to a point of error or confusion, the teacher can make the utility of skills and strategies concrete for students through modeling, thinking aloud, and/or using analogy or metaphor to provide a kind of cognitive bootstrap to help students over a hurdle (Bereiter & Scardemalia, 1985; Englert, 1992; Lenz, 1989).

In the Early Literacy Project, instruction was intended to be responsive to students' needs, capabilities, and interests. Real learning was thought to take place at the point of error or confusion as the teachers' used mediational means such as prompts, manipulatives, analogies, or other forms of procedural facilitation to construct new knowledge (Bereiter & Bird, 1985).

Since the teacher's choice of instructional activities determines the type and amount of responsiveness and personal investment required, an examination of teacher effectiveness must include the choice of activities and the nature of their discourse moves in response to students (Englert, Tarrant, & Mariage, 1992). Activities that fail to engage students in interactional sequences with more capable others do not allow for the

assessment of student understanding within the context of the activity, nor does it provide opportunities for responsive instruction.

In short, the notion of responsive instruction underscores the active and interactive nature of assessment-in-instruction (Campione & Brown, 1987; Minick, 1987). Choosing literacy activities that engage students and teacher in face-to-face communication helps to ensure that instruction is based upon a mutually evolving context that is being constructed socially between its participants as opposed to the premeditated outcomes of static measures of assessment. Teachers need to spend some of their instructional time roaming around what children know, yet recognize that effective instruction must lead development beyond what children are currently able to do independently (Englert, Rozendal, & Mariage, 1994; Vygotsky, 1988).

Teaching to self-regulated learning. The goals of literacy, and schooling in general, are to enable students to regulate their own behavior from within (i.e., inner speech). Setting goals, monitoring their progress towards those goals, and assessing their own success suggests that students are well on their way to internalizing the language that mediates thought and action. However, this process of self-regulation has a genetic component as it progresses through the zone of proximal development (Gallimore & Tharp, 1990). Initially, the student requires the assistance of more capable others such as parents, teachers, peers, or coaches in the form of modeling, questioning, cognitive structuring, contingency management, or feeding back (Gallimore & Tharp, 1990) before being able to complete an entire task. Later, the child begins to use this social language to control one's own assistance. For example, a child who is struggling to remember how to multiply by nine uses one's fingers to help assist this skill or a young writer who is editing a paper might rely on the mnemonic CUPS (check capitalization, use of words, punctuation, spelling) to remind herself what aspects she should focus upon. Though these skills and strategies are invoked by the learner without direct assistance from others, they are not yet

internalized to the point that they are automatic without conscious regulation (Gee, 1989).

Gee (1989) and Michaels and O'Connor (1990) argue that self-regulation of literacy behavior can best be understood as the control of a number of secondary discourses beyond the primary discourse learned at home. As such, it may be more accurate to understand the failure of special education students as the failure to control discourses required for school success, such as ways of integrating and extending knowledge (Englert, Raphael, & Mariage, 1994). Poplin (1988a) notes that reductionism in both the content of the curriculum and the implicit messages sent to students as to where meaning resides has resulted in the fragmented view of knowledge that so many special education students hold. Without engaging in the rich discourses involved in understanding the larger purposes of literacy, such as communicating with others, making one's knowledge visible through written and spoken mediums and as a source of information and enjoyment, special education students are denied participation in the rich conversations familiar to students who come to school sharing discourses similar to their teachers (Heath, 1983).

The development of school-based discourses for literacy learning in school, specifically those of comprehension and composition, must be an emphasis in instruction if special education students are allowed access to their self-regulated use. In the Early Literacy Project, a premium was placed upon the role of more knowledgeable others in making visible their thinking by thinking aloud as they constructed the meaning of written and read texts and built a vocabulary for talking about literacy (Englert & Mariage, 1991b).

As an example, in Trisha William's classroom students *brainstormed ideas* at the beginning of their thematic unit about Native Americans, *organized and sequenced* their brainstormed ideas using familiar text structures, *constructed a group story* in which students negotiated the content of their story in terms of their audiences' needs, and collectively *edited* and *revised* the story as students synthesized new information. Also, students gathered information from multiple sources by interviewing and *questioning* a

Native American who visited their class, *clarified* misconceptions on the original brainstorm map through visiting a local Native American learning center, and *searched* for additional information through independent and partner reading. Finally, students were able to read and reread whole class texts (e.g., group story), texts created in pairs around individual Native American tribes (e.g., Cherokee, Sioux, Algonquin), and individual dialogue journals reflecting on the thematic unit in Sharing Chair or at home through the formal publication of the weekly classroom newsletter.

In Early Literacy Project Classrooms, all students participated in the entire comprehension and composition processes even when they were not able to do so independently. For example, even non-readers were able to "read" in the Sharing Chair by orally telling the story of a wordless picture book or by reading a predictable book that had been memorized. In this way, all children had an opportunity to make their performance public and receive comments and questions from an immediate audience of peers. Similarly, students who were just learning their letters still participated in the entire writing process by planning, organizing, drafting, editing, and revising a whole group story while engaging in the complex dialogues of more capable writers. Thus, all students participated in the discourse and cognitive processes underlying self-regulation, whether they could do so independently or not.

Establishing classroom learning communities. The final instructional principle in support of a sociocultural view of learning is the development of a social context that assumed new knowledge is constructed as a joint venture of the class rather than isolated communications from teachers to students (Lampert, 1990). Since learning requires understanding of the background knowledge students bring to any learning situation, it is imperative that students can freely exchange their personal knowledge for the benefit of the larger group. Cairney and Langbien (1989) and Fagan (1989) have shown that in classrooms where students begin to share in a mutual dialogue in practical, holistic, and

functional activities, the developing learning community comes to privilege higher psychological processes. Since students are provided many opportunities to participate directly in this discourse and have access to other students' thinking, students have a greater agency and sense of ownership in these learning environments (Fagan, 1989).

As an example, Dauite (1986), in a study of collaborative writing amongst elementary students, showed that students routinely borrowed and shared other students' ideas in the formulation of their own papers when provided the opportunity to negotiate their own meanings. Thus, in classrooms where teachers hold the belief that various subject-matters (e.g., math, science, reading, and writing) are forums for teacher-student and student-student to *negotiate* meanings, rather than adhere to the belief that authority resides in the textbook or the teacher, there is a greater likelihood to achieve the deeper conceptual understandings necessary for learning to advance beyond merely displaying knowledge (Alverman, 1990; Ball, 1990; Bloome, 1986; Lampert, 1990; Lemke, 1989b). As importantly, it is in the environment of negotiated meanings around conjectures, puzzlement, and misguided conceptions that students and teacher begin to interact with one another on a more personal level. Over time, these forms of personal response create powerful sources of insight and knowledge for both students and teacher (Ball, 1990, cited in Englert, Tarrant, & Mariage, 1992).

Furthermore, the principle of building a more inclusive learning community can lead to greater opportunities for students to take risks in engaging in discourse that they are responsible for (Florio-Ruane, 1991). If teachers are genuinely to affect the reduction in the asymmetry of power that exists in the role definitions of classrooms, they must encourage and accept students everyday knowledge in initiating action.

In Early Literacy Project classrooms, literacy environments were created that allowed for teacher-to-student and student-to-student discourse and the publication of ideas through multiple literacy modes (e.g., oral, written, and read) and roles (e.g., critic,

author, evaluator, advocate) that established the climate for building learning communities (Englert, Tarrant, & Mariage, 1992). At the most fundamental level, it was *engagement* and *participation* that were requisite for learning to occur. When teachers established classroom learning communities that focused on learning as an interactive, negotiated, and social enterprise, opportunities were created where learning supported critical thinking, individual and social responsibility, and the acceptance of diversity in an atmosphere of shared support.

For special education students involved in a tradition that has reflected intense individualism (e.g., IEP, behavioral objectives), reductionism, and a focus on innate disability (Coles, 1989; Heshusius, 1989; Poplin, 1988a, 1988b), the development of learning communities that emphasize the social, holistic, and interactive nature of learning is an important addition to our understanding of social contexts that maximally support special needs students.

The Early Literacy Project Curriculum

Unlike the previous studies of Reciprocal Teaching (Palincsar & Brown, 1984) and Cognitive Strategy Instruction in Writing (Englert, Raphael, Anderson, Fear, & Gregg, 1988), the Early Literacy Project curriculum did not consist of a single reading or writing intervention, but was constructed with the recognition that the processes of reading, writing, and speaking are inextricably related to each other. As such, the literacy events that were developed in the collaborative contexts of group meetings often involved multiple literacy modes within a single activity. For example, during daily dialogue journal writing, students first *read* the daily comments from the teacher about their previous journal entry, *wrote* in their dialogue journals, *read* and *reread* their journals before coming to Sharing Chair, and then *orally* read their journals, asked for comments or questions, and responded to student queries about the contents of their journal. With their focus on publication for real audiences and authentic purposes, the activities of the Early Literacy Project demanded

many forms and uses of text. These activities and their purposes are illustrated and defined more thoroughly in Appendix A.

School Context

The site for this study was Longhaven School, one of thirty-three elementary buildings in a mid-sized urban district in the Midwest. Longhaven reflected the population of many urban schools, with a wide range of ethnic and economic diversity. The student body at Longhaven consisted of approximately 60% Caucasian students, 20% African-American, 15% Mexican-American, and 5% Asian (including Hmong, Laotian, Vietnamese). The school was also divided by class. Roughly 50% of the student population came from the surrounding neighborhood. Another 50% of the students were bussed in from low-income neighborhoods (reflected in the near 50% of students on free Federally Funded breakfast and lunch programs) in a nearby section of town.

The first thing one might notice about Longhaven is how it is neatly tucked away in the center of a middle class neighborhood. The school is surrounded by attractive homes with nicely kept lawns. Home owners include a mix of both older people and young professional families. It is widely recognized among realtors and locals that the neighborhood surrounding Longhaven is one of the more desirable city neighborhoods in which to live. Nestled on the far east side of the city, the Longhaven neighborhood borders a more upscale suburb of the city.

The school, too, seems to reflect the neighborhood. Built in 1971, the school is one of the newer school buildings in the district. The school design is quite modern in nature, reflecting the open school concept of many southern states (i.e., light colored brick, single story, open walkways). The school forms the shape of a “u” with classrooms looking on a common courtyard. Though the gym doubles as a cafeteria, there is a spacious library and a sprawling playground that is well stocked with new equipment purchased by the PTA. Overall, Longhaven School looks vastly different than many of the older three

story, red brick buildings that seem to typify many schools in the district.

Looking beyond the physical plant, when one approaches Longhaven School in the morning, you are immediately struck by the number of students walking to school and the safety patrols in their neon orange vests positioned on surrounding street corners.

However, equally apparent are the number of busses parked out front, including several small special transportation busses for special needs children. Though at first glance it is easy to dismiss this common feature of public school life, the students who are bussed and those who walk seem to symbolize the clear economic class differences that existed in the school. The area from which students were bussed to Longhaven included one of the highest crime areas in the city. During the course of this study, two homicides were committed on the street where two of the students in Trisha's classroom lived.

Students in Trisha's special education class, the majority of whom were bussed to the school, spoke openly about some of the conditions in their neighborhood. In the following transcript taken from an interview with Juan, a fourth-grade Hispanic student, he speaks about a local problem with gangs, including his own brother's participation:

Troy: Tell me about your neighborhood?

Juan: Umm, kind of good, real bad.

Troy: What's the bad parts?

Juan: Fighting. Um, parties. That's when they do the fights. Gangs. Last time, some kids were messin' with me, and that's when my brother got home, he's in a gang, and my brother got home with his friend, and he started swearing at each other. "Leave my brother alone or I am going to beat you up!!" And then they left.

Troy: So your brother is in a gang. Do you know what the gang is called, is there a name for it?

Juan: Yeah. Um, its GD They put signs like "GD."

Troy: I wonder what that stands for?

Juan: My brother says it stands for "Gangsters" (with the Vice Lords, this appears to be the gang with the second highest membership, made-up of mainly

Hispanic youth. The actual name of the gang is "Gangster Disciples").

Troy: Yeah, I think I've seen that somewhere before. Vice Lords? Ever heard of them?

Juan: Yeah.

Troy: What's the difference between those two gangs do you think?

Juan: They're bad. I think the Gangsters, they wear their hat to the right. Because I always see them wear their hats to the right. And the other gang wears it to the left.

Troy: What kinds of hats do they have?

Juan: Its the red kind, they're like some kind of leaf, I don't know what it is, its like a leaf right there (pointing to forehead).

Another fourth-grade student in Trisha's class, Hannah, responded matter-of-factly to the same question:

Troy: Tell me about your neighborhood?

Hannah: Well, I get sometimes scared of it, because there's a lot of shooting and stuff going around. There's been a lot of ambulances. Plus the Vice Lords (the largest gang in the city, with over three hundred members according to Police reports) and stuff is around there.

Troy: Who are the Vice Lords?

Hannah: The people that go around killing people.

A number of other students in Trisha's room were quite explicit in their fears, including alcohol abuse and its effects on adults in their lives, loud noise from excessive parties and traffic, drug use, and living in the city with its congestion of traffic and humanity. At the same time, about half of the thirteen students reported that their neighborhoods were relatively safe places.

The school staff at Longhaven was nearly all Caucasian, with the exception of the janitor and speech teacher, who were African-American. Longhaven had a new female principal, a former school teacher in the district. The general feeling among staff members was that the new principal was "excellent," getting along well with staff, supporting and

backing-up teachers' decisions about students, and having a "hands-on" approach. As an example, the principal designed a school-wide arts and crafts program during the last hour of each day in which all children would eventually participate. This allowed her to get to know all of the students in the school on a personal basis. The principal met all the busses each day outside the building and monitored the playground and lunch area when she was available. The principal was also a frequent visitor to classrooms, making sure that she made contact with all of her staff and students each day. The principal was also well respected by Trisha and Kathyrn, the two special education teachers with whom I worked, who reported that the principal had high expectations for all children, including their special needs students.

Classroom Context

In addition to the biweekly teacher/researcher meetings of all ELP participants, the author averaged about 8 hours of participant/observer and observer/participant observation spread over two days per week in Trisha's classroom. During this time, the author took extensive fieldnotes, video/audiotaped literacy events throughout the year, informally interviewed students, and spent extensive time informally talking to and interviewing Trisha.

Trisha comes across as a fairly reserved and shy person upon first meeting. However, this appearance masks an intense commitment to the quality of education her students receive. As evidence for this assertion, in two years of observation, I had yet to witness Trisha conduct her own work (e.g., correcting papers, filling out IEPC forms, etc.) while students were in her classroom. In fact, Trisha's desk is pushed into one corner of the room with the drawers facing the students. Trisha has never sat at this desk in over a hundred hours of observation--in fact, she does not even have a chair there. Trisha states that "I can't stand busy work," and backs up this statement with an unusual level of instructional involvement with her students. In the one subject where students were given

daily seatwork assignments out of the book or given worksheets in mathematics, Trisha noted in an interview that "I hate my math instruction," showing her deep disappointment in having kids "just sit there quiet and do their work" (interview, March 25, 1992). This statement may have been a bit harsh, considering she had nine students in grades ranging from second through fourth. More telling, all nine students were working on a different assignment, ranging from addition with regrouping to advanced multiplication.

The physical arrangement in Trisha's classroom might be described as unassuming or ordinary (see Figure 3). There were two rows of desks that were in groups of three, two small tables for conducting small groups (e.g., reading groups), and an obvious lack of materials bought from the local teacher's store. Bulletin boards, prior to ELP were thought of defensively as being "hated" for being window dressings rather than functional parts of the classroom. One of the most prominent parts of Trisha's room, however, was the number of books across the chalk board ledge. The shelf always contained between 15 and 30 books that were related to the current thematic unit. In each theme (e.g., insects, Native Americans, monsters), there were always a representation of both expository and narrative texts.

The classroom also had a bookshelf full of books, including the Wright Group series and the Heath literature library that supplemented the Basal program. Trisha typically went to the bookstore to purchase new books for her library every couple of weeks. She noted with fondness that she would even try to hide the new books by putting them in a stack on the shelf, but her students would always find them. Perhaps the best descriptor of Trisha's room was "well worn," not at all neat or antiseptic, kind of like a good science lab.

The relative lack of flair in Trisha's room in no way discouraged the rich opportunities students had to engage in multiple literacy events. When examining Trisha's daily schedule, it becomes immediately clear that the children's seats were little more than

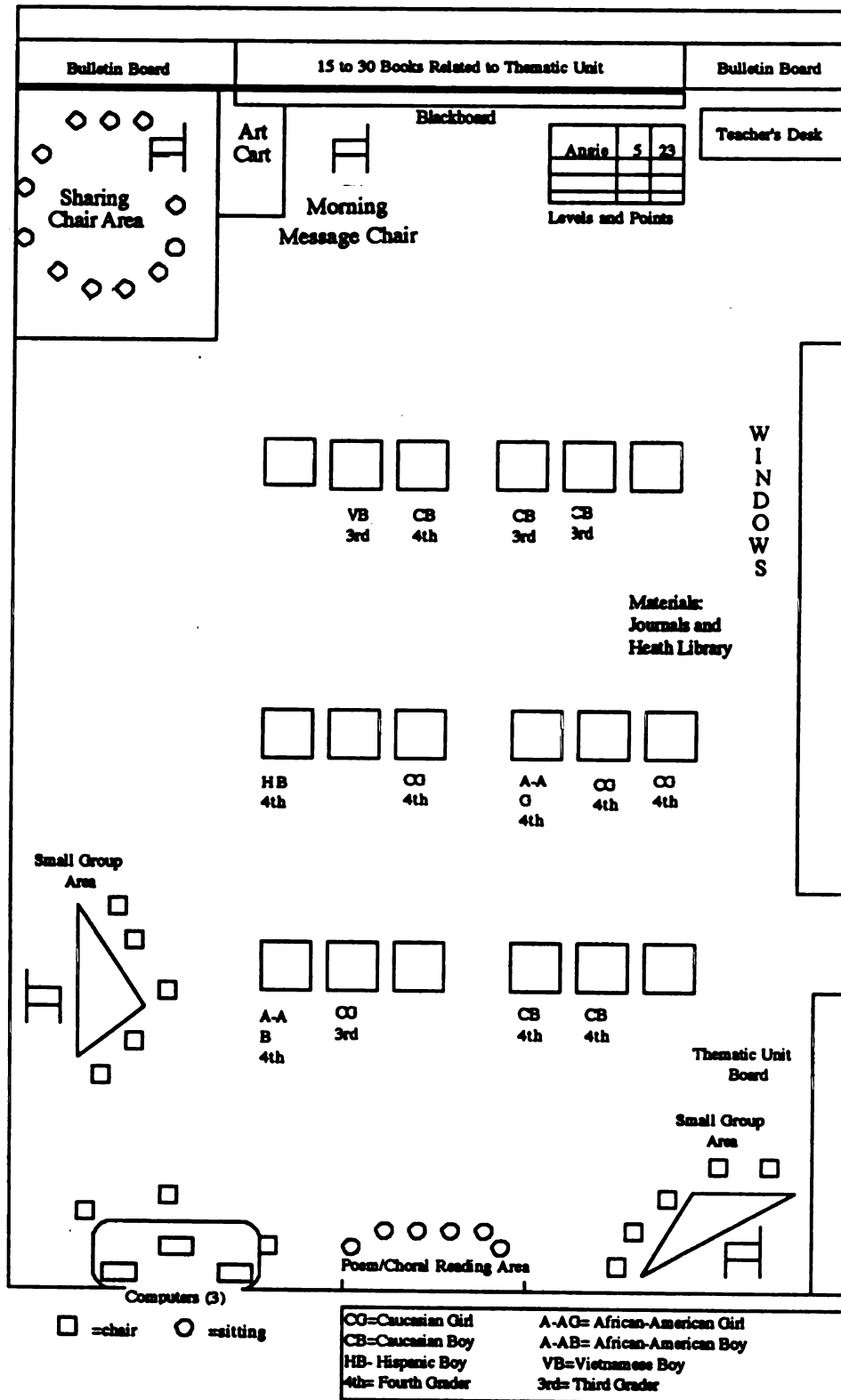


Figure 3 Trisha's Classroom

their home base, with students moving around to different areas of the room to engage in different literacy events (see various areas in Figure 3). In Trisha's room there was an intense focus on the integration of reading, writing, and speaking, but also the importance of having students associate particular types of school-based discourse with different parts of the room (see Figure 4). During partner reading and Undisturbed Silent Reading, students chose books and were able to sit anywhere in the classroom, often ending up underneath tables or tucked away in some corner of the room. Sharing Chair allowed all students except the "author" to sit on the floor in a designated part of the room, while Morning Message allowed the individual who was providing the topic of the message to sit in a chair at the front of the room. During Thematic Instruction, students often worked in pairs, small groups, or at the kidney shaped table with the teacher. In short, Trisha built in a range of activity settings that helped demarcate the different forms and functions that discourse might take. Her room was used flexibly to insure that students learn, matching the goals of the activity setting with specific environmental features (e.g., special "Sharing Chair" where the author sits above the other students; having student leading the Morning Message to sit in front of the room as the discussion leader). Trisha incorporated a number of literacy activities on the Early Literacy Project, including opportunities for intense social-mediation between her and her students (e.g., Morning Message, Author's Center) where she introduced the formal conventions used by more advanced readers and writers, and allowed children many opportunities to read (e.g. Partner Reading, USR, Choral/Poem Reading), write (dialogue journal, thematic reports), and publish their ideas (e.g., Sharing Chair, Morning Message).

Participants

Teacher

Trisha Williams had taught special education for six years in the Framingham School District. All six years had been at the elementary level between 2nd and 5th grades

Trisha's Daily Schedule

<u>Time</u>	<u>Curricular Area or Event</u>
9:10-9:30	Folder Work/Group Work
9:30-9:45	Partner Reading (T-Th) USR (M-W-F)
9:45-10:10	Math
10:10-10:30	Small Reading Group (fourth grade)
10:30-10:40	Journal
10:40-11:10	Sharing Chair
11:10-11:40	Small Reading Group (third grade)
11:40-12:00(?)	Morning Message
12:00-12:30	Thematic Instruction
12:30-12:40	Teacher Read Aloud
12:40-1:30	Lunch
1:30-2:00	Spelling
2:00-2:30	Language Enrichment
2:30-3:30	Work in Regular Education Classrooms

Figure 4 Trisha's Daily Schedule

in two different schools. Trisha received her learning disabilities teaching endorsement after first completing an endorsement in hearing impaired. At the age of 28, Trisha was two courses shy of receiving her Master's degree in special education. At the time of this study, Trisha had been associated with the author through the Early Literacy Project (ELP) for two years.

Trisha Williams was a highly committed, concerned, and compassionate teacher. Evidence for Trisha's commitment to teaching were the expectations she had for each of her students. This commitment was shown in numerous ways, some subtle and others more explicit. Having been in Trisha's classroom for two years, it became apparent that she expected and even demanded that students take responsibility for participating in their own learning. While, on the one hand, Trisha was a favorite teacher of nearly all of her students, she refused to allow children to become helpless learners, a common problem with many special needs students. Trisha sent a clear message that the "team," the term she used to describe her classroom community, demanded that everyone participate to be successful. Moreover, Trisha believed that any child could be a potential source of help for another child or the group, and tirelessly worked to insure that the voices of all children were heard.

On a more explicit level, Trisha was an advocate and watchdog for her students' best interests. She monitored her children's success and performance very closely in their regular education classrooms, the lunch room, and the playground. Trisha had a keen sense of justice, equity, and fairness. For example, in one instance, Trisha would not allow the adaptive physical education teacher to take her students swimming unless they all could choose a regular education friend to attend with them.

It was also not uncommon for Trisha to support students whose needs were not being provided at home. Trisha purchased winter boots, clothing, and toothpaste for two sisters who came to school in -12 Fahrenheit weather with only sandals and a spring jacket.

With another student, Jerrod, who was chronically absent because of an alcohol abusing parent, Trisha went to the boy's home and drove him to school on numerous occasions. In short, Trisha showed an investment in her students academic and social well-being that distinguished her as a very special teacher.

Students

Students in this study included eleven learning disabled, one emotionally impaired, and two students with the dual label of learning disabled/emotionally impaired. All fourteen students received between 30% to 80% of their instruction (including all of their literacy instruction) in a "basic" special education classroom. Basic classrooms included students in the three mildly impaired categories, including learning disabled, emotionally impaired, and educable mentally impaired. These classrooms differed slightly from the more traditional resource room and self-contained special education classrooms, as they served both of these groups of students (i.e., students with less than 50% and more than 50% of time spent in special education classroom). Students in this study represent all of the students in Trisha's classroom, though only ten of the fourteen students participated in both Sharing Chair and Morning Message in Trisha's room.

As the table below indicates, the students in this class come from diverse backgrounds in race, gender, and the number of years spent in special education classrooms. There were five girls and nine boys in Trisha's classroom, including nine fourth grade students and five third grade students. In addition to having ten Caucasian students, Trisha had two African-American, one Hispanic, and one Vietnamese students.

As noted earlier, students in this class include students from working middle class, working low-income, and non-working low-income homes. Determination of SES was based-upon whether the children received Federally Funded lunch and breakfast, teacher reports of parent occupation, student interviews, and direct contact with parents at conferences or programs in the school. Eight of the students lived with either a single

Table 1 Student Information

Student	SES	Race/ Gender	Grade Level	SPED Category	Years in an ELP Class	Years in Special Ed
Nathan	Middle Income	CB	4	LD	2.6	4+ (Pre-K)
Jerrold	Low Income	A-AB	4	LD	2.6	4
Danny	Low Income	CB	4	LD	2.6	4
Mark	Low Income	CB	4	LD	0.0	0.0
Juan	Low Income	HB	4	LD	1.6	4
Angie	Low Income	CG	4	LD	1.6	2
Hannah	Low Income	CG	4	LD	0.0	0.0
Juanita	Low Income	A-AG	4	EI	0.6	4+
Tracey	Low Income	CG	4	LD	1.6	4
Byron	Low Income	CB	3	LD	1.6	2
Nigel	Low Income	CB	3	LD/EI	1.6	3
Gerry	Low Income	CB	3	LD/EI	2.6	3+
Amber	Low Income	CG	3	LD	1.6	2
Hia	Low Income	VB	3	LD	0.6	0.6

Key: CG=Caucasian Girl
 CB=Caucasian Boy
 HB=Hispanic Boy
 4=Fourth Grader
 LD=Learning Disabled

A-AG=African-American Girl
 A-AB=African-American Boy
 VB=Vietnamese Boy
 3=Third Grader
 EI=Emotionally Impaired

parent, a step-parent, or in an alternative arrangement with relatives (i.e., with grandparent, aunt or uncle), while the remaining six students lived with both of their biological parents. None of the parents had received a four-year college degree.

Students in Trisha's classroom had spent varying amounts of time in special education. However, it is important to note that eleven of the fourteen students had spent over two years in special education, with eight of those students qualifying for special education before or during their Kindergarten year. In other words, the majority of students in Trisha's classroom had been referred for special education evaluation at a very early age due to their perceived academic and/or social difficulty. Three other students, Mark, Hannah, and Hia, had qualified for special education during the year of this study. Hia was a student who had recently come from Vietnam and spoke little English. Hia was believed to be in formal schooling only two years prior to coming to the United States. He was placed in Trisha's room at the beginning of the year, but also spent the first one-third of each day at the district's bilingual education program. Mark and Hannah qualified for special education just prior to the data collection period of this study, so were new to special education.

Students in this study had also spent varying amounts of time in either Trisha or Kathym's Early Literacy Project Classroom. Several students, including Nathan, Danny, Jerrod, and Gerry were finishing their third year in ELP classrooms (i.e., 2.6 years at the beginning of data collection in March), while others had spent between zero and two years in ELP classrooms. Two students, Tracey and Juan, were in ELP classrooms across three years, but both students spent approximately one year at different schools in New Mexico and Texas, respectively. Two other students, Juanita and Angie, were moved to different placements during their time at Longhaven. Juanita was moved to a more restrictive "high needs" classroom for the severely emotionally impaired after first grade, while Angie was removed from special education for a year before re-qualifying at the end of third grade.

All students who participated in the study met state and local guidelines for either LD or EI placement as determined by a multidisciplinary evaluation team. Additional ancillary services for selected students in Trisha's classroom included speech and language (5), bilingual education (1), adaptive physical education (14), and school social work/counseling (3).

Sources of Data

The data collection period for this study occurred over the three month period between March 15 and June 9, 1993. As noted earlier, this study was embedded in a larger two-year ethnographic study of Trisha's classroom. The current study represented that last three months of the two-year ethnography. This time period was chosen for several reasons. First, it was important that there were multiple opportunities to study the two literacy events of Sharing Chair and Morning Message over an extended period of time. In order to address the focal research question that sought to examine how the two literacy events were socially constructed and reconstructed and the literate behaviors that might be afforded in each of the activities, it was necessary to see multiple iterations of the activity, including full transcripts of a representative number of activities (i.e., five transcripts/tapes each of Sharing Chair and Morning Message). A second reason for choosing this time period was related to some important logistical considerations in Trisha's room. Specifically, during a two-month period between January and March, Trisha's class size increased two-fold, from seven students to fourteen students. This altered the community of the classroom significantly, but permitted a closer examination of how new students (i.e., Hannah, Mark, Angie) and younger third-grade students from the lower elementary special education room (i.e., Gerry, Byron, Amber), would function in the community and the participation structure of the two activities.

Data sources for this study included (a) twice weekly observations and fieldnotes as a participant/observer in the classroom, (b) transcripts of five videotapes each of Sharing

Chair and Morning Message events that occurred during the spring of the second school year (i.e., from March to June); (c) students' journals that were the focal source of reading in the Sharing Chair and the entire corpus of Morning Message stories for the entire observation period and other artifacts produced by students; (d) two formal interviews of the teacher in the classroom; (e) one formal interview of each of the fourteen special education students and one interview asking each child to explain the purpose and procedures of Morning Message; (f) two transfer measures assessing each child's ability to create and edit a Morning Message story; and, (e) teacher and students' ratings about their enjoyment of each of the literacy activities in the Early Literacy Project Curriculum. Information from both standardized and informal achievement measures in reading and writing for each of the students was available through their participation on the Early Literacy Project (e.g., Slossen Oral Reading Test, Durrell, Explanation papers, Expert papers, Narrative papers, Writing Vocabulary, Sentence Dictation). These measures were given on a pretest and posttest basis. Students who were new to Trisha's room or who had newly qualified for special education services during the year received the measures in May and June (i.e., no pretest data was obtained). Each of these data sources are discussed below.

Participant observation and fieldnotes. In order to ensure that representative Sharing Chair and Morning Message events were captured and represented from an insider's perspective, a minimum of two days per week was spent observing, taking fieldnotes, and occasionally participating in Sharing Chair, Morning Message, and other activities throughout the study. Typically, I would arrive at the school just before students came at 9:05 a.m. and spend the entire morning observing, videotaping, or participating with the class until 12:40 p.m. (lunch). At that time, I almost always spent ten to twenty minutes informally talking to Trisha about the morning, and on several occasions went out to lunch with her and her colleagues.

I was a common fixture in Trisha's classroom, with many of the students knowing me across several years. Having participated in Trisha's class the previous year and in Kathryn's primary grade classroom the two years before that, all but the new students knew me well. Students were readily accustomed to being videotaped and even took turns turning on the cassette recorder during Sharing Chair and Morning Message in my absence. They would often ask, "Mr. Mariage, do you want this on today?" It was common for Trisha to ask for my opinion about a particularly tough writing problem or how to spell a word, even when I was videotaping. The camera was seen as less important than my participation in helping the class over hurdles. Similarly, if circumstances would permit, Trisha and the students would often ask me if I wanted to read my journal in Sharing Chair. It was assumed by the students that I wrote in my own journal notebook while they were writing in theirs. My journal reading was usually received like other students, with students asking me questions and commenting on my writing. At other times, I would read with a student who did not have a partner for Partner Reading, help students who had questions about their work, and even take over a group if Trisha had an emergency or phone call.

Fieldnotes were taken in several bounded composition books. The technique I typically used was that of a running record of events. That is, I attempted to capture as much information as was possible, allowing me, over time, to gain a strong sense of what it meant to be a member of this particular classroom. At the same time, I developed a fairly stable set of decision rules for ensuring that I was examining the various features of classroom life in Trisha's classroom during each visit. These rules constituted a set of categories that helped guide my note taking and led to the generation of focus questions for Trisha:

1. Examine and note any changes in the physical arrangement of the classroom. (e.g., seating arrangement, furniture, bulletin boards, display cases, etc.)

2. Examine and note any changes in the materials in the classroom.
(e.g., new books on the ledge for a new thematic unit, concept maps on the wall, Morning Message stories from previous day(s) or a published compilation of stories, etc.)
3. Examine and note any changes in students' physical presence.
(e.g., new clothing, haircuts/hair styles, physical appearance, gestures, non-verbal expression, emotional tone, etc.)
4. Examine and note any changes in teacher's physical presence.
(e.g., new clothing, haircuts/hair styles, physical appearance, gestures, non-verbal expression, emotional tone, etc.)
5. Note who was in attendance and their level and points total on the board.
(e.g., "Why did Gerry drop to level 1 from level 3 since my last visit?")
6. Keep detailed notes on individual students' daily schedules.
(e.g., when children enter and exit special education classroom, when they eat lunch, when they have recess, specials, ancillary services)
7. Keep detailed notes on whom, why, and how other staff, administration and support service personnel impact the classroom.
(e.g., how many times and who interrupts instructional time, what is the extent of support services like speech and language, social work, etc.)

Beyond these standard categories of observation, my running record detailed in varying levels of specificity the events that were taking place on a moment-to-moment basis in the classroom. For example, if I was observing Partner Reading, I would note who was working with whom, the titles and authors of their books (or poems, class books, Morning Message publications), and when possible, actual transcripts of particular exchanges. Similarly, if I was not videotaping Sharing Chair, I would sit right behind the circle of students and try to capture as much of the conversation as possible, noted who was sitting next to whom, who read their journals in Sharing Chair, and the nature and extent of their participation as members of the group.

Over time, both the running record and my standard categories were searched for patterns that led to particular hypotheses about what it meant to be a student in Trisha's

classroom. These categories emerged in a number of ways. Perhaps the most rewarding was the development of key questions and “big ideas” (i.e., emerging assertions) that were written directly upon leaving the field. After a field visit, I typically went home and perused my fieldnotes for evidence that either supported or refuted (i.e., negative case analysis) previous assertions that I had about the classroom. New ideas and future questions for Trisha or particular students were also noted. For example, on a number of occasions throughout the study, our conversation with one another at lunch or during the instructional day centered around my field notebook. Typically, I would show Trisha my fieldnotes when I had captured something of interest or raised a question. If Trisha made an observation about the morning, I was often able to refer to my notes about the situation and support or question her interpretation.

A second way we used the notebook was for Trisha to have her own field notebook. This notebook allowed her to write observations or questions about the classroom to which I would respond, either in writing or verbally. This notebook was especially important when key events occurred in my absence. More typical of our written communication, however, was simply to pass notes to one another during the instructional day. For example, in one instance, Trisha wrote on a slip of paper “Look at Nathan,” a student whose parent had refused to have him examined for Attention-Deficit Disorder. From this note, I decided that I would do a baseline of Nathan’s off-task behavior at thirty-second intervals for half-an-hour. The resulting analysis showed that Nathan was off-task well over 90% of the time, completing only two subtraction algorithms in the half hour. A short time later, Nathan’s mom agreed to have him tested and Nathan was put on Ritalin within a month.

Trisha became an additional set of eyes for me in her classroom. Over the course of the study, Trisha increasingly brought things to my attention, especially the successes and challenges of her students. When I was preparing to present data at the American

Educational Research Association's conference in Atlanta, Georgia, Trisha read and commented on my data and interpretations. We also spent time outside of school preparing for several State level conferences that we jointly presented together with other Early Literacy Project teachers. In short, Trisha and I became close colleagues with a joint investment in the quality of education her children received.

Transcripts and selection of videotapes. The videotapes and their resulting transcripts were the focal data source for the sociolinguistic analysis. In order to examine the primary research question and subquestions that guided this study, an over-time perspective was necessary (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). This prolonged engagement allowed me to videotape both Sharing Chair and Morning Message approximately two-times per month (i.e., on a bi-weekly basis), though in certain situations I wanted to capture consecutive days on videotape to examine potential intertextual links across days (e.g., April 22nd and 23rd). At the end of the study, I had ten videotapes each of the two literacy events. I decided that I would select only five tapes of each of the activities for transcription. Selection of the tapes was based-upon several factors.

First, the nature of the research question and subquestions required that I study enough of the literacy events to make claims as to the types of literate behaviors that might be afforded in the two events. Moreover, in order to see how the literacy events were socially constructed and reconstructed over time, it was necessary to choose representative tapes from across the study (e.g., March, April, and May).

A second sub-question was determining how individual students participated in the two literacy events. Thus, the choice and representativeness of the tapes selected for transcription from the pool of ten tapes were based upon several additional factors, including (1) when possible, all ten students who participated in both Sharing Chair and Morning Message were present; (2) there was representation of different authors in Sharing Chair and Morning Message, insuring that every individual student was represented in

Sharing Chair (i.e., read their journal at least once) and that if possible, there were different authors for each of the five Morning Message events; and (3) the tapes were taken from several different months.

In order to make these decisions on choosing which tapes to transcribe, each of the ten tapes were catalogued, showing the student, whether they read in Sharing Chair that day, and whether they were the author for Morning Message (See Table 2).

As the sample catalogue form shown in Table 2 indicates, I catalogued the participation of each individual student as they participated in both Sharing Chair and Morning Message. The catalogue for each videotape allowed me to see which students participated as authors and audience members, the nature of their topics, and which students were present or absent. For example, in Table 2, Gerry did not read as an author in Sharing Chair, but was chosen as the author for Morning Message on this particular day. Amber, on the other hand, read her story about her sister's head injury. She and Nigel attended only part of the Morning Message event because they came late from recess. Counter numbers next to each child's participation as author indicated where that particular turn was located on the videotape.

A second level of cataloguing was then conducted for each individual student. This allowed me to examine the individual participation by each student across the ten videotapes. For example, in Angie's catalogue in Table 3, I could see that she participated five times as an author in Sharing Chair and four times as author in Morning Message. By looking across each of the individual's catalogues of participation, coupled with the decision rules noted above, I was able to choose five Sharing Chair and five Morning Message videotapes from the pool of ten tapes for transcription. The five tapes chosen for transcription for each of the literacy activities were as follows:

Sharing Chair
March 22nd
April 8th

Morning Message
March 22nd
April 8th

Table 2 Sample Videotape Catalogue

March 18th, 1993

Third Grade Students	Sharing Chair Topic	Morning Message Topic
Gerry	Present, Not Author	4120 "Gerry's 4 Wheeler"
Byron	3116 Babysat by Grandma; Going to Putt-Putt Golf	Present
Amber	2700 My Sister Hit Head on Ice and Damaged Head; Uncle Hit Sister for No Reason	Present for Part
Nigel	Present, Not Author	Present for Part
Hia	Present, Not Author	Present
Fourth Grade Students		
Nathan	3825 Playing Captain Avenger on Super Nintendo	Present
Danny	3875 Half-Day of School: Going to Uncle's to Ice Fish	Present
Mark	4000 Went to Guillermo's to Play SEGA, Punch Bag	Present
Tracey	3415 Going to See Movie with Dad and Brother	Present

Table 3 Angie's Videotape Catalogue

Date	Sharing Chair	Morning Message
March 18, 1993	Absent	Absent
March 22, 1993	4248 "Do You Like To Have Me in Your Class?"	5534 Angie's Introduction to Class (categories)
April 8, 1993	4990 "Ms. Williams, What are Your Cats' Names?"	Present
April 22, 1993	2505 "Turn 10 Years Old on Saturday; Inviting All of the Girls in the Class to a Party"	3260 Angie's Birthday is Coming-Up
April 23, 1993	4938 "Going to Park and Play on Swings with Friends"	Present
May 14, 1993	Present	2916 Angie's Family Caught a Turtle
May 20, 1993	700 "Going to Friend's House"	Present
June 3, 1993	Present	4887 Angie's Grandfather is in the Hospital with a Stroke
June 9, 1993	Present	Present

April 22nd
 April 23rd
 May 14th

April 22nd
 April 23rd
 May 20th

As can be seen, with the exception of the May 14 (Sharing Chair) and May 20 (Morning Message) dates, transcripts for each of the activities were taken on the same day. The May 20 date was chosen for Morning Message due to Angie's already having been author in the two previous Morning Message transcripts.

Student journals and Morning Message stories. In both Sharing Chair and Morning Message, the written texts of children served as the primary content for conversation and discussion. In the case of Sharing Chair, author's read their journal entries to their peers and received feedback in the form of comments and questions. Importantly, these same journals were then taken home each night by the teacher and were responded to in writing below the student's entry. In this sense, the journals served at least two audiences, the public peer audience in Sharing Chair and the private audience of the teacher each evening. In Morning Message, the class constructed a written text around the experiences of one student each day. These stories were then published in a class newsletter each month that was sent home to parents and also kept in the classroom for future reading during independent or Partner Reading.

I collected each student's journal for the entire year at the end of the data collection period in June. These journals served several important purposes in this study. First, I was able to learn about the personal lives of students, including what they were drawn to, what was important in their lives, and what difficulties they experienced. The journals were a unique window on the day-to-day lives of this group of students, including the intertextual links that bound certain group members together beyond the classroom (e.g., writing about playing basketball with a peer against the third graders). Second, I was able to examine the complexity and quality of children's writing and the nature of their topic selection over time. Third, the journals allowed me to clarify what students had written and

what actually was read in Sharing Chair. For example, several readers continued to “read” their journal entry on videotape, even though only part of their entries were written down. As importantly, when children chose not to read their entries in front of their peers, I had access to their entries and was able to conjecture about their decision not to read (e.g., information was of a personal nature or the student wrote very little). Fourth, the journals allowed me to examine how the teacher’s comments were taken-up (or not taken-up) by the students over the course of the year. Finally, the journals allowed me access to Sharing Chair episodes when I was not physically present in the room.

I also collected each day’s Morning Message story and their resulting monthly publications throughout the year. The Morning Message stories were essential in a number of ways. First, I used the original Morning Message stories to examine the nature and breadth of editing conventions used by the group. As one set of literate behaviors (i.e., using editing conventions), it was necessary to examine the types of editing children engaged in to make claims about the particular affordances of this semiotic space. Second, as a result of the often high paced nature of the discourse, the original Morning Message story allowed me to examine what writing/editing the teacher was doing to the story, even though the videotape was on particular groups of students. Typically, I panned back-and-forth between the message on the chart paper in the front of the room and the speaking students, but during extended speaking turns, it was sometimes difficult to capture the teacher’s writing/editing of the story. Third, the original Morning Message story helped me to understand unclear or inaudible comments by the students. Often times, by looking at the original message and the talk that preceded an unclear segment of talk, I was able to capture what was said with the support of the written message and the surrounding context. Fourth, the original Morning Message story allowed me to examine how writing and other symbol systems were used to mediate the conversation. For example, Trisha used a different color marker to indicate the “topic sentence,” which in turn served to mediate the

types of talk children engaged in when talking about this particular sentence (e.g., "That's not right, that sentence should tell what our WHOLE CLASS is doing, not just what YOU are doing"). Fifth, the collection of Morning Message stories allowed me to examine the complexity and quality of the messages over time. Finally, the original stories were transcribed identically as they were constructed by the class, allowing me simultaneously to analyze the nature of the discourse as it was at once creating the story, but also being mediated by the written message.

Semi-structured interviews with the teacher. Two semi-structured interviews with Trisha were audiotaped and then transcribed. The first interview was conducted on March 6, 1992, nearing the end of Trisha's first year on the Early Literacy Project. This interview lasted two hours, and covered the following topics: (1) personal background, (2) the nature of the Early Literacy Project meetings and curriculum, (3) beliefs about special needs students, and (4) beliefs about inclusion, mainstreaming, and classroom management (See Appendix B). The second interview was conducted as an exit interview after the completion of the 1992-1993 school year (i.e., at the end of the data collection period for this study). This interview was conducted during the month of July and lasted approximately three hours. Topics included: (1) what participating on the Early Literacy Project (ELP) meant to Trisha, (2) describing the Early Literacy Project to administrators, (3) what are key features of the success of the ELP curriculum, (4) how the ELP teacher/researcher meetings influenced instruction, and (5) the nature of progress made by various students (See Appendix B).

The interviews were considered semi-structured due to the fact there was a formal protocol of questions, yet additional questions, clarifications, and extensions often moved beyond those listed on the protocol. The interviews were given in as informal and conversational manner as possible. The first interview took place in Trisha's classroom after school. The second interview took place in a restaurant over an extended lunch in the

summer.

The transcribed interviews were particularly important in trying to learn more about Trisha and her underlying beliefs about teaching and learning. No formal discourse analysis was undertaken with the transcripts. Rather, transcripts were read and reread to gain a general sense of Trisha as a teacher. Patterns within and across transcripts/questions were noted and served to develop a profile of Trisha as a professional. Interview transcript data was used to triangulate other assertions developed in my participant observation and the focal transcript data of Sharing Chair and Morning Message.

Semi-structured interviews with the students. Two semi-structured interviews were given and then transcribed for each of the fourteen individual students in Trisha's classroom. In both interviews, individual students came with me to a room that connected Trisha's classroom with the primary-grade special education classroom. As I had interviewed and individually assessed many of the students over the past several years, students were very comfortable in speaking openly with me. The first interview focused on several broad areas, including: (1) garnering background information on each of the students (i.e., family information, friends, neighborhood, hobbies), (2) learning about the student's perception of Longhaven School, (3) learning about the student's perception of Trisha's special education classroom and their regular education classroom, and (4) gathering knowledge and beliefs about reading and writing (e.g., planning, drafting, editing, revising). This interview generally took between thirty and forty-five minutes, though some students took slightly longer (see Appendix C). This interview was given just prior to the data collection period or in the beginning of this period (i.e., late February, March, and early April).

The second interview asked individual students four questions about Morning Message and were given at the end of the data collection period in June. These interviews took between five and ten minutes to complete. The four questions included (1) asking

how students would explain Morning Message to a younger student in Ms. Barnes' primary grade classroom, (2) whether they liked participating in Morning Message, (3) whether Morning Message had helped them to become a better writer, and (4) whether they used what they learned in Morning Message in their own writing (i.e., specific examples of generalization) (see Appendix C). These questions were especially important to gain a sense of "what counted" as literacy from the students' perspective in this particular event (Heap, 1991; Myers, 1992).

The two transcribed interviews provided essential first-hand accounts from the students and were used with the other data sources to provide insight into several of the research questions, including how individual students participated in the two activities and the types of literate behaviors that appear to be afforded and used by students.

Two transfer measures of Morning Message. Two transfer messages were conducted with the entire group of students at the end of the data collection period in late May and early June. Both measures were given during the usual Morning Message period by Trisha to help signal to students that these activities were an important way to show their learning throughout the year. The purpose of the two transfer measures was to gain insight into what editing/revising skills and conventions students had internalized from their participation in Morning Message and whether they could produce their own Morning Message story independent of the group's support.

The first measure consisted of an unedited Morning Message story that was believed to have come from another special education class at a nearby school (i.e., my wife's classroom). Students were given a copy of the unedited Morning Message story and were asked to "give Shay some help by helping to edit her Morning Message story." The students were informed that the student was in Mrs. Mariage's classroom. The unedited passage was read aloud twice by Trisha as students followed along to help control for differences in reading ability. Trisha's initial reading was at normal speed, while the

second reading was at a slower pace with pauses in between each sentence. Trisha read the passage exactly as the conventions indicated. For example, in the actual passage in Figure 5 below, Trisha did not indicate that there were pauses between the names Sara, Joan, and Lori.

Students worked independently and were asked to use pencils and make their corrections directly on Shay's typed story. As shown in Figure 5, there was ample room left between sentences for students to make corrections. Students were allowed to ask Trisha or me for help in reading, but we did not provide any additional support. Students who finished early were asked to remain quiet and read a book while the rest of the class finished editing/revising the story. Students took between fifteen and thirty minutes to complete the task.

In order to make the transfer measure as representative of typical Morning Message stories in Trisha's classroom as possible, a number of procedures were carried out.

First, I randomly selected Morning Message stories that were collected during the data collection period. From these stories, I examined a number of features, including the typical length of Morning Message segments (i.e., number of sentences/words), the number and types of visible editing and revising corrections (e.g., cross-outs, caretts, capitalization, punctuation, word order, tense, word usage, etc.), and the nature of the topics. From this examination, I then decided to choose a topic that had already been discussed earlier in the year during Morning Message and which was familiar to most of the students (e.g., going to the Cedar Point amusement park). This choice of topic helped to insure that the students were familiar with the content of the message.

Second, I began constructing the measure based upon the nature and types of editing/revising conventions that were observed in Morning Message throughout the data collection period. These conventions included capitalizing the first letter of a new sentence

th

g

si

w

is

de

ho

bi

w

S

Fig

May 3, 1993

Shay's Morning Message

this weekend we went to cedar point with my
grandma and grandpa smith. I like that. My
sister Julie and her friends Sara Joan Lori
went of the Gemini The Gemini is scary. it
is roller coaster upside down. I went on the
demon drop falls fast When we got back
home to lansing it wasnt good. Shays
bicycle was stolen from the front yard. Shay
was not happy that she lost her huffy bicycle.
She was mad

at

the

of

the

the

the

se

nd

d

es

the

co

ind

to

sh

or

the

cla

w

w

to

as

ap

and important names, using some form of ending punctuation (i.e., periods, question marks, exclamation marks), using an apostrophe to show possession and mark a contraction, indenting each paragraph, using topic sentences to start paragraphs, using commas to create pauses and break-up lists of words, using carets to add new words or ideas to the story, crossing-out words, sentences, or paragraphs, using both names and pronouns to make the story more interesting and readable, not using run-on or incomplete sentences, paragraphing when a new idea or topic is introduced, and being sensitive to the needs of our audience by being clear in meanings and word usage. The final step was to discuss the measure with Trisha to see if she thought the measure might be effective in capturing some of the editing/revising techniques that had been practiced in Morning Message.

The measures were scored by examining both the total number of editing/revising corrections and the nature of those changes.

The second transfer measure allowed individual students to write their own independent Morning Message story. Each student was given a blank piece of paper and told to write their own Morning Message story. Trisha reminded the students that they should think about what they had learned in Morning Message when they were writing. In order to insure that the students had an authentic audience as they did in Morning Message, the students were informed that they could volunteer to read their stories in front of the class at the completion of writing. Students were given approximately twenty minutes to write their stories, but this time was extended to a half-hour to accommodate those students who wanted to continue writing. After this period of writing, students were then allowed to read their story in front of the class. Due to the time right before lunch, students did not ask the author questions or comments, but each author received a generous round of applause after reading their story.

The students' stories were then collected and Xerox copies made of each of their

stories. Stories were analyzed on several features, including attention to the personal narrative format of Morning Message and the editing/revising conventions used by the students.

Student and teacher rankings of literacy events on the early literacy project. A final set of measures assessed the consumer satisfaction of various literacy events in Trisha's classroom. One measure was to have each individual student rank-order their favorite literacy events. A list of the major literacy events in Trisha's classroom was provided (see Figure 6). Students were asked to place a "1" next to the literacy event that they enjoyed participating in the most. A "2" was placed in that event they liked the second most, and so on until they finished ranking each of the activities. Trisha modeled and thought out loud several examples on the overhead to insure that the students understood the task.

Rankings were then tabulated and averaged for each of the ten literacy events across the fourteen students. The lowest combined average score then received a rating of "1," or the favorite overall activity, and continued to the highest combined average which received a rating of "10," and represented the literacy event that the group seemed to like the least. To help further examine the students' patterns of response, a table was created showing each of the literacy events and the number of times that activity was ranked 1st, 2nd, or 3rd and 8th, 9th, and 10th. This allowed me to examine if the averages were skewed positively or negatively due to high or low scores. The rank orders and the number of low and high rankings are shown in Tables 4 and 5.

The second ranking scale allowed Trisha to rate the ten literacy events in her curriculum in terms of four features: (1) the ease of implementing the activity, (2) the teacher's motivation for doing the activity, (3) the effectiveness of the activity on student achievement, and (4) the students' motivation for doing the activity. The Likert-type rating scale and Trisha's responses are indicated in Table 6.

Student Rating Scale of Literacy Events

- 1. Please order the activities in your classroom from the one you like the most (1) to the one you like the least.**

- _____ Partner Reading
- _____ Journal
- _____ Reading Group
- _____ Theme
- _____ Morning Message
- _____ Silent Reading
- _____ Sharing Chair
- _____ Poem
- _____ Teacher Reading Book
- _____ Spelling

NAME _____

Figure 6 Student Rating Scale of Literacy Events

Table 4 Students' Group Rankings of Literacy Events

ACTIVITY	RANKING	GROUP AVERAGE
Journal	1	4.6
Spelling	2	5.6
Teacher Reading Aloud	3	5.7
Sharing Chair	4	6.9
Partner Reading	5	7.0
Morning Message	6	7.7
Thematic Instruction	7	7.9
Reading Groups	8	8.5
Poems	9	8.7
Silent Reading	10	8.9

Table 5 Distribution of High and Low Rankings of Literacy Events

ACTIVITY	1st	2nd	3rd		8th	9th	10th
Journal	3	2	4		0	2	0
Spelling	4	1	1		2	1	0
Teacher Read Aloud	2	3	2		2	1	0
Sharing Chair	2	2	1		3	1	1
Partner Reading	1	3	0		2	1	2
Morning Message	0	1	2		1	1	1
Theme	0	2	1		1	2	1
Reading Groups	0	0	2		1	3	2
Poems	1	0	0		1	1	2
Silent Reading	1	0	1		2	0	4

Table 6 Trisha's Rating of Literacy Events

ACTIVITY	Ease of Implementation for the Activity					Teacher Motivation for Doing Activity					Effectiveness of Activity on Student Achievement					Students' Motivation for Doing Activity				
	High		Low			High		Low			High		Low			High		Low		
Partner Reading	5	4	3	2	1	5	4	3	2	1	5	4	3	2	1	5	4	3	2	1
Silent Reading	5	4	3	2	1	5	4	3	2	1	5	4	3	2	1	5	4	3	2	1
Phonics Instruction	5	4	3	2	1	5	4	3	2	1	5	4	3	2	1	5	4	3	2	1
Reading Groups	5	4	3	2	1	5	4	3	2	1	5	4	3	2	1	5	4	3	2	1
Poem/Choral Reading	5	4	3	2	1	5	4	3	2	1	5	4	3	2	1	5	4	3	2	1
Teacher Read Aloud	5	4	3	2	1	5	4	3	2	1	5	4	3	2	1	5	4	3	2	1
Morning Message	5	4	3	2	1	5	4	3	2	1	5	4	3	2	1	5	4	3	2	1
Journal	5	4	3	2	1	5	4	3	2	1	5	4	3	2	1	5	4	3	2	1
Sharing Chair	5	4	3	2	1	5	4	3	2	1	5	4	3	2	1	5	4	3	2	1
Thematic Instruction	5	4	3	2	1	5	4	3	2	1	5	4	3	2	1	5	4	3	2	1

Although a number of interesting patterns and conjectures can be gleaned from analyzing Trisha's responses, especially when compared to her own students' rankings, it is important to remember that these scales were used as tools to develop additional data sources and support the triangulation of other qualitative data. Specifically, the student and teacher ratings were used as one additional tool to examine the research questions regarding "what counts" as literacy from the students' perspective and how individual students participated in the various activities. For example, if a child had low verbal participation in Morning Message, was this also indicated by their student ranking, their two semi-structured interviews, and from analysis of videotapes? The results of this thick and multi-faceted description provided a much richer, if more complex, analysis/interpretation of the transcript data.

Analysis

Data analysis drew primarily from an interactional sociolinguistic perspective (Santa Barbara Discourse Group, 1992b), though several complementary (i.e., language-based) fields of inquiry were heavily drawn upon, including classroom discourse analysis (Cazden, 1988; Barnes, 1992), conversational analysis (Tannen, 1989), social semiotics (Lemke, 1989a; Halliday & Hasan, 1989), curriculum genres (Christie, 1991), and discourse theory (Burbules, 1993). Though each of these fields of inquiry has a shared interest in the role of language and how it functions both to communicate and create social contexts, they also tend to foreground slightly different features of the context, including the nature of the social relationship, the structure of the activity, and the content of the discourse.

An interactional sociolinguistic perspective was particularly well suited to studying the two events of Sharing Chair and Morning Message because of the incorporation of additional ethnographic tools of analysis to support the understanding of the linguistic forms and social functions of discourse in each event. In addition to the focal data source,

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60
61
62
63
64
65
66
67
68
69
70
71
72
73
74
75
76
77
78
79
80
81
82
83
84
85
86
87
88
89
90
91
92
93
94
95
96
97
98
99
100
101
102
103
104
105
106
107
108
109
110
111
112
113
114
115
116
117
118
119
120
121
122
123
124
125
126
127
128
129
130
131
132
133
134
135
136
137
138
139
140
141
142
143
144
145
146
147
148
149
150
151
152
153
154
155
156
157
158
159
160
161
162
163
164
165
166
167
168
169
170
171
172
173
174
175
176
177
178
179
180
181
182
183
184
185
186
187
188
189
190
191
192
193
194
195
196
197
198
199
200
201
202
203
204
205
206
207
208
209
210
211
212
213
214
215
216
217
218
219
220
221
222
223
224
225
226
227
228
229
230
231
232
233
234
235
236
237
238
239
240
241
242
243
244
245
246
247
248
249
250
251
252
253
254
255
256
257
258
259
260
261
262
263
264
265
266
267
268
269
270
271
272
273
274
275
276
277
278
279
280
281
282
283
284
285
286
287
288
289
290
291
292
293
294
295
296
297
298
299
300
301
302
303
304
305
306
307
308
309
310
311
312
313
314
315
316
317
318
319
320
321
322
323
324
325
326
327
328
329
330
331
332
333
334
335
336
337
338
339
340
341
342
343
344
345
346
347
348
349
350
351
352
353
354
355
356
357
358
359
360
361
362
363
364
365
366
367
368
369
370
371
372
373
374
375
376
377
378
379
380
381
382
383
384
385
386
387
388
389
390
391
392
393
394
395
396
397
398
399
400
401
402
403
404
405
406
407
408
409
410
411
412
413
414
415
416
417
418
419
420
421
422
423
424
425
426
427
428
429
430
431
432
433
434
435
436
437
438
439
440
441
442
443
444
445
446
447
448
449
450
451
452
453
454
455
456
457
458
459
460
461
462
463
464
465
466
467
468
469
470
471
472
473
474
475
476
477
478
479
480
481
482
483
484
485
486
487
488
489
490
491
492
493
494
495
496
497
498
499
500
501
502
503
504
505
506
507
508
509
510
511
512
513
514
515
516
517
518
519
520
521
522
523
524
525
526
527
528
529
530
531
532
533
534
535
536
537
538
539
540
541
542
543
544
545
546
547
548
549
550
551
552
553
554
555
556
557
558
559
560
561
562
563
564
565
566
567
568
569
570
571
572
573
574
575
576
577
578
579
580
581
582
583
584
585
586
587
588
589
590
591
592
593
594
595
596
597
598
599
600
601
602
603
604
605
606
607
608
609
610
611
612
613
614
615
616
617
618
619
620
621
622
623
624
625
626
627
628
629
630
631
632
633
634
635
636
637
638
639
640
641
642
643
644
645
646
647
648
649
650
651
652
653
654
655
656
657
658
659
660
661
662
663
664
665
666
667
668
669
670
671
672
673
674
675
676
677
678
679
680
681
682
683
684
685
686
687
688
689
690
691
692
693
694
695
696
697
698
699
700
701
702
703
704
705
706
707
708
709
710
711
712
713
714
715
716
717
718
719
720
721
722
723
724
725
726
727
728
729
730
731
732
733
734
735
736
737
738
739
740
741
742
743
744
745
746
747
748
749
750
751
752
753
754
755
756
757
758
759
760
761
762
763
764
765
766
767
768
769
770
771
772
773
774
775
776
777
778
779
780
781
782
783
784
785
786
787
788
789
790
791
792
793
794
795
796
797
798
799
800
801
802
803
804
805
806
807
808
809
810
811
812
813
814
815
816
817
818
819
820
821
822
823
824
825
826
827
828
829
830
831
832
833
834
835
836
837
838
839
840
841
842
843
844
845
846
847
848
849
850
851
852
853
854
855
856
857
858
859
860
861
862
863
864
865
866
867
868
869
870
871
872
873
874
875
876
877
878
879
880
881
882
883
884
885
886
887
888
889
890
891
892
893
894
895
896
897
898
899
900
901
902
903
904
905
906
907
908
909
910
911
912
913
914
915
916
917
918
919
920
921
922
923
924
925
926
927
928
929
930
931
932
933
934
935
936
937
938
939
940
941
942
943
944
945
946
947
948
949
950
951
952
953
954
955
956
957
958
959
960
961
962
963
964
965
966
967
968
969
970
971
972
973
974
975
976
977
978
979
980
981
982
983
984
985
986
987
988
989
990
991
992
993
994
995
996
997
998
999
1000

the transcripts of the five Sharing Chairs and five Morning Message episodes, many additional data sources were used to triangulate data and support or refute my interpretations. These data sources included the use of observer/participant and participant/observer participation, fieldnotes, one formal interview of each student, two formal interviews of the teacher, a short interview of each of the students around the Morning Message event, the teacher's notebook, and artifacts collected from the classroom (e.g., student journals, Morning Messages, writing samples). In observer/participant participation, I was physically present in the room, but had as my primary goal the observation and description of the moment-to-moment happenings of the classroom. This participation was more physically passive in the sense that, though I was available and participated with students if they asked for assistance, I often chose to sit in a chair in the back of the room and spent the majority of time taking fieldnotes. In contrast, my participant/observer participation was more explicitly geared toward active and direct involvement with the students and events of the classroom (e.g., an active author and audience member in Sharing Chair, taking over and running the Morning Message group). In this form of participation, I was fully engaged in whatever events were naturally occurring in the classroom. Both forms of participation were necessary to capture and make sense of the dynamic nature of classroom life. Observer/participant and participant/observer participation were interwoven in any session and offered unique perspectives as I moved in and out of the flow of classroom life.

My analysis also included several cognitive measures, including pretest and posttest data on both formal and informal reading and writing measures (e.g., Slossen Oral Reading Test, expert papers) taken at the beginning and end of the school year, and two transfer measures of Morning Message. The first transfer measure included the independent editing of a Morning Message story, while the second measure asked each student to write their own Morning Message independently. Cognitive measures were used both to interpret

other data sources (i.e., formal and informal assessment measures) and to give insight into how the activity of Morning Message influenced a student's ability to edit a Morning Message written by another student and to write independently a Morning Message without the usual support of the whole group.

During the course of the study, it was recognized that a unique opportunity to examine possible developmental and experiential differences in the independent transfer measures was available. As a researcher in the lower elementary classroom for four years with another Early Literacy Project teacher, I gave the identical transfer tasks to Kathryn Barnes' students. This allowed me to further explicate and bolster a key research question that linked discourse to learning, "What are the educational affordances in the literacy event of Morning Message?" Though only a single "snapshot" of a student's independent performance at one point in time, this measure was extremely helpful in thinking about differences in what students had internalized across grade levels and experience in Morning Message. Equally important, these measures allowed for the examination and comparison between students' verbal participation in group dialogues and their level of independent functioning.

My procedures for doing analysis differed depending upon the phase of the analysis (e.g., initial, middle, end), the level of analysis (e.g., patterns or themes in fieldnotes vs. microanalysis of transcript data), the particular literacy event (e.g., Sharing Chair or Morning Message), the nature of the data source (e.g., interview, artifacts, transcripts, etc.) and the particular research question being foregrounded (e.g., discourse moves as compared to affordances). However, there was a general sequence of analysis for each of the two literacy events, including (1) describing the "lay of the land" across all five transcripts, including how the activity was indexed; the typical phases of activity; the general participant structure, including the speaking rights and duties given to the socially constructed roles of author, audience, and teacher; the nature of topics; and the level of

verbal participation by each individual; (2) microanalysis of the transcript data, including the categorization/coding of patterned ways of speaking (e.g., telling a story, asking a question); examining the range and types of discourse moves and how they functioned to align both the content and the social relationships among participants; the unique role of the teacher's talk in the two events (e.g., how teacher modeled, scaffolded, transferred control); and (3) triangulating the three types (i.e., discourse analysis, ethnographic, and cognitive) and levels (i.e., macro and microanalyses) of analysis, including comparing and contrasting the two discourse spaces.

Analysis of Transcript Data

Videotapes of Sharing Chair and Morning Message were transcribed in full. Particularly important to this transcription was the careful mapping of talk as it naturally occurred in the two literacy events. A number of conventions were used to help replicate as accurately as possible the group's talk. The conventions for transcription are outlined in Figure 7.

Sharing chair. To begin, analysis was undertaken in each of the two literacy events separately. In Sharing Chair, transcripts were read repeatedly to search for patterns of response, individuals' participation, and unique features of the activity. In order to address these questions, each individual students' total talk from each of the five Sharing Chairs was parceled out from the rest of the talk. Having parceled each student's talk, each speaking turn was then cut separately into its own strip. Having the total talk of each individual student separated by individual turns, these strips of talk were then categorized and glued to a 30"x20" posterboard depending upon the linguistic form and/or social function the talk played in the full transcript. The result of this effort was a "Discourse Profile" of each student (see Figure 8 for example). This profile was particularly helpful in understanding the extent of individual participation (i.e., total turns), the nature of verbal involvement (i.e., questions, comments, stories), and verbal participation in the role of

003	Indicates line number. Each individual event started with line 001
/	Short pause (each / equals 1 second)
//	Longer pause (2 seconds)
<i>italics</i>	Marks emphatic stress.
CAPS	Marks very emphatic stress.
{	Indicates overlapping speech at the point of the overlap.
?	Marks the asking of question or a questioning tone.
,	Indicates normal pause in speech.
.	Marks the end of a sentence.
!	Marks a very expressive question or comment.
[brackets]	Used to comment on pitch, amplitude, quality of speech
(parentheses)	Used for comments about actions such as paralinguistic cues (e.g., nods, pointing, demonstrating) or special notes about speech that might link to other transcripts or data sources (e.g., remind reader of an earlier observation in light of current statement)
(inaudible)	Indicates that speech was not transcribable due to difficulty in hearing
BOLD	Convention to draw reader's attention to specific features of transcript, usually specific words.
<u>underline</u>	Convention used to draw reader's attention to specific features of transcript, usually at a level larger than the word, including phrase or sentence(s).

Figure 7 Transcript Conventions

Discourse Profile: Hannah

Author's Call for Questions

Hannah: Angie?
Hannah: Amber?
Hannah: Tracey? I haven't called on you yet.
Hannah: Any more comments or questions?

Author's Initiation of New Ideas

(none)

Audience Member's Question

Hannah: Was it by the bridge?
Hannah: What kind of pizza are you getting, she said.
Hannah: Are you going to be playing Nintendo?
Hannah: Why do you want to get new shoes?

Author's Story

Hannah: "And then my uncle, my dad said "Oh, here's something good. And he turned it to X-Men, and he said "Cool, we'll start watching this. And then my dad said, "Oh, oh, the girls are going to be mad, they can't watch their favorite show." And my dad said, and I said, "Dad, don't worry about it."

Topics

Hannah: I wrote this yesterday. "On Saturday my grandma is going to take me to the parade. And I want to, when I get home I am going to my next door neighbor's party. Then last Tuesday my uncle TJ said that I was his girlfriend and then my best, not my best friend, my friend was his daughter so that makes me her mother." There, that's what I wrote yesterday. Any comments or questions? Mark?

Author's Response to Comment

Hannah: Oh, yeah, calling them "Shansynay".
Hannah: I said for a "friend"...I didn't say I liked them, I just like them for a friend.
Hannah: Not Mr. Johnson, because Mr. Johnson goes out (to recess) first.

Author's Question to Audience

Hannah: Amber, do you have a question?
Hannah: Need help?

Audience Member's Comment

Hannah: I am going to church with my grandma and then I am going home to have dinner with my mom and dad.
Hannah: My favorite parts were, doing the hopper, and canoeing, and, um//Native American, and bow and arrow, and...

Audience Member's Story

Hannah: Last year I think it was, and my, my mom went to Pic Way and got some shoes and boots for me, and one of these days, I mean pretty soon, I am getting brand new shoes because these shoes are too small. These are 7 1/2's and, these, there's normally, there's like an open part where your shoe is like, right here, I have a big old sort of blister.
Hannah: One time, at Christmas I was peeking and I saw this bag, and it was at my grandpa's old house, and I peaked in it, and I saw it had these um, um, "New Kids on the Block" video because I like it a lot when I was little. And, and then I said "Cool" and my grandma said "You didn't get anything at school, did you?" and I said "NO way."

Author's Response to Question

Hannah: He's on Fox 47.
Hannah: Yeah, she was um, Angie gave me a yello Troll, and I put it on my dresser, and the gog gets on the bed and goes on my dresser. And then, my dog goes on the bed, she's only about that big (16 inches).

Unsolicited Response

(None)

Figure 8 Sample Discourse Profile

both author and audience member.

Several analyses were further conducted with the Discourse Profiles of individual students. A qualitative analysis of individual student's within-category talk was performed. For example, under the category of "Response to Audience Member's Questions," there was analysis of how the author was positioned to respond to different questions (e.g., justifying, explaining, stating). A second level of analysis was to examine the extent to which different students "used" this discourse space. Also relevant to this analysis was the nature of topics that the students brought to the speaking floor for consideration.

The final layer of analysis examined the full transcript and searched for the range, types, and phases of extended conversation. This analysis attempted to understand the types of literate actions that might be afforded in the Sharing Chair in Trisha's classroom.

Morning Message. Morning Message transcripts were analyzed in a number of ways. The first layer of analysis was to examine the phases or sub-phases within a single round of Morning Message. Pertinent to this investigation was describing the boundaries of this discourse space, including the indexing functions used to mark this activity off from other activities. To analyze the sub-phases of Morning Message, the five transcripts were searched for key features that seemed to occur across all or most of the five transcripts. For example, the start of each Morning Message began with the placement of a blank sheet of paper on the board and saw the teacher shake a jar full of tiles with each individual's name on them. The person chosen was announced and the student author came to sit in the front of the room. This series of actions served to index the activity of Morning Message. In addition, there were a series of discursive positionings made by the teacher that also marked the activity, including the asking of a "topic sentence" from the student author to begin the writing process. Sub-phases in Morning Message were determined by transitions from different rounds of editing, especially as it related to the completion of one sentence

and the author calling on an audience member's comment or question.

A second layer of analysis included an examination of the extent of verbal participation by each individual participant. Verbal participation was defined as the number of turns taken across the five Morning Message events. A sum of the total number of turns across the five events were taken for each student. An average number of turns per event was calculated for each student, and it was noted whether the individual student was in the role of author or audience participant. This analysis allowed for the examination of whether role seemed to influence the level of verbal participation. Participants were rank-ordered by their total number of turns across the five lessons.

The third layer of analysis was to read the transcripts repeatedly and develop ideas as to emerging patterns. Ideas were noted directly on the transcript for future location and analysis. One observation was the recognition that the teacher's talk in Morning Message played a particularly important role in the construction of meaning in this classroom. To attempt to understand how the teacher used talk in this activity, the teacher's talk was read repeatedly to search for patterns or categories of talk. It became apparent that the teacher's talk in the activity involved the orchestration of four broad *discourse functions*, with many types of *discourse moves* within each area. The four discourse functions in which discourse moves were situated were: instructional, literacy content, conversational involvement, and management functions. To capture the nature and extent of the moves within each function, a coding system was developed to analyze the teacher's talk. Four different color dots, each color representing one discourse function, were used to code the entire talk of the teacher across all five Morning Message events. Specifically, the various moves under each category were developed, charted, and then labeled. As an example, under the instructional function, the discourse move of "questioning" was coded with a green dot with the letter "q" written on it. The discourse move "indenting" under the literacy content function was coded with three blue dots with the letters "i," "n," "d," and

so on (see Appendix D for definitions and examples of discourse moves). The coding system evolved and was refined as a result of repeated readings of the transcripts.

Having coded the entire round of teacher talk for each of the five Morning Message transcripts, each discourse function and discourse move within each of the four functions was counted and turned into a percentage of the total amount of talk across and within the discourse functions. This sweeping analysis was undertaken as a first step in attempting to understand how the teacher used talk differentially to position the group and individual students within the group to construct meaning differently. As an example of the outcomes for this analysis, Trisha used more "supporting" and "conversational management" moves when the discussion moved from discourse as inquiry to more discourse as debate (e.g., argumentation between two sides) to protect the feelings of individual members, while reinforcing the conviction and passion in which students were struggling with ideas (see Burbules, 1993). In short, the color coding of teacher talk in Morning Message helped to make visible the range, frequency, and function of the discourse moves that outlined the literacy potentials in this activity.

A fourth layer of transcript analysis was to examine how participants were discursively positioned in the activity by one another's talk. Discursive positioning, a concept introduced to explain the moment-to-moment creation of intersubjective meaning, was particularly helpful in trying to answer the question "What types of literate actions and opportunities are afforded students in this literacy event?" To understand how participants were positioned by and positioned others, a careful examination of the turn-by-turn sequences was undertaken across the entire transcript, with additional attention paid to the "author" of the message, the "audience" members supporting the construction of the text, and the role of the teacher.

Transfer measures. The two transfer measures, the editing of a Morning Message and the independent writing of a Morning Message story, were particularly important for

providing additional evidence as to the extent to which students internalized the social dialogues of Morning Message to guide their own independent editing and writing. As importantly, I was interested in knowing whether the level and quality of students' verbal participation in Morning Message was related to the complexity of their independent editing and drafting. Also, the transfer measures were essential for examining any possible differences in internalization based on development or differences in the amount of experience between the younger students in Kathym's early elementary (K-2) class and Trisha's third and fourth grade students.

In order to understand both the quantity and quality of editing/revising of individual students, a scoring protocol was developed (Figure 9) that outlined the editing miscues contained in the Morning Message and allowed for the quantification of revisions. *Editing* miscues included errors of punctuation and capitalization, paragraphing, pronoun/noun usage and verb tense. As shown in Figure 9, there were 18 punctuation/capitalization miscues, 2 paragraphing miscues, 6 pronoun/noun usage miscues, and 1 verb tense miscue, for a total of 27 possible editing miscues.

Revisions included the student's attempt to change meaning in the text, and included the crossing out of words (i.e., deletions) and using carets to insert words (i.e., additions) in the text. Also, three awkward sentences were contained in the text that required revision in order to make sense.

To score the protocol, each miscue or revision was assigned a score of "1" point. For example, if a student changed the lowercase "t" to an uppercase "T" in the first word of the sentence "this weekend we went to Cedar Point with my Grandma and Grandpa Smith," this was assigned one point.

Revisions were more difficult to score, but were thought to be especially important as they were believed to represent a higher level of sophistication than copy editing. A decision rule for scoring revisions was needed, since it was possible for a student to add or

Scoring Form for Editing Transfer MeasurePunctuation, Capitalization

- _____ t to T in "This"
 _____ c to C in "cedar"
 _____ p to P in "point"
 _____ g to G in "grandpa"
 _____ g to G in "grandma"
 _____ s to S in "smith"
 _____ comma after Sara
 _____ comma after Joan
 _____ "and" before Lori
 _____ period after "Gemini"
 _____ i to I in "It"
 _____ d to D in "demon"
 _____ d to D in "drop"
 _____ period after fast
 _____ l to L in "lansing"
 _____ apostrophe between "n" and "t"
 _____ apostrophe between "y" and "s" in "Shays"
 _____ h for H in "Huffy"
 _____ period after "mad"

Paragraphing

- _____ indent "this"
 _____ paragraph at "When we..."

Additions and Deletions to Sentences

- _____ edit "I like that"
 _____ edit "it is roller coaster upside down"
 _____ edit "I went on the demon drop falls fast"

Pronoun/Noun Usage

- _____ "we" to "Shay" or "they"
 _____ "my" to "her"
 _____ "my" to "Shay's"
 _____ "I" to "Shay"
 _____ "Shay" to "she"
 _____ "She" to "Shay"

Verb Tense

- _____ is to was

Additions that Change MeaningDeletions that Change Meaning

#Cross-outs: _____ #Carets _____

Figure 9 Scoring Form for Editing Transfer Measure

delete words and entire sentences. If a student recognized that one of the awkward sentences embedded in the text needed revising, and an attempt was made to add or delete words, even if the resulting revisions resulted in a sentence that was not wholly correct, a score of one point was given to the student. An additional point was given for each deletion or addition of a word or words that were not already accounted for in the editing task. For example, if a student added the word “very” in the sentence “She was (very) mad,” the child was given one point. However, if a child crossed-out the word “we” and added the word “Shay,” this was not counted as an addition because it was already scored and accounted for in the pronoun/noun usage category. Finally, only one point was awarded for each separate addition or deletion in a meaning unit. If a child added the words “...as can be at the robber” after the sentence “She was mad...,” this was given a score of one point, not a point for each of the additional words (i.e., not six points for the six words “as can be at the robber”).

Total points for each student were summed and the class was rank-ordered from “1” to “14”, with the student ranked number “1” being the student with the highest number of editing/revising changes, and so on to the student ranked number “14,” who had the fewest editing/revising changes.

The second transfer message for Morning Message, the writing of an independent Morning Message, was evaluated holistically. No formal scoring protocol was developed for this measure, but a careful examination of the content and the conventions used by various students was undertaken. Both the independent editing task and the independent writing task were taken together to form a kind of “picture” of each student’s understanding and use of the common conventions used in Morning Message.

I present my data in the following chapters in two ways. In Chapters Four and Five, I describe the discourse spaces of Sharing Chair and Morning Message, respectively. In these two chapters, the phases of the activities are outlined, the participant structures that

seem to be framing the nature of talk are discussed, and an examination of how various discourse moves created participant frameworks is undertaken. Each of these chapters concludes with a discussion of the educational affordances that were constructed in the respective discourse spaces. The final chapter outlines the major conclusions, limitations, and implications for future work in the interactional sociolinguistic study of classroom events.

CHAPTER 4

THE DISCOURSE SPACE OF SHARING CHAIR

This section describes the discourse space called Sharing Chair. Included in this section is a description of the indexing functions and phases of activity that mark Sharing Chair as a discourse space and help define its forms and function; the participation structure in the activity, including the rights, duties, and responsibilities of the student author, audience members, and teacher; the range of topics and uses of the Sharing Chair; and the educational affordances of the Sharing Chair discourse space.

Constructing a Discourse Space: Indexing Functions and Phases of Activity

Sharing Chair occurred each day in Trisha's classroom from 10:20 a.m. until 11:10 a.m. Sharing Chair had a number of phases: (1) Teacher marks activity by stating "okay, its time for journal," and students and teacher write in their journal notebooks for ten to fifteen minutes; (2) teacher makes a call for all students to "go back to the top and reread your journal before going to Sharing Chair"; (3) students move from their individual desks to the Sharing Chair area, a corner of the room where the Sharing Chair was located; (4) students hand journals to teacher before sitting down; (5) the teacher asks an individual student to pick a number between "one" and the total number of journals she has in front of her; (6) the student whose journal was picked has the right to accept or deny reading their journal, and if student chooses to read, accepts journal from the teacher, sits in the Sharing Chair, reads his/her journal, and marks the ending of reading by stating "Are there any comments or questions?"; (7) the student author then has the duty of calling on members of the student audience; (8) the student author's turn typically ends with the teacher asking the author to take a specific number of questions (e.g., one, two); and (9) the teacher selects the next author by again asking for a student to pick a number so she can draw a journal from the pile. Sharing Chair ends when the teacher marks the end of the activity by calling time and asking each student to rate themselves on a scale of "zero" to "three" points.

Creating Possibilities for Academic Work: Participation Structure

Journal writing was done independently at individual students' desks. This was a very quiet time in Trisha's room and journal writing was taken very seriously in this room. On one occasion, when Trisha was called out of the room to take an emergency phone call in the office, I noted that the students did not know Trisha had left the room. There were few instances throughout my two years of twice-weekly observations that Trisha had to manage behavior during journal writing.

The teacher also wrote in her journal each day and brought her journal to the Sharing Chair. Any guests in the room were encouraged to write as well. A journal with the words "Guest Journal" on the cover was pinned to a bulletin board in the room and used for any visitors to the classroom. Though I did not have the opportunity to witness the Guest Journal being used, there were several times in the school year that guests had made entries into the journal. As the observer/participant in this room, I also wrote daily in my field notebook. If I was not videotaping the Sharing Chair activity, I often sat among the students as an active participant (i.e., questioning and commenting). I also read my "journal" in the Sharing Chair on a number of occasions.

During Sharing Chair, all participants but the author sat in a circle on the floor in their "listening position," with their legs crossed and hands in their lap. The author sat in a padded lounge chair above the seated students and the teacher.

Unlike Morning Message, where the "author" and "audience" roles became blurred during the construction of the written text, there were quite specific rights and duties associated with being the author, audience member, and teacher during Sharing Chair. Importantly, these rights and duties positioned the participants differentially, resulting in different types of verbal participation.

Rights and Duties of the Student Author

Trisha often called on an individual student to give her a number between "one" and the total number of students/journals in the group. If the nominated student said "three," Trisha would either count down three from the top or three up from the bottom and announce the name of the owner to be the next author. This series of actions, though seemingly simple, was representative of many ways in which Trisha modeled a more democratic way to choose the next author and served as a small way to transfer control of the selection process to her students.

Trisha typically announced the next author by simply stating their name, often times with a rising inflection at the end of the name to signal to the group that a new author was about to share their journal and that they should show excitement. Importantly, the chosen student was then given the right to decline the invitation to read by saying "no," "I don't want to read," or by shaking their head "no." This right given to a prospective author allowed the student to read only if they *wanted* to do so. Though the vast majority of the students chose to read in Trisha's classroom, there were several times when an invited student chose not to read in the five Sharing Chairs in this study. Though only speculation based on my direct observations of students, there appeared to be at least four reasons why a student would choose not to read: a student felt ill (e.g., explicit somatic complaints or visible lethargy), a student was anxious or agitated (e.g., something outside of the classroom was bothering them; they may have gotten in trouble with a teacher and used non-participation in a defensive manner), a student did not write in their journal, or did not feel comfortable with sharing the content of their journals (e.g., wrote about a topic that contained private information that the student wished to share only with the teacher).

Allowing the invited student to choose not to read was an important way in which Trisha communicated a sense of community and safety in her classroom. On a number of occasions, Trisha announced to the students that she did not want to read because she did

not feel comfortable sharing that day. This direct modeling of declining to read seemed to place Trisha in the role of an author who could flexibly choose to publish their ideas orally or simply maintain privacy. The opportunity to decline reading in Sharing Chair in no way compromised the opportunities for active participation, as every student participated as both an author and an audience member during the five Sharing Chair episodes.

The author had several other rights and duties in the Sharing Chair. One duty the author had upon completing their story was to announce to the audience, "Are there any comments or questions?" This tag at the end of an author's story served to signal and position the audience to raise their hand. The effectiveness of this discourse move is evident in audience participation: In the entire corpus of data on Sharing Chair, there is no instance of an author not having an audience member with a raised hand directly after a call for comments or questions.

As audience members bid for a speaking turn by raising their hand, the author also had the duty to call on an audience member by stating their name in the form of a question. In the following exchange, the author, Juan, had read his story about getting some new black shoes. The black shoes are significant because they didn't get nearly as dirty as white shoes:

009 Juan: Nigel?

010 Nigel: I am gonna get some new shoes.

011 Juan: When?

012 Nigel: Today. Cause my mom got her check.

013 Juan: What kind?

014 Nigel: Some like my brothers. Like yours.

015 Juan: Amber?

016 Amber: My mom got her a pair of shoes, um, pink or something, and she got white
017 and they got all dirty.

018 Juan: Angie?

In this sequence, Juan continues the conversation with Nigel by asking him when he is getting his new shoes. Nigel mentions that his mother gets her welfare check that day, so they will then have enough money to get him some new shoes. Juan then has the duty to call on a raised hand (Amber) after Nigel relinquishes his turn by saying "like yours" in a falling voice. Juan gives the speaking rights to Amber, who then explains that her mom got white shoes and they did, in fact, get dirty.

This sequence also points out another important right of the student author. Though the author is obligated to call on an audience member after the completion of a turn, the author retains the right to respond to the question or comment in any respectful way, including not responding to an audience member. In the above transcript, we see Juan respond differently to two speakers, Nigel and Amber. In line 011, Juan continues the conversation with Nigel by responding "When?" to his comment about getting some new shoes. When Amber gives a comment of her own in line 016 and 017, Juan does not provide any uptake, but calls on the next speaker, Angie. A possible explanation is that Nigel's comment is a topically-related *statement*. Amber's comment, on the other hand, is in the form of a *narrative* about her mother's experience with light colored shoes. As a narrative, Amber's comment has a more well defined ending that may have indicated to Juan that he was not being positioned to respond to Amber's narrative. In contrast, Nigel's statement in line 010, "I am gonna get some new shoes" leaves open the possibility and even expectation that the author might uptake by saying "When?", "Where?", or "What kind?".

Similar to the right to choose to read or not to read in Sharing Chair, the author also retains the right to deny responding to questions that they do not feel comfortable answering. This occurred once in the five Sharing Chairs and helped to make visible several rights and duties. In the transcript below, Jerrod, an African-American fourth

grader, writes about one of the most talked-about events of the school year--the class' three-day spring camping trip. Jerrod was sent home from camp on the second day for fighting with a child from another class. The social price of being sent home from a camp that is a two-hour drive from school sent ripples through the classroom community:

157 Jerrod: (reading as author) "I had a good time at camp. I had to go home. Canoeing
158 was the best thing. I had much fun." Any comments or Questions?

159 Hannah?

160 Hannah: Did you, um, go in the canoe while it was raining?

161 Jerrod: Yeah. It was sprinkling. Nathan?

162 Nathan: Um, why did you have to go, why did you have to go home?

163 Jerrod: Cuz.

164 Nathan: For what type of reasons?

165 Jerrod: (silence)

166 Nathan: What? What did he do to go home?

167 Gerry: He hurt a kid.

168 {

169 Trisha: Gerry. Jerrod, if you don't want to answer it, you can just tell him
170 you don't want to answer it.

171 Jerrod: I don't (want to answer question). Amber?

.

.

.

203 Nigel: Why don't you tell everybody what you did?

204 Jerrod: (no response) Ms. Williams?

In the above sequence, Jerrod was positioned strongly by Nathan's comments and persistence about finding out why he had to leave camp. Gerry then enters the speaking floor as an *unsolicited* speaker, a "breaking" of the rules of participation in Sharing Chair.

The content of Gerry's comment, making visible the information Jerrod clearly did not want to make public, exacerbates the force of his comment and positions Trisha to enter and manage the conversation. Though this sequence speaks more directly to the nature of the teacher's participant status, it also makes visible the importance of reserving the right of authors to decide whether to respond to the audience members. Although the audience member has a right to position the author to respond by providing questions or comments (as Nathan did in line 166), the author retains the right to *not* respond, as this sequence illustrates. Later in Jerrod's turn as author (line 203), Nigel again raises the issue about what Jerrod did to go home. Jerrod uses his right as author to not respond to Nigel's positioning and calls on the teacher instead. This conversational right helped to preserve the identity of student authors, curbing personal attacks.

A final duty of the author, and all participants, was the responsibility to participate. In Sharing Chair and Morning Message, Trisha regularly asked students to self-evaluate their participation by rating themselves between zero and three points. A score of three meant that the student read in the Sharing Chair, asked questions or comments, and demonstrated good behavior. A score of two would be missing one of the above criteria, but was considered a "good" score, and so on. These points (and others) were added-up at the end of each day and posted on the chalk board next to each individual's name. Points were used at the end of the week in a small classroom store.

Though this management system seems to encourage the external reinforcement of behavior, in reality this system was quite invisible. In interviews with Trisha and observing the daily routines of the classroom, it became clear that Trisha was constantly trying to transfer control of responsibility for behavior and performance to her students. Instead of rating each child's performance and giving points, Trisha asked the child to rate themselves. The students tended to be extremely accurate in their ratings. If there was a perceived error, it almost always was a child rating oneself too low. If this happened, the

child who rated himself/herself low would almost always receive support from other students to change their scores.

Though this system of having students self-regulate and monitor their behavior was very much invisible in the latter half of the school year, it does have several important functions. Trisha noted that many special education students, entering her classroom at the beginning of the year or as new students, often display a state of learned helplessness and require a subtle form of intervention to promote their participation in activities. Other students, especially her emotionally impaired students, often seem to need the external reinforcement of the classroom store to mediate their behavior in the initial stages. By allowing students to rate their own behavior, Trisha was able to position her students to become metacognitive about their own performance. If there were inconsistencies in a student's rating, then there was an opportunity to discuss a student's rating and performance. Often times, it appeared that Trisha agreed with the student without question, as she waited to see if her students would support or deny the child's self-rating. In an interview with Trisha she noted:

Its more like peer pressure. The other kids know exactly what you did during that lesson. If I say to Angie "How many points do you think she should have and she said "zero", somebody will say "You asked a question! You should get at least one!" And I'll ask Angie again, and if she says zero, I will put zero...they go through abuse a little while, but they'll get there (accurately self-monitoring). (Interview, 4/6/92)

Later, Trisha relates how her ultimate goal is the building of classroom community:

I don't want to embarrass them, but I want them to be able to tell the group, "This is a group situation", they are to work as a *team* to get this done. And I want them to know that when one of the team members isn't doing their part, things happen. And, this room is a team. We work together as a team in almost everything we do. And so I want them to feel the pressure of "I need to participate with the group". (Interview, 4/6/92)

Thus, there were a number of rights and duties that went along with the role of being student author. Ultimately, the goal for Trisha was participation by all members.

Rights and Duties of the Student Audience

Students who were not reading were expected to sit on the floor and listen.

Audience members had the right to respond to the author's story by asking a question or supplying a comment. It was an audience member's duty, however, to bid for a speaking turn by raising their hand to be called on. An exception to this duty was when there was an emotionally charged comment or question. Typically, this took place when there was a humorous statement or story made by the author or other audience members. In the following transcript, Amber has read a story about her niece's first birthday party:

265 Amber: Juan?

266 Juan: What did you make her?

267 Amber: A little necklace with feathers and beads on it. I think she is going to eat the
267 feathers and eat the beads. She does that all the time. And she also eats toilet
268 paper (laughter). Oh yeah, I got one thing to say, one time when she was
269 over to our house, we don't let her go in the bathroom now that she did it,
270 she stuck her hand in the toilet (laughter) and picked her hand back out and
271 ate it. And put her hand in her mouth.

272 Ss: Ooooooh! Ooooooh! Gross!!

273 Amber: That was gross. I just stood at the door and said "No more of that."

In this sequence, the audience members played a key role in extending Amber's story about her niece. The audience members responded as a group by laughing at Amber's story in line 268, which then prompts Amber to tell the story of her niece's bathroom experience. In line 272, nearly the entire group of students enters the conversation simultaneously with "oohs" and "aaahs." This type of group response, or similar laughs, smiles, or snickers were usually allowed and not opposed by the teacher. If a student interrupted another speaker without bidding for a turn, like Gerry did when he said, "He hurt a kid" in line 167 of the previous transcript, that student was often opposed directly by the teacher. Also, if there was a flurry of unsolicited comments about an emotionally charged comment, the group was occasionally confronted by Trisha. This confronting was done only when the

speaker's rights had been violated or when the entire group was so emotionally charged about a topic that they failed to give the floor back to the author or to an audience member who had been authorized to speak. However, in the five Sharing Chairs, this opposition occurred only eleven times. Some examples of a group opposition by the teacher were "Remember to raise your hands (to multiple unsolicited comments)," "Ok, just a second. You need to be quiet so we can hear the questions," and "Excuse me, but Byron asked Nathan." Examples of a confrontation directed towards an individual student were "Danny.///Its Danny's turn, you need to be quiet" and "Whoa! Gerry. You need to raise your hand if you've got a question."

The small amount of opposing for unbid turns suggests that Trisha allowed the audience members a fair amount of latitude in responding naturally to the content of the conversation. Opposition to unbid turns was done at either the group level, or less often, the individual level.

Though the audience members clearly held the right to choose to question or comment, potentially positioning the author to respond in particular ways, they also had the right to respond to the author's story with their own stories and experiences. At one point, Trisha and I had begun to wonder whether there should be a change in the way the audience responded to author's stories because so many students shared their personal stories rather than asked questions of the author about the content of his or her text. However, after a careful analysis of transcript data, it became clear that it was through commenting, often times by telling a story, that students became *personally involved* in the Sharing Chair. This was a critical finding, as many teachers may assume that this type of response represents a rather immature response, whereas students who are more mature are presumed to ask a preponderance of questions compared to comments. This does not appear to be the case. Having the *opportunity* to comment, sometimes by telling a story, seems a critical involvement strategy that allowed many students to participate and served to

maintain their interest as they became personally involved through a narration of their own story (Tannen, 1989).

In the following example, both Angie and Hannah make connections to Amber's story about her niece's birthday:

205 Amber: (reading journal) "Today is my cousin's birthday. We are going to her
206 house. Wait, my cousin Sandy's birthday. We are going to he house. I
207 don't want her to grow up. She'll be one year old on April 23rd. Any
208 comments or questions?" Nigel?

209 Nigel: (Inaudible)

210 Amber: Hannah?

211 Hannah: Are you going to give her a present?

212 Amber: Yeah, I made her one at camp. Tracey?

213 Tracey: She's going to be one year old?

214 S: That's old (some laughs)

215 Amber: Angie?

216 Angie: I just can't wait for my birthday to come, because you know how grandpa
217 and grandma's spoil their grand kids, well, we're going out, out, to eat, and
218 um, my, my mom had got me this big old 10 speed, on my birthday, and
219 she gave it to me early last night, and I got roller skates for my birthday.

220 Amber: Rollerblades or roller skates?

221 Angie: Roller skates.

222 Amber: I thought you got rollerblades.

223 Angie: I have rollerblades, too.

224 Amber: I am getting them for my birthday today, I mean you're celebrating your
225 birthday today. So is she. Today, today's her birthday. Hannah?

226 Hannah: One time, at Christmas I was peeking and I saw this bag, and it was at my
227 grandma's old house, and I peaked in it, and I saw it had these um, um,
228 "New Kids on the Block" video because I liked it a lot when I was little.
229 And, then I said "Cool" and my grandma said "You didn't get anything at
230 school, did you?" And I said "No way."

231 Amber: Um, um, Mark, you had your hand-up.

Angie and Hannah become personally involved in Amber's story by bringing their own experiences about birthdays to the rest of the group. Since Angie's birthday was the very next day, this topic had a special urgency for her. Hannah relates to the "giving and getting of presents" that occur around birthdays and extends this to another holiday, Christmas. Interestingly, there are an equal number of questions and comments by audience members in this short transcript and across Amber's entire turn (four questions, four comments). Clearly, comments in the form of personal stories allowed the audience members the opportunity to have increased floor time. In fact, the total length of both Angie's hybrid comment/story and Hannah's personal narrative were longer than the author's written text. It appears that the opportunities to tell stories and otherwise comment on an author's story was a primary way in which audience members became involved in the Sharing Chair activity.

Rights, Duties, and Responsibilities of the Teacher

Trisha's verbal participation in Sharing Chair had several similarities to and many differences from her participation in Morning Message. Of the total number of speaking turns across the five Sharing Chairs, Trisha had just 21% of the total speaking turns. Six of the 13 students had more speaking turns than the teacher. Within the speaking turns that Trisha did assume, the function of these turns occurred in two broad areas, conversational management and questioning/commenting on students' stories.

The majority of Trisha's speaking turns (71%) fell under the superordinate category of conversational management. Within this category, there were four sub-categories, including: (1) Managing turn-taking (37%), (2) managing the conversation (20%), (3) managing and building the classroom community (11%), (4) managing individual student's behavior (8%), and (5) face-saving of individual student members (3%).

Managing speaking turns. Trisha had the right to end a student's speaking turn as author, to announce to the group that Sharing Chair was ending, to extend an author's turn

by preserving time for the author, and to elaborate on a student's experience in the Sharing Chair.

Many authors' turns ended naturally with the waning of students questions. In this case, Trisha simply drew out another journal and announced the name of the next author and thanked the author: "Ok, thank you Amber. Mark?" In this way, Trisha lent support to the author and thanked them for their participation. The next author was then chosen to read. Other times, Trisha announced to the author how many questions they could field before relinquishing the chair: "Ok Mark, two more questions." This forecasting served to ensure that no one author would capture too much air time and alerted the author to how many more comments or questions he/she would receive.

Trisha felt strongly about giving each student equal opportunity to read in Sharing Chair. It was not uncommon to extend an author's turn into the lunch hour. In the April 22nd transcript about Danny's upcoming summer trip to Missouri with his uncle, Trisha tells Danny to take one more question, even though the class was already over two minutes late for the lunch bell:

438 Danny: Can I say something?

439 Trisha: (nods yes)

440 Danny: One time we went to, um, my aunts. We drove on the sand, and we drove in
441 there and we slid off and went into the water.

442 Trisha: Okay Danny, why don't you pick one more (two minutes into lunch period).

443 Danny: Jerrod?

444 Jerrod: What did he just say?

445 Trisha: Stunts? What kind of stunts?

446 Danny: They're like races, I did one race (explains stunts, but hard to hear)

447 Trisha: Ok, Danny, thank you. Make sure you take lots and lots of pictures. Does
448 someone have a camcorder?

In this sequence, we see Trisha manage the turn-taking in the group in three ways. First,

she forecasts how many turns Danny can field, helping the group monitor when to expect the end of the lesson. Second, Trisha effectively ends Danny's turn by directly calling his name and saying "thank you." Finally, Trisha elaborates on Danny's turn as author and reinforces the value of this experience by asking him to take lots of pictures and encouraging the filming of their four-wheeler stunts.

Monitoring the speaking turns of student authors resulted in 37% of Trisha's total turns, the highest of any sub-category. From the above examples, it became clear that Trisha's intent was to (a) insure high-quality turns for each author by giving them adequate time; (b) signal to the participants that a turn was ending, encouraging audience members to bid for a speaking turn; (c) insure fairness in choosing the next author by randomly selecting a notebook or having a student choose a number; and (d) model herself as an active listener and provide commentary on an author's turn in Sharing Chair. More than a gatekeeper of turns, Trisha used this prominent feature of Sharing Chair to build an atmosphere where students could genuinely engage in conversations about issues that mattered to them.

Managing the conversation. In addition to managing speaking turns for the student author, Trisha also assumed responsibility for managing conversational elements for the group. Trisha's use of conversational management statements ($n=22$) constituted 20% of her speaking turns. Included in this category were four discourse moves: (a) alerting group members of the rules of participation, (b) alerting the author that there were other hands raised, (c) holding the floor for a speaker, and, (d) issuing permission for an individual to speak.

In several instances, Trisha re-communicated to the group the rules for participation. In one instance, Nathan, the first student author chosen, had closed his notebook while coming to Sharing Chair. As the classroom population increased two-fold since the beginning of March, Trisha asked students to keep their journals open to the page

of the story they were going to read in Sharing Chair to help insure a more efficient use of time. Trisha announced to the entire class to make sure and open their journals before coming over to Sharing Chair. Only Nathan did not comply with this rule. Trisha then chose the eighth journal in the pile, Nathan's journal. Nathan entered the Sharing Chair and began fumbling through the pages, trying to find this day's entry. Trisha then said, "You see Nathan, this is why we leave them open. It takes time to get to the page...But we don't have time because we have such a large group. So leave it open next time, okay?"

Other times, Trisha reminded students to raise their hands or told the group, "I don't think we are ready." These all helped remind students of the basic rules guiding participation: "Raise your hand to speak," "Be quiet when others are talking," and "Respect yourself and your group by following directions."

Trisha occasionally helped the author see that he/she had other questions. In the following example, Amber has read a story about going to the Michigan Historical Museum, where she bought a bracelet for her one-year old niece. In this sequence, the students are discussing the large white pine that grows in a center atrium area:

462 Amber: I know, but they put new things in it now. They have like this black thing.
463 And the person was like right there asked them, "Is this the only tree that they
464 found?" and the person said, "I think so".

465 Nigel: Um, when we go on our field trip, when we go to camp there's going to be
466 this tree called a Kee, Keeb (Amber: Keebler), Keebler, and there's going to
467 be cookies in it. Its the biggest tree in the world. And its a big tree, and like
468 four classes can go in it.

467 Danny: Its fake, its fake.

468 Amber: (passes necklace around)

469 Nigel: (joking, unbid) I'll give you five bucks (for necklace).

470 Trisha: (reminds Amber) You've got many more questions.

In this sequence, it is interesting to note that the author, Amber, did not call on any of the speakers verbally, though Nigel's turn beginning on line 465 was sanctioned by Amber

looking in his direction. Nigel then comments on his own experience with the Keebler tree, which is followed by Danny's unbid turn that the tree is fake. Amber then passes the necklace that she has brought from the museum around to her classmates in the circle. Trisha, apparently sensing that Amber has given some floor time to audience members, reminds her that she has many questions from others. This conversational strategy seems an important way to insure that the author's speaking right to call on bidding members is preserved, as well as underscoring the responsibility of authors to acknowledge the comments and questions of the audience.

A third way in which Trisha managed the conversation was to hold the speaking floor for individual members who were getting preempted by another's unbid talk. In one particularly volatile exchange, Byron asks Nathan, the author of a story about playing Ninja's with their classmate Danny, to explain what he meant by numchucks:

045 Nathan: I wore sweats like these (Nigel tells Nathan to stop kicking him). I
046 wore sweats like these, only they were sky blue. Byron?

047 Byron: What are numchucks?

047 Ss: (flurry of talk) You don't know!?...you don't know what numchucks are?

048 Trisha: Excuse me, but Byron asked Nathan.

049 Nathan: They are things like this (modeling the holding of a stick-like object about
050 16 inches long) and you twirl them around like really fast. (still overflow of
051 murmuring; Nigel whispers to Byron, "You don't know what numchucks
052 are?").

The students were clearly surprised that Byron, a student with extensive background knowledge, had not ever heard of numchucks. This appears to be even more surprising given the popularity of the Ninja Turtles shows and the many martial arts movies that are part of popular culture for students in this classroom. The volatility of response by other audience members was clearly a violation of the need to bid for a speaking turn, especially given that the complete sentences "You don't know what numchucks are" were in no way disguised by whispers or murmurs. Trisha used the strong response, "Excuse me," to

communicate that this was a violation that clearly mattered to the success of the group. The rule was then modeled by Trisha speaking aloud about the fact that Byron asked Nathan, not any other group members. This broadcasting served to realign the social participation of group members by reminding the audience members that a bid turn that is sanctioned by the author holds a special importance in who can talk to whom and when.

The final way in which Trisha managed the conversation was to issue permission for an individual participant to speak. This discourse move functioned very similarly to holding the floor for a speaker. In the following transcript, the only time in the five Sharing Chairs that two students chorally read a poem together, Danny and Byron are sharing the chair with each other. The poem, "My Brother's Bug," has elicited a flurry of talk with its humorous lyrics: "...It only tried to be polite. It did not scratch. It did not bite. The only time it soiled the rug, was when I squashed by brother's bug!" There is some confusion as to who the "author" is, a change in the speaking register for this activity:

156 Danny: Nigel?

157 Nigel: Do you like that one? (this poem)

158 Danny: I like it because

159 {

160 Nigel: why did both of you guys read it?

161 Trisha: Danny's trying to answer your question.

162 {

163 Byron: Because we both have the same
164 poem.

165 Trisha: Danny, I want you to finish. You said you like it...

166 Danny: I liked it because me and Mark made a rap out of it.

167 Nigel: Can you guys do it! Come on.

As in the above transcript, Trisha again recognizes that there has been a violation of the

author's rights. Since Danny was responsible for calling on Nigel, and Nigel directed his question to Danny, it followed that Danny was responsible for fielding the question. Trisha uses her authority to give permission to Danny by broadcasting to Nigel that his interruption did not allow Danny to answer his original question. After Byron takes the floor by responding to Nigel's reformulated question ("Why did both of you guys read it?"), Trisha again enters the conversation and announces that she wants Danny to finish his answer that was abruptly interrupted. She supports Danny by revoicing his previous comment by saying "You said you like it..." This revoicing communicates to Danny and other group members that he has permission and the right to finish his thought. This permission then allows Danny to communicate a very interesting story about the rap song he and Mark made from the lyrics of the poem. Without the teacher having granted permission to Danny by holding and then revoicing his thought, Danny may have been denied an important opportunity to position himself and his friend Mark in a positive social light. Nigel's excitement in line 167 shows that Trisha's responsibility for granting permission to speakers can play a powerful role in building opportunities to hear the voices enter and become part of her classroom community.

Managing and building the sharing chair community. Trisha viewed each student in her class as a member of an inclusive community. As noted earlier, one of Trisha's most common metaphors for describing her class was that of a team. The success of that team was determined by the contributions and active participation of each and every member. This team spirit was especially apparent in Sharing Chair. From previous experience, Trisha knew the difficulties many students had in developing the courage to actively participate as readers of their own writing. As a second grade student the year before this study, it took Nigel until January to feel comfortable reading his own writing. Until that time, Nigel would only write the simplest of sentences, often repeating the same entry: "I love my mom." He always refused the opportunity to read. Thus, building a caring

community in which all students participated comfortably was a primary goal.

Though the vast majority of Trisha's talk was oriented toward the goal of developing a conversational atmosphere, there were a number of discourse moves that more explicitly oriented the class towards participating successfully. One of the most common statements that Trisha made was in arranging the physical and social space around the Sharing Chair. As the class grew to fourteen members, it became difficult to have all the students sit in the designated corner of the room. If there were space problems, Trisha moved the materials cart that separated the Sharing Chair area from the center of the room (See Figure 3). Trisha would not begin Sharing Chair unless all students were sitting in the circle and part of the group:

001 Trisha: Amber, we want you as part of the group, so can we move these desks over.
002 It makes it better when the whole group is together.

003 Ss: The group is bigger !

004 Trisha: Geez! I know! It keeps growing and growing. (March 22nd)

.
.
.

001 Trisha: Who did not read yesterday. Okay, so I have Nigel, Nathan, Jerrod, Gerry,
002 Tracey, and Hannah that didn't read yesterday. Juan, you weren't in here.
003 Okay, let's see, I'll pull one out of here (journal). Byron, you need to join
004 us. You guys, Danny, you need to join us. We have to stop, to spread out
005 a little bit to make some more room. Okay Juan. (April 23rd)

As these examples illustrate, Trisha was constantly aware of the physical and social space surrounding the Sharing Chair activity. Trisha used the physical positioning of the group to index, or signal, to students that they were about to begin Sharing Chair. These indexing statements appeared to play an important role in setting the speech register that the students were about to engage in.

Trisha used other community oriented statements throughout the Sharing Chair and

at the conclusion of the activity. In one instance, Trisha stopped the group and announced "Wait, wait, wait, just a minute. Danny, you need to move back in a circle. Amber, can you scoot down. Janitra can you get in. Find a spot. Go ahead." In another statement during the Sharing Chair, Trisha makes visible a central rule in her classroom: "Just a second Mark (the author), you guys need to show respect." Signalling to the group that they needed to regulate their own social participation was a powerful way in which Trisha held students responsible for their own behavior. In an interview with Trisha, after I had noted that in schools, teachers held most of the control for communication in the classroom, she responded with her own views on this subject:

I think they DO have control. I think they have all of the control. I guess I feel like I give them the opportunity or give them the motivation to want to control themselves. Because, I don't, you know, you can come in and try to be the power of the universe and they are not going to listen to you. If you come in and show them that this is not my choice, and you have the choice, you can sit there and throw a fit and scream at me and swear at me if you want, but...its up to you...its in your lap. (Interview, March 6, 1992)

Ultimately, taking responsibility for your own actions, respecting yourself as a participant in this world, was at the core of Trisha's beliefs about teaching and learning.

Ending a Sharing Chair was another phase in the activity where Trisha made visible the emotional needs of the group. Trisha often thought aloud about those group members who were not able to read because of time constraints:

401 Trisha: Byron and Danny, we have to stop, but I really am glad that you read that to
402 us, it was interesting. Those people who didn't get a chance, don't worry,
403 you'll get a chance during theme time. (April 8th)

.

.

.

588 Trisha: We are going to have to stop because of recess. And I can see that we didn't
589 get to five people today. So I am going to put stars by your name for
590 tomorrow and you can read first thing. (April 22nd)

Trisha's discourse moves in all of the above sequences illustrate the central

importance of aligning the social participation needs of individual members and the academic task of reading their journals. Trisha reassures group members that they will have a chance to read in the next Sharing Chair, providing a speaking space for each student in future rounds of activity. Trisha carefully shapes the classroom community through her unending emphasis on inclusion, participation, responsibility, and teamwork.

Managing individual student's behavior. One way in which Trisha managed the conversation was to manage the behavior of individual students. In the five Sharing Chairs, she made only ten behavior management statements. In seven of the ten moves, Trisha simply said the student's name in a normal tone of voice, used eye gaze to make contact with the student, and then paused: "Gerry." In the other three instances, she directly reminded an individual student that there had been a rules violation by explicitly stating the rule: "Excuse me, Hia, no one gets out of their seat during a lesson. This is a lesson," and "Whoa! Gerry. You need to raise your hand if you have a comment." As will become important later in this study, one student, Gerry, received 50% of the behavior management statements directed at individual students.

Trisha's non-intrusive, objective discourse style helped maintain the speaking and listening rights of others, yet never dampened the importance Trisha placed upon allowing children's voices to be heard in her classroom. In no case did Trisha ever not allow an individual student to participate in the Sharing Chair.

Face saving of individual students. The final sub-category under conversational management was saving face of individual students. This occurred only three times (3%) during the five rounds of Sharing Chair. As already discussed above, this discourse move by the teacher served to protect the individual rights of students. In an earlier transcript, Jerrod was being asked by Nathan why he was sent home from the class camping trip. Trisha gave Jerrod permission to not answer the question, helping him to save face by avoiding a potentially incriminating response. Also in an earlier example, Trisha helped

Danny to regain the speaking floor by directly calling on Danny and saying, "Danny, I want you to finish. You said you liked it..." Trisha helped Danny avoid a potentially face threatening act of being ignored and interrupted by speakers who did not have speaking rights. Though this type of discourse move was used infrequently, suggesting that students seldom had to be reminded of face threatening acts (Brown & Levinson, 1987) , this type of overt move seemed to be an especially important conversational right of the teacher.

Questioning and Commenting on Author's Stories

Though Trisha had a critical responsibility in managing the conversation for students, she also was directly involved in participating as both an audience member and author. Trisha's participation as an author earlier in the year was an important feature of Sharing Chair in her room. After the beginning of March, however, her participation as author decreased due to the influx of new or returning students. Trisha felt it was important that her students had opportunities to read, so she volunteered her own writing less frequently (none in the five Sharing Chairs in this study). Trisha continued to write in her journal each day.

Trisha responded to students' writing in two distinct ways. First, Trisha sat on the floor as an audience member who had to bid for a turn to ask a comment or question of an author's text. This bidding of a speaking turn was a key way that Trisha accomplished what Goffman (1981) calls 'role distancing,' or maintaining the rights and responsibilities of the role as teacher, yet consciously distancing oneself from the authority of that role to transfer control of the meaning making process to students. Though Trisha ultimately had the right to intervene to manage the conversation without bidding for a turn, she never commented on or questioned a student author without first bidding for a speaking turn by raising her hand. In this way, she indexed the role of "author" as one who had special authority and importance.

The second way in which Trisha responded to her students' texts was to respond in writing to the daily journals. Each night, Trisha would take the journals home with her and write below that day's entry for each of her students. In this way, even if a child did not get an opportunity to read their entry in Sharing Chair that day, their writing would always be responded to by someone else. Students, however, had the option to respond in writing to Trisha's comments. Unlike a dialogue journal where there is a constant building of ideas and give-and-take between members, Trisha left the journal writing as a free write: Students could write about any topic of their choosing. Trisha hoped her students would want to read what she wrote, but in no way expected them to conform to her inquiries. In fact, in the entire two-years that I observed Trisha's classroom, I never saw Trisha use anything but a 'free-write' format during journal time (i.e., there were no focus journals, focus topics, story starters, etc.).

Each of these two ways of responding to student journals will be discussed at length.

Asking questions and comments. In the five Sharing Chairs, Trisha asked questions and comments of student authors 23 times (21%). In all but two instances, Trisha asked questions that positioned the author as an expert informant by eliciting more information about their story or the events in the story. Trisha's questions seemed to span from those that were very literal to those that were more inferential. Examples of literal questions were "Who are you going to church with?", "Where are you going to get your shoes?", and "How did you celebrate your dad's birthday?"

Trisha also positioned students to think metacognitively by asking more open ended and inferential questions. In one of Nathan's journal entries, he has invited a classmate, Justin, to stay over night at his house:

027 Byron: Um, what time do you think you guys are going to order it (pizza)?

028 Nathan: I don't know. Ms. Williams?

029 Trisha: Why did you choose Justin?

030 Nathan: Because, I am sure, cause, Justin asked, and, um, I asked him because he
031 never spend the night over at my house before. So I just wanted him to
032 spend the night to see how it feels on a BUNK bed. I have a bunk bed.

033 Tracey?

In this sequence, Trisha's question positions Nathan to examine his reasoning for bringing this particular friend over to spend the night. Nathan hesitates five times in his first sentence, suggesting the challenge to his thinking by her question to explain his thinking.

In another example, Tracey read a story about seeing the movie "Fire in the Sky." Though she characterized the movie as being "gross," Trisha pushed Tracey to explain whether she would recommend the film to the group: "I am trying to get a feel whether you recommend this movie for us or not. And I want to know what you think. Would you recommend it for us to see?"

Trisha's questioning of students was an important feature of Sharing Chair. Through her questions, Trisha positioned students to employ a wider range of thinking behaviors, including literally recalling events, providing explanations, evaluations, retellings, and giving opinions. This was an important way in which Trisha was able to apprentice students into new ways of knowing. Over time, this type of apprenticeship allowed students to try-on these forms of speaking. For many novices to Sharing Chair, the most common form of response was the rather impoverished or default response, "I like your story." By the end of the year, students began to mirror the complexity of the teacher's questions.

Written response to students' journals. In addition to her direct involvement as a writer, reader, and responder of oral texts, Trisha also played the role of audience member and conversational partner through her written response to each child's journal entry at night (See Figure 10 for sample of Tracey's journal). When students picked up their journals the next day, there was always a written response in the form of a question, a

comment, or a personal experience from the teacher. Trisha saw this as a necessary and obligatory way to provide another audience for her students and build in a chance for them to feel like an author who had received genuine feedback. Trisha took her writing very seriously and saw the journal as a gateway to understanding, helping, and teaching her students. To make visible the importance of journal writing for Trisha and her students, a fourth-grade learning disabled girl named Tracey serves as a case for communicating through the journal and in Sharing Chair. In the following journal entries, Trisha's response to a feature of Tracey's journal seems to prompt the next day's topic.

Tracey's Journal: I went to my baby siterest houes. On friday affert school.
(March 8, 1993) On friday nith I wacht T.V. and on T.V. was freta kreaer. it was skar not.

(I went to my baby sisters house on Friday after school. On Friday night, I watched T.V., and on T.V. was Freddy Kruger. It was scary. Not.)

Trisha's Response: Does it bother you that you do not live with your baby sister? How often do you get to see her? I have one sister and we used to fight all of the time. Now, we get along.

Tracey's Journal: Dear mom I wand hou you are doing know. I miss you alot
(March 9, 1993) you are nice alot too.

(Dear mom, I wonder how you are doing now. I miss you a lot. You are nice a lot too.)

Trisha's Response: You should write a real letter to your mom. I bet she'd like to hear from you. Be careful about sharing things with the group that are personal. I'm not sure if your mom would want us to know why she's in jail. If you need to talk about it, I will make time to talk with you alone. (smiley face)

Tracey's Journal: You are nice to say that Mis W. Do you have a morthor
(March 10, 1993) too!!

Trisha's Response: Yes, I have a mom. I don't live with her anymore, but I talk to her on the phone almost everyday. I try to go over to see my mom and dad at least once a week.

In this exchange, Trisha chooses to respond to Tracey's March 8th journal by asking about her half-sister who lives with her stepmother. Trisha responds by asking two

I hope you got home okay
yesterday. I wanted to take you
home, but I had a meeting.

I am off ~~granding~~ to day I am
happy do you know yex I am goi
to tal abot it in my flou
I am mit go live with my mom
I dot want to live with my mom
I worth to see her

When do you have to move
in with your mom? Is it your
real mom? Does she want you
to move in? I have know indera

I do miss her a loti

Dear Shoner and DJ I miss
you a lot. I miss the things you do you
are pret shoner.

DJ I miss you too
I did not want you to go to
Kolorodo but you have to go to
Kolorodo

Figure 10 Sample of Tracey's Sharing Chair Journal

questions and then providing a personal experience about the relationship with her own sister. This range of response provides many opportunities for Tracey to enter into this conversation, and changes the trajectory of the March 9th and 10th journal entries.

An especially interesting phenomenon in Trisha's classroom is determining who the audience is for individual children. In Tracey's case, it is clear that she moves between her classmates and the teacher as the primary audience for her writing. In the March 8th entry, Tracey speaks about seeing Freddy Kruger on the television and then announcing that it was scary--NOT! This topic choice and use of a popular word usage seems to be an attempt to humor the student audience. After Trisha's response about missing her sister, Tracey's March 9th journal entry seems to take on a very different flavor. Trisha's response to Tracey's March 8th journal seemed to shift the primary audience away from the group and towards the privacy of the teacher. By giving Tracey the opportunity to talk about the challenging issues she faced as a member of a dysfunctional family, Trisha created a discourse space to learn more about the children in her classroom.

Tracey's journals for the remainder of the year occasionally documented the excitement and fears that she faced in her life. In addition to missing her mother who was in jail, Tracey was in the awkward position of having a half-sister who lived with her stepmother, now divorced from her father. The following journal entries help to chronicle some of Tracey's experience and make visible the importance of Trisha's written responses to her journal.

Tracey's Journal:
(March 16, 1993)

my dad weant to the furt of the cort he mint go to jal I don't
no. I dont want him to go to jal my stepmother is the one
hes (can't read) that is want he has to go to the frow

(My dad went to the Friend of the Court. He might go to
jail, I don't know. I don't want him to go to jail. My
stepmother is the one who's (?). That is why he has to go to
the Friend (of the Court).)

Trisha's Response:

I hope everything went okay yesterday for your dad. I know
you are extremely worried. I would be too. I don't think

your dad will go to jail. I think he is just trying to get custody of your sisters.

Tracey's Journal: My babysest lives with us now. I am gland then are. I am
(April 3, 1993) happy. then are living with us.

(My baby sisters lives with us now. I am glad they are. I am happy they are living with us.)

Trisha's Response: I bet you are thrilled. I know you wanted your dad to get custody. Does your dad get along with your stepmom?

Tracey's Journal: I am off gronding to day I am happy do you know yex I am
(Early May, 1993) goi to talk abot it in my joul. I am mit go live with my mom. I do't wont to live with my mom I worth to see her.
(See Figure 10)

(I am off grounding today. I am happy. Do you know yet? I am going to talk about it in my journal. I might go live with my mom. I don't want to live with my mom. I want to see her.)

Trisha's Response: When do you have to move in with your mom? Is it your real mom? Does she want you to move in?

Tracey's Response: I have know idea. I do miss her a lot.
Tracey's Journal: Dear Shoner and DJ I miss you alot. I miss the things you
(Next Day in May) do you are pret shoner. DJ I miss you too I did not waont you to go to Kolorodo but you have to go to Kolorodo

(Dear Shoner and DJ, I miss you a lot. I miss the things you do. You are pretty Shoner. DJ, I miss you too. I did not want you to go to Colorado, but you have to go to Colorado.)

Trisha's Response: Tracey, who did you write the letters to? Why don't you and I sit down and talk?

Tracey's Response: because I miss them alot sow they will rememlr me too!

Trisha's Response: I bet they will remember you. They probably miss you too. I hope you started to write that letter to your mom that we talked about.

As these entries indicate, Trisha discovered new worlds about her students' day-to-day lives. Responding to her students' journals opened the door to new topics and prompted both public and private conversations. In Tracey's two early May entries, she answered

Trisha's inquiries about whether she had to move in with her mother and her letter to DJ and Shoner. This dual audience, the entire class in Sharing Chair and Trisha through writing, seemed to broaden the potential topics that might be included in the Sharing Chair.

The Range of Topics and Uses of the Sharing Chair

The topics that students wrote about and then read in Sharing Chair were the intertextual fuel that bounded conversations. It was largely individual author's stories and the resulting comments and questions that set in place and marked the range of intertextual links that could be made. The intertextual potentials, the possibility of personally linking with the author's story, created the conditions for conversational involvement.

In this section, the range of topics are described and the uses of Sharing Chair illustrated. Undertaking this effort is critical for a number of reasons. First, in Sharing Chair, the lived life of children forms the raw material for meaning construction, allowing researchers to examine the educational possibilities that might reside in the activity. Second, in examining the topics that children bring to Sharing Chair, the teacher creates a discourse space that affords the group the opportunity to become intimately connected on a daily basis. Third, the contents of individual's stories provides the teacher many opportunities to examine what might be important in that child's life, allowing the teacher to make links to those experiences throughout the curriculum. Finally, more than any other discourse space in Trisha's classroom, Sharing Chair provides a glimpse into the more natural conversations that children might engage in with each other.

Using the Discourse Space of Sharing Chair

Given the opportunity to share their written journals with their peers on a daily basis throughout an entire school year, how would children use the discourse space of Sharing Chair? The answer might be surprising given the fact that these young students were third and fourth grade special needs students: Broadly. If there were fears that the Sharing Chair would lack an instructional focus or lose interest and become boring for

students, these fears were quickly dispelled when examining the breadth of possibility that resided in this discourse space. If anything, this genre was defined by its wide boundaries, at times moving from a serious and committed discussion to the telling of funny stories and jokes. In short, Sharing Chair reflected the more improvisational character of a conversation than that of a more restricted speech genre. The many uses of Sharing Chair are outlined below.

The nature of students' topics seemed to position the audience to respond differently. At the heart of the topics read in Sharing Chair, there is a focus on the telling of one's lived experience. However, these narratives take many forms. In the five days that are the focus of this study, there appeared to be nine different types or uses of narratives that were brought to the Sharing Chair. These types were, (1) storytelling, (2) show and tell, (3) asking questions, (4) reporting, (5) signalling, (6) sharing, (7) reading, (8) emotions, and, (9) personal/confidential. These topics are outlined in figure 11. Each category of narrative will briefly be described.

Storytelling. Sharing Chair was an important site for children to practice and tryout the telling of stories, both fictional and from personal experience. The importance of telling a story is perhaps best illustrated by Mark. In his April 22 journal, Mark had written, "The wind storm we had blew down 13 telephone poles over by my brothers." Yet, when Mark read his journal in Sharing Chair, he "read" his text in the following way:

134 Mark: "Do you guys remember that big windstorm we had? (uh hum). Well, over
135 by my brothers, it knocked down 13 telephone poles, split one in half. One
136 fell on top of a house, and the rain cut off the tops of trees." Any comments
137 or questions? Amber?

In this sequence, Mark begins by looking at his written text, but apparently feels he can't tell the story in a way that convincingly captures his audience. He then adds details about the pole being split and half, a tree falling on the house, and the rain cutting off the tops of trees. Though it is not clear why Mark did not write these details into his written text, it

Storytelling

Nathan: "Wolverines and other Superheroes"
 Mark: "Jumping into river after a large fish took it in"

Show and Tell

Byron: "I got a new wallet for \$5.00 and I'll pass it around"
 Amber: "I got a necklace from the Michigan Historical Museum"

Asking a Question

Angie: "Do you like having me in your class?"
 Mark: "Do you remember the day after tt big storm?"

Showing Disappointment

Tracey: "I am not going on the fieldtrip. My dad did not sign the permission slip."

Reporting

Gerry: "Today, I made a sandcastle with Byron"
 Nigel: "My mom is getting me some new shoes"

Signalling

Gerry: "We are going to FunTyme waterslide with our class."
 Amber: "We are going to Angel Hill to go snowboarding"

Sharing

Hannah: "I am going to miss you guys this summer"
 Nathan: "Justin is coming over to spend the night"

Personal, Confiding

Byron: "My uncle told me what its like being in jail"
 Hannah: "Mom said that I was kidnapped by my grandma"

Reading

Byron and Danny: Read the poem "My Brother's Bug"

Figure 11 Topics and Uses of Sharing Chair

seems that there may have been a genre clash, or what Halliday & Hasan (1989) call a "frame clash": Mark's written *expository* text that states what happened in a matter of fact way, seems to clash with his intent on turning the information into a *narrative* text. Mark's opening statement, "Do you guys remember that big windstorm we had?", allows him the permission to abandon his written text and accept the positioning of the audience (uh hum) and tell his story about what he experienced during the storm.

Later, in June, Mark is more successful at actually capturing the details of his story in writing and is able to read his story verbatim:

243 Mark: "Yesterday I went fishing and I had to jump in the water after my fishing
244 pole. And I was mad because I lost my pole and a fish pulled it down stream
245 and I followed it until it got stuck on a rock, and I walked out in the water
246 and was over my head. So I could not get it and I got really mad." (June 9)

Unlike story "reporting" talked about below, storytelling is distinguished by its attempt to invoke humor or personal involvement with the audience members. As Mark's example shows, he appears to have been able to internalize and capture in writing what he was only able to do orally several months prior. In examining all of Mark's journals from March to June, he wrote extensive stories only three times, two of the three times being back to back journals on June 8th and June 9th, the last full week of the school year. Though this study did not directly trace how the oral discourse in different literacy events became transformed and used by students, it may be that Mark has successfully incorporated his ability and interest in telling stories into his personal writing.

Show and tell. A second way in which authors used the Sharing Chair was to show and tell about items they had received or created. This use of Sharing Chair occurred four times during this study. Topics that were shown included getting a necklace from the Michigan Historical Museum, new comic books, and some pictures that Jerrod had drawn with Juan and Mark. What marked this activity from other sharing events was the actual presence of the item. In each case, the item was passed around the entire group, allowing

students to examine more closely the object of the message. In the following story, Byron tells about getting a new wallet:

087 Byron: "Yesterday I got a new wallet. It cost \$5.00. It's got an eagle on it and I like
088 it a lot. Comments or questions?" Angie?

089 Angie: Where did you get the wallet at?

090 Byron: I don't know where, my mom got it. She got it for me. Nigel?

091 Nigel: Let me see it.

092 Byron: (pulls wallet out and passes it to Nigel).

As this example illustrates, an important source for students' writing could be personal possessions or creations. Having the opportunity to share with the group new items they had received seemed to have importance for nearly every student. Just as showing and telling can be an important opportunity to practice oral discourse and build confidence in early grades, this educational possibility that resided in Sharing Chair seemed to hold equal importance for the third and fourth grade special needs students in this classroom.

Asking a question. A particularly interesting affordance in Sharing Chair was the opportunity for authors to seek feedback from their peers through the posing of a question or comment. This use of Sharing Chair was the most explicit attempt students made to position the audience as conversational partners. Questions and comments could be directed at a particular individual or the entire group. In the following example, Angie includes as part of her story a question directed at the teacher, Ms. Williams:

166 Angie: "Ms. Williams. What is your cats' names?" I hope you have dog in your
167 house. If you do I will come over and live with you. I will live with you if
168 you have a dog and I hope you have a puppy dog." Any comments or
169 questions? Janitra?

170 Janitra: You don't know what her cats names are?

171 Angie: Huh?

172 Janitra: You don't know what her cats' names are?

173 Angie: Nope, that's why I am asking her a question.

In another example, Tracey invites her classmates to discuss a movie she had seen at the movie theater:

013 Tracey: "I saw a movie in the theater. It is called 'Fire in the Sky.' It was gross. Did
014 you see it? I don't think you'd ever see another scary movie again. Any
015 comments or questions? Amber?

.

.

.

034 Jerrod: Are you talking about the movie when they put him on the table and a whole
035 bunch of stuff was all over his (body) and he kept...

036 Tracey: YEP!!! They put this thing, and they lay him on the table, gross, and they
037 put this blanket on him, and they cut him here and here (pointing to above
038 eyebrows). They put something around his eye and puss was coming out.

039 Ss: Ooooh! That's nasty!

Although the content of the conversation is around a movie that is certainly rated beyond the nine to eleven years of the students in this classroom, Tracey's writing shows a complex sense of her audience. Tracey's text suggests that she is writing for an external audience, a skill that several writing researchers have found to be problematic in LD children's writing (Graham & Harris, 1989; Raphael, Englert, & Kirschner, 1989). Tracey's asking whether anyone had seen the same film was confirmed by Jerrod's accurate recall of a key event in the film. From Tracey's response in line 036, she was excited to have made contact with her audience, reinforcing the fact that her other-centered approach to directly questioning her audience can pay big social dividends. Having the opportunity to create direct intertextual links with one's audience seems a particularly important educational possibility in the Sharing Chair.

Reporting. A fourth use of the Sharing Chair was for authors to report on important events that had happened in their life. Reporting is distinguished from the next use of Sharing Chair, signalling, in that this type of writing reports on events that have already occurred in the past. Reporting was one of the most common uses of Sharing

Chair. Some examples of reporting are: "I bought a Transformer for fifty cents" and "I got a German Shepherd. We named her Sassy."

Drawing on recent experience seemed to be a frequent source of topics for students. Reporting these experiences seemed to be of special importance to students, as they knew their experience would receive interest from peers. This was an especially important affordance for those students who were uncomfortable sharing. One student, Gerry, the lowest achieving student in both reading and writing, read only once in the five Sharing Chairs. His story, one sentence in length, reported on his participation with his classmate Byron:

276 Gerry: "Today I made a sand castle with Byron." Any comments or questions?
277 Marky?

278 Mark: Was it big?

279 Gerry: Yeah.

280 Mark: How big?

281 Gerry: Big. About this big, about as big as this chair. Hannah?

.

.

.

288 Nathan: What does it look like?

289 Gerry: Um, um, I forgot. I think Byron knows. (to Byron) How big? What did
290 the sand castle look like?

291 Byron: Big. REAL big.

292 S: What did it look like?

293 Byron: (comes to front of room and stands next to Gerry) Well, it was about like this
294 (shows about 2 ft. high). It took up a lot of sand.

295 Gerry: Any more comments or questions?

This sequence is of special importance as it is representative of a student who is the most

academically and behaviorally challenged. From fieldnotes, achievement data, and interview data, it was found that Gerry struggled immensely with his reading. His fear of failure often times interfered with his opportunities to learn. As an example, in several instances it was revealed that when Gerry had to partner read with other students, he would occasionally announce to his partner that he needed to "go to the bathroom" and skip his turn to read. Other times, he encouraged another student to read a poem chorally, allowing himself to follow behind and repeat the student's words. The majority of his speaking turns in Sharing Chair were unbid turns that reacted to someone else's talk. When asked if he enjoyed to read, Gerry responded "I hate reading."

Gerry's participation as author helps to make visible the potential power of Sharing Chair in the development of oral language. Examining Gerry's total participation in Sharing Chair, it became apparent that in addition to having the third lowest amount of verbal participation among the thirteen students, Gerry also had the second least elaborated speech and shortest speaking turns, seldom going beyond a single sentence in length (see Table 7 for Gerry's total participation).

In the above example, Gerry is able to field Mark's literal question about the size of the castle by saying "Big, about this big, about as big as this chair." When asked to describe what the castle looks like, however, Gerry feels uncomfortable and says that he forgot. Gerry then states that Byron knows, and then redirects Mark's previous question about how big the sand castle was by asking Byron directly. Seeing that Byron is interested in helping discuss their partnership, Gerry then asks Byron Nathan's question about what the sand castle looked like as well. When looking across all of the questions directed at Gerry about his sand castle (10 questions), Gerry's only elaborated response was in line 281, where Gerry said that his sand castle was as big as a chair.

Gerry's case is important for a number of reasons. First, the very fact that Gerry has developed the confidence to read in front of his mainly older and more able peers is a

Table 7 Verbal Participation in Sharing Chair

Students	Total Turns	Total Topics	%Turns as Author	%Turns as Audience	%Turns Unbid
Amber	150	4	55	45	0
Angie	145	4	61	39	0
Hannah	144	4	53	47	0
Nathan	114	3	75	25	0
Tracey	93	3	51	48	1
Nigel	89	1	19	54	27
Mark	83	2	35	65	0
Danny	78	4	55	45	0
Byron	70	3	47	53	0
Gerry	47	1	30	23	47
Jerrold	33	1	67	30	3
Janitra	19	1	58	32	10
Overall Averages	88.75	31	50.5 %	42.17 %	7.33 %

positive first step in developing literate behaviors. Second, although Gerry seems to be uncomfortable or unable to use extended and elaborated speech, it is the educational possibilities that reside in Sharing Chair that seem best suited to developing Gerry's oral language abilities. Third, the rights and duties that surround the student authors and audience members help to insure that students are protected from extensive interrogation. As this example illustrates, Gerry's simple one sentence story generated many questions and comments. In the full turn, Gerry was asked ten questions from his audience and he made verbal contact with six different classmates and the teacher. Finally, though Gerry's participation as an audience member is often times in reaction to other's speech and is often unbid, the creation of this discourse space seems to create an opportunity for Gerry to enter the classroom community.

Signalling. Authors also wrote about events in their lives that were coming in the future. This form of broadcasting, or foreshadowing, allowed students to receive feedback about an event that was important to them. As an example, a common type of signalling by authors was to talk about an upcoming birthday: "It is six days until my birthday." Other types of signalling often surrounded special events, such as going on a field trip, going sliding, or playing with a friend after school. This type of topic seemed to have the function of drawing other's interest to the topic, paving the way for future conversations. In fact, when signalling involved other class members, these turns tended to bring high verbal involvement and participation. In the following story, Angie signals to her classmates several important upcoming events, her birthday, the party treats she is bringing, and the slumber party with all of the girls in her class:

321 Angie: "My birthday is April 24th 1993 and I will turn 10 years old on Saturday, and
322 tomorrow I will bring squirrel bars to the party and I am going to invite
323 Janitra, Amber, Laurie, Tracey and Hannah for a party at my house." Any
324 comments or questions? Tracey?

As expected, Angie's signalling of the birthday theme evoked many requests. In all, 11 of

the 13 participants received air time during Angie's turn alone. Extended discussions arose over who could and could not come to the slumber party, shared experiences around birthday parties in the past, and "What in the heck are squirrel bars?" Each event that Angie signalled to the group received an uptake by various audience members (see Table 8).

Sharing emotions. A sixth type of topic in Sharing Chair was distinguished by students sharing their feelings or emotions with the group. This type of story differed from reporting and signalling in that it had a clear reflective quality, and could be both a reflection upon events already completed or upon future events. A type of sharing that was done by a number of authors was to reflect upon their camp experience. For example, both Byron and Jerrod included topics that included "I had a good time at camp," inviting students to ask them about their experience. Other students examined the complicated issue of upcoming personal loss. Amber, for example, seemed concerned about her niece: "My cousin's first birthday is coming up and I don't want her to grow-up." Similarly, in the last week of school, Hannah included as part of her topic, "I am going to miss you guys this summer." Sharing Chair seemed to be an important venue for students to share their feelings and seek support in reflecting upon new and known.

Reading. The opportunity to read books, poems, or other stories that were not written by a student author was infrequent in Trisha's classroom. Across the larger Early Literacy Project, however, a number of teachers allowed non-conventional readers and writers to "read" wordless picture books, chorally read with a partner a poem or predictable book, or share their dictated writing with the support of another. In Trisha's room, however, the Sharing Chair was used almost exclusively as an Author's Chair where students read their own writing.

During the observation period from March through June, there was only one instance of students reading something other than their own writing. In this case, Byron and Danny chose to read a poem called "My Brother's Bug." As mentioned earlier, this

Table 8 Examples of Audience Uptake of Events in Angie's Journal

Events Signalled in Angie's Journal	My birthday is April 24th, 1993, and I will turn 10 years old on Saturday...	...tomorrow I will bring squirrel bars to the party...	...I am going to invite Janitra, Amber, Laurie, Tracey and Hannah for a party at my house.
Examples of Uptakes To Angie's Story By Audience Members	I got something to tell you. On my one birthday, I turned let's see, 5, no 6. We had this party, and we had this one party, so my grandma invited all my relatives, and I said, "Can I please invite one of my friends?" and she goes, "Well you got friends all around you." And I said, "Only at my school." And she said (?). And I said, "Okay." So then I was, I was just mad at her all day. And I went to sleep after I ate cake and ice cream.	This is a funny question, but what in the world are squirrel bars?	Are we going to have your address? On my birthday I only get to invite ten people. I can't go because my grandma is going to take us to a parade. My grandma told us shes taking us to a parade. But I'll try to come.

poem documents a bug who seemed to be a wonderful pet, yet in the end gets squished by a brother. In Trisha's room, like other ELP classrooms, students had poem folders that contained copies of poems that were used in the class, both expository and narrative. In almost every case, poems were introduced to support a thematic unit that was being studied. Trisha had just completed a large insect unit, using poems that were informational and narrative. Trisha allowed students the choice of reading their own writing or reading a poem. Audience members then asked questions or comments about the poem.

Personal/confidential. The final type of topic that was brought to Sharing Chair was stories about the drama of real life events that happened to individual students. What distinguished the personal/confidential stories from the sharing emotion stories was the fact that they tended to be deeply personal events with individuals that did not include their classmates. One possible explanation for the telling of these types of personal stories was to draw attention to one's self by telling horrific stories. However, this did not appear to be the case in Trisha's classroom. One student, Laurie, who was not present during the five transcribed Sharing Chairs, seemed to take some pride in telling about the challenges in her family. In Sharing Chair and in an interview with her, Laurie talked extensively about head injury and "brain damage." In one Sharing Chair, Laurie wrote, "My sister hit her head on the ice and damaged her head. My uncle hit my sister for no reason." When asked about her mother in an interview, Laurie responded "She has something a matter with her brain. She got, um, like, bumps on her neck and everything. They say its a brain damage. We don't know." From these and other reactions, it appeared that Laurie faced many challenges at home, including the desire to gain the attention of others. The following segment from an interview with Laurie is illustrative of these challenges and seem to represent the manipulation of one's environment to gain attention:

Troy: Let's talk about writing. How do you like writing?

Laurie: Like it!!!!

Troy: You do like to write? Why do you like to write?

Laurie: Because, one time I was on the STRIKE, my sister hit me in the face right here, and it almost broke my tooth out, this one, it busted it in, and one time I got on strike, the only thing I would do was write in cursive, and they couldn't read it, and I wouldn't print, because I can't do it in any other way than cursive, and everybody could read it, and I didn't talk for 3 months (convincingly). And at school I did not talk either.

Troy: Why not?

Laurie: I don't know, cause I was on strike, because my sister kept hitting me. One time at school, she tripped me on the ice and broke all of this right here.

Troy: You said you were on "strike"? What does that mean, "on strike"?

Laurie: I won't do nothing, I won't say nothing, and I won't eat nothing, or I won't give nothing.

Troy: Do you like being on strike?

Laurie: No.

This rather bizarre example of elective mutism is deeply disturbing in its own right, but seems to speak more directly to the conscious manipulation of the environment to gain attention. The drama created by having a secret language that no one else could read seems to be a powerful way of gaining an identity amongst her aggressive sister and challenged mother. This vignette provides some evidence to support the assertion that part of Laurie's purpose in writing this emotionally charged prose is to "shock" others to bring attention to her plight, something she clearly attempts at home. Yet, it is not clear whether or not these stories may also function as an outlet for Laurie to talk about what it means to live in a dysfunctional family.

Other students seem to be clearly using the Sharing Chair to grapple with issues that deeply affect them. Both Byron and Tracey, for example, shared with the class their conversations about what it meant to have an uncle and a mother in jail, respectively. Hannah, on several occasions, made visible some of the pressing questions that surrounded her home. In one Sharing Chair, Hannah read "When mom was pregnant, she

asked grandma to take care of me. Mom said that I was taken (i.e., kidnapped)." On other occasions, Hannah talked about her "so called father" and the neighbors, "who we hate now." In her interview, Hannah explained why they hated the neighbor, saying that the "neighbor right here, he called the Protective Service on my mom and dad, and um, my dad and him got in a fight, and he kept on saying that my parents turned gay and stuff."

From these and other examples, it appeared that Sharing Chair was also used as a kind of "safe haven" for students to share personal and confidential stories with one another. In this sense, the discourse space also seemed to allow members to construct and reconstruct the activity to serve the therapeutic needs of individual members.

Summary

Sharing Chair was a discourse space that had a wide range of uses and purposes. Common to the Sharing Chair were the rights, duties, roles, and responsibilities of the student author, audience members, and the teacher. These were the relatively stable forms of the whole which distinguished this discourse space from others in the classroom. At the same time, these framing participant structures also allowed students to construct and reconstruct meaning on a moment-to-moment basis and over time. The conversational fuel in Sharing Chair was determined by the nature of the topics brought to the chair, but also, topic selection itself was influenced by the participant structure in this discourse space.

A particularly important examination was the range of topics that students wrote about and brought to Sharing Chair. This examination helped to make visible the functions that Sharing Chair played in the students' life world. The lived life of the students in the class provided access to the richness of each individual's experience, both within and beyond the classroom door. As is evident in the verbal participation of each class member, Sharing Chair was a special forum in which children could engage, influence, persuade, and invite others into their own meaning world. We now turn to a more specific examination of the discourse moves that created and re-created the Sharing Chair.

Educational Affordances in the Sharing Chair Discourse Space

Having examined the participant structure of Sharing Chair, the rights, rules, roles, and responsibilities of different participants, we now examine the moment-to-moment conversation in Sharing Chair more closely. To begin this section, we first examine the overall verbal participation of individual members, the number of topics read by each individual, the percentage of speaking turns by role, and the number of personal narratives told across the five Sharing Chairs. Next, we look more closely at themes and patterns of meaning making, how participants in this discourse space construct and reconstruct the activity, the alignment of the social and academic goals of the activity, how positioning and getting positioned result in different ways of knowing, and becoming personally invested in the creation of conversation. In short, this section examines the educational possibilities that seem to be afforded within this activity in this classroom.

Verbal Involvement Across the Five Rounds of Sharing Chair

Sharing Chair in Trisha's room resulted in a lot of talk. As mentioned in Chapter 3 of this study, a discourse profile of each student and the teacher was conducted to help determine the amount and nature of verbal involvement by individual students. The discourse profile provided access to the total number of speaking turns by individual students as both authors and audience members, the nature of speaking turns in terms of comments, questions, or personal stories, and the total number of times the student participated as the author in Sharing Chair (see Figure 8).

Several interesting patterns show up in this comprehensive look at verbal involvement and seem worthy of discussion. First, there is an enormous amount of verbal participation in the discourse space of Sharing Chair. During the five Sharing Chairs, there were 31 different topics that the 12 authors brought to the Sharing Chair and over one thousand speaking turns. Overall, students averaged 88.75 turns during the five Sharing Chair events. At the same time, there was a wide-range of verbal involvement, from a low

of just 19 speaking turns per student (Janitra) up to 150 speaking turns (Amber) across the five Sharing Chairs. Second, there seems to be a relationship between reading in Sharing Chair and the total number of speaking turns available to students. Three of the four students who read in the Sharing Chair four of the five times elicited the most amount of talk of any other members. Conversely, the three students with the lowest number of speaking turns were three of the four students who only read in Sharing Chair one time. It appears that having the opportunity to read in Sharing Chair is an important way to increase verbal participation. Third, it appears that different roles, being the author or being an audience member, mean different things for different individual students. For example, Nathan, who had the fourth highest number of turns, spoke from the role of *author* in 75% of his turns, responding as an audience member in only one-quarter of his turns. Byron, another student who read the same number of times (3) as Nathan, was a more active *audience* participant than as an author, using 53% of his speaking turns as an audience member. Fourth, although there were individual differences among students participating as authors or audience members, there were remarkable similarities in the total number of turns from each role, with 50.5% of speaking turns coming from authors, and 49.5% of speaking turns coming from audience members. Importantly, the high level of verbal involvement of audience members is reflected in the fact that 75% of the personal narratives told in Sharing Chair came from the audience members. Finally, it appears that both girls and boys were prominent members of the Sharing Chair talk. Four of the top five speakers were girls, with the only other girl having the least amount of verbal participation. The five girls averaged 110 speaking turns, while the six boys averaged 85.6 speaking turns.

Given this backdrop, we now turn to specific patterns and themes that evolved across the five Sharing Chairs.

The Storied and Intertextual Nature of Conversation

Individual student authors' personal narratives were the basis for building the fabric of conversation. One important finding from a careful analysis of the Sharing Chair transcripts was the rich opportunities students had to "try on" and use the language of others in recreating their own personal experiences and building new stories. In this sense, Sharing Chair was a rich place for the cultivation and building of oral discourse, including learning to tell and retell stories, trying on the discourse of others to lead one's own cognition, and participating with others in the construction of knowledge. The following transcript is illustrative of the almost seamless nature of conversation that characterized much of the Sharing Chair discourse. Words and ideas that are taken up by others later in the transcript are bolded for ease of comparison. In this example, Tracey is reading a story about an experience with her brother and his friends that left a bruise on her leg:

444 Tracey: "I got **pinched** in the **leg** by my brother. I am going to **get him back**. I
445 am going to **get him back**. I am going to **get him back** by giving him a
446 **bruise** like he did me."

452 Hannah: And what do you do, do you **wrestle** him?

453 Tracey: No, we were playing 'tag', and HIS (pointing to Nigel) brother **slapped** my
454 sister in the **face**, so I wanted to get his brother **back**, but my brother came
455 and **pinched** me in the **leg**, and I got a **bruise right there** (pointing to
456 just above knee).

459 Gerry: **Where** are you gonna do--it--at?

460 Tracey: I am going to **punch** him.

461 Gerry: **Where** at?

463 Mark: Are you going to do **Kung Fu** on him?

464 Nathan: Ya know what I'd **do** to him, does he ever take naps?

465 Tracey: No.

466 Nathan: Well if he's ever **sleeping**, tip-toe to his **room** and take a **marker** with you
467 and just put polka **dots** all over his darn **face**! And then when he wakes up
468 in the morning he'll go "AAAAHHH!" And make them **red**, too, like he
469 has **chicken pox**.

470 Gerry: Put **blood** on him.

476 Tracey: We ganged up on my brother. And we tried to get Adam, but he, his kicks
477 and **punches** were in the **same spot**, and it **HURTS**, when it hits in the
478 same spot. Byron?

479 Byron: Thursday, she never had the **chicken pox**, and I went into her **room**, put
480 **red marker** on her **face**, and kept giving her a **Charlie Horse** in the
481 **same spot**, and ran out of the **room**.

484 Amber: Um, my cousin, me and my cousin, we **don't get along** at all. So he
485 **pinched** me, cause he gots long fingernails, he **pinched** me and gave me a
486 **big bruise right here**, so I **popped** him in the **mouth**, and he started
487 **running** in the house, and I **felt like** throwing him out the window.

Though at first glance, one might be hard pressed to find much educational value in such a verbal exchange, a careful examination of the intertextual nature of learning to speak provides a quite different interpretation. When looking across Tracey's turn, it becomes apparent that the episode with her brother and her seeking revenge sets into motion an increasingly rich mosaic of possibility. Students borrow, repeat, and then transform preceding speakers vocabulary and experiences. For some, like Amber, Tracey's experience reminds her of a similar experience with her cousin. Amber repeats the words "pinched" and "bruise" from Tracey's original story, repeats the word "running" from Byron's previous story, and then extends the original story by introducing the words "don't get along," "popped," and "mouth" as alternatives to the previous speakers' words "get him back," "punches," and "face" respectively. In short, students appeared to borrow words and meanings both directly and indirectly.

This trying on of other's ideas or vocabulary is at the heart of Vygotsky's (1986) theory of verbal regulation: Higher psychological processes like reading, writing, and speaking are first social processes, before becoming internalized and able to guide independent, self-regulated action. Seen in this way, the dialogues in Sharing Chair may allow others to use another's language to guide their own thinking, yet also transform these original meanings by adding their own meanings to the text. Bakhtin (1981) calls this

process of two voices coming into contact "interanimation," and represents an important conceptual framework for helping to understand the movement from interpsychological to intrapsychological functioning.

Below we can trace the intertextual links across these participants' conversation:

<u>Original Word/Idea:</u>	<u>Pinched</u>	<u>Slapped</u>	<u>Leg</u>	<u>Marker</u>	<u>Getting Back</u>	<u>Room</u>
<u>Transformations</u>	pinched	punch	face	red	sleeping	room
<u>Repetitions</u>	bruised Charlie Horse	Kung Fu kicks punches popped	mouth right here	blood Chicken Pox	in room felt like ran out don't get along	room

When looking across speakers, we see that Tracey's and Nathan's original language provides the key concepts that ground the following stories: the type of injury, the method to inflict the injury, the location of the injury, the result of the revenge, the context of the revenge, and the location of the revengeful act. These six key pieces of Tracey's original story and Nathan's first attempt at planning her revenge, provide the framework or script for other class members to repeat, adapt, and transform. In short, it appears that the external audience of the group supports students' verbal participation, but as importantly, others' participation also frames the type of talk students engage in, including speaking through another's voice and transforming the ideas of others to create new meanings. A key affordance of Sharing Chair is the opportunity for the intertextual weaving of voices. The resulting fabric of meaning is a mosaic that is the creation of the group: voices are allowed to come in contact with one another, moving beyond the work of an individual student, and creating an opportunity to live life at once through another's shoes, while re-presenting your own lived life.

Stories. Jerome Bruner (1991a) has argued convincingly that researchers and teachers have underestimated the role of narrative, of the storied nature of human thought. In its place, researchers have often depended upon logico-mathematical conceptions of

human thinking, using metaphors such as the computer or other central processing agents that monitor and control thinking. The concomitant modes of teaching have seemed to match this theoretical perspective, especially in special education: tasks are broken down into small parts that are then put back together after each preceding part has been mastered, there is a sequence of behavioral and instructional objectives that are believed to have a cumulative effect (e.g., decoding precedes comprehension; letter formation precedes writing stories), and "noise" in the machine (i.e., contextual features such as feelings, emotions, purpose, motivation) should be ignored or avoided.

As Keller-Cohen (1993) notes in her article comparing literacy in colonial and contemporary America, people in modern America rarely sit around and read or tell stories like their counterparts in colonial America did.

This view is changing. New theories (e.g., social constructivism) and the recognition of the inherently social nature of literacy have helped us rethink literacy curricula and the centrality of oral discourse. Moving beyond the limited conceptions of literacy as being able to decode words and learning to spell, towards the larger purposes of literacy as being able to communicate with, influence, and learn from others through reading, writing, speaking, and listening, there is a constant pressure to create new contexts for literacy learning. One such context is having the opportunity to write for real audiences and receive feedback from others.

A central theme that ran throughout the Sharing Chair was the storied nature of talk. As mentioned earlier, there were two primary ways in which audience members responded to an author's story, by asking a *question* of the author or *commenting* on the author's story. Questions of authors were of many types, literal, inferential, interrogative, evaluative, etc. Commentary on an author's story also took many forms, including directives (e.g., I think you should not have swore), opinions, evaluations, clarifications, and many other forms of response. One type of commentary, however, that seemed to

stand out during the Sharing Chair was the telling of personal stories--stories that relate to the author's original text in some way. Below we can see the distribution of comments and questions across the entire group for the five Sharing Chairs:

Table 9 Distribution of Comments, Stories, and Questions in Role of Audience Member

Audience Member's Comment :	214 (45%)
Audience Member's Story:	68 (15%)
Audience Member's Questions:	190 (40%)

Total:	472
--------	-----

As Table 9 indicates, audience members were actively engaged in both questioning and commenting. Audience members moved fluidly between being more "other-centered" by questioning the author, and showing interest by becoming personally involved and commenting on the story. One form of commenting, telling a personal story, seemed to be an especially interesting way in which students linked-up to the authors' stories. Nine of the twelve student members told personal stories, with the range between 0 and 18 and an average of 5.6 personal stories per person.

Personal stories were defined and distinguished from other comments by their uniquely storied nature. Past events were retold by members and often included dramatic elements, including suspense, humor, dialogue, imagery, and detail. In the following segment, Angie reads her journal about wanting to learn the names of Ms. William's cats and hoping that she has dogs as well. A question by Tracey then triggers a series of personal recollections about family pets:

467 Angie: "Ms. Williams. 'What is your cats' names?' I hope you have a dog in your
 468 house. If you do I will come over and live with you. I will live with you if
 469 you have a dog and I hope you have a puppy dog." Any comments or
 470 questions? Janitra?

. (3 questions and 2 comments)

487 Tracey: Why do you want to live with her, because she's pretty?

488 Angie: No, because she has cats and cats are my favorite. Cause I had, I had, I had
 489 a cat ever since I was a little baby. My older brother, John, he had a cat
 490 when we used to live out in St. Joseph's. We were, um, we were moving in
 491 the process and **Tiger** got out of the house, and then he got **hit by a car**, so
 492 my mom said that we are not going to get a cat anymore. But, when I grow
 493 up, I told my mom that I am going to get a cat, two cats, and a puppy dog.

494 Gerry?

495 Gerry: Don't feel bad, I had a um, **puppies**, and my kitties got **ran over**.

495 Angie: Hannah?

496 Hannah: When I, I had, this, okay, I had this dog named **Tuffy** (S. Oh yeah, I
 497 remember that dog) and this cat **named Fluffy**, and one time when, um, we
 498 went to live with my grandma here my dog Tuffy died and about a **month**
 499 after **Fluffy** died. She got **hit by a car**, and when they were little they
 500 were best friends.

501 Angie: Tracey?

502 Tracey: I had **two** cats, one was **Rich** and one was **Molly**, (and they were) eight
 503 years old. **Rich ran away** and **Molly got hit by a car**.

504 Angie: Any more comments or questions? Byron?

505 Byron: I had, like **10** dogs, but now I am down to **three**. Cause, um, one of the,
 506 one of them is a **beagle**, and my dad took it out for hunting, and he starts
 507 hunting for deer, it was to chase deer down, and the **guy** got tired of my
 508 dad's dog, he kept on barking, so the **guy shot** my dad's dog. And our other
 509 ones got **hit by a car**. And, then, another one had problems, um, it died
 510 after it was born.

511 Angie: Mark?

512 Mark: I had a dog, a long time ago when I was **9** years old, he was a **Pit(bull)**, it
 513 had a lot of muscle and stuff and this **dude** tried **running over it**.

514 Angie: Oh, that big ole' dog that was in our house?

515 Mark: Ah, no man, it looks exactly like that dog, but its about that much taller (2
 516 feet) and had a lot more muscle. And, uh, and it got, that **dude** tried to **run**
 517 **over it** and it jumped over the bumper of his car and almost got hit. It
 518 knocked his back legs out from underneath him. And the **guy** got out of his
 519 car.

520 Angie: Can I say something. Um, well, grandma, the one I am with right now, on

521 Clark Street, she and her dog named "Blue" and he got hit, and he had to go
 522 in and get a cast on his foot, and then my dad, my stepdad, seen her, and the
 523 little kids seen her, and we went "Mommy, mommy, can we get this dog?"

As this sequence illustrates, a common discourse feature of Sharing Chair was to break into personal stories. In this single author's eight minute turn, seven personal stories are communicated by six speakers. With the exception of the two speakers who did not tell personal stories during the five Sharing Chair episodes, speakers' personal stories allowed students the greatest uninterrupted air time and an opportunity to become personally involved in making intertextual links with other's stories.

But what are the benefits of telling personal narratives in school? Perhaps the most important reason for telling stories is the fact that this form of discourse is seldom found in most classrooms (Cazden, 1988) and represents a quite different way of knowing (Eisner, 1985). Burbules (1993), in discussing his four modes of discourse (i.e., discourse as instruction, debate, inquiry, and conversation), notes that teaching in these different genres of talk:

...manifest different views of how knowledge is attained; of the nature and justification of authority; of the appropriate style and use of questions; of the learning processes that characterize the subject matter under consideration; under the possibility or likelihood of attaining consensus or an answer to the problem at hand; of the moral responsibilities that one has toward one's partner; of the status and limitations of one's own knowledge about a subject, and the knowledge of one's partner; of the context and circumstances in which the dialogue is taking place; and, of course, other issues as well. (pp. 129)

However, in '*dialogue as conversation*,' the most common discourse type found in Sharing Chair, the goal of these interactions was not on getting 'right answers,' "...but a heightened sense of sensitivity and understanding of other persons, and through understanding them, newly understanding ourselves" (Burbules, 1993, pp. 116). Importantly, Burbules reminds us that dialogues as conversation can be an essential ingredient in moving our own thinking forward: "I am drawn to *this* sort of dialogue with *this* person because in *this* process I see an opportunity to supplement and refigure my own

understandings (and presumably my partner is motivated similarly)" (pp. 115). In short, we can learn through dialogues that resemble the give-and-take of conversations precisely because our partner' (s) external perspective is different from our own, allowing us to make visible our own understandings and misunderstandings.

In the above transcript, we can illustrate this figure/ground relationship through the sequential telling of the stories. The importance of the previous speaker's figure unto the resulting student's ground (i.e., their story) can help to be explained by examining, again, the highly intertextual nature of these stories. Previous speakers seem to leave a lasting image that echoes through future stories, while at the same time, new speakers breathe new life and freshness into preceding speakers' story frames. Figure 12 represents the relationship of previous speaker's stories to those that follow.

As Figure 12 illustrates, students appeared to exhibit a subtle expansion of ideas after each story was told. Specifically, students seemed to use the framing categories of their predecessors (e.g., names of pets, method of losing pet, number of pets, relationship of pets, antagonist/protagonist, and type/characteristics of pet) to help elicit and then organize their own thinking and then repeat previous speakers' ideas or introduce new ideas. Repetitions were characterized by repeating verbatim a prior speaker's wording. For example, in Figure 12, *all six speakers* who told personal stories after Angie's first personal story repeated one of the two terms in which Angie described how she lost her pets: 'hit by car' or 'run over.' Interestingly, it was the category 'loss of pet' that was distinguished as the only category which every storyteller included in their personal narratives. The loss of a pet was the intertextual link that connected every story.

Especially interesting to this analysis is to compare earlier to later personal stories. Tracing the complexity of stories through Angie's first story (#1), to Hannah (#3), Byron (#5), and then Mark (#6) can serve to highlight the transformation of story complexity. In story #3, Hannah introduces the relationship of her dog's death and the characteristics of

Author: Angie

"Ms. Williams. 'What is your cats' names?' I hope you have a dog in your house. If you do I will come over and live with you. I will live with you if you have a dog and I hope you have a puppy dog." Any comments or questions? Janira?

	Names	Loss	Number of Pets	Relationship	Antagonist/ Protagonist	Type and Characteristics of Pet
Personal Narrative #1: Angie	Tiger	hit by car	two		brother John	
Personal Narrative #2: Gerry		run over	pupple and kitties			
Personal Narrative #3: Hannah	Tuffy and Muffy	hit by car		month apart		best friends
Personal Narrative #4: Tracey	Rich and Molly	hit ran away	two	8 years old		
Personal Narrative #5: Byron		hit run over	10 dogs		guy	Beagle hunting
Personal Narrative #6: Mark		shot died at birth run over		9 years old	dude	Pit Bull got out of car knocked legs out from underneath it muscle jump over bumper
Personal Narrative #7: Angie	Blue	hit casted			stepdad	children went "mommy, mommy"

Key: Original Source of Idea, Category, or Word Repetition of Original Source Transformation of Previous Source

Figure 12 The Intertextual Building of Story in Sharing Chair

her pets as being "best friends." The way in which her pets were lost, however, was a direct repetition of Angie's first story. The names of the pets were obviously changed, but were also a reflection of Angie's using her cat's name "Tiger."

Byron's #5 story, like Hannah's #3, repeats directly the method of loss from previous speakers, 'hit' and 'run over'. Byron, however, also introduces two new methods of loss, having a pet shot and losing a puppy at birth. Also, Byron is the first speaker to introduce the breed of pet and the type of work the dog engages in (i.e., Beagle, hunting), perhaps borrowing from Hannah's characterization of her pets as being best friends. Byron also introduces the first antagonist, a disgruntled deer hunter who is angry at a barking beagle that is scaring the animals away.

Mark's #6 story then appears to borrow from Byron and even further expands the protagonist/antagonist and type/characteristic categories. Mark virtually repeats Byron's introduction of a "guy" by using the term "dude." Mark then expands this person's role in the story, adding rich detail about how the man got out of the car and knocked the legs out from underneath the dog. Mark also matches Byron's story by noting that he had a Pit Bull, but provided even more detail by describing its muscular frame and how it had to jump over a bumper to avoid getting hit. Finally, Mark is the first author to tell a story in which the pet did not get killed, a transformation of the genre, and one that Angie continues in the next story.

Thus, Sharing Chair afforded students the opportunity to experiment with storytelling at their own level, while the social interactions that resided in the activity nudged students to try on increasingly complex ways of organizing language. In the above transcript, one can see a wide range in both the complexity and the courage to engage in expanded discourse. For Gerry, the student who "hates to read" and is able to recognize that he is hard for other students to like, his story "Don't feel bad, I had a um, puppies, and my kitties got ran over," is his longest recorded stretch of talk and his only personal story

in the five Sharing Chairs. One can see from his talk that he struggles to organize his thinking, hesitating and then saying his kitties got ran over instead of his puppies. Yet, it seems that Sharing Chair is perhaps an ideal milieu for receiving help, practicing, and then trying on increasingly complex ways of organizing one's thought. Its conversational nature provides an ideal space for developing facility in oral discourse as speakers utilize the voices of others to frame their stories and then expand and transform the frame by introducing new categories and new ideas. The very features of discourse that render it more sensitive to the needs of one's audience (e.g., organization, sequence, detail, imagery, dialogue, humor) are occasions in the storytelling opportunities of Sharing Chair. If Halliday and Hasan (1989) are correct in arguing that textual cohesion in writing is related to oral discourse, then it appears that Sharing Chair provides educational possibilities for enriching both orality, writing, reading, and critically listening.

Role Matters: Differential Discursive Positioning

In discussing the alignment of the socio-cognitive participation of individual students through the discourse move of revoicing, a move in which the teacher broadcasts to other members of the class a slightly adapted version of an original author's idea, O'Connor and Michaels (1993) make visible a key concept in analyzing classroom discourse: How students get positioned by and can position others through their talk. In the revoicing move, the teacher can accomplish a number of both social and cognitive goals. First, the teacher's revoicing of a student's idea serves to hold the idea on the speaking floor for further examination and gives authorial rights to the speaker. Second, the revoicing move can serve to position the student to elaborate on their idea. For example, the revoicing move "I think what Danny was saying is that this idea doesn't belong here. Is that what you meant to say Danny?" positions Danny to either confirm or disconfirm his ideas, ensuring that the idea is an accurate representation of the student's intention. Third, a teacher's revoicing can help students observe conflicting points of

view, aligning attention towards competing theories, answers, or ideas. To continue the example above, the teacher might then revoice another student to hold the ideas against one another: "Danny said it doesn't belong here, but Angie thinks that this idea does belong here because it wouldn't sound right if it didn't. What do you think?" Fourth, the revoicing of a student's ideas can serve a number of social functions, including holding the speaking floor for students who may not often participate verbally. Common to each of these discourse functions is how discourse moves serve to position, and thereby align, students to undertake different social and cognitive work.

In Sharing Chair, the notion of discursive positioning is particularly interesting because of the participation structures that give certain rights, duties, and responsibilities to the author, audience members, and the teacher. These participant structures define the roles of the participants--and may afford different opportunities to position and get positioned by others. These affordances are especially important in terms of understanding how the different roles in Sharing Chair might result in different opportunities to learn.

Verbal participation in different roles. Before examining the nature of discursive positioning across the different roles students undertook in Sharing Chair, it is important to point out that while a number of students participated fairly equally in the roles of both author and audience member, several individual students tended to have quite different profiles. Most importantly, it appears that *both* roles have varying importance for different students. For example, in looking at Table 7, one can see that when controlling for the same number of topics read, students differ in their level of involvement as authors and audience members. For the four students who read only once in Sharing Chair, the two students with the lowest level of verbal participation, Janitra and Jerrod, experienced 67 and 58% of their total turns during this one reading. For these two students, being in the role of author seemed to be critically important in terms of their overall verbal participation. To put this into perspective, Janitra and Jerrod took only 19 turns as audience participants

across 30 different readers in the five Sharing Chairs. One can only speculate as to why these students were less active participants.

For the two other students who read only once, we see a quite different pattern. For Nigel and Gerry, they spoke extensively as audience members, using 81% and 70% of their turns as audience members, respectively. It is important to note, however, that Nigel and Gerry had 27% and 47% of their turns as unbid speakers.

Nonetheless, there appear to be several important insights to be considered. First, it seems that the roles of author and audience member afford different students opportunities to respond verbally in this activity. Without having to read in Sharing Chair, several students may have had quite low participation rates. Other students seem to be more active and/or comfortable participating as audience members. Second, the three lowest verbal participation rates occurred for three of four students who read only one time, while the top three speakers included three of the four students who read the most often (four times). This seems to suggest that one way to increase verbal participation is to insure that students have opportunities to share their written work. Finally, it seems important for teachers to informally monitor students' verbal participation as both author and audience members. As we find out in the following sections, there appear to be different opportunities to learn depending upon the role of the student speaker.

Author's role: positioning and positioned. As discussed earlier, Sharing Chair occasions different roles for students that are defined by certain rights, duties, and responsibilities. When a student moves from an audience member to the role of author, the student enters into a different type of relationship with his/her peers. The author is expected to ask one's peers if they would like to respond to their story by asking comments or questions and to manage these responses by offering a response or calling on the next speaker. This participation structure, in turn, affords individual students different opportunities to engage in talk. It is the nature of the engagements and the types of talk that

the participant structure surrounding Sharing Chair affords that is of interest in this section. I use the term "afford" advisedly, as it is not the participant structure alone that determines that nature of talk. Rather, the content of the conversation, the individual's verbal facility, socio-cultural influences, gender, and a myriad of other factors can affect how the participant structure shapes individual's participation within this structure. Therefore, it is possible only to talk about potentials, possibilities, and privileging. The conversational nature of talk in Sharing Chair cannot be reduced to cause-effect relationships.

Student authors in Sharing Chair verbally participated in a number of ways. As Table 10 shows, student authors' verbal participation occurred across six broad categories. Student authors read their stories, asked for comments or questions, responded to questions or comments, asked questions of audience members, initiated new ideas, and told additional personal narratives beyond their original topic.

Table 10 Authors' Verbal Participation Across Five Sharing Chairs

<u>Type of Participation</u>	<u>Total Number of Turns</u>	<u>Percent of Total Turns</u>
Topics Read	31	6%
Call for Comments or Questions	176	32%
Author's Response to Question or Comments	307	54%
Author's Questioning of Audience	11	2%
Author's Initiation of New Ideas	9	2%
Author's Story	23	4%

Total Participation	557	100%

As Table 10 shows, the vast majority of speaking for authors was responding to the

queries of audience participants. This becomes especially apparent when we recall that calling on an audience member, though coded as one speaking turn, is usually a one word invitation: "Amber?". Therefore, the 32% of speaking turns given to this category, though of central importance, constitute a small amount of the total talk. More importantly, it is through the questions, comments, and personal narratives of audience members that authors get discursively positioned. It is the nature of this positioning and the types of verbal responses that the author undertakes that is particularly important to this investigation. To understand some of the ways in which an author gets positioned (and positions others), we will examine an entire author's turn in Sharing Chair.

Angie's April 22nd turn as author will serve as a representative case. This particular round of activity was chosen for several reasons. First, it is representative of the range of questions and comments that occur in Sharing Chair. Second, in Angie's turn as author, all twelve audience members participated in the conversation, helping to insure that there is a wide representation of possible comments and questions. Finally, this transcript also represents a wide-range of positionings that audience members engage in, allowing us to use this transcript for the analysis of our next section on the role of audience members. In order to closely analyze the nature of discursive positioning, this round of activity is broken down into three somewhat arbitrary sections. To help the reader focus on particular aspects of the transcript, each section is given a label that seems to represent the major positions of the author. These sections, in order, are: (1) author as positioned, (2) author as positioner, and (3) author as listener. After each section of transcript, a brief analysis will be undertaken to explain the possible range of positionings. We begin with Angie's story.

Author as Positioned

In this first section of transcript, specific attention is paid to how the audience members position the author to respond in particular ways through their questions and

comments.

224 Angie: "My birthday is April 24th 1993 and I will turn 10 years old on Saturday,
225 and tomorrow I will bring squirrel bars to the party and I am going to invite
226 Janitra, Amber, Laurie, Tracey and Hannah for a party at my house." Any
227 comments or questions? Uh, Tracey?

228 Tracey: Um, are we going to have your address?

229 Angie: Huh?

230 Tracey: Are we going to have your address?

231 Angie: No, my mom, my mom told me, um, if, that you guys, to give me your
232 guys phone number or address and we'll go over and pick you guys up.

233 Tracey: Oh good.

234 Angie: (cont.)////and stuff like that, cause at our house, its a big house, and um,
235 like, we, um, there's there's 3 bedrooms downstairs and 3 bedrooms
236 upstairs. Because its a big house. My uncle Johnny, my uncle Johnny
237 before he moved out, he made 3 bedrooms downstairs. You know how the
238 basements are big, how some of the basements are big. He took, it used to
239 be a living room, a dining room, and stuff like that. And he built it into 3
240 rooms. Danny?

241 Danny: This is a funny question, but what in the world are squirrel bars?

242 Angie: (laughs) Well, I don't know, all I know, I don't really know, I think
243 they're called, I think they look like, well you know how, um, regular
244 candy bars look like, you know how they look like, like some of the candy
245 bars look like Rice Krispies//but um, but you make your own bars. Like
246 you, um, put chocolate, chocolate in 'em, chocolate, chocolate chips in 'em.

247 Ss: Oooh, bad.

248 Angie: Stuff like that. Amber?

249 Amber: Um, I am not going to be able to come because we're going up north, and I
250 have to do some chores up there, up there because my aunt lives there and
251 my uncle but, he can't move around very much so I have to help him do
252 things. First I have to (feed horse?). Plus, I have to spend time with (?).

253 Angie: Janitra?

254 Janitra: Why aren't you going to invite her (points to teacher)?

255 Angie: (smiles) Maybe she, my mom thought about just having kids over, because,
256 well, this is my first year, this is my second year of having a slumber party.
257 And my mom thought of it and my grandmas' thought of it, so I decided to
258 write it in my journal yesterday. Nigel?

259 Nigel: On my birthday I only get to invite 10 people.

260 S: Ten?

261 Angie: That's a LOT. Hannah?

In this section of talk, Angie gets positioned by three questions and two comments by her audience. However, different questions and comments seem to elicit different types of responses in Angie. Angie is asked three questions, "Are we going to have your address?", "What in the world are squirrel bars?", and "Why aren't you going to invite her?". In the first two questions, Angie is positioned to undertake particular forms of cognitive work, including *explaining*, *clarifying*, and *describing*. In order to respond to her birthday party guest's question about where she lives, Angie is positioned to explain to her prospective guest why they did not need the address. Angie's explanation then goes beyond Tracey's original question to include a description of her house and how her uncle added an addition to the home, allowing many friends comfortably to have a party.

Similar to Tracey's question, Danny also seeks some explanation as to what "squirrel bars" are made from. Danny's question positions Angie to describe the bars and clarify the confusion of the term "squirrel." Since these treats will be passed out to the members of the class, there is an urgency for Angie to respond. Having to describe and clarify was not an easy task for Angie. In her brief response in lines 242 to 246, Angie hesitates seventeen times, indicating that getting positioned in such a way can challenge students' thinking. This hesitating occurred frequently for both authors and audience participants, and represents the importance of engaging in these different ways of speaking. Unlike Gerry, who often responded to audience queries with short, unelaborated answers, Angie demonstrates a real "stick-to-it-ness" in her responses. She is actively trying to construct coherent explanations and descriptions to communicate to others.

Janitra's questions function quite differently than the first two. Janitra begins her question with the word "why," signalling to Angie that she may be positioned to *justify* her

writing. Janitra positions Angie to justify why she invited each female member of the class except the teacher. This question seems to have the effect of strongly positioning Angie to respond. Like in her explanation about squirrel bars (Snickers Bars), Angie again seems to be challenged to justify her exclusion of the teacher, trying to find the correct words to respond (e.g., Maybe...because, well, this is..).

Unlike these questions, some comments do not directly position an author to respond, though this choice seems to be open to the author. In the above section, Amber gives a detailed explanation of why she could not come to Angie's party. She ends her explanation by saying "Plus, I have to spend time with my (aunt?)." The nature of this explanation leaves the decision to respond with Angie alone. In this case, Angie does not respond and calls directly on the next speaker, Janitra. Several lines later, Nigel briefly comments that he gets to invite just 10 people to his birthday party. Unlike Amber's explanation, this comment leaves open the possibility that someone may want to compare their own birthday party experience to Nigel's, since nearly everyone has had birthday party experiences. One student repeats part of Nigel's comment by saying "Ten," and then Angie responds by saying "That's a LOT," serving to respond to Nigel's low valence comment. So in this section, questions by audience members seemed to position the author more "strongly" than comments.

Author as Positioner

In this section of transcript, the author, Angie, takes an active role in positioning audience members by asking questions and responding to audience members.

259 Hannah: If you can't give out your phone number to anybody can we just give you
260 our address. Do you need our phone number?

261 Angie: I don't know yours.

262 Hannah: (?)

263 Angie: But my mom thinks it looks like an apartment?

264 Hannah: It is.

265 Angie: But we don't know which one it is.

266 Hannah: Bottom.

267 Angie: HOW would I know!!

268 Hannah: Just go into the front door, and go in the front door and knock on the door
269 to your left. Not the one straight in front of you. Left.

270 Angie: Okay.

271 Hannah: Then, I got something to tell. One time

272 {

273 Angie: Can't you play, can't you be
274 outside?

275 Hannah: Is it like a sleep over party?

276 Angie: No, um, we just go over there, like, we'll just go over there, its almost like
277 a slumber party.

278 Hannah: (shaking head vigorously "no", its not a slumber party)

279 Angie: Cuz, its almost like a slumber party, cus we're going to go to eight o'clock
280 and then my mom's going to go, and then we'll have...

281 Hannah: Is it this Saturday?

282 Angie: Yeah.

283 Hannah: I can't go because my grandma is going to take us to a parade. My grandma
284 told us she's taking us to a parade. But I'll try to come.

285 Angie: (drops notebook on lap--exasperated) Cuz, its at//what time is your
286 grandma coming to get you?

287 Hannah: I don't know.

288 Angie: Can you call her tonight to find out?

289 Hannah: Uh, yeah.

290 Angie: Find out.

291 Hannah: I got something to tell you. On my one birthday, I turned, let's see, five, no
292 six. We had this party, and we had this one party, so my grandma invited
293 all my relatives, and I said "Can I please invite one of my friends?" and she

294 goes "Well you got friends all around you." And I said "Only at my
 295 school." And she said (?). And I said "Okay." So then I was, I was just
 296 mad at her all day. And I went to sleep after I ate cake and ice cream.

This section of talk is interesting in its uniquely conversational nature. Only two speakers speak and there is no bidding for turns. Unlike the previous transcript where Angie was positioned almost exclusively by her peers, Angie takes a much more active role as the author in positioning her conversational partner, Hannah. Angie's talk serves to reposition Hannah through both her comments and her questions. In the beginning of the transcript, Angie positions Hannah to provide more information about where her house is located by saying "My mom thinks it is an apartment" and "But we don't know which one it is." Hannah then is positioned to clarify her directions, explaining more precisely the direction to her home. Not satisfied, Angie then interrupts Hannah's attempt to begin a personal story about birthdays in line 271 ("Then, I got something to *tell*...") and interrupts by saying "Can't you play, can't you play outside?" Later, Angie again attempts to position her closest friend to provide more information by saying, "What time is your grandma coming to get you?" and "Can you call her tonight to find out?" In this section, Angie uses the role of author to position her peers discursively to gather more information about her topic. In *Sharing Chair*, the author can reposition audience members, a critical feature of the ebb and flow of more natural conversation (Florio-Ruane, 1991).

This section, however, also reinforces the role of audience members in positioning the author. Hannah asks three questions, gives one comment, and then tells an extensive personal narrative about her own birthday party experience. Though Hannah's first question about asking Angie if she needed her phone number is a fairly literal question, Hannah's question about whether it is a "sleep over party" positions Angie to describe the difference between a "normal" birthday party and a real slumber party. As soon as Angie states that "its almost like a slumber party," Hannah powerfully positions Angie non-verbally by shaking her head vigorously from side to side. This non-verbal positioning

pushes Angie to continue her explanation in line 279, saying "Cuz, its almost like a slumber party, cuz we're going to go to 8 o'clock and the my mom's going to go, and then we'll have...." Hannah then continues her positioning by asking Angie if the party is on Saturday, the day of her birthday. Hannah seems to know the answer, and tells Angie that her grandmother is taking her to a parade. This leaves Angie strongly positioned, as the repetition of having two friends in a row describe publicly why they can't attend her party seems to take the wind out of her sails (drops notebook and sighs loudly). Not to be denied, Angie seems to attempt a comeback by asking Hannah when her grandma is planning on picking her up and to call her tonight to find out.

Author as Listener

In this final section of transcript, Angie is engaged as a conversational partner of audience members, especially through her impressive ability to listen actively and support the stories of audience members.

297 Angie: Amber?

298 Amber: On my birthday I can invite more than 10. I can get, my mom said, I asked
299 my mom, "Can I invite 20 people" and she said "I don't know, ask your
300 dad" and I said "Dad, can I invite 20 people" and he said "Yeah" and I said
301 "Fine, cool dude." And we have to put up our tent.

302 Angie: Mark?

303 Mark: Uh, for my birthday my brother does all of this stuff with streamers,
304 streamers, you know, and its got stars that goes like this and like this and
305 like this (demonstrating)

306 {

307 Angie: Yep

308 {

309 Mark: and he made me something like that and just kept on going with
310 the diagonal and stuff.

311 Angie: I know, my brother...

312 Mark: We took some balloons and stuck 'em in there, and it was like covering the

- 313 whole ceiling and, he put balloons and stuck'em in there. He did it all on
 314 { his own.
- 315 Angie: You know..
- 316 Angie: He asked me to come over to his house. You know my older brother when,
 317 he always used to make all those stars
- 318 {
- 319 Mark: And he said, and he said "pull this
 320 string down because he couldn't see the balloons, and all the balloons fell
 321 on my head.
- 322 Angie: (laughs)
- 323 Mark: That was funny.
- 324 Hannah: It didn't hurt did it?
- 325 Mark: No.
- 326 Angie: Um, Danny?
- 327 Danny: The year after, last year like, my sister, every year we have, like a barbecue
 328 because her birthday is in June. One year there were like 40 people I think
 329 there were, relatives and friends.
- 330 Angie: That's a lot of people.
- 331 Danny: Now she doesn't have it anymore. On my birthday.
- 332 Angie: Amber?
- 333 Amber: On my birthday, we're going to hang balloons onto the garage wall, and
 334 we're going to have these little darts and throw them at 'em. And anytime
 335 when anybody gets 4 or 3 or 2 they get a prize.
- 336 Angie: Janitra, did you have your hand up before? Nigel?
- 337 Nigel: On my birthday, when I invited people after we go out to eat, we have a
 338 water fight with balloons.
- 339 Angie: That's a lot of fun.
- 340 Gerry: Can I come.

This section, like the two previous sections, show how the author is discursively positioned. In this segment, students make intertextual links to their own lives from

Hannah's personal narrative at the end of the previous section as they tell five personal narratives, but do not ask any questions. Hannah's story about her sixth birthday party in line 291 seems to shift the talk to allow other classmates to bid for the floor to tell their own personal stories. Importantly, however, it is ultimately the author's original story that provides the original frame and substance for these personal narratives to occur. It is in this sense that the author positions the audience members. Though the author cannot control the range of talk that occurs, they are rewarded for helping to prompt other's stories by the selection of their topic.

The above segment is also important for another, often invisible reason. This has to do with the characteristics needed to become an effective conversationalist. While much of the discussion has focused on speaking, it would be a disservice to not talk about the effect Sharing Chair can have on students' abilities to *listen*. In this brief transcript, Angie demonstrates a number of behaviors that show she is becoming an active and attentive conversational partner. In line 307, Angie supports Mark's story about his brother using streamers to make his party more festive by interjecting an enthusiastic "yep" in the middle of Mark's story. A couple of lines later, Angie again tries twice to connect with Mark's story by beginning to tell the story of her own brother: "I know, my brother..." and "You know..." Both times, Mark continues to add to his story, and Angie respects his story by abruptly stopping her interjection and returning the floor to Mark.

When Mark completes his story, Angie again demonstrates her attentiveness by laughing about the balloons falling on Mark's head. Angie then calls on Danny, who tells the story of his sister's party in which 40 people were in attendance. Though Danny's story is fairly uneventful, Angie supports Danny's turn by noting that 40 people is a lot of people. Then, after Amber's second birthday story, Angie exercises her right to call on the next speaker by asking Janitra, the lowest participating member of the class, whether she had her hand up. When she shakes her head "no," Angie then calls on Nigel. Again,

Angie lends support to Nigel's story by agreeing that having a water balloon fight is a fun thing to do at birthday parties.

This section of transcript illustrates another potential affordance of Sharing Chair, in the manner that children are positioned as active listeners. Angie's facility as a listener who actively supports another speaker, through affirmations, humor, comments, and attempts to insure that all participants get an equal chance to speak, is quite an impressive array of skills for a fourth grade learning disabled student. Becoming an effective communicator involves numerous skills, yet one of the most overlooked is the ability to become an effective listener and a conversationalist who can encourage others to want to speak. As Bakhtin (1986) suggests, it is the addressee who has an enormous influence on the nature of what is spoken. Though there is much talk about talk in schools, Angie's example of effective listening shows that speech always contains a *social* function. When we move beyond talk for talk's sake, and become interested in engaging students in school-based discourses, it is imperative that teachers build in opportunities for students to become effective listeners. There's small need to talk if one's ideas are not listened to and influenced by other participants.

The nature of the participant structure that frames the Sharing Chair seems especially well suited to giving individuals multiple opportunities to speak in a wide range of ways (e.g., questioning, commenting, telling personal narratives). Yet, this participant structure also requires that students respond to each other in such a way that non-speaking members are positioned to be actively involved if they are to enter the ongoing conversation to reach some level of intersubjective understanding. When examining the careful intertextual links students made from Angie's original text, there is solid evidence showing that listeners are active participants in constructing this discourse space.

Summary

In closing this Chapter, it seems that Sharing Chair is one literacy event that is representative of what Burbules (1993) and others have called "dialogues as conversation." This type of discourse space seems to have a multitude of benefits that are often absent in much of classroom discourse, a place where students in conversation "proceed interactively, cooperatively, not toward a specific common goal, but in a process of mutual engagement directed toward shared understandings" (Burbules, 1993, pp. 115). Though it would be easy to dismiss the importance of telling and listening to stories, the above analysis helps to make visible the rich potential of having a milieu in which students are able to make visible their own beliefs in contrast to other's lived experience, receive feedback in the form of comments or questions, and engage in extended verbal discourse that allows students to subtly expand and try on increasingly more complex forms of talk. In short, this is a very special discourse space that is defined by its boundaries of possibility.

CHAPTER 5

THE DISCOURSE SPACE OF MORNING MESSAGE

This section describes the discourse space called Morning Message. Included in this section is a description of the indexing functions and phases of activity that mark Morning Message as a discourse space and help define its forms and function; the participation structure in the activity, including the various rights, duties and responsibilities of the student author, the audience members, and the teacher; the teacher's discourse moves; and the literacy affordances that were provided in this discourse space.

Constructing a Discourse Space: Indexing Functions and Phases of Activity

Morning Message occurred each day in Trisha's classroom from approximately 11:40 a.m. to 12:10 p.m. Morning Message was preceded by recess for the fourth-grade students and small group reading time for the four third-grade students. Thematic Instruction time followed Morning Message from 12:10 p.m. to 12:40 p.m., though Trisha often read aloud to her students the last ten minutes of this time before the class went to lunch. Morning Message had several phases: (1) To begin, the teacher announced to the class that it was time to start Morning Message; a large sheet of blank chart paper was typically already held by magnets to the chalkboard, also helping to signal the beginning of the activity; (2) the teacher then picked-up a clear plastic container that held a series of tiles that included the names of one student per tile; children who had already been chosen to be the author for Morning Message had their tiles removed, leaving only those children who had not been authors; (3) Trisha would often make the comment "Let's see who is going to lead our message today?" and then chose a tile and announced this child's name to the class; if a child was absent, another tile was chosen; (4) the chosen student then had the option to volunteer to be the author for that day, or ask not to author the message that particular day; (5) the author then came to the front of the room and sat in the "author's chair," a padded lounge chair that faced the class, right below the chalkboard; (6) Trisha

then began the actual construction of text by asking the author, "Ok, I need a topic sentence"; (7) Trisha then wrote verbatim the child's topic sentence on the large chart paper, making any corrections that the author wanted made or the audience persuaded the author to make; it was at this point that the whole class construction began; (8) after agreeing on the topic sentence, the author then called on individual class members who had their hands raised; the author would ask other members, "Are there any comments or questions"?; (9) an audience member asked a comment or question in which the author then answered, prompting the teacher to ask, "Do you want to add that (information)"; (10) if the author chose to add the information, the author, often with the help of the audience members, created a sentence that followed the topic sentence; (11) the whole class, with the teacher acting as facilitator, continued this sequence until the end of the message; (12) the teacher asked students to evaluate their own performance by giving themselves three, two, one, or zero points; (13) Morning Message stories were typed on the computer using a Children's Writing Center software program that allowed the teacher to add pictures to each child's stories for that month; the monthly newspaper was sent home with children to read to their parents, while another copy was placed in the class library to read during Undisturbed Silent Reading or Partner Reading time.

Creating Possibilities for Academic Work: Participant Structures

Morning Message was a whole class, co-construction of a written text around the experiences of a student author. The teacher served as scribe, facilitator, coach, manager, and apprentice. Orchestrating the Morning Message dialogue was very difficult for teachers. It required an enormous amount of attention to manage the often rapid-fire, moment-to-moment decisions required for successfully including the voices of all the participants. Trisha rated Morning Message very high in terms of its importance in developing writing abilities for her students, but noted that this activity was occasionally difficult to get excited about teaching because it was so demanding. Interestingly, Trisha

was the only teacher to use Morning Message on a daily basis among the ten Early Literacy Project teachers. Other Project teachers taught Morning Message from between one and three days per week. Several teachers noted in various interviews that Morning Message was one of the most demanding activities they engaged in as teachers.

Morning Message was also demanding on students. The intensity of thinking required in this activity often would send the inquiry into serious debates among individuals or small groups of students. In one case, the resulting disagreements and frustrations led to a few tears being shed, as two pairs of students, Danny/Nathan and Hannah/Angie, could not agree to the placement of a particular sentence under the topic sentence provided. When asked to rank-order ten literacy events in their classroom, the students' average ranking was sixth, well behind journal writing (first) and Sharing Chair (fourth). It appears that even though the value of the activity was rated very high, the challenges of the activity gave it a lower consumer satisfaction rating than several of the other activities (see Table 4).

Morning Message, unlike that of Sharing Chair, had seemingly more blurry distinctions between the roles of "author," "audience members," and teacher. Though the chosen author's personal experience was the fuel for creating the written text, the audience members had much greater latitude for entering the speaking floor than in Sharing Chair, where there was seldom overlapping talk among members. Also, the teacher played a much more active role in facilitating the discussion in Morning Message, accounting for 41% of the speaking turns, compared to just 21% in Sharing Chair. The specific rights and duties of the author, audience members, and the teacher are explained in the next section.

Rights and Duties of the Student Author

Just as Trisha chose a student author in Sharing Chair by randomly selecting a journal from the pile (or by asking a child to give her a number between one and the total number of journals in the stack), Trisha also chose the author for Morning Message in a

random manner. Ceramic tiles with one student's name per tile served as the selecting mechanism. Importantly, after a student became author, their tile was removed from the container and set aside. Tiles were removed until there was only one tile left. In this way, each of the thirteen students was guaranteed a position as author before all of the tiles were returned to the container. With an average of 20 school days per month, this meant that a child would be the author 1.5 times per month, or approximately 11 times during the school year.

In Morning Message, the student author had four specific rights and duties: (a) the right to choose a topic sentence; (b) the duty to call on individual audience members for comments or questions; (c) the right to decide whether to include or exclude particular ideas; and, (d) the right to give the final say on the choice of a sentence when the group was deadlocked between two choices.

The right to choose a topic sentence. The student author had a number of rights and duties that defined their role. The most obvious right was the ability to choose the topic which the whole class would write about. In Trisha's class, the construction of the Morning Message text typically began with the student author stating a topic sentence, though there may be a brief "review" period in which the teacher activated students' background knowledge about how to begin one's paper. In the following sequence, Trisha asks the class "What do I need" before starting Byron's message about going fishing:

058 Trisha: If you don't feel you can do it, change right now (pointing at boys). Okay,
059 here we go. Top... (topic sentence, but catches herself and decides to
060 review) what do I need? Jerrod, what do I need?

061 Jerrod: Indent.

062 Trisha: I need to indent. What else do I need?

063 Angie: Capitals.

064 Trisha: Capitals, what else do I need, Tracey?

065 Tracey: Indent.

- 066 Trisha: I am going to indent and capitalize, and Juan.
- 067 {
- 068 Jerrod: Topic sentence.
- 069 Juan: Topic sentence.
- 070 Danny: Yeah (shakes hand)
- 071 Trisha: And topic sentence. Byron, that's your job.
- 072 Byron: "Today Byron will go fishing."
- 073 {
- 074 Danny: Pause (comma)
- 075 Nathan: Pause.
- 076 Jerrod: Tell them where you go first. Tell them where you go first.
- 077 S: "Go fishing".

This exchange illustrates the typical beginning of a Morning Message. The teacher, Trisha, nearly asks for the topic sentence from the author, Byron, but then decides to take the opportunity to review by asking the students what a writer needs to think about before beginning a paper. Jerrod and Angie quickly remind Trisha that they will need to indent and capitalize the first letter of the sentence. Trisha continues to repeat the statement, "What else do I need," after each correct inquiry. Jerrod then interrupts Trisha in line 068 and says, "Topic sentence." Juan, to whom Trisha asked to respond in line 066, also says, "Topic sentence." Danny then confirms their response by saying "yeah" and pumping his hand in the air.

In line 071, Trisha makes visible the duty of the author to choose his topic by stating "And topic sentence. Byron, that's your job." Without hesitating, Byron immediately begins to state his topic sentence in line 072, "Today, Byron will go fishing."

Yet, within the right to choose the topic, the student author does not retain the right to state one's topic unequivocally--audience members may question, comment, correct, and

challenge the quality of the author's topic sentence. In line 074, Byron is interrupted by Danny after just two words of his topic sentence. Nathan then repeats Danny's suggestion to put a comma (pause) after "Today," and Jerrod then suggests that Byron should "Tell them where you go first" in line 076. When the sequence continues, it is clear that the audience members are co-participants in the construction of the topic sentence:

078 Trisha: (rereading) "Today Byron might go fishing."

079 Angie: Pause after "today".

080 {

081 Nathan: "with one of his friends, with one of his friends".

082 Trisha: "Today, Byron might go fishing".

083 Byron: Cut off "might".

084 Hannah: "might BE going".

085 Byron: "Byron, today Byron went fishing".

086 {

087 Danny: "IS"

088 Trisha: "Today, Byron went fishing?"

089 Danny: You, or "Yesterday Byron went fishing".

090 {

091 Byron: "Last week"

092 Trisha: "Last week"

093 {

094 Jerrod: "Byron went"

095 {

096 Trisha: Woops. I knew I should capitalize "I".

097 {

099 Danny: Do you need a pause

100 in there?

101 Trisha: I don't know, I know I need to capitalize "I" because its the beginning of
 102 our topic sentence. Do I have to capitalize "week"?

As this sequence indicates, the student author receives extensive support in constructing his topic sentence. In line 083, Byron tells the teacher to "cut off 'might'," recognizing that his original topic sentence, "Today Byron might go fishing," does not adequately represent the fact that he had already gone fishing with his father. Byron then attempts to clarify himself by appropriately introducing the past tense "went" fishing, but still fails to convey that he went fishing at some distant point in time. In line 085, Byron says, "Byron, today Byron went fishing," to which Trisha kindly questions by repeating Byron's statement. Danny helps to mediate Byron's experience, and says, "You, or 'Yesterday Byron went fishing'." Byron uses Danny's clarification, saying, "Last week," helping to convey that he went fishing with his father at some distant point in time.

Though not at all uncommon in Morning Message, it is important to point out that the co-construction of the topic sentence was not completed until line 236, taking-up 10 minutes of the 35 minute lesson. Thus, even though it is the right of the student author to introduce a topic of their choice, the audience members clearly have a right in mediating the quality of the topic sentence.

The duty to call on individual students/the right to include or exclude ideas. The student author has the unique duty to ask the audience, "Are there any comments or questions," and to call on audience members who have bid for a speaking turn. At the same time, the author also has the duty to answer the question, but has the right *not* to include the information in their story. The following transcript comes from the same message as the previous sequences. In this sequence, Byron calls on several students, fields their questions, but decides not to add any of the resulting ideas to the existing text:

467 Danny: I have a question.

468 Amber: "Then they went home."

469 Byron: Danny?

470 Danny: What kind of worms did you use, wax worms?

471 Byron: Normal worms.

472 Gerry: Ooh.

473 Trisha: Did you want to add that?

474 Hannah: I'm going to sleep (to self; in reference to intense inquiry)

475 Byron: Nah. I'll be fair to the girls. Angie?

476 Trisha: Good job.

477 Angie: Um///when, no, did you, how do I pronounce this out. How can you or
478 your dad get there? Did you walk or did you take a CATA bus (the local
479 mass transit bus system) (laughs)? {

480 Byron: Uh uh. We took...

481 Byron: With a boat.

.

.

.

486 Byron: We took a Bronco.

487 Nathan: Cool.

488 Trisha: Do you want to add that?

489 Gerry: What's a Bronco?

490 Mark: Its a Ford Truck.

491 Byron: Hannah?

492 Hannah: Did you go by yourself or did you go with your dad, because you said you
493 were about a mile apart?

494 Byron: My dad was in the water with the boat and I was on land. I was fishing.

494 Trisha: Do you want to add that?

495 Byron: (shakes head "no")

This sequence illustrates particularly well the student author's duty to call on individual audience members, the duty to answer their questions, and the right to include or exclude their queries in the construction of the text. Byron is asked three questions by three different students, Danny, Angie, and Hannah. In each case, Byron answers the questions, but maintains the right to exclude the information from the story. The following is the story that had been written up to this point:

"Last week Byron and his dad went fishing at Mud Lake together. Byron's dad caught a walleye and Byron caught a carp and a bunch of bluegills."

Looking across the three audience member's questions, including the type of worms used, the mode of transportation to get to the lake, and whether Byron was really with his dad when they were a mile apart, all were closely linked to the topic and could have been included under the original topic sentence. Byron was then asked one more question that had been repeated earlier, "Did you use crickets, or, like crickets are bait for fishes too." Byron noted that the question had already been asked (What type of bait he used), and called on another student, Nathan, who had is hand raised:-

511 Nathan: What did you do with the fish after you got 'em?

512 Byron: Well we had um, me and my dad had a cooler filled with water and we put
513 them in the water.

514 Nathan: Oh. Do you keep 'em split apart?

515 Trisha: Do you want to add that?

516 Byron: Yeah. "Byron and his dad have a cooler to put the fish in."

After four questions from the audience, Byron finally settles on Nathan's question about where they placed the caught fish. Having the opportunity to call on other students carries the duty to respond as well. In this sense, the audience can discursively position the author to respond to their queries. This seems an especially important audience right, for without

the opportunity to position the author to field questions of interest, there would be little motivation for the audience to participate in this discourse game. Yet, it is the student author who has the ultimate decision making power to include or exclude information. It is in this sense that the narrative story retains its personal quality, and helps to differentiate the role of author and audience member. As in *Sharing Chair*, the types of discursive positioning that result from the role one is playing initiates different opportunities to speak, and thus learn.

Having the final say in meaning deadlocks. The final right that distinguishes the role of student author is having the final say about what sentence or idea gets written down. When the group members have two competing ideas on the floor, and there appears to be a deadlock on which idea to use, the teacher can turn to the student author and ask for their vote. The teacher then chooses the author's suggestion, sometimes noting over the moans of disappointment, "It's (the author) story." In the following example, the student author, Angie, has been given many suggestions about how to construct her topic sentence. The confusion lies in the fact that Angie's real name is the name of the month in which she was born. At the top of the Morning Message chart paper, the month is stated (e.g., May 22nd, 1993). The students are disagreeing about whether they need to put the month in the text, since the month will be listed in the eventual newspaper entry. After a number of good suggestions, Trisha turns to Angie and asks her to choose one of the possibilities:

350 Trisha: Okay, "Angie is having a birthday party on the 24th."

351 Trisha: It DOES sound right. All of them sound right. Hannah said, do you
352 remember?

353 Hannah: Yeah. "Angie's birthday is on Saturday the 24th. Wait, "Angie is going to
354 have a birthday party on the 24th. She is going to invite friends over."

355 Trisha: (Looks at author: "I should have written all these down.")

356 Danny: It sounds choppy.

357 Trisha: It sounds choppy? Angie, I am going to let you decide, what do you want it

358 to say?

359 Trisha: All of them sounded right. I could do one, two, three, four, five,
360 six...fourteen, I could do fourteen different ways. Because all of us have
361 our opinions. But this is Angie's, so Angie, what do you want to say?

362 Angie: "Angie's birthday is on Saturday and she is having a birthday party on the
363 24th."

364 Danny: It sounds choppy.

366 Trisha: Ok, "Angie's birthday is on Saturday and she is having a birthday party on
367 the 24th." And Hannah, Danny, one of you two said "too many birthdays",
368 and Angie, you said to get rid of what?

369 Angie: Okay, get rid of this one (points to second "birthday").

In line 361, Trisha defers responsibility to the author, Angie, to choose from the wide number of suggestions she had been given. In line 362, Angie makes a selection, and then is reminded by Danny that "it sounds choppy." Angie agrees that it would sound better if they removed the redundant word "birthday" at the end of the sentence.

In summary, there appears to be four specific rights/duties that define the role of student author in Morning News. Student authors retain the right to choose the topic for discussion and whether to include or exclude an idea from the written text. As this last example illustrates, the author also is given the special right to choose between adequate, but conflicting ideas among the group. The student author is asked by the teacher to choose which rendering they would like for their story. Finally, the author has the duty to ask for comments and questions and respond to student queries, allowing oneself to get discursively positioned by the audience members. This is an especially important duty to fulfill, as the author depends upon the queries of one's peers to develop their Morning Message. We now turn to role of the audience members in the construction of the text.

Rights and Duties of the Audience Members

The student audience was directly involved in the co-construction of the student author's personal narrative. In this sense, the audience members were active contributors and shapers of meaning. Audience members held specific rights and duties that allowed themselves to position and be positioned by the student author and the teacher. These rights and duties were: (a) the duty to comment or question the student author by bidding for a turn; (b) the right to comment or question the meaning of the text without bidding for a turn; (c) the duty to allow the student author's idea to stand if there was a deadlock between two competing ideas; and (d) the duty to participate in the construction of the text.

The duty to comment or question by bidding for a turn. At the end of a sub-phase of activity, the relative completion of a sentence to the satisfaction of group members, the student audience had the duty to raise their hands and respond by asking a comment or question of the student author. Unlike the construction of a sentence or idea, when all speakers had access to the speaking floor without bidding for a turn, when a sentence was completed, this signalled the teacher or students to raise their hands to ask new questions or comments that could be added to the text. In some instances, the students automatically raised their hands when they sensed they had reached closure on an idea, and at other times, the teacher signalled the students to ask questions to move the discussion forward. In the continuation of the above transcript, the teacher rereads Angie's corrected sentence. Angie accepts the new sentence as sounding correct. After a short conversation between Janitra and Hannah, about the type of birthday party Angie was having, Trisha orients the group by asking if there are further questions for Angie:

369 Angie: Okay, get rid of this one (points to second "birthday")

370 Trisha: And now it says "Angie's birthday is on Saturday and she is having a party
371 on the 24th."

372 Angie: Yep. Sounds right.

373 Janitra: What kind of party?

374 Hannah: A slumber party.

375 Angie: No, its not a slumber party, its almost like...

376 Trisha: Okay, any other questions for Angie?

377 Angie: Danny?

378 Danny: What are you going to do?

379 Trisha: Good question Danny.

380 Angie: We're, okay, all we're going to do is like, like...

In this section of talk, Trisha attempts to move the discussion forward by asking the audience members if they have further questions for Angie, the student author. Angie immediately calls on Danny, a student who has bid for a turn by raising his hand. Though it is possible and even likely that Trisha did not take up Janitra's question about the type of party Angie was having, a potentially powerful and topically related question, it is important to note that the group had spent the entire time constructing this topic sentence (over 15 minutes and 13 of the 19 total pages of transcript). In fairness to the student author, Angie, Trisha may have felt that it was important to include more information about her birthday party, and moved the story along by seeking additional questions. Angie assumed her right to call on audience participants, and immediately recognized Danny's hand. A few lines later, Angie acknowledges Danny's question, making visible her right to call on audience members and their duty to bid for a turn by raising their hand:

381 Trisha: (begins writing) "All we're going to do is..."

382 Nigel: All WE

383 Angie: All...

384 Danny: Yeah, but are "we" going to do this (the whole class)?

385 S: No.

386 Danny: Some of us would, though (some members of class were invited but not

- 387 others).
- 388 Angie: Okay, "All we're going to do", I don't want that (hands motion to cross-out
389 sentence), because all we're going to do is play games and stuff, but I don't
390 want
- 391 {
- 392 Danny: Play games and stuff.
- 393 Trisha: What do you want me to put under that?
- 394 Angie: "We are going to play games..."
- 395 Nathan: "THEY!"
- 396 Hia: "They play games."
- 397 Trisha: "They are going to...?"
- 398 Angie: "They will play, They are going to play games." Yep.
- 399 Angie: That was a good question, raise your hands and I will call on you. Janitra?

This sequence reveals one facet of the participant structure, that of the author's right to call on bid turns from audience members, and the audience's duty to generate questions. In line 399, Angie announces to the audience that Danny's question about what the party goers were going to "do" (a common category used in expository writing in this class) was "a good question" and resulted in adding a sentence to the story. Angie then explicitly states that it is the raising of one's hand that will result in being called upon, an important window into the underlying rules of conversation in the discourse space of Morning Message.

The right to question and comment upon the meaning of the text. The vast majority of audience members' verbal participation in Morning Message was spent in the active questioning and commenting upon the student author's story. During the discussions around the construction of the written text, audience members had the right to voice their opinion without bidding for a speaking turn. This right allowed any member of the classroom to become connected to the meaning making process. In fact, it was not

uncommon for particular audience members to have a higher verbal participation rate (as measured by the total number of speaking turns) than the student author. In the following transcript taken from Byron's story about going fishing with his father, a spirited discussion around who caught a walleye breaks out that involves seven of the thirteen students:

175 Trisha: . Ok.

176 {

177 Nathan: Take off the period. Then put "together".

178 {

179 Trisha: So I take off the period.

180 Trisha: Then put the period. Okay.

181 Byron: Mark?

182 Mark: "Byron, no, caught a walleye."

183 Byron: I didn't catch the walleye, my dad caught the walleye.

184 {

185 Mike: "THEY caught a
186 walleye."

187 Danny: "Last, last week Byron and his dad...went fishing. His dad caught a
188 { walleye."

189 Jerrod: "His DAD caught a walleye."

190 Trisha: Here? (pointing to chart paper)

191 Danny: No (standing-up out of desk). No, by "Byron and his dad."

192 {

193 Byron: "Byron. Byron dad
194 caught a walleye."

195 Trisha: "Byron's dad..."

196 {

- 197 Hannah: "HIS!"
 198 {
 199 Angie: "HIS!"
 200 {
 201 Ss: "HIS!"
 202 Danny: If you put "his", its going to sound like its his dad.
 203 Mark: Yeah, his dad.
 204 Trisha: "...caught a walleye."
 205 Hannah: It is his
 206 {
 207 Jerrod: It is his dad.
 208 Danny: "Byron's dad."

In this extended sequence, seven different audience participants provide information that helps construct the written text. In the twenty-two speaking turns in this section of transcript, Byron, the student author, is involved in only three turns. In this sense, authorship in Morning Message does not belong to the student author alone, but is jointly shared by the entire group.

In only one instance did an audience member bid for a speaking turn by raising their hand. Audience participants engaged in a wide-range of literate behavior, including punctuation ("Take off that period"), reconstructing sentences after receiving additional information (i.e., "I didn't catch the walleye, my dad caught the walleye"), pronominalization ("his" to "they"), and questioning ("If you put 'his,' its going to sound like his dad"). The opportunity to comment or question the meaning of the text in such a wide range of literate behavior was a key feature of Morning Message. Audience members' responses created new zones of proximal development, but often for other students as new knowledge was constructed in the social interactions.

The Teacher's Discursive Moves in Morning Message

It is hard to imagine a more difficult literacy event to orchestrate discursively than Morning Message. As mentioned previously, the teacher accounted for 41% of the speaking turns. In conversations with Trisha, she noted that Morning Message was “exhausting” and took a lot of energy. When asked to rate each of the literacy events in her classroom as to their “ease of implementation,” Trisha rated Morning Message as one of two events that were the most challenging for her. Yet, when asked to rate the effectiveness of the activity on students’ literacy growth, she rated the activity as maximally effective (see Table 6).

Morning Message was a discourse space that had multiple goals and purposes, though it appears that the primary mode of discourse is what Burbules (1993) called “discourse as inquiry.” The primary goal of the discourse in Morning Message was to create a satisfactory text (convergent) from the collective voices of group members (inclusive). Yet, the nature of the talk varied from moment-to-moment, sometimes resembling a heated debate, while other times clearly focusing on the teacher instructing her students on specific skills or strategies.

When examining the total corpus of Trisha’s discourse moves in Morning Message, four categories emerged from this analysis. Categories were determined by both the linguistic form and their social function in the discussion. The four categories are instructional moves, literacy content moves, management moves, and involvement moves. Within each of these superordinate categories, a range of specific moves occurred. The range of moves within each category are listed in Figure 13 (see Appendix D for definitions and examples of each discourse move).

In the following section, a brief examination of each of the categories will be undertaken.

<i>Instructional Moves</i>	<i>Involvement Moves</i>
<p> Questioning Thinking-Aloud Modeling Instructing Broadcasting Initiating Evaluating Directing Attention Uptake Scaffold Pausing/Partial Idea Transfer Control </p>	<p> Revoicing Repeating Re-Reading Supporting Directly Calling On Students Floor-Holding Humor Permission </p>
<i>Literacy Content Moves</i>	<i>Management Moves</i>
<p> Clarification Unclear Meaning Sequencing/Organization Paragraphing Pronoun Usage Conclusions Audience Sensitivity Word Usage Verb Tense Capitalization Punctuation Re-reading Personal Experience Questioning/Commenting Categorization/Mapping Choice of Alternative Meanings Run-On Sentences Topic Sentences </p>	<p> Opinion Asterisk Dictionary Dates Contractions Spelling Cross-Outs Topic Editing Process </p> <p> Conversational Management Community Management Class Behavior Management Individual Behavior Management </p>

Figure 13 Trisha's Discourse Moves in Morning Message

Though the discussion will focus on moves within each category separately, it is important to remember that these four discourse categories were intertwined and co-occurred in any moment. Also, a particular discourse move may also serve multiple functions. For example, though “questioning” would be considered an “instructional” move, it may also serve to involve other students, but was coded only as an instructional statement. To help the reader, examples of moves within a category will be underlined in the transcript.

Instructional Moves

Instructional moves were defined by their goal of communicating instructional content to the students. Trisha’s instructional moves in Morning Message covered a wide range, including a number of moves that have been documented as being evident in highly successful teachers (Roehler & Duffy, 1991). These instructional moves included questioning (Bos & Anders, 1990), thinking-aloud (Lenz, 1989), scaffolding (Palincsar, 1986), uptaking (Collins, 1982), modeling, and transferring control statements (Englert & Mariage, 1991b; Mariage, in press). Other instructional moves were reflective of more traditional communication patterns in classrooms, including initiating, evaluating, stating, responding, and instructing. A final set of instructional moves included pausing, directing attention, dictating, and broadcasting. Each of these instructional moves is defined in Appendix D.

The following example illustrates a number of instructional moves, including moves that functioned to explicitly transfer control of the meaning making to students (e.g., uptaking, questioning) to those that gave students insight into the teacher’s thinking about a particular writing challenge as a more knowledgeable member of the community (e.g., thinking aloud). Depending upon the changing needs of the group, especially the constant tension between allowing students maximum opportunities to construct their own understandings, on the one hand, and the need to teach writing conventions, on the other, Trisha utilizes moves that call upon students’ background knowledge and directly instructs

students in writing conventions that are shared by the larger culture of writers.

In the transcript below, the class has been struggling to develop a topic sentence that everyone can agree on. The author, Angie, has chosen to develop a story around her upcoming birthday. At issue, however, is whether it is necessary to include the month of Angie's birthday (April) in the text since the top of each Morning Message contains that day's date. Another issue centers around whether which of two competing topic sentences sounds better, the sentence that the majority of the class agrees upon or Angie's choice of topic sentences. For ease of interpretation, the location of the various instructional moves are underlined within the text and the specific move is placed in parentheses.

135 Nathan: No, the 24th, the 24th.

136 Trisha: So I take off, but we have "Saturday" up there Nathan. So I take off the
137 period.

138 Angie: No.

139 Mark: Yeah. And then put "the 24th," and then put a period.

140 Danny: (rereads by himself) "Saturday the..."

141 Trisha: "the 24th." And then I put a period (uptake of Mark's idea).

142 Angie: Hold on.

143 Trisha: "Angie's birthday is on Saturday the 24th."

144 Hannah: Yeah.

145 S: That sounds better.

146 Mark: Sounds good, yeah.

147 Angie: (stands at board) I though what we could do is "Angie's birthday is on
148 April 24th on Saturday."

149 Trisha: "Angie's birthday is on April 24th on Saturday." (uptake of Angie's idea)

150 Mark: That doesn't sound right.

151 Trisha: That doesn't sound right. (uptake of Mark's idea)

152 S: We're using too many "Angie's".

- 153 Trisha: So, but what you're saying is that you really kind of wanted "April 24th" in
 154 there somehow? (uptake of Angie's idea)
- 155 Angie: (goes to Message) Yeah, I wanted it in between, like here, cause that they'll
 156 know its Saturday.
- 157 Trisha: Ok, listen, I'll do it both ways. Listen carefully. "Angie's birthday is on
 158 Saturday the 24th." That's the first one. "Angie's birthday is on April 24th
 159 on Saturday." (modeling of two competing examples)
- 160 Danny: No, it doesn't sound right.
- 161 {
- 162 Janitra: The first way.
- 163 Trisha: The first way sounds right? (uptake of Janitra's suggestion)
- 164 Ss: Yeah.
- 165 Trisha: You understand that? (checking for understanding by asking a question)
- 166 Trisha: Did you hear how it was kind of choppy when I did it the other way. And
 167 this way its kind of really smooth, it flowed smoothly? (thinking aloud)
 168 But I see what you're saying, too. Mark?

In this section of transcript, Trisha does very little direct instruction of specific writing conventions, but instead acknowledges students thinking by taking up their ideas, usually by repeating all or part of the student's idea. This uptaking of ideas is especially effective in the above example because the value neutral stance of the uptakes allows Trisha to offer both Mark's and Angie's topic sentences as viable alternatives for the group to debate. The resulting pattern is a volleying of Mark and Angie's propositions back-and-forth for the consideration to the group. In line 139, Mark puts forth the idea that the topic sentence should end with "...the 24th," creating the sentence, "Angie's birthday is on Saturday the 24th." Trisha takes up this idea in line 141 by directly repeating Mark's idea back to the group. Trisha's uptake prompts Angie to immediately question this topic sentence in line 142 ("Hold on") and then actually stand-up from the author's chair and suggest an alternative topic sentence in lines 147-148 ("I thought what we could do is 'Angie's birthday is on April 24th on Saturday"). Trisha then takes up Angie's new topic

sentence and repeats it directly for the group's consideration. This new offering again evokes a response from the group, as Mark says, "That doesn't sound right", which is immediately taken up and repeated by Trisha in line 151.

Trisha's taking up of Mark and Angie's competing ideas allows the group to ponder which topic sentence is more effective. However, in order to make the comparison of the two competing ideas clearer, Trisha shifts the talk by setting up a side-by-side comparison of the ideas. In line 157-159, Trisha takes more direct control of the talk ("Listen carefully") and models for the students how a more knowledgeable writer might compare two competing ideas, by first reading and listening to one topic sentence ("Angie's birthday is on Saturday the 24th. That's the first one.") and then reading the second topic sentence ("Angie's birthday is on April 24th on Saturday."). The result of Trisha's direct modeling has a powerful effect on the group, as Danny immediately responds that the second topic sentence "...doesn't sound right" and Janitra simultaneously responds, "The first one." Trisha then takes up Janitra's suggestion that Mark's topic sentence sounds better by repeating directly Janitra's words in the form of a question ("The first way sounds right?"). A number of students then agree that in the side-by-side comparison, the first topic sentence is clearer.

Trisha then checks the understanding of the entire group by posing another open ended question in line 165, "You understand that?" This question then leads into a think aloud in lines 166-167 that allows the group access to how a writer might have been thinking during the comparison of the two competing topic sentences: "Did you hear how it was kind of choppy when I did it the other way. And this way its kind of really smooth, it flowed smoothly?"

Though this example illustrates only a small number of the instructional moves used by Trisha in Morning Message, it highlights the teacher as a discourse user whose instructional decisions have a profound importance in the way meaning gets constructed

within the group. In this transcript, Trisha recognizes that when there are competing ideas on the speaking floor, there is a risk that one speaker's idea may come under criticism by the majority of the group and not be considered as a viable alternative. At the same time, if the teacher dominates the group discourse with her own opinions, the discourse becomes rather formulaic as students begin to display knowledge to the teacher and not take the personal risks involved in more meaningful encounters (Bloome, 1986).

Trisha seems to strike a balance by simply taking up a student's idea and broadcasting it back to the group. This form of uptaking functions to communicate to the speaker that their idea has been heard and is valued, but also prompts the group to take responsibility for continuing the meaning construction process. As a result of these uptakes, the literacy content, the need to choose between two competing topic sentences, has been positioned in such a way that students can make informed decisions for which sentence "sounds right" while maintaining the personal integrity of the two students offering the sentences (i.e., Angie and Mark). This attention to thinking about how one aligns or realigns both the content under consideration and the social relationships of group members will be discussed further in the explication of the teacher's involvement moves.

Literacy Content Moves

Morning Message afforded a broad range of literate actions (see Figure 13). In contrast to the highly reductionistic instruction that has tended to characterize special education teaching (Allington, 1992), where literacy strategies and skills are taught separately and in isolation, Morning Message was representative of the guiding principles of the Early Literacy Project. In Morning Message, the co-construction of the text led to a complex web of literate actions that were introduced by the teacher in reaction to the needs and abilities of the class.

Across the five Morning Message transcripts, Trisha engaged her students in a wide range of literate actions, including strategies and skills for planning one's paper (e.g.,

thinking about your audience and topic), organizing ideas (e.g., categories), drafting (e.g., conventions for setting-up one's paper, grammar, and punctuation), editing (e.g., editing conventions and clarifying meaning), and revising (e.g., rereading). More importantly, the *way of knowing* in Morning Message was characterized as a series of "problems to be solved" (Eisner, 1985), not as a linear sequence of discrete writing processes. In this sense, Morning Message was different than many writer's workshop or other process approaches to writing in that an entire text was created in a relatively short (30-35 minutes) period of time. This moment-to-moment, condensed, and shared construction of text provided a unique opportunity to examine and describe the range and types of literate behaviors that were privileged and afforded in this literacy event. The literate content afforded in Morning Message is outlined in detail at the end of this chapter.

Management Moves

A third category of Trisha's discourse moves was the management of a variety of facets of Morning Message. The most common form of discursive management was conversational management. The fast pace and high verbal involvement of students required that Trisha occasionally manage the conversation. For example, telling a group of excited students who were shouting out answers to "wait, wait, wait" or "Ok, raise your hand if you think this sentence is in the right place" served to manage the norms of conversation. This right of the teacher allowed Trisha to take the role of traffic cop and occasionally guide and reorient the nature of the talk towards more productive aims.

A second form of discursive management was community management. In this discursive move, Trisha reminded the students that they were a community of learners that are responsible to each other in Morning Message and in the classroom in general. After one particularly volatile discussion about the placement of a particular detail under a topic sentence, Trisha takes the floor to repair some hurt feelings:

444 Trisha: Okay//Oh, boy.//I think Danny was concerned about Nathan because, you

445 know what's really hard, it that we are so close in this room. We are. We're
 446 the family in Room 104, and nobody wants to hurt anybody else's feelings.

447 Byron.

In this sequence of talk, Trisha reminds the community that they are teammates and friends. She steps back and uses her authority as the teacher to ease some hurt feelings over two pairs of students' (Danny/Nathan and Angie/Hannah) disparate ideas.

The third and fourth forms of discursive management were *class management* and *behavior management*. Both forms of management had as their focus the management of students' actions and participation in the group. In class management, Trisha instructed the whole group to consider a particular action. As an example, in one Morning Message sequence, the students were particularly excited about a new seating arrangement at the beginning of the activity and Trisha asked the group, "Are you sure you can do this? If you don't feel that you can do it, change right now." In the vast majority of cases, these class management statements were stated in the form of a question, not as a reprimand. As Trisha mentioned in her interview, her goal was to raise her expectations so the students wanted to be responsible for their own learning, not because she forced them to learn.

Behavior management moves, in contrast, were statements directed at a particular individual. By far the most common behavioral management move was simply to state the child's name to help them regulate their own actions. For example, when a particular student was off-task, interrupting, or breaking a classroom rule (e.g., going to the bathroom in the middle of a lesson), Trisha would simply state the child's name while staring directly at them: "Gerry." In only two instances in the five Morning Message activities did Trisha manage behavior in ways other than simply stating a child's name. In both cases, Gerry was the recipient of the reprimand: "Gerry, you're going to make me extremely angry in a matter of seconds. So quit." It is important to remind the reader that Gerry was the same student who received 50% of the behavioral moves in the earlier

activity of Sharing Chair.

Overall, the four types of management moves constituted just five percent of Trisha's total turns. The importance of these moves, however, is not to be overlooked. The teacher's right to step-in and manage the conversation, community, class, or individual behavior allowed Trisha to provide an anticipatory set for participating successfully in the activity, insured equity of opportunity for all speakers by "protecting" their right to participate without the behavioral distractions of other class members, and aligned the social and cognitive participation of class members in potentially more productive directions by asserting her influence into the discussion. Though there is an important emphasis put upon transferring control of the lesson talk to students, Michaels and O'Connor (1990) remind us that the most successful discourse spaces are created when the teacher is an active participant in orchestrating the ebbs and flow of the discourse. As researchers and teachers, we should not apologize for the active participation and involvement of the teacher in deftly managing particular areas of the lesson talk. To underestimate the teacher's role as a more knowledgeable member of the classroom who can orchestrate both cognitive and social participation in the group, is to dismiss the importance of Vygotsky's theory of verbal regulation, the movement of higher psychological processes from *other, social-regulation* to *self-regulation* and *automaticity* (i.e., internalization).

Conversational Involvement and Participation

A final and particularly important category of discourse moves were *involvement moves* (see Figure 13). The notion of conversational involvement comes from the work of Deborah Tannen (1989). In Tannen's observation of natural occurring conversations (i.e., not instruction, in Burbules' (1993) sense), especially the conversation of members of her family around a Thanksgiving dinner, Tannen observed the use of several persistent and common discourse moves. These moves, the use of *repetition, dialogue, and imagery*, functioned to hold the attention of one's audience (i.e., their involvement) and gave the

immediate speaker more “air time” by extending their opportunity to hold the speaking floor. Obviously, because there is so little talk that resembles conversations in schools (Cazden, 1988), the notion of conversational involvement had not been extended into classroom research until two researchers, Mary Catherine O’Connor and Sarah Michaels (1993), studied whole class discussions in elementary classrooms. These researchers noted the use of a particularly powerful discourse move, revoicing, that serves to align the social and cognitive participation of class members. In this discourse move, the teacher restates or rebroadcasts an individual’s or group’s idea into a form that is slightly different than the original statement (e.g., summarizes idea). The ownership of the idea is clearly given to the originator of the idea, often by the teacher saying the child’s name: “Maggie believes that Charlotte is not Wilbur’s mother figure, but an oracle like we studied during our Greek Myths unit; What do you think?” As this example of revoicing illustrates, the teacher has “positioned” the rest of the class to undertake the cognitive work of figuring out whether Maggie’s claim that Charlotte is an oracle, not a mother figure, is tenable. At the same time, the teacher aligns the social participation of the class, insuring that it is Maggie, not her, that is responsible for this statement. Though Maggie is granted ownership of the idea, she is not responsible for responding directly to the queries of her classmates. It is her *idea* that is held up for scrutiny, not her person.

In Morning Message, Trisha used a number of involvement moves, including both Tannen’s (1989) involvement strategy of repetition and O’Connor and Michael’s (1993) revoicing move. Other involving moves included rereading the text to orient the class, supporting statements, directly calling on an individual student, holding the speaking floor for a student, using humor, and giving permission to students to continue talking. Surprisingly, these involvement moves constituted 26% of the total discourse moves, making them a prominent feature of the Morning Message event.

Involvement moves appeared to have at least three functions, to involve students as

individual speakers (e.g., repeating; directly calling), to involve the entire group of speakers (e.g., revoicing; rereading), and to serve as a repair strategy (e.g., supporting) for disagreements among group members.

In the following Morning Message transcript, Trisha uses a wide-range of involvement moves to accomplish the three levels of conversational involvement (e.g., individual speaker, whole group, and repair). At issue in this extended stretch of talk is the inclusion or exclusion of the detail "Nathan is going to bring a glass (jar) so he can catch some bugs" under the topic sentence "Ms. William's class is taking a trip to camp." The author, Danny, and Nathan, the originator of the detail about bringing a glass jar, feel that this detail is appropriate. Angie, on the other hand, recognizes that the topic sentence is clearly oriented to the *class*, not to individual students, and feels Nathan's detail should be included at a later time (i.e., the "bottom" of the Morning Message story). Trisha's involvement moves are underlined in the body of the text and the type of involvement move is written in parentheses following the text:

- 222 Nathan: "Nathan is going to bring a glass
 223 {
 224 Danny: Not glass, it can break
 225 {
 226 Nathan: So he can catch
 227 some bugs.
 228 Angie: Ms. Williams?
 229 Trisha: Just a minute.///Let me read this "Ms. William's class is taking a trip to
 230 camp. They are canoeing. Nathan is bringing a jar to catch some bugs."
 231 (rereads)
 232 Danny: Ms. Williams...Take out..
 232 Nathan: That sounds okay.
 234 Trisha: Sound okay? (repeats)

- 235 Angie: Ms. Williams, Ms. Williams, its um, its em, their trying, Nathan is trying,
 236 like a parent, it sounds like, he is like, it sounds like, okay, he is going
 237 from one thing to another. He should do all the things about camp first, and
 238 then if we want to add anything then we can. Because, um, it don't sound
 239 right, cause it, (reads) "Ms William's class...
 240 {
- 241 Danny: Yeah, but
- 241 Trisha: Let her finish. (floor holding)
- 242 Angie: "Ms. William's class is taking a trip to camp. They are going canoeing.
 243 Nathan is going to bring a jar to catch some bugs." I think we should cross
 244 that out and do it when we get towards the bottom. Cuz we should do
 245 everything we're going to do at camp first.
 246 {
- 247 Jerrod: We DON'T know all the things we're going to do.
- 248 Angie: But we can cross-out those.
- 249 Trisha: What Angie's saying, I think, and tell me if I am wrong, okay (permission).
 250 What Angie is saying is that every time we usually write
 251 {
- 252 Angie: We're editing
- 253 {
- 254 Trisha: We have
 255 categories.
 256 {
- 257 Angie: Yep.
- 258 {
- 259 Trisha: right, and we talk about one thing first, and when we talk
 260 about something else, we indent, and then talk about something else.
 261 (revoicing) Is that right? (direct call)
- 262 Angie: No. What I was trying to say is, okay, uh, we should cross out Nathan's
 263 and when we get down towards the bottom, down towards the bottom, we
 264 can put it down THERE. Uhhm, when we get done talking about the things
 265 we think we'll DO.
- 266 Trisha: Okay, so what you are saying is, you want to keep this, but you think it
 267 should go somewhere near the bottom later because right now we want to
 268 talk about, we're talking about what we're going to DO at camp. (revoicing)

269

{

270 Angie:

DO.

In this short stretch of talk, Trisha uses five different involvement moves (e.g., rereading, repeating, floor holding, revoicing, direct call). Each involvement move is discussed in more detail below.

Rereading. In lines 229-230, Trisha rereads the entire text to reorient the entire group to the meanings that have been co-constructed to that point in time. During a typical Morning Message segment, Trisha would reread all or parts of the written text between 20 and 30 times. This rereading most often served to give the entire group a collective deep breath and step-back from the construction process and reflect upon the shared understandings that had (or had not) been developed within the group. This reflection served an orienting function that allowed all group members to get caught up with the message. More importantly, Trisha's rereading of the text allowed group members to listen carefully for incongruities or alternative conceptions of what the text might be. For example, immediately following the rereading in lines 229-230, Danny (line 232), Nathan (line 233) and Angie (235) appear to have used this signalling to comment on the appropriateness of the text. Danny begins by asking Trisha to "take out" something before being interrupted by Nathan, who states that the text "sounds okay." Angie then explains in great detail that "It don't sound right"; the group should first talk about what the collective class is going to do before listing what specific individuals are going to do. Trisha's rereading functions to help children monitor the clarity of meaning by prompting them to ask themselves, "Does this sound okay?"

Repeating. Whereas rereading all or part of the text is typically oriented to the involvement of the entire group of students, repeating a child's idea or comment is usually directed at involving and maintaining the participation of an individual student. However, this is not to underestimate the potential aligning functions of this particular discourse

move. In Tannen's (1989) work, repeating all or part of a speaker's words functioned to communicate to the immediate speaker that you are intimately connected to their ideas. In this sense, repeating what someone says serves to rebroadcast one's idea to other immediate addressees. This is demonstrated in line 232-239 above. After Trisha's rereading, Nathan says "that sounds okay," directly followed by Trisha's repetition "sound okay?" In this particular move, there appears to be several functions: (a) to confirm that Nathan's idea has been heard and has merit as a possible outcome in the text, and (b) to allow the idea to be broadcast back to the group for further consideration. By posing the repetition as a question, Trisha simultaneously acknowledges Nathan's offer that the sentence is acceptable as written, while opening the floor to other speakers to question its tenability. In fact, Angie seizes the opportunity, and in line 236 through 245, asserts her position that the appropriate topic sentence would include what the entire class is doing at camp as a collective, not Nathan's individual exploits as an insect collector. Though it is difficult to confirm, it may be the case that Trisha's repetition of Nathan's comment also served to position Angie to temper her disagreement. In line 238 and in line 243, Angie seems to preserve Nathan's ideas by saying "...then if we want to add anything we can" and "I think we should cross that out and do it when we get towards the bottom," respectively.

Floor-holding A third involvement strategy that Trisha used was to "hold" the speaking floor for an individual speaker. The floor-holding move had five functions in Morning Message: (a) to give a "bigger" voice to a quiet student's offering of an idea on the speaking floor, (b) to bring an idea back to the speaking floor that was passed over by other students, (c) to insure equity in the distribution of turns and ideas, (d) to posit one student's idea as a way of helping the group make advancements in meaning construction amidst the chaos of a flood of ideas being simultaneously offered on the speaking floor, and (e) to give a speaker uninterrupted and sufficient time to preserve the integrity of their

cognitive development. In the transcript above, only the fifth function, that of giving a speaker sufficient time, is illustrated.

In Morning Message, with its typically high pace and level of verbal participation, it was occasionally important for the teacher to hold the floor for speakers. In lines 235 through 239, Angie is working extremely hard, with many false starts and a passion for accuracy, which included fifteen hesitations in her thinking. Importantly, Angie's difficulty in formulating her ideas in lines 235 through 239 leads to Danny's attempt to question by saying "Yeah, but...." However, Trisha intervenes quickly and says, "Let her finish," giving continued speaking rights to Angie and honoring her effort. This floor-holding move then allows Angie another extended opportunity to have the floor and allows her to clarify her own thinking: "...I think we should cross that out and do it when we get towards the bottom. Cuz we should do everything we're going to do at camp first." In this one discourse move, Trisha appeared to align both the cognitive and social participation of the group (O'Connor & Michaels, 1993) by (a) extending Angie's speaking turn so she could continue to work her way through her thinking and clarify her ideas for other group members, and (b) allowing the content of Angie's message, the need to have a superordinate category as the topic sentence (i.e., What the class is going to DO at camp) and not a detail (i.e., Nathan's unique experience) to be posited to the group as one possible solution to the problem of getting an adequate topic sentence.

The floor-holding move, like other involvement strategies, was particularly important in adjusting what Halliday and Hasan (1989) called the "tenor" of the speech situation. As the above example illustrates, the floor-holding move can function to realign both the content of the message and the social status of group members by positioning the speaker to undertake particular work. In Angie's case, with her many false starts and hesitations, it is clear that the floor holding move created a condition where she could work in her own zone of proximal development (Vygotsky, 1978). The creation of these zones

Revoicing Move #1

Inference Source

Angie

Content of the Inference

"Ms. William's class is taking a trip to camp. They are going canoeing. Nathan is going to bring a jar to catch some bugs. I think we should cross that out and do it when we get towards the bottom. Cuz we should do everything we're going to do at camp first."

Inference Maker

Teacher: "What Angie's saying, I think, and tell me if I am wrong, okay. What Angie is saying is that everytime we usually write, we have categories. Right, and we talk about one thing first, and when we talk about something else, we indent, and then talk about something else. Is that right?"

Revoicing Move #2

Inference Source

Angie

Content of the Inference

"No. What I was trying to say is, okay, uh, we should cross out Nathan's and when we get down towards the bottom, we can put in down THERE. Uhhm, when we get done talking about the things we think we'll DO."

Inference Maker

Teacher: "Okay, so what you are saying is, you want to keep this, but you think it should go somewhere near the bottom later because right now we want to talk about, we're talking about what we're going to DO at camp."

Figure 14 The Anatomy of Two Revoicing Moves in Morning Message

of proximal development was a particularly powerful affordance in Morning Message, as speakers were given frequent opportunities to grapple with their own understandings as they thought-aloud and defended their ideas.

Revoicing. A particularly powerful discourse move used by Trisha was the revoicing of a student's idea back to the entire class. As with other involvement moves, the revoicing move aligned the content and the identities of the speakers in multiple ways, including those outlined by O'Connor and Michaels in Chapter 2. The anatomy of the revoicing move, including the inference source, the content of the inference, and the inference maker for the two revoicing moves in lines 249-260 and 266-268 are outlined in Figure 14.

In the above transcript, Trisha employs two revoicing moves, the first revoicing move seems to occur as a result of Jerrod's forceful comment in line 247, where he reminds Angie that since the class had not yet gone on their camping trip, "We DON'T know all the things we're going to do." Moreover, this confrontation came immediately following Angie's lengthy and passionate turn, heightening its locutionary force. Angie reiterates what she said in her previous clarification, and says, "But we can cross-out those" (details that do not fit under what the whole class is going to do). This statement does not help clarify the two positions, so Trisha uses the confrontational and confusing nature of the moment to step in and attempt to realign both the content and the social relationships among the participants. Trisha uses the content of Angie's reference and revoices Angie's original idea:

"What Angie is saying, I think, and tell me if I am wrong, okay. What Angie is saying is that every time we usually write, we have categories. Right, and we talk about one thing first, and when we talk about something else, we indent, and then talk about something else. Is that right?"

As can be seen in this revoicing move by the teacher, Trisha is setting up and building complex relationships for the speaker, Angie, and the participation of other class members.

Perhaps the most obvious feature of the revoicing move is the reorganization of the content inference into a form that is more understandable to other participants. In this example, the content inference for Trisha's revoicing is Angie's statement, "I think we should cross that out and do it when we get towards the bottom. Cuz we should do everything about camp first." From this content inference, Trisha's revoicing move makes connections to (a) the individual author of the ideas, Angie; (b) the language conventions that are shared collectively by the entire community; and (c) the socially constructed nature of the message. The following illustration examines Trisha's revoicing move and the multiple functions it played in aligning both content and social relationships.

<u>Trisha's Revoicing Move</u>	<u>Cognitive and/or Social Function</u>
"What Angie is saying..."	Gives authorship and ownership of ideas to Angie. Protects Angie's integrity as a competent member in light of disagreements with Jerrod, Danny, and Nathan.
"...and tell me if I am wrong, okay."	Reinforces Angie's authorship. Creates opportunity to be repositioned by Angie (which she does, by saying "No."). Transfers control of meaning making to group members.
"...every time we usually write..."	Calls on shared history of community to position Angie as having a legitimate concern (i.e., we usually...). Realigns content so it is familiar to all members.
"...we have categories..."	Uses specific, conventionalized language that is well understood by this specific community (i.e., we have "categories").
"Right..."	Checks for understanding and agreement that the community has a shared history and is familiar with the convention of having superordinate categories to start paragraphs.
"...and we talk about one thing first, and when we talk about	Again, uses conventionalized language that is well understood

something else we indent, and then talk about something else.”

by this specific community (i.e., “first”, “indent”).

“Is that right?”

Checks for understanding and seeks feedback of group members. Leaves speaking floor open for Angie or other members to respond.

As can be seen by this illustration, the revoicing move is extremely complex and powerful in positioning speakers, content, and the entire community to respond in particular ways. In this example, Trisha created a participant framework in which Angie’s idea is considered seriously by group members, is reformulated and given back to the class in a language that is more familiar and understandable, and, yet, maintains an atmosphere in which it is the class members that are ultimately responsible for constructing the Morning Message story.

The second revoicing move results when Angie tells Trisha that her first revoicing move did not capture what she had meant to say. In Angie’s own reformulation of her ideas, she emphasizes that she wants to maintain Nathan’s idea about collecting bugs, but that it should come in a different location. Interestingly, Angie did, in fact, say this in her previous explanation that was revoiced by Trisha (i.e., “I think we should cross that out and do it when we get towards the bottom”), but apparently felt that Trisha’s revoicing moved her in opposition to the boys by not emphasizing that Nathan’s ideas will still be included in the text. In her reformulation, Angie uses Nathan’s name and puts emphasis on the word “down THERE,” after the group first talks about the things we think we will “DO”: “What I was trying to say is, okay, uh, we should cross out Nathan’s and when we get down towards the bottom, down towards the bottom, we can put it down THERE. Uhhm, when we get done talking about the things we think we’ll DO.”

In response to Angie’s reformulation, Trisha revoices Angie’s content with a more tightly coupled response than the previous revoicing. In fact, unlike the first revoicing

move where Trisha introduced more conventional language (i.e., categories, indenting, first, next, then) and invoked the shared history of the community (i.e., “we,” “Right”) to give voice and significantly extend Angie’s suggestions, Trisha does very little transformation of Angie’s language. Rather, when put side-by-side, Trisha’s revoicing is almost a restatement of Angie’s reformulation. Direct repetitions and words having the same function are underlined for ease of comparison:

Angie’s Reformulation of Content

“No. What I was trying to say is...”

“...okay, uh, we should cross out Nathan’s and when we get down towards the bottom, down towards the bottom...”

“...we can put it down THERE.”

“Uhhm, when we get done talking about things we think we’ll DO.”

“DO.”

Trisha’s Revoicing

“Okay, so what you are saying is...”

“...you want to keep this, but you you think it should go somewhere near the bottom...”

“...later...”

“...because right now we want to talk about, we’re talking about what we’re going to DO at camp.”

In this revoicing move, Trisha honors Angie’s request that she was not heard accurately in the previous revoicing move. Trisha does this by repeating much of Angie’s reformulation, including both specific words and intonation patterns. Angie agrees with Trisha’s second revoicing, repeating Trisha’s emphasis put upon the word “DO” by echoing “DO” before Trisha finishes her turn. Within this revoicing move, however, Trisha continues to speak to other class members. She uses the word “we” repeatedly at the end of her revoice to remind group members that this is their collective message, not the message of any specific individual. As with each involvement strategy Trisha used in Morning Message, the ultimate goal was to respect individual students’ voices while at the time leaving the floor open for further meaning construction by other members of the group.

Direct call. The final involvement strategy demonstrated by Trisha in the above transcript was directly calling on an individual student for their contribution. This involvement move was used frequently across the Morning Message lessons. This move differed slightly from both the floor holding move and the revoicing move, though it often served similar functions in aligning individual speakers with particular content in the ongoing, public discourse. However, the direct calling of an individual student's name did not necessarily involve the called student in a direct speaking turn. Trisha frequently used a child's name in her examples to involve that student in the message, yet did not require the student to respond. Trisha used specific students' thoughts and ideas and weaved their experience into the fabric of the class discourse. For example, in the April 22nd Morning Message story, a debate ensued about whether the author's birthday should be considered a holiday and thus capitalized. The author, Angie, thinks that it should be considered a holiday and the word "birthday" should be capitalized. However, after much discussion, Trisha wants to insure that the students have an accurate conception of conventional uses of capitalized words and steps in to instruct the group:

Trisha: Because its not actually a holiday. Maybe to Angie its a holiday, like you were saying. But its not a holiday, it's her, it's her special...it feels like a special holiday to Angie, Danny might not celebrate it, so it's not a holiday for everyone.

In this example, Trisha directly calls on two group members, Angie and Danny, to involve them as participants in the ongoing discussion. Angie is positioned to feel that her opinion, though not conventionally correct, is valued nonetheless--it is a special holiday to Angie, but not shared by everyone, like Danny. It is this direct or implied use of a child's name that defines this discourse move.

A second use of directly calling on a specific student occurred when Trisha set up a condition in which one particular speaker was given access to the speaking floor to respond to a comment or question posed by Trisha herself. This occurred in line 261 in the above

transcript when Trisha asked Angie if her understanding of Angie's original content reference was accurate: "Is that right?" Though Trisha asks what appears to be an open-ended question, it is clear that the question is directed to the previous speaker, Angie. This form of direct call functioned much like the floor holding move discussed earlier.

A final use of directly calling on an individual to involve them in the discourse was characterized by its function to involve a speaker who was not actively participating in the construction of meaning. This is a common strategy used by teachers, and usually involves making a connection with a particular student through the posing of a question. For example, in the April 23rd Morning Message story about Hannah's family, the issue of whether one should capitalize the word "aunt" or "uncle" before their name (e.g., uncle Bill or Uncle Bill) arises in the group. Trisha seizes this opportunity to involve Nigel, a student who had participated verbally only marginally in the message up to this point. Knowing that Nigel's fifteen year old sister had recently had a child, Trisha uses a direct call to involve Nigel in helping to clarify the ongoing discussion:

- 226 Trisha: Ok, I know that, Nigel, you're an uncle, aren't you?
- 227 Nigel: Yeah.
- 228 Trisha: So does, when Maggie grows up, is she going to call you "Uncle
229 Nigel"? or just "Nigel"?
- 230 Nigel: "Uncle Nigel."
- 231 Trisha: Okay, so for her, to Maggie, is that your name, "Uncle Nigel?"
- 232 Nigel: Yeah.
- 233 Trisha: So when we have a name, we have to do what?
- 234 Danny: Capitalize.
- 235 Trisha: Okay, so what do you think, should I capitalize "grandpa"?

In this example, Trisha positions Nigel to respond by directly calling his name and asking a question, "you're an uncle, aren't you?" However, unlike many direct calls in the form of

questions that position students to answer questions that are then evaluated by the teacher, Trisha's direct call serves to elevate Nigel's unique role as being central for learning a decision rule about capitalizing the words aunt, uncle, grandpa, and grandma. Trisha is able to accomplish two goals through her direct call of Nigel, to gain his verbal participation in the meaning making process and use his experience to realign the content in a form that is familiar to the entire group (i.e., So when we have a name, we have to do what?).

Permission, supporting statements, and humor. Three other involvement moves, though less frequent, appeared across the Morning Message transcripts. The first of these moves, seeking the permission of an individual student, is demonstrated in line 249 of the above transcript. This move was used by Trisha to emphasize the importance of the students' voice and control of the construction process. In the above example, Trisha is ready to embark on a revoicing move that is going to extend and reformulate Angie's previous turn. However, instead of assuming that Angie wants her ideas revoiced, Trisha asks for Angie's permission to reformulate her ideas: "What Angie's saying, I think, *and tell me if I am wrong, okay.*" This seeking permission seemed to communicate a clear message to the individual speaker and the rest of the group that it was the group's story, not the teacher's. This appeared to be an explicit attempt for Trisha to distance herself as the sole source of authority in the classroom.

A second involvement move occurred when Trisha supported another student or the entire group for their effort. In the Morning Message story on April 8th about the class going to camp, the group is helping the author, Danny, think about topics he might talk about. Nathan suggests that Danny might talk about when he gets out of school. However, there is some confusion as to what Nathan meant by this statement, which he later clarifies. Trisha supports Nathan's thinking and thanks him for clearing the air:

035 Trisha: Any other suggestions (for Danny). Nathan?

- 036 Nathan: What he is going to do when he gets out of school.
- 037 Trisha: Today?
- 038 Nathan: No, when he gets out of the school.
- 039 Trisha: When he graduates? That's interesting. I am going to put "When he
040 grows up."
- 041 Nathan: NO, no, when he goes into fifth grade. We get out in June...
- 042 Trisha: Summer vacation.
- 043 Nathan: Yeah, summer vacation.
- 044 Trisha: Thanks for clarifying that for me Nathan. I thought you meant
045 something different, I am glad you went back over that.

In this example, Trisha supports Nathan for pursuing his idea and thanks him for his effort. At the same time, Trisha uses the opportunity to reinforce two prominent language conventions of the community, "clarifying" information and "going back over" your ideas and checking for misinformation ("just like an editor does with one's writing"). As Trisha so often did in Morning Message, she took what the situation gave her and then used this content to orchestrate new possibilities for both the individual and the group. Instead of waiting for teachable moments to arise, Trisha created these opportunities for her students by weaving new mosaics of possibility. In fact, it is sometimes difficult to "see" what Trisha is doing with her talk without imagining how other, less facile teachers would react in similar situations.

A final involvement move used by Trisha was to use humor to try and capture an individual's or the group's attention. During the March 22nd Morning Message story in which Angie was being introduced to the class through Morning Message, Angie noted that she was ten-and-a-half years old (written as "10 1/2" on the chart paper). Danny then asked Trisha what the "1/2" meant. Trisha then used Danny's confusion to create a teachable moment for all members of the group, using pictures on the board to illustrate various fractional units. Near the end of the mini-lesson on fractions, Trisha uses humor to

capture the attention of the group:

- 346 Trisha: So I am going to divide it in half and another half. So what would
347 my bottom number be? Tracey?
- 348 Tracey: Four.
- 349 Trisha: Four, okay, don't say anything. And how many pieces does Mike
350 get? Janitra?
- 351 Janitra: One.
- 352 Trisha: One, so he gets one-fourth of the pizza.
- 353 Danny: Ohh! I get that, there's four pieces and then we get three (fourths).
- 354 Trisha: How many pieces does Angie get?
- 355 Ss: One.
- 356 Trisha: One, so she gets one-fourth too. This one's Danny's. We're doing
357 math during Morning Message. And I cut it crooked on purpose so
358 I could have the biggest piece.
- 359 Ss: Ahhhh! (laughter)

Using humor during the Morning Message event was an important way in which Trisha used discourse to involve her students, though this move was not used very often. In fact, in the entire March 22nd transcript, Trisha's use of humor in turn nine was the only evidence of this particular move in the entire lesson. However, as this example illustrates, Trisha's taking of the largest piece of the imaginary pizza creates a humorous situation in which Danny gets the short-end of the stick (or the small piece of pizza). Nearly the entire class laughs at Trisha's comment, drawing attention to the fractional units being discussed, and helping to focus their attention before moving back to the original content of the message (i.e., Angie's introduction to her classmates).

To conclude, the study of involvement moves in Morning Message makes visible the inextricable relationship between language and learning. Trisha's orchestration of her discourse served to align and realign the content, the rights and duties of individual speakers, the relative roles and statuses of various members of the group, the responsibility

of the group in participating in the construction of meaning, and the ways students interacted with content and one another. Trisha's use of the various involvement moves created participant frameworks that positioned an individual speaker(s) or the entire group to consider particular alternatives. These boundaries of possible response actions, in turn, reflected the types of thinking that were afforded in the Morning Message discourse space in this particular classroom community. It is to these affordances in literate behavior that we turn in the next section.

This section began by suggesting that Tannen's (1989) use of the term "involvement strategies" might be a useful way of thinking about classroom discourse, especially in classroom events where there are explicit attempts to move discourse in ways that are more reflective of dialogues or conversations with more equal-status relationships. Though some would certainly argue that the discontinuity and asymmetry in roles and power between teacher and students would prevent true conversations from occurring (i.e., defined by equal opportunity to access the speaking floor), it is widely believed that there may be great value in having teachers and students engage in forms of talk that move away from the authoritative discourse that has tended to predominate most classroom discourse.

The examination of Trisha's involvement moves suggests that there may be rich opportunities to study how teachers create participant frameworks for students through their talk. Though Tannen's notion of conversation involvement is a starting point in describing what might constitute involvement moves by the teacher, it does not appear extensive enough to account for the ways in which the teacher's involvement moves discursively position individual speakers, the entire class community, and the content being discussed. Rather, this data suggests that O'Connor and Michael's (1993) notions of how discourse moves create participant frameworks that *align* both the content and the social relationships of group members is more useful when studying classroom discourse. In this perspective, discourse is viewed as constantly "positioning" individuals, the entire group,

and the content under consideration. Moreover, these discursive positionings create different opportunities to learn and, ultimately, reflect different ways of studenting in school.

Educational Affordances in the Morning Message Discourse Space

This section attempts to describe the types of literate behaviors that were afforded students as Trisha and her students constructed and reconstructed the discourse space of Morning Message. Having focused on how Trisha's talk discursively positioned students to align both cognitive and social participation, this section examines some of the specific literate behaviors that students had opportunities to engage in with one another.

Specifically, we look at how the social dialogue created opportunities to come into contact with writing conventions that were introduced and practiced in Morning Message. An examination of how the social dialogue of Morning Message becomes internalized to guide independent action is also undertaken.

Before examining specific examples of the literate behaviors afforded in Morning Message, it is important to remember that the notion of affordances reflects the educational possibilities that reside in various discourse spaces (Santa Barbara Discourse Group, 1992b). Rather than assume that a particular discourse space (e.g., Morning Message) is enacted similarly by different teachers, the study of educational possibilities, in this case literate behaviors, requires examining how teachers and students in particular communities construct and reconstruct the activity as they engage in social activity with one another. Through the examination of various discourse spaces on a case-by-case basis, it is then possible to begin to understand the generic processes that more (and less) effective teachers engage in. As importantly, this line of inquiry can help teachers and policy makers make informed decisions as to the range and types of discourse spaces that support a particular range of literate behaviors.

The following discussion of the literate behaviors afforded in Morning Message is

divided into three sections. The first section examines how Morning Message allowed students access to a range of writing conventions, including skills and strategies involving planning, organizing, drafting, editing, and revising one's paper. The second section then highlights the inculcation of students into a particular literate discourse. Emphasis in this section is placed upon Morning Message as a unique milieu for trying-on and practicing the language of more able writers. The final section attempts to shed light on the possible internalization and transfer of the social dialogue to independent editing and writing.

Skills and Strategies in the Writing Process

Morning Message was a discourse space that was unique in a number of ways. First, unlike many writing process approaches that help children plan, organize, draft, edit/revise and publish papers over several days or weeks (Calkins, 1991; Englert, Raphael, & Anderson, 1992), Morning Message was a microcosm of the entire writing process each day. The teacher and students introduced a topic, often times reminding themselves of their parent audience, constructed the story through commenting and questioning, and then concluded each story by providing an ending and chorally reading the story to insure its sensibility. Editing and revising were ongoing from the very first sentence to the final reading of the story. In this sense, the writing process was not broken down into separate phases (e.g., planning one's paper, then brainstorming ideas) apriori, but was subsumed in the natural flow of the discourse. Second, unlike many writing programs that have students working independently or in small groups, Morning Message was a social dialogue that involved the entire class. Trisha served as scribe, so students could concentrate their attention on meaning construction. Importantly, the written message on the chart paper was a critical source of mediation for students, as they saw the immediate effect of their and their peers' suggestions in writing. In other words, a student's oral language was constantly seen as translatable into written text. Finally, Morning Message involved the use of a single student's personal experience each day as

the content for the construction of the written text, creating unique opportunities for students to come into contact with their peers in the community.

One particularly important affordance in Morning Message was the opportunity for students to practice using the many writing skills and strategies that more able writers routinely engage in. Though it is impossible to represent all of the various conventions that students in Trisha's class used (see Figure 13 for a depiction of Trisha's "Literacy Content Moves"; see Appendix D for specific examples and definitions), we examine several transcripts below to highlight some specific examples and give a flavor of the Morning Message discourse. In addition to commentary and analysis preceding and following each section of transcript, I have underlined specific portions of the text to highlight particular conventions.

In the following two transcripts, I illustrate one common feature of Morning Message, the importance of organization, and a number of specific conventions that define this feature, including using a clear topic sentence, using categories of information with supporting details, indenting new categories of information to tell the reader that there has been a switch in topic, and excluding details that do not fall under a particular category to another portion of the text. In the first transcript of March 22, a new student, Angie, is being introduced to the class through Morning Message. This use of Morning Message is a standard operating procedure in Trisha's classroom. In fact, in the first line of this transcript, Byron suggests that the teacher did not have to shake the jar and draw a name because there was a new student: "No, Angie's supposed to be the one. She's supposed to go first, she's the new kid." This transcript is used to illustrate the use and importance of having categories of information, in this case, to introduce someone to their parents. The second transcript, on April 8, then shows how miscommunication around the inclusion or exclusion of a particular detail under a category makes visible the centrality of organization as a fundamental affordance to students in Trisha's room.

March 22. On March 22, Angie, a new student to the class, is chosen as the author. As was typical in the past for other new students, the class brainstormed a number of categories that they might inquire about. As the following transcript illustrates, many of the categories, such as “eats,” “family,” “looks,” and “does” have become internalized by students to the point of automaticity. However, a recent term that had been introduced in the months preceding this message by Trisha was the term “characteristics.” A discussion ensues about what this category might include, especially whether this category would subsume other categorical labels in the past, such as “looks.” Clearly, this discussion results in much confusion among members of the group, including Trisha herself, but it makes visible a number of conventions that were prominent features of Morning Message.

- 002 Trisha: Ok, she’s the new student, thanks for reminding me. Ok, Angie,
003 come up and sit in the chair.
- 004 Trisha: Okay, let’s think about some categories. What do you want to
005 know about her?
- 006 Gerry: Nothing.
- 007 Trisha: Gerry, you just spent a point. Janitra?
- 008 Janitra: How big she is?
- 009 Trisha: So what is that? Angie’s here (name within middle of categorization
map).
- 010 S: Tall
- 011 Trisha: What would it be though, would it be tall?
- 012 Danny: Characteristics.
- 013 Trisha: Characteristics. Oh, I need a bigger circle. I didn’t think you guys
014 would remember that!
- 015 Trisha: Ok, what else do you want to know about, Hia?
- 016 Hia: Her sister.
- 017 Trisha: Her sister, so what is that category?
- 018 Danny: Family.

- 019 Trisha: Family, good job (draws circle with word “family” in it). What else
020 do you want to know about? Tracey?
- 021 Tracey: Things that she do, does? (Trisha draws circle with word “does” in
it).
- 022 Trisha: What else would you like to know about? Danny?
- 023 Danny: What she likes to eat.
- 024 Trisha: What she likes to eat (draws circle with word “eats” in it). Any
025 other categories you want to know about? Byron?
- 026 Byron: Where does she go?
- 027 Trisha: Where does she go? We got “Do”? Would that go under “Do”?
- 028 Angie: Kind of.
- 029 Trisha: Kind of, okay. Janitra?
- 030 Janitra: (Danny interrupts: What she likes to wear?)
- 031 Trisha: (Holds floor for Janitra) Janitra, did you have your hand up? What
032 did you want a category on? Do you want me to come back to you?
033 Okay. Gerry?
- 034 Gerry: We can’t see that.
- 035 Trisha: I know, it doesn’t matter. Tracey?
- 036 Tracey: What does she like to wear?
- 037 Trisha: What she likes to wear. You know, what I should do is just put this
038 on a big piece of paper and whenever we get a new kid, just put it
039 on the board, because they’re basically the same categories except
040 one category you weren’t supposed to remember because its way
041 beyond the fourth grade.

In this first phase of Morning Message, students are engaged in the creation of categorical labels to guide the planning of their paper, especially as it relates to the nature of questions Angie will receive. Trisha uses the word “category (ies)” six different times and simultaneously draws a circle with the specific label students give her, modeling one possible convention for separating categories from specific details. Though Danny is particularly automatic in brainstorming categories, a close inspection suggests that several

other students are less clear about their understanding. In line 008, Janitra offers “how big she is” as a possible category and a second student in line 010 says “tall.” Danny then provides the label “characteristics” to encompass both students’ ideas. Similarly, in line 026, Byron offers “where does she go” as a possible category, and is questioned by Trisha for clarity. Janitra is again given the floor in line 030, but is interrupted by Danny who offers a common category in the community, “what she likes to wear.” Though Trisha holds the floor for Janitra, she declines to comment. However, Tracey borrows or “ventriloquates” through Danny by repeating “What does she like to wear” in line 036 and is taken up and affirmed by Trisha’s repetition of the phrase in line 036.

This seemingly simple brainstorming of categories points to a key feature in the learning of writing conventions in Morning Message: Students’ understandings of conventions like developing categories to organize one’s writing are made visible on a social plane. As a result, zones of proximal development, these regions of sensitivity in which children are not able to complete a particular task without the support of a more knowledgeable adult or peer, are created for students on a moment-to-moment basis. For example, four students, Hia, Tracey, Janitra, and Byron, all offer details, not categories, allowing for Trisha and others (e.g., Danny) to nudge students to more correct conceptions of the convention under consideration. For example, in line 016, Hia says he wants to know about “her sister.” Trisha then takes Hia’s partially correct idea (i.e., a detail under the category of family) and redirects it to the group, asking in line 017 “Her sister, so what is that *category*?” Danny then correctly responds by saying “family,” making visible a more correct conception. Over time, it is hoped that these social dialogues may go underground and be transformed to guide independent action.

In the second phase of this Morning Message transcript, we see an additional writing convention discussed, that of *sequencing* one’s paper by determining what order categories should proceed in so that we are sensitive to the needs of our audience (i.e.,

parents).

- 040 Trisha: Okay, which one should we start with? What she eats, what she
 041 wears, what she does, her family, or her characteristics? Byron,
 042 what do you think?
- 043 Byron: What does Angie do.
- 044 Trisha: What does Angie do. So you think that should be the first one?
 045 Raise your hand if you agree that we should start with "What Angie
 046 Does"? Okay, what other ideas might we have; what she wears,
 047 what she eats, her family, or characteristics? Janitra?
- 048 Janitra: What she eats.
- 049 Trisha: What she eats. Raise your hand if you think that's the way we
 050 should start this. Okay, we have one for that. Okay, let's see, do
 051 you think eats too? (nods yes). Okay, so you and Danny.
- 052 Jerrod: Me too!! (several others jump on bandwagon)
- 053 Trisha: (thinking-aloud) Okay, now let's think about this. When you
 054 introduce a person, do you immediately tell people what she eats?
- 055 Jerrod: Yeah.
- 056 {
- 057 S: No.
- 058 {
- 059 S: Family.
- 060 Trisha: When you introduce a person, what should you tell about them first?
 061 Mark?
- 062 Mark: Characteristics.
- 063 Trisha: Characteristics. You want to talk about the person first. Okay, you
 064 want to tell about their characteristics first.
- 065 Danny: Can their characteristics go, I mean, with family?
- 066 Ss: No, it goes with family.
- 067 Trisha: It can, it can. It depends how you do it. It can.
- 068 Trisha: Okay, so let's introduce our parents to Angie. Who can give me the
 069 topic sentence. For characteristics?

- 070 Angie: Tracey?
- 071 Tracey: "Hi, my name is..." (confused)
- 072 Trisha: Good. You're thinking, Tracey said "Hi, my name is." She's
073 trying to figure out how we can introduce Angie. Gerry?
- 074 Gerry: Um, you have to indent.
- 075 Trisha: You have to indent Byron.
- 076 Byron: She can say "Hi, my name is Angie."
- 077 Trisha: Okay, "Hi, my name is Angie". So we're reading this, our parents
078 are reading this and they pick it up and they say, "Hi, my name is
079 Angie"?
- 080 Ss: Uh uh (students feel something is wrong)
- 081 {
- 082 Janitra: No, no.
- 083 Trisha: (Holding imaginary Morning Message paper) I don't know,
084 actually. You know what, when I write a letter home to parents,
085 that's what I say. "Hi, my name is Ms. Williams."
- 086 Trisha: Yeah. Mr. Mariage, do you have any ideas?
- 087 Mr. M.: I don't know, I was thinking we can do it "We have a new kid in
088 class named Angie," but I think either way can work.
- 089 Trisha: Byron?
- 090 Byron: "We have a new kid in our class. Her name is Angie. Um..."
- 091 Trisha: Okay, we have two choices then. We have "Hi, my name is Angie"
092 and "We have a new student in our class. Her name is Angie."
093 Who wants "Hi, my name is Angie"? Raise your hand. Okay, who
094 wants "We have a new student in our class and her name is Angie"?
095 Okay, let's start it that way.

This stretch of talk illustrates another important affordance in Morning Message, that of sequencing one's story to be sensitive to the needs of one's audience. In line 040-042, Trisha solicits suggestions as to what category might be appropriate to start Angie's introduction. Byron suggest that the group should start with what Angie "does" in line 043, which is then repeated by Trisha and followed by the tag question, "So you think

that should be the first one?" in line 044. Instead of imposing her own opinion, Trisha gives responsibility back to the group by asking students to raise their hands if they agreed with Byron's suggestion that the message should start with "What Angie Does." Trisha then repeats the call for suggestions and Janitra says that what Angie "eats" would be an appropriate category to start the message. Trisha again allows the group to raise their hands to show support or disagree with Janitra's suggestion. Several students, including Danny and Jerrod show their support for Janitra's idea, prompting Trisha to think-aloud in lines 53 and 54: "Okay, now let's think about this. When you introduce a person, do you immediately tell people what she eats?"

This sequence illustrates the delicate balance between the voice of students and their power to create their own message, on the one hand, and the importance of teaching the conventions of writing in the larger culture. Trisha artfully balances the need for students to take ownership of their story, but recognizes that ultimately students need to become aware of the conventional discourses associated with schooling and the larger community of writers. Trisha emphasizes the word "start" in line 040 and "first" in line 044 to help nudge students toward more appropriate categories. However, after receiving categories from Byron and Janitra that are not conventionally used when beginning introductions, Trisha provides additional scaffolding by thinking-aloud and saying: "When you introduce a person, do you immediately tell people what she eats?" in lines 053 and 054. This prompt receives an ambivalent response, with Jerrod hanging on to his belief that what Angie "eats" is an appropriate category, while two other students say "no" and "family," respectively in lines 057 and 059. Trisha then reiterates her point, asking again, "When you introduce a person, what should you tell about them first?" Unlike the more open-ended question in the previous statement (i.e., "...do you immediately tell people what she eats?"), Trisha asks a directive that asks for a specific answer to the question, "What

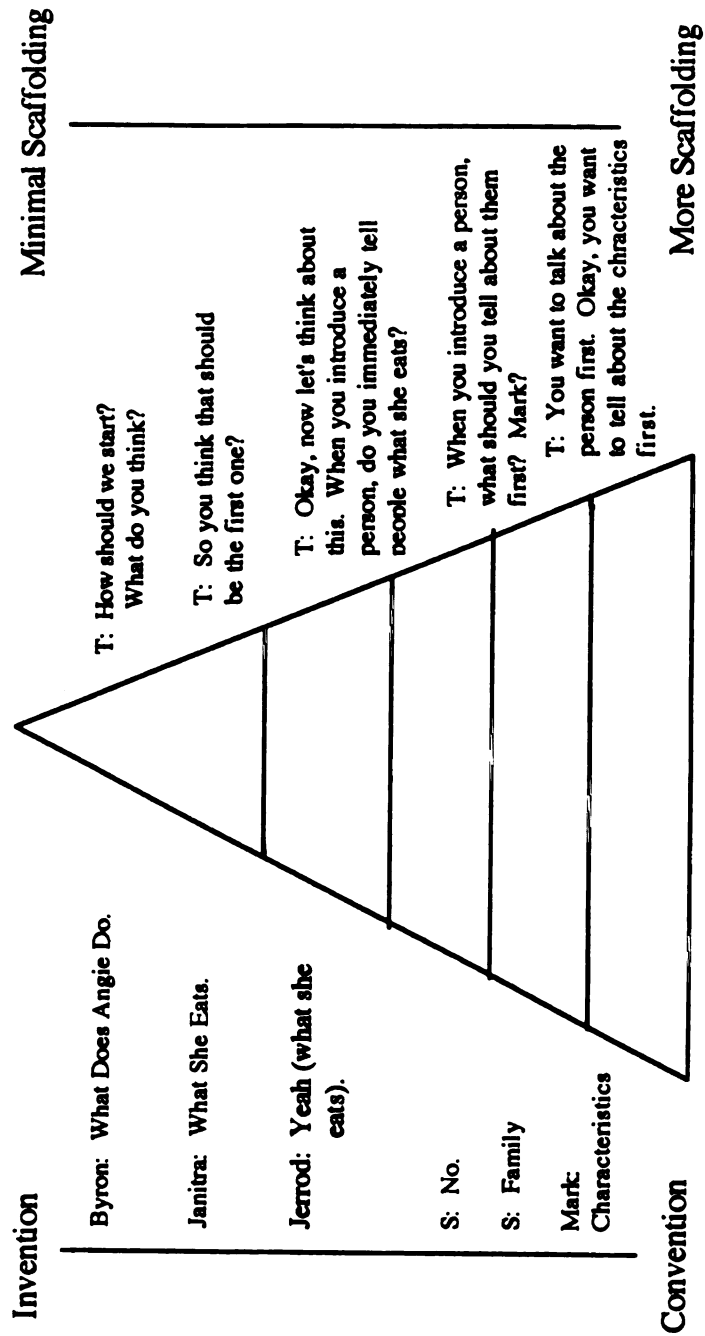


Figure 15 An Example of Trisha's Scaffolding in the Teaching of Writing Conventions

should you tell about them first?" In line 062, Mark responds "Characteristics," to which Trisha then elaborates upon by repeating Mark's response and then instructing, "You want to talk about the person first. Okay, you want to tell about their characteristics first."

This movement from minimal teacher scaffolding and maximal inventiveness by students to more scaffolding and increasingly conventional thinking is illustrated in Figure 15. As this figure indicates, Trisha began the discussion on sequencing by asking students "How should we start?" and "What do you think?", leaving open the possibility that students may apply their own, non-conventional, or invented responses. Byron then provides the category "do," which then positions Trisha to give back to the group the question "So you think that should be the first one?" and that functions to keep the discussion open (and, indirectly, to not fully accept Byron's answer without question). Janitra then offers "What she eats," again leading Trisha to provide additional support. In this case, Trisha takes control of the discussion and thinks aloud by saying, "Okay, now let's think about this. When you introduce a person, do you immediately tell people what she eats?" Trisha ups the ante by questioning the group's thinking up to that point and attempts to appeal to their own experience by wondering if talking about what someone eats is the way they would normally introduce someone. Jerrod remains convinced that this is acceptable, though several students now question whether it would be appropriate. Importantly, Trisha has provided no support for what a better reasoned introduction would be up to this point, only that the students think more carefully about how they might introduce or want to be introduced themselves. This serves to keep the impetus for constructing a more reasoned answer in the hands of the students. Finally, Trisha seeks a direct answer by framing the question as a directive, "When you introduce a person, what should you tell about them first?" This elicits Mark's response, "Characteristics," which Trisha then extends by emphasizing that an introduction should talk about the person first.

The third section of transcript outlined below highlights a third, and probably the

most obvious affordance, the range of editing and revising conventions that are negotiated and practiced in the construction of the Morning Message story. Students are apprenticed into the many important mechanical conventions such as punctuation, capitalization, and spelling, but also into a wide range of semantic (i.e., word meanings) and editing/revising conventions such as crossing out words, using carets to insert ideas, and using asterisks to move entire ideas around in the paper (see Hannah and Danny's Independent Editing and Revising of a Morning Message in Figures 17 and 18 below). Unlike traditional instruction in which these editing and revising conventions are taught one at a time and practiced on decontextualized sentences or paragraphs (Allington, 1992), Morning Message affords students multiple opportunities to use conventions in a meaningful and purposive way. Editing and revising conventions are underlined to help alert the reader to the range and type of these conventions as students continue to discuss how to introduce Angie to the students' parents.

094 Trisha: I am going to do what Gary said, he told me to indent.

095 Ss: Capitalize.

096 Trisha: "We have a new student in ...

097 {

098 Danny: Ms. William's Class

099 {

100 Jerrod Ms. William's Class

101 Trisha: ...Ms. William's class.

102 Danny: Apostrophe "s"

103 Trisha: Apostrophe "s"

104 Janitra: Not at class

105 {

106 Danny: Not at class.

- 107 Janitra: On Ms. William's!
- 108 Trisha: I wasn't even thinking. You said apostrophe "s" and I was doing
109 and "s". (Rereads) "We have a new student in Ms. William's class
110 and..."
- 111 {
- 112 Danny: her
- 113 name is Angie.
- 114 {
- 115 Janitra: her
- 116 name is Angie.
- 117 Trisha: (Rereads) "We have a new student in Ms. William's class and her
118 name is Angie."
- 119 Angie: Can I say something? Capital "A" (on Angie)
- 120 Trisha: Capital "A" . Put an "A" here? (in the word 'have')
- 121 Ss: No!!
- 122 Danny and S: At "Angie".
- 123 {
- 124 Byron: At Angie.
- 125 Trisha: Why?
- 126 Angie: Cause its my name.
- 127 {
- 128 Janitra: Name.
- 129 Trisha: Because its a person's name. (Rereads) "We have a new student in
130 Ms. Wright's class and her name is Angie." Okay, we're going to
131 ask questions about "Characteristics." Oooh, this is hard.

Clearly, the use of various forms of punctuation, rules for capitalization (i.e., start of sentence, names, special things), and marking of a new category by indenting became a form of routinization, a habit of practice. However, this seemingly routine way of starting a paper also carried with it many opportunities for Trisha to teach and reteach the

conventions. For example, in line 120, Trisha forces the students to extend their thinking by taking Angie's comment, "Capital 'A'," and pointing to the letter 'a' in the word 'have.' This comment causes a stir and positions students to explain why it is the 'a' in 'Angie,' specifically. After a number of students yell 'No!', Danny, Byron, and another student all say, "At Angie." Trisha then pushes further, asking the students "Why?", to which Angie correctly responds in line 126, "Because its my name." Trisha then restates for the group Angie's answer in the more conventional form, "Because its a person's name."

Up to this point, I have highlighted three fairly specific affordances of Morning Message, helping children think about the needs of one's audience by organizing their paper into categories and supporting details, the importance of sequencing ideas in a way that makes sense to the audience, and specific writing conventions for starting a paper (e.g., topic sentence, indenting), various mechanical conventions (e.g., punctuation, spelling), editing conventions (e.g., crossing-out words, using carets to add ideas, asterisks), and revision strategies. In the next transcript, we extend the notion of affordance to examine the social processes, including the 'ways of knowing' (Eisner, 1985) and valuing writing that are involved in Morning Message.

April 8. Two weeks later, the issue of organizing one's ideas into categories and their supporting details provides the fuel for a different affordance in Morning Message, that of seeing writing as a problem-solving venture as opposed to merely putting words down on the paper. This affordance, though much more subtle, is perhaps the most important affordance in Morning Message. Rather than view writing as a single draft, students came to view writing as a problem to be solved, with the standard being the question "Does it sound right?" If the text did not meet this standard, then the group took it upon themselves to construct and reconstruct the message in ways that were agreed upon, if not by consensus, then by a convincing majority. The following sequences have been discussed in different contexts in this chapter, but are used again because they

give us a rare glimpse into some of the underlying beliefs about writing, the conventions this group has come to share, and the very nature of this particular community. The transcripts encompass two separate, but directly related discussions. In the first transcript, the class is debating whether Nathan's detail, "*I am going to bring a jar to catch some bugs,*" should fit under the topic sentence, "*Ms William's class is taking a trip to camp.*" The group does not resolve the issue and agrees that maybe temporarily shelving the discussion and adding a new sentence will help clarify matters. As the Morning Message activity ends, Trisha returns to Nathan's idea and the discussion continues. This continuing discussion is the content of the second transcript.

To help facilitate understanding of this complicated discussion, the completed Morning Message story is shown in Figure 16. Nathan's detail about catching bugs is circled by Trisha and an asterisk is placed next to this idea to ensure that the group comes back to this issue at a later time. The first transcript includes the discussion that leads to the circling of Nathan's detail. The second transcript represents the group coming back to this issue near the end of the Morning Message lesson.

In the following section, there is continuing disagreement as to whether Nathan's detail should be placed under the topic sentence or moved to the bottom of the page for inclusion at a later time. At least two related issues serve to muddy the water, heightening the confusion. First, the word "class" is being used in two ways. Gerry, Angie, Tracey, Hannah, and the teacher understand the word "class" as representing the superordinate category that is outlined in the topic sentence and signals "groupness." Danny, and perhaps Jerrod, Janitra, and Nathan, on the other hand, see the term "class" as encompassing fourteen individuals. As a result, Danny wants to include Nathan's idea, but sees that it would take far too long to write a sentence about what each individual member of the class is going to do at camp. Danny faces a dilemma: How does he preserve his friend Nathan's idea, while at the same time not allowing all of the other individuals to

April 8th, 1993

class is
 Ms. William's ~~cla~~ taking
~~a class trip~~ to camp.

They are ~~going~~ going canoeing.

*Nathan is going to bring
 a jar to catch some bugs.

The boys are going to be in one dorm and the girls are going
 to be in another dorm.

They
~~We~~ are going hiking and *

Final Version

Ms. William's class is taking a trip to camp.
 They are going canoeing. The boys are going to be in
 one dorm and the girls are going to be in another dorm.
 They are going hiking and Nathan is going to bring a jar
 to catch some bugs.

Figure 16 April 8 Morning Message

contribute their own ideas? A second challenge is the fact that most Morning Message stories revolve around a single individual's experiences, usually the author's, and not an entire group of individuals. This difference seems to create what Halliday & Hasan (1989) refer to as a frame clash; the normal speaking register has been altered slightly, resulting in a temporary state of confusion. Finally, there is a temporal dimension, the fact that the class has not yet attended the camp, having speculated upon some of the events they would be doing as a class but unsure as to the amount of non-scheduled free time individuals might have.

277 Danny: We're going to talk about insects aren't we?

278 Janitra: We are. "We are going to bring..."

279 Trisha: That's what I am asking, that's what I am wondering, too, Janitra.

280 Gerry: But the *Class*.

281 Trisha: Just a minute, just a minute, Gerry...

282 Janitra: "We are going to bring jars to catch bugs."

283 {

284 Gerry: No we're not.

285 Trisha: What Gerry? (holding his idea for him)

286 Gerry: Um, um

287 Trisha: What did you just say to me?

288 Gerry: We aren't going

289 {

290 Trisha: We aren't going to. Its really just Nathan. I think it
291 really was what mainly you were have a problem with, because we
292 were talking about all of us, and then all of the sudden its Nathan.

293 {

294 Angie: Nathan. Just Nathan.

295 Hannah: But, uh,

- 296 Trisha: But if you want to keep it...
- 297 {
- 298 Janitra: We need a star (*asterisk)
- 299 Trisha: You think just, maybe, right, we need a star (asterisk), you just,
300 maybe, a star, maybe we should put it lower after we talk about
301 what all of us are doing first?
- 302 Angie: Yeah. What we're gonna do.
- 303 Hannah: Or we THINK we're going to do.
- 304 Trisha: Yeah, what we think we're going to do.
- 305 Hannah: I see her point.
- 306 Trisha: Do ya? How many people see Angie's point? Raise your hand. (5
307 hands, Byron, Mark, Tracey, Angie, and Hannah). Raise your
308 hand, Angie, so I can count. Okay, I see Angie's point, too.

This exchange is interesting for several reasons. First, it makes visible the potential for heated debate among individuals and groups of individuals as they negotiate meaning with one another. When examining this and the following section, it becomes evident that although the written message on the chart paper is mediating the discussion, there is almost *no* actual writing being undertaken. Rather, the group spends the majority of its time discussing, questioning, and critiquing. For example, in line 277, Danny poses a question to the rest of the group, "We're going to talk about insects aren't we," which serves to strongly position others to provide support against his claim that Nathan's detail is acceptable. Janitra immediately supports Danny's point, saying "We are. We are going to bring....," but then is repositioned by Gerry's statement in line 280, "But the *class*." This difference in opinion is then further fueled when Janitra provides a sentence that, if true, can potentially solve the disagreement, "We are going to bring jars to catch bugs." Gerry responds directly after Janitra completes her sentences and states, "No *we're* not." Trisha seizes Gerry's idea and holds the floor for him to repeat what he says, and then revoices Gerry's three word response ("We aren't going") by saying in line 290-292, "We aren't

going. It's really just Nathan. I think it really was what mainly you were having problems with, because we were talking about all of us, and then all of the sudden its Nathan." This unusually strong one-sided support by the teacher is taken up by the most vocal dissenter of Nathan's detail, Angie, who passionately agrees and says, "Nathan. Just Nathan" on the coattails of Trisha's response.

Perhaps recognizing her strong stance for Angie's idea, Trisha then seems to re-open the floor in line 296 by saying "But if you want to keep it...," which effectively prompts Janitra to suggest using an asterisk (star), a convention the group uses to move a word, sentence, or even an entire paragraph to another part of the message. In lines 299-301, Trisha then continues to soften her stance and return the meaning-making back to the group, saying "...maybe, a star, maybe we should put it (Nathan's detail) lower after we talk about what all of us are doing first?" Angie again supports this idea, as if it reflects her original position, and Hannah strengthens the argument by saying, "I see her point" in line 305. This prompts Trisha to ask the group for their collective opinions in line 306, in which five of the twelve students present acknowledge Angie's idea. Though Trisha acknowledges that she, too, sees Angie's point, she continues to push the discussion back to the group as the transcript continues.

- | | | |
|-----|----------|---|
| 309 | Mark: | Ms. Williams. |
| 310 | Trisha: | You, Janitra you don't see Angie's point? You don't think its right |
| 311 | | to put down what we're all going to do together first? |
| 312 | Janitra: | (nods no) |
| 313 | Trisha: | No? Jerrod? Do you think we should leave it in here? "Nathan is |
| 314 | | going to bring..." instead of putting it towards the bottom? |
| 315 | Jerrod: | Yeah. |
| 316 | Trisha: | What do you think? |
| 317 | Danny: | It sounds confusing if you put it down at the bottom because we're |
| 318 | | talking about the whole (hands in a big circle) CLASS (frustrated |
| 319 | | with decision). |

- 320 Hannah: Yeah, but its just like Nathan!!
- 321 Trisha: Wait, wait, wait. Its okay, its okay.
- 322 Danny: Then everybody's going to put something up there (hand on head).
- 323 Trisha: Okay, this is a different, if we're going to do what Danny's saying
 324 right now, then Danny's right, listen to this, Danny says that
 325 everyone is going to put something up there. Like, Nathan says
 326 "Nathan is going to bring a jar to catch some bugs." Then you are
 327 going to say something Danny. And then Janitra is. Is that what
 328 your saying?// (No response)
- 329 Janitra: Ms. Williams.
- 330 Trisha: (ignores Janitra's comment to hold Danny's) Is that what you're
 331 saying.
- 332 Janitra: Ms. Williams.
- 333 Trisha: Or not?
- 334 Danny: Yeah. If somebody is going to say they're going to play games,
 335 then they're going to play games. And then say something about
 336 camp.
- 337 Trisha: They're ALL really good arguments, I am not sure what way to go
 338 on this, I am not sure what we should do, but because we are really
 339 stuck, we should try to get another sentence in to see what happens
 340 with the next sentence. And I am just going to circle this (CIRCLES
 341 Nathan' sentence).
- 342 Janitra: Maybe you need a star on there Ms. Williams?
- 343 Trisha: Well, not yet, because I don't know where it is going to go. But if I
 344 do use it somewhere else, Janitra, you're right, I will use a star.
 345 Um, but I am just going to circle it for now because I want to make
 346 sure that when we are done I want to go back and look at this. And
 347 Nathan, it has NOTHING to do with us not wanting it in the story.
 348 We WANT IT THERE and its a GOOD sentence, and its
 349 interesting...
- 350 Hannah: Ms. Williams...
- 351 Trisha: The question is, though, is whether it belongs in the place that its at.
 352 So we're going to keep it regardless.
- 353 {
- 354 Hannah: It looks like Nathan is just talking about
 355 his self and not camp.

- 356 Danny: (disagreement) He's talking about he's going to bring a jar and
357 catch some insects. He didn't say anything else.
- 358 Trisha: This is a really tough one. Okay, how about another question, a
359 comment, another comment, and see where that goes? Let me read
360 it, I am sorry. (rereads) "Ms. Williams's class is taking a trip to
361 camp. They are going canoeing. Nathan is going to bring a jar to
362 catch some bugs."
- 363 Mark: I think that is right. It should tell about people bringing stuff.
- 364 Trisha: Okay, so you want to add something?
- 365 Mark: We should do that now that Nathan has that up there. Instead of
366 crossing it out and wasting the part of the paper that you could have
367 wrote on something else, we should just tell what we're going to
368 bring// And then go back to what we're going to play the games, and
369 stuff like that and...
- 370 Trisha: Gerry.
- 371 Trisha: Do you want to add something or do you just want to say that?
- 372 Mark: I just want to say that.
- 373 Trisha: Okay, so did everyone hear what Mark said? Gerry?

As this sequence illustrates, Trisha effectively turned the meaning-making back to the students. Whereas the earlier sequence lent support to the group who felt that Nathan's detail should be moved to the bottom of the page, this sequence saw the rallying of the group who felt Nathan's ideas were acceptable where it was in the story. In lines 310-311 and 313-314, Trisha acknowledges both Janitra and Jerrod who disagree with Angie's point and feel that Nathan's detail should remain in the first paragraph. Trisha then asks Danny, the author, what he thinks, and with much frustration, he says "It sounds confusing if you put it down at the bottom because we're talking about the whole CLASS (hands forming a large circle)." Hannah follows Danny's plea by vigorously disagreeing and says "Yeah, but its just like Nathan!!," to which Trisha steps in and appeals for calm ("Wait, wait, wait. Its okay, its okay").

This sequence also makes visible how the problem-solving nature of Morning

Message affords opportunities to occasionally fall into a heated and passionate debate. Though the debate mode of discourse is rare in schools (Burbules, 1993; Edwards & Mercer, 1987), that it is happening among third and fourth grade special needs students in productive ways should not be overlooked. The intensely dialogic nature of this literacy event provided a constant means to assess one another's thinking. Just as a teacher works in a student's zone of proximal development by subtly pushing him or her to more complex levels by removing or adding support, students too had access to their peers' thinking. The constant exposure to one another's ideas provided continual fuel for confronting their own thinking, creating a form of dissonance that has long been held as one hallmark of effective instruction.

In the second section of the transcript, Trisha does come back to Nathan's sentence for further discussion. This stretch of talk is unique and unusual, because we gain insight into the implicit rules and importance of the classroom community. In none of the other Morning Message transcripts does Trisha take such extended turns. Trisha noticed the occasional volatility of the discourse, and spent significant time trying to recast the day's events to help the students see where they may have formed agreement with one another. Trisha again sides with Angie's idea as being very important and quite accommodating to the dissenters, hoping to nudge them towards a more tolerant position. Interestingly, although the issue of Nathan's detail consumes nearly two-thirds of the thirty-minute Morning Message session, the event finally ends with agreement.

- 423 Trisha: Okay, I think we're going to stop Morning Message. Let's, what I
 424 want to do is go back and see what you think now, where this is
 425 (Nathan's sentence)
- 426 {
- 427 Nathan: I'll do it real quick.
- 428 Trisha: No, because I want to stop. Let's check it (rereads). "Ms.
 429 William's class is taking a trip..." Read it (chorally) please. "Ms.
 430 William's class is taking a trip to camp. They are going canoeing.

431 Nathan is going to bring a jar to

432 {

433 Angie: I know, I know

434 Trisha: catch some bugs. Boys are going to be in one dorm and girls are
 435 going to be in another dorm." Okay, raise your hand if you think
 436 this sentence is in the right place. Its good, perfect, right there.
 437 Raise your hand if you want to put it some place else later? Okay,
 438 that looks like a majority. Um/// I am going to come back to this
 439 Morning Message.

440 S: When?

441 Trisha: Maybe Monday when we get back. Because we need more work on
 442 this. I think that what Angie was saying at the beginning was
 443 EXTREMELY important.

444 Danny: She was just taking Nathan right out of the paper (defensively)

445 Trisha: See, I think that

446 {

447 Nathan: Yeah, she cut me right off.

448 Trisha: Wait, wait, wait, wait. That's what I want to talk about because I
 449 think, Nathan, I think that's what hurt us in Morning Message,
 450 because there were some bad feelings, and that's not what Angie,
 451 she meant when she said it. See, REALLY, you guys could have
 452 clarified it with her so you understood. Angie wasn't cutting
 453 Nathan out of the paper. We WANT this sentence. And that's what
 454 she said, she said, Angie, you said it right out loud didn't you. You
 455 said, "We can put it some place else." Nathan, this is a wonderful,
 456 wonderful sentence! We want to know that, and that's what Angie
 457 said. But the minute you guys thought she was going to move it,
 458 you guys said "She doesn't want my sentence" (horrified). And
 459 you got upset, and I think that hurt us in Morning Message, because
 460 you have to ask Angie if that's what she's saying, or ask me, that's
 461 not what she was saying at all, was it Angie? Was it Angie? (head
 462 down on desk). Now ANGIE feels bad because she thinks you're
 463 mad at her and there's no reason to be mad because she wanted your
 464 sentence. Its pretty confusing. So I think you just need to figure
 465 out when someone says something you need to ask them, Nathan
 466 you say to her, NICELY, but you say "Are you trying to take my
 467 sentence out?" And I'll bet you Angie's answer would have been...

468 Ss: No.

469 Trisha: No. I wonder sometimes.

- 470 Nathan: But if she wants my sentence, then why didn't she keep it right
471 where she, where it is?
- 472 Trisha: We were writing as a whole group in what we were doing, or what
473 we were going to do. Because she's seen that this isn't how we
474 normally write. And then it switched right to Nathan by himself.
475 And so she was thinking, I think they...YEAH! What Janitra just
476 said. Can you say it again.
- 477 Janitra: Maybe that, we are gonna go first and he can go at another time.
- 478 Trisha: YEAH, like everybody does one paragraph and then the next
479 paragraph could've been what everybody wanted to do separately.
480 So it could've been "Nathan is going to bring a jar to catch some
481 bugs. Gerry is going to bring a book to read at night." Who
482 knows. "Ms. William's is going to bring her Garfield sleeping
483 bag." I mean, it would have been a new paragraph on that stuff.
484 Do you understand what we were saying? Danny, do you
485 understand what we're saying. Because if you felt bad about it,
486 that's why you wanted to keep, because you didn't want to have
487 hurt feelings. But that's not what was happening? Do you
488 understand that Danny?
- 489 Danny: Yeah, but we just can't fit everybody (ideas) on there (almost
490 crying).
- 491 Trisha: So you think that maybe we couldn't do a whole paragraph about it?
- 492 Tracey: I know where that sentence goes!
- 493 Trisha: Okay, just a minute, just a minute.
- 494 Trisha: Okay// Oh, boy.// I think Danny was concerned about Nathan
495 because, you know what's really hard, is that we are so close in this
496 room. We are. We're the family in Room 104, and nobody wants
497 to hurt anybody else's feelings, Byron. And so when, and Danny
498 was trying to help his friend Nathan's sentence in there, so he
499 wouldn't have hurt feelings. But, but Danny, when we just talked
500 about having it in another paragraph, that wasn't good enough,
501 because Danny thought, look at all the people in here, he's thinking,
502 oh my gosh, if we had a sentence for each person in here that would
503 be one, two...and I am going to camp, so that's fourteen.
- 504 Janitra: You would need another paper (piece of chart paper).
- 505 Trisha: TWELVE sentences. You better believe it (you would need another
506 paper).
- 507 Trisha: But he was thinking, we can't do it that way because its too many.
- 508 Janitra: Too many sentences.

- 509 Trisha: So he was still concerned that Nathan's sentence was going to be
 510 dropped out, and he didn't want that.
- 511 Janitra: Now Danny's feeling a little down.
- 512 Trisha: Yeah, I think we have a lot of people who shouldn't feel down.

In this rare occurrence of Morning Message, we see Trisha assume a coaching role for her "family." Trisha directly informs the group that this message does not meet the quality standards in both its content and the ways in which individual members participated in the construction of meaning. In lines 441-443, Trisha announces to the group, "...we need more work on this," which is then followed by her repeating an earlier statement that Angie's idea for moving Nathan's idea towards the bottom is "EXTREMELY important" to consider. This evokes a wave of emotion, and both Danny and Nathan become defensive, with Danny saying in line 444, "She was just taking Nathan right out of the paper," and Nathan actually interrupting Trisha in line 447 and saying "Yeah, she cut me right off." This leads Trisha to embark on an extensive stretch of talk in which she suggests that the unwillingness to listen and seek clarification by asking questions of one another, two of the hallmarks of Morning Message, "...really hurt us in Morning Message," which she repeats twice in her speech. Just as a team is dependent upon all of its members, and wins and loses together, Trisha emphasizes that it "hurts" all of our team when there are members who are not working for the betterment of the team. Trisha then states the usually implicit rule for talking in lines 464-467, "So I think you just need to figure out when someone says something, you need to ask them, Nathan you say to her, NICELY, but you say "Are you trying to take my sentence out?"

Not satisfied with this explanation, in lines 470-471, Nathan says, "But if she wants my sentence, then why didn't she keep it right where she, where it is?", which then leads Trisha to make visible another implicit convention in lines 472-474, the use of categories: "We were writing as a whole group in what we were doing, or what we were

going to do. Because she's seen that this isn't how we normally write. And it switched right to Nathan by himself."

After Janitra suggests that maybe Nathan's idea can go down at the bottom later, a position she had not supported earlier, Trisha then attempts to model how such a change might work, creating a possible scenario by restating Nathan's idea, giving a detail to Gerry about bringing a book to read, and then to herself about bringing a Garfield sleeping bag. This modeling seems to have an effect on Danny, and in line 489-490, Danny finally suggests that he understands, but, nearly crying, he says, "Yeah, but we just can't fit everybody up there." This comment triggers Trisha to understand his point of view and the reason for the misunderstanding, the delicate balance between preserving his friend Nathan's idea in the story, but being metacognitive of the time it would take to be equitable and allow all the students to have a sentence in the new paragraph. This is a critical juncture point for the group, and creates an important lesson for group members. The lesson ends with the following short stretch of talk:

- | | | |
|-----|----------|--|
| 513 | Trisha: | We're going to stop Morning Message. Tracey, do you have |
| 514 | | something to cheer us up. It's Tracey's turn. |
| 515 | Tracey: | See, look, (walks up to board). See THIS (Nathan's sentence) |
| 516 | | should go down with this (last sentence). See its, "on the way, on |
| 517 | | the, Nathan is going to bring a jar to catch some bugs." "They are |
| 518 | | going". That (Nathan's sentence) should go with THAT ("They are |
| 519 | | going hiking"). |
| 520 | Trisha: | Ohhh. She thinks that this one, "Nathan is going to bring a jar to |
| 521 | | catch some bugs" can go with this one, "They are going hiking"? |
| 522 | Tracey: | Yeah. |
| 523 | Danny: | That's... |
| 524 | Angie: | That's what I meant to say. |
| 525 | Danny: | That's what she meant. |
| 526 | Janitra: | Maybe that's what she meant to say. |
| 527 | Mark: | Then put "AND Nathan is going to bring the jar to catch some |

- 528 bugs.”
- 529 Janitra: Maybe you put it down here where it started.
- 530 Trisha: Okay, so take the period away and I'll put “and” here and put the
531 star (asterisk) here instead of down here (all the way at very bottom
532 of page)
- 533 Nathan: (happily) I am going to bring two jars. I am going to bring two
534 jars.

535

END

After over a half-hour of intense debate and some passionate feelings about the message, the team claims a temporary victory. Interestingly, it was Tracey's suggestion, a player who had little involvement across the day's lesson, that leads to an agreed upon resolution. Tracey makes the fairly complex suggestion that the group could extend the sentence about the group's going canoeing and tag-on Nathan's detail. In this way, Nathan's detail becomes attached to a group event, nicely tying the two disparate camps together. This appeals to everyone, and seems to leave everyone satisfied. At least until the next game begins tomorrow.

This sequence illustrates the importance of the classroom community on the quality of the problem-solving atmosphere. Without the investment of students into the task at hand and in their relationships with one another, it is doubtful that the above sequence of talk would ever have taken place. This critical insight has not been discussed extensively in the social constructivist literature and illuminates how the larger social context might influence the types of learning that are afforded in a particular curriculum genre. As researchers continue to study the types of affordances that are made available to students as teachers construct and reconstruct various curriculum genres, it will be critical to examine both the moment-to-moment discourse moves and the interrelationships of group members that determine the qualities of the classroom community. If researchers hope to affect change in language using practices in schools, they must be able to account for generic processes at both the microanalytic and more macro-level of the classroom community. In

turn, the discussion of how the creation of different social contexts creates differential opportunities for students to internalize and transform social dialogues to guide independent action will help researchers and teachers understand the interrelationships between language and context. The next section examines the link between the social dialogues in Morning Message and the internalization of these dialogues in students' independent writing.

Internalization and Transfer of Social Dialogues to Independent Writing

The final affordance that will be discussed is the possible internalization of the social dialogues of Morning Message to guide independent action. This question is particularly important in the study of Morning Message because the children did not engage directly in the physical writing of the message. Equally important, does the level of verbal involvement by individual students have an influence on the quality and number of conventions that are transferred to independent writing? However, it should be remembered that this examination in no way represents causal connections. As suggested earlier, students had multiple opportunities to write across the curriculum in Trisha's classroom. At the same time, it was largely in Morning Message that the various conventions of writing, especially editing and revising conventions, were introduced and practiced on a daily basis.

In order to gain access to what children might have internalized from the Morning Message dialogues, two conditions were created that examined the students' ability to (a) edit the unedited Morning Message story from a student in another teacher's classroom, and (b) independently write and edit their own Morning Message story. In both instances, the conditions were made to be as meaningful as possible. In the editing task, the students were told that a student from another school had completed a Morning Message story but sought their help in editing it for final publication. To help insure that a child's reading ability did not interfere with their understanding of the text, Trisha placed the imaginary child's (Shay) story on the overhead projector and read through the passage twice. She

then directed the children to make any changes needed, just like they did in Morning Message. Furthermore, Trisha played-up the fact that they had done Morning Message all year long and this was their opportunity to show how much they learned. In the second task, the writing of their independent Morning Message stories, Trisha again told the students that since they had done Morning Message together as a group for the entire year, this was a chance for them to show how well they could write and edit their own stories. To insure more authenticity, Trisha told the students that they would all be able to read their Morning Message stories in the Sharing Chair at the end of the period. Both of the tasks took place during the usual Morning Message time and were conducted on different days during the last two weeks of school.

Analysis of the transfer measures will be done in two ways. First, an examination of each of the members' verbal participation is examined in comparison to the breadth and quality of their editing on Shay's unedited Morning Message story. Second, a more detailed examination of several case students' editing task and construction of their independent Morning Message story will be undertaken, including an examination of possible differences in the level of internalization of younger second grade students and the older students in Trisha's room.

Verbal participation and editing. Perhaps the most pressing and difficult research agenda in the study of classroom discourse is attempting to understand how discourse on a social plane becomes internalized and transformed to guide independent action (McCarthy, 1991). Since it is not possible to examine how voices interanimate and come into contact with one another as they create the intrapsychological plane of development, researchers must rely on other methods to assess this invisible process. In this study, I was particularly interested in the internalization of social dialogues as they might be evidenced in concrete writing outcomes. Since this study attempted to move beyond merely describing the discourse forms and functions in the two literacy events, and hoped to show how these

curriculum genres afforded particular literate actions, it was very important to understand whether the students in this study could demonstrate their developing competencies in writing under conditions that differed from the whole class dialogues that typified Morning Message. Two transfer measures emerged based upon the need to examine critical affordances that I thought existed in Morning Message dialogues, including the many writing conventions that were discussed in social interaction, especially editing and revising conventions, and the eventual improvement in students' independent writing.

One question that emerged from the study of this particular classroom was whether the amount of verbal participation in Morning Message was related to the breadth and quality of the editing the students undertook in the editing transfer measure. A second question this study asked was how individual students participated in the various curriculum genres. In order to gain some insight into these two questions, a scoring protocol was developed for Shay's unedited Morning Message story (Figure 9). Each individual student independently edited Shay's story. Passages were then scored and students were rank-ordered. The student with the most editorial changes was given the rank of "1" and so forth. To assess verbal participation, the total number of speaking turns for each child was summed and divided by the number of Morning Message sessions in which they were present. This figure represented the average number of speaking turns per Morning Message lesson. Again, students were rank-ordered, with the student who had the highest average speaking turns per message given the rank of "1" and so forth. The results of this examination are shown in Table 11.

As this table suggests, there were some very interesting trends and patterns of response. Perhaps the most striking is the correlation between verbal participation and the number of editing changes students made. Five of the first six most active participants in Morning Message were the same students who made the most significant editing suggestions for Shay's story. In other words, it appeared that verbal participation in

Table 11 Rank-Order of Editing Changes and Level of Verbal Participation in Morning Message

Name	Grade	Number of Editing Changes	Rank	Average Number of Speaking Turns in Morning Message	Rank
Angie	4	37	1	32	3
Janitra	4	31	2	20	5
Danny	4	30	3	45.4	2
Nathan	4	25	4	38.5	4
Mark	4	24	5	10.6	8
Hannah	4	22	6	51.25	1
Amber	3	21	7	7.5	10
Juan	4	19	8	5.0	13
Jerrold	4	18	9	11.2	7
Tracey	4	12	10	6.2	11
Gerry	3	11	11	7.75	9
Byron	3	10	12	19.4	6
Nigel	3	6	13	6.6	12
Hia	3	2	14	2.0	14

Morning Message may be a strong indicator of the level of internalization students achieved in using editing conventions. Though only speculative, it may be that students who were active participants in the Morning Message dialogue were so because the various editing conventions were more automatic and easily retrievable, whereas other students were still learning the various conventions.

Another possible trend appears between the grade level of the student and the amount of editing changes they made. As the table illustrates, the four lowest scores were all third grade students. Only one student, Amber, scored higher than other fourth grade students. However, this may be explained for several reasons. First, Hia spoke very little English, and was trying to find ways in which to enter the dialogue. Nigel and Amber, it will be recalled, often missed the first fifteen to twenty minutes of the Morning Message lesson, making it difficult to enter a conversation that had already begun. In fact, both Gerry and Byron had higher verbal participation than Nigel and Amber, most likely because these students were there for the entire lesson. However, even given these caveats, it appears that development and practice plays a particularly important role in learning editing/revising conventions.

Younger students did not appear to have internalized the social dialogues at the same level of their slightly older and more experienced peers. With the exceptions of Mark and Hannah, students who had qualified for special education in the fourth grade, all of the other fourth grade students had at least a full year apprenticeship in Trisha's middle elementary classroom, while four of the five third grade students had recently come from the K-3 Early Literacy Project classroom (i.e., the early elementary room of Ms. Barnes). As noted earlier, Trisha was the only teacher in the Early Literacy Project to use Morning Message five days per week, adding to the time students were apprenticed in the Morning Message dialogue. Though beyond the current study, other ethnographic data collected over two years in Trisha's room seems to support a fairly strong trend based upon

development and practice. Students who tended to have less verbal participation during their first year in Trisha's classroom later became the leaders as older and more experienced students matriculated to the upper elementary classroom and new, less experienced students moved up from the early elementary classroom (Mariage, in preparation).

A final analysis of the data that should not be overlooked is the sheer number and quality of editing/revising conventions/suggestions made by students. In the editing task, thirteen of the fourteen students recognized at least one of the three incoherent sentences in the story and made important changes. Eight of these thirteen students recognized all three ($n=4$) or two of the three ($n=4$) unclear sentences and made appropriate changes. Moreover, twelve of the fourteen students made at least ten or more editing/revising changes to the story. This finding is particularly important given the plethora of documentation that suggests that learning disabled students tend to be much less strategic writers and readers than their regular class peers, failing to monitor many aspects of their composition and comprehension (Raphael, Englert, & Kirschner, 1989). This lack of metacognitive awareness has come to define instructional recommendations for these students (Palincsar & Ransom, 1989), and it appears that Morning Message is particularly effective at helping special needs students come to gain control of and regulate the editing and revision of another's paper.

Of course, many questions remain. First, these findings are not causal, as there was no pretest data to control for background knowledge, nor was there a non-experimental control group to compare results. Rather, these data represent a snapshot of these students at one point in time. Second, it was beyond the scope of this study to examine the quality of each individual student's verbal participation. Verbal participation was measured only as the quantity of turns, not on any qualitative measure. It remains tenable that a child may not have extensive verbal participation but internalize a great deal. However, it is hoped that the numerous transcripts have helped the reader come to learn

about some of the various students and lend some initial support for the assertion that verbal participation may be an important indicator of the extent children had learned about various features of the writing process. Finally, it was not possible to control for the influence of other curricular events on the students' ability to edit. It may be the case that students learned editing/revising conventions in other classrooms (e.g., their regular education classroom) or in other curricular events. Though there are some powerful trends in this initial transfer task, it is only speculative in nature. The above limitations are important considerations for further study of the potential affordances of Morning Message. The next section examines in more depth three students' performances on the transfer tasks.

Editing/revising task and independent writing: Three cases. For purposes of illustrating further the possible affordances provided in Morning Message, three students, Hannah, Danny, and Ray were chosen. Hannah was chosen because of her number one ranking in average verbal participation in Morning Message lessons. Hannah was a fourth grade girl who had only recently qualified for special education services, and had participated in Morning Message for just three months. Danny, a fourth grade student, was chosen due to his extended participation in Early Literacy Project classrooms (i.e., 2.6 years) and his leadership role in Morning Message discussions. Ray, a second grader in Mrs. Barnes' lower elementary special education classroom, was chosen due to his younger age and one year participation in Morning Message.

Both Hannah and Danny were active in their editing/revision of Shay's story, making 22 and 30 editing changes, respectively. As indicated in Figures 17 and 18, each student made numerous mechanical corrections, including capitalizing the first letter of a sentence, a special name (e.g., "D" in demon drop), and a city (e.g., "L" in the city of lansing; "H" for huffy bicycle). Other mechanical corrections included using commas to create pauses in a list of names (e.g., Sara, Joan, and...), inserting periods at appropriate

full stops, and using apostrophes to indicate both contractions (e.g., don't) and possessives (e.g., Shay's). When totalling the mechanical corrections, Hannah successfully changed 9 of the 19 potential corrections while Danny changed 10 of the 19 possible corrections.

Hannah and Danny also engaged in more complex editing strategies, including being able to assume the role of the parent audience and change the pronouns "we" and "my." For example, both students changed "we" to "Shay" and "my" to "her" in the topic sentence, indicating they had internalized the importance of telling the parent audience the specific author's name (i.e., Shay). Without this critical change, the parent audience would be left to wonder who the story was about. More impressively, each of the students recognized the incongruities in all three of the incomplete sentences. Both Hannah and Danny crossed-out the entire sentence fragment "I like that." Danny simply eliminated the sentence, while Hannah attempted to edit the sentence by crossing out the sentence fragment, and changing the pronoun from "I" to "She." Though it is difficult to discern, it may be that Hannah intended to connect the sentence fragment to the next sentence, creating a much more complex sentence: "She liked that her sister Julie and her friends Sara, Joan, and Lori went on the Gemini."

Hannah and Danny also edited the incomplete sentences "it is roller coaster upside down" and "I went on the demon drop falls fast," though in quite different and creative ways. Hannah crossed out the period at the end of the previous sentence, "The Gemini is scary," creating a subject for the incomplete sentence "it is roller coaster upside down." The new sentence, though still not correct, approaches a more acceptable response: "The Gemini was scary(,) it is (a) roller coaster (that goes) upside down." Hannah then breaks the next confusing sentence into two separate and appropriate sentences. She places a period after "demon drop" and then uses a caret to insert the word "It" before "falls fast." The result is the two complete sentences, "I went on the demon drop" and "It falls fast."

May 3, 1993

Shay's Morning Message

This weekend ~~we~~ ^{Shay} went to cedar point with ~~my~~ ^{she} her
 grandma and grandpa smith. ~~like that~~ ^{she liked that}. ~~my~~ ^{her}
 sister Julie and her friends Sara, Joan & Lori
 went on the Gemini .The Gemini is scary, it
 is roller coaster upside down. I went on the
 deamon drop, ^{it} falls fast. When we got back
 home to ~~lansing~~ ^{lansing} it was n't good. ~~Shays~~ ^{Shays}
 bicycle was stolen from the front yard. Shay
 was not happy that she lost her huffy bicycle.
 She was mad ^{at the person. how fuck her bicycle.}

Figure 17 Hannah's Independent Editing of Morning Message

May 3, 1993

Shay's Morning Message

This weekend, ^{Shay} ~~we~~ went to cedar point with ^{her} ~~my~~
 grandma and grandpa smith. ~~I like that.~~ My
 sister Julie and ^{some} ~~her~~ friends Sara, ^{and} Joan, Lori
 went on the Gemini. The Gemini ^{was} ~~is~~ scary. ~~it~~
^{the} ~~is~~ roller coaster ^{went} upside down. I went on the
~~deamon~~ ^{it} ~~drop~~ ^{very} falls fast. When we got back
~~home~~ ^{sit} to lansing it was ^{good} ~~nt~~ good. Shays
 bicycle was stolen from the front yard. Shay
 was ~~not~~ happy that she lost her ~~Huffy~~ ^{Huffy} bicycle.
^{very} She was mad

Figure 18 Danny's Independent Editing of Morning Message

Danny edited the incomplete sentences differently. Danny changes the verb tense from the present tense, “is” to the correct past tense form “was” in the sentence “The Gemini is scar””. Danny then crosses out the words “it” and “is” in the next sentence, and inserts the words “the” and “went.” The resulting sentence, “the roller coaster went upside down,” is a complete sentence. Danny then makes a similar change to Hannah’s in the next sentence. Like Hannah, Danny uses a caret and adds the word “it” before “falls,” and adds an additional word, “very” before the word “fast.” It appears that Danny intended to create two sentences, “I went on the Demon Drop” and “It falls very fast,” though it is difficult to tell, since there is not a period after the word “drop” and the word “it” is not capitalized to indicate a new sentence.

Finally, both Hannah and Danny inserted additional words or ideas that directly affected the meaning and/or interest of the message. Hannah’s changes are particularly complex, as she crosses out a period to make a compound sentence in one instance and then adds a considerable number of words to clarify the end of Shay’s story. In the first example, Hannah decides to cross out the period after the word “good,” and uses a caret to insert the word “because.” The result of these two changes is the complex sentence, “When we got back home to Lansing it wasn’t good because Shay’s bicycle was stolen from the front yard.” At the end of the story, Hannah goes beyond the content of the story and builds upon the sentence, “She was mad” by adding the string “...at the person who took her bicycle.”

Danny also makes several changes; though not as complex as Hannah’s, they are directly related to making the story more interesting to the audience. Danny feels that the word “home” right before the word “Lansing” connotes a double meaning, so he crosses out the word “home.” He also appears to recognize that the ending of the sentence, “...it wasn’t good,” is somehow incomplete. As a result, Danny uses a caret and adds the clever words “a good site,” resulting in the sentence “When we got back to Lansing it wasn’t a

good site,” adding drama to the fact that Shay’s bicycle had been stolen. Danny then inserts the word “very” in the last sentence, emphasizing the anger that Shay must have had at losing her bicycle.

Clearly, both Hannah and Danny appear to have internalized many editing skills and revising strategies. However, in order to further refine my understanding of the possible factors that influence the internalization of these social dialogues, I conducted the same independent editing task with the first and second grade special education students in Mrs. Barnes’ early elementary class. This examination was particularly revealing, as it became apparent that there was a *“performance before competence”* effect for the younger students (Cazden, 1988).

Ray, a second-grade African-American boy who had participated in Morning Message and similar activities (i.e., whole group construction of thematically related stories that were edited using the same conventions as Morning Message) for one entire year is particularly illustrative of this principle. In Ray’s edited story in Figure 19, a number of editing and revising conventions are visible. First, Ray uses five carets, presumably to insert additional words. Next, he draws an arrow and a star (i.e., asterisk) in lines three and four, respectively, common conventions the group uses to indent paragraphs and move an idea to another part of the paper. Finally, Ray inserts four periods, all at the far right side of the paper.

What is so revealing about Ray’s example is that although he certainly has begun to use a number of editing forms, or conventions, it is clear that he has not yet fully internalized their functions in changing the meaning of written text. For example, it appears that Ray has correctly noticed that carets are often used between two words to add a new word(s) above the line, yet fails to add any words to change the meaning. He also appears to have internalized the rule that “periods go at the end of the sentence,” but is still grappling with the idea that sentences do not necessarily end at the right edge of the paper.

May 3, 1993

Shay's Morning Message

this weekend we went to cedar point with my
 grandma and grandpa smith. I like that. My
 sister Julie and her friends Sara Joan Lori
 went on the Gemini. The Gemini is scary. it
 is roller coaster upside down. I went on the
 deamon drop falls fast. When we got back
 home to lansing it was nt good. Shays
 bicycle was stolen from the front yard. Shay
 was not happy that she lost her huffy bicycle.
 She was mad.

Figure 19 Ray's Independent Editing of Morning Message

Ray's example helps to shed light on the process of internalization in Morning Message. Ray, like Hannah and Danny, has begun to appropriate some of the editing and revising conventions that have been introduced in Morning Message. However, unlike his older peers, Ray has not yet become facile in using these skills and strategies in conditional ways that change meaning in the text. Ray, like a new apprentice, is "trying on" some of the behaviors and actions he has observed in Morning Message. Unlike Hannah and Danny, these behaviors appear to be somewhat random and disconnected.

This comparison across grade levels and experience seems a particularly powerful way to examine internalization, both within and between students over time. This brief examination still leaves many questions unanswered. For example, it appears that Hannah, in only three months, was able to internalize and use many of the conventions in Morning Message very quickly. In her independently written Morning Message story in Figure 20, we see additional evidence that Hannah has gained the ability to regulate and monitor her writing. Hannah has incorporated the group's convention of placing the circled letter "s" above a word that needs to be clarified for spelling nine times. Interestingly, underlining a potential misspelled word was not a common convention of the group, but is effectively employed by Hannah to help her recognize words that have given her trouble. Hannah's accuracy in her self-monitoring is impressive. In eight of the nine words she marked as needing clarification, she correctly assumed that there was a needed change in spelling. Hannah had only two words that she did not monitor correctly in the rest of her text, the repeated use of "they" as "thay" and "bac" for "back."

Hannah also shows evidence of using carets to change pronouns (e.g., "we" to "they"; "They" to "Hannah") and to add new words (e.g., "went home" to "back to school"). Hannah freely crosses-out words that do not fit and employs a number of conventions learned in Morning Message, including the use of apostrophes to show

Thursday June 3, 1993

Yesterday, Hannah's class went on a field trip.
 We ^{they} went to Jackson Space Center. ^{they} ~~then~~ study space.
 Then ^{they} ~~were~~ ^{they} were done studying about space
~~they~~ ^{they} went outside. ~~they~~ at Jackson Space Center
 and had lunch then ^{they} ~~they~~ played a game on
 the bars, but Heather played tag. Then they
~~went back to school~~. ^{Heather} ~~they~~ had lot's
 of fun!!

Thursday June 3, 1993

Yesterday, Hannah's class went on a field trip.
 They went to Jackson Space Center. They study
 space. Then when they were done studying about space
 they went outside at Jackson Space Center and had lunch
 then they played a game on the bars, but Hannah played
 tag. Then they went back to school. Hannah had lot's
 of fun.!

Figure 20 Hannah's Independent Writing of a Morning Message

ownership (e.g., “Hannah’s class”). Hannah also effectively capitalizes the first letter of each sentence and important words, like her name and “Jackson space center,” though she thinks that this is one word and fails to capitalize the “s” in Space and “c” in Center. Finally, Hannah uses a form of ending that Morning Message stories use nearly everyday, the use of an exclamation mark to make the story more exciting.

Ray’s independent Morning Message story does not represent the complexity of editing and revising that Hannah demonstrated, but does have a number of specific changes, though too light to show-up on his copied story (Figure 21). For example, Ray correctly changes the word “We” to “Ray” in the first word of the well formed topic sentence to insure that the parent audience knows who is being talked about in the story. Ray also shows that he has internalized some of the capitalization rules, including the name of a local lake (i.e., Lake Lansing) and capitalizing “Ray” and “Marc,” though overgeneralizing slightly and capitalizing “Me” in the second line. Though only evident in the original copy, Ray erased several words to change the meaning of the text. For example, in the last sentence, it is evident that Ray first had the sentence “*we went to the a lak*”, and then altered this sentence to read “and we what (went) to the prock (park) and...”

What becomes evident in both Hannah and Ray’s independent Morning Message stories is that both students have internalized perhaps the most important habit of all, that of re-reading their text to see if it makes sense. Unlike many special needs students who view writing as consisting of only a single, unedited draft, it became evident in my observational and written data that children came to develop the critical habit of re-reading, appearing to mimic the constant rereading of the text that their teachers did in Morning Message.

Though it appears that both age and experience in Morning Message are important factors in the extent, quality, and range of editing and revising conventions, Morning Message appears to be especially effective in affording students opportunities to change children’s most fundamental belief’s about writing. Rather than view writing as something

Ray and Marc what to Lake Lansing
 We what and to the ocean Me and Marc
 What to the deep end and We What to the
 Prock and we play tack and We what

Ray and Marc went to Lake Lansing
 we went in to the ocean Me and Marc
 went to the deep end and we went to the
 park and we played tag and we went

Figure 21 Ray's Independent Writing of a Morning Message

to get “done,” these students have made the critical shift to see their writing as needing to make sense to the real audiences who read their stories. As children continue to participate in the social dialogues around Morning Message, there is strong evidence to suggest that children will continue to internalize and come to regulate more and more of the writing process.

Summary

Morning Message represented a discourse space in which Trisha and her students worked together socially to construct a written text around the personal experiences of one student. Much like members of the community would help their neighbor raise a barn, the teacher and other students helped the owner (i.e., the author) to build a text that would stand up to the scrutiny of community members. Following such a metaphor further, it was often the case that the community members (i.e., the audience) had greater numbers and more knowledgeable members than the author, and it was expected that they would offer more assistance. One particularly important more knowledgeable other was the teacher, who had to move fluidly between the roles of facilitator, coach, trainer, apprentice, and mediator.

The primary mode of discourse that drove the construction of text was what Burbules (1993) calls “discourse as inquiry,” a form of discourse where speakers have a specific goal to accomplish, yet collaborate with one another to share resources (i.e., knowledge) in the fulfillment of the group’s goal. However, in classrooms, it is difficult to build a high level of commitment, participation, and sharedness from each of the group’s members. In classrooms, unlike natural conversations between two intimate speakers, there must be mechanisms by which members of the group (e.g., teacher, particular students) involve one another to build ownership and give voice to those students who are less inclined to participate. In this study, Trisha’s conversational involvement moves were particularly important in aligning the cognitive and social participation of group members

(see O'Connor & Michaels, 1993). These moves, such as revoicing, floor-holding, and repeating, served as the textual glue that created and reoriented social relationships among group members and their relationship to the content under consideration.

A critical question has been the development of meaningful and purposive literacy instruction for those students who bring to school vastly different linguistic resources and experiences (Gee, 1989) than their middle class teachers and peers. Morning Message afforded students a unique milieu in which to try out many writing conventions while constructing a story based upon the personal experiences of a different student each day.

As such, Morning Message was a particularly powerful bridge between students experiences beyond school and their apprenticeship into the conventionalized knowledge of the community of writers.

Finally, the study of literacy events like Morning Message must include both the relatively stable features of the event, including the phases of activity and the rights and duties of the various socially sanctioned roles, but also the moment-to-moment creation of intermental contexts that result from the various discursive positionings. While the stable features of the event largely determine the mode of discourse that is necessitated (e.g., inquiry, conversation, instruction, debate), it is equally important to understand how the teacher and students create participant frameworks that align and realign both the content and the social relationships among group members (O'Connor & Michaels, 1993).

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

Summary and Discussion

This study was an examination of how two literacy events, Sharing Chair and Morning Message, were socially constructed and reconstructed by third and fourth grade special education students and their teacher. This line of research is a particularly rich field of study as it combines both the study of classroom activities that are cultural artifacts and their construction through semiotic tools, especially discourse. In schools, it is largely through instructional events and their patterned way of realizing the goals of that event that meaning potentials are created, including the roles of student, teacher, and ways of knowing and valuing disciplinary knowledge (Santa Barbara Discourse Group, 1992b). It is the particular enactments of instructional events that largely determine the educational possibilities in which students will engage, including the opportunity to internalize and transform various learning (Wells, 1994).

Beyond the theoretical implications of studying the social construction of instructional events, there seems to be a more important and more urgent need to study these events, the assurance that language education is placed at the forefront of educational reforms that continue to sweep across our nation (Wells, 1994). Specifically, it seems less justifiable merely to study language for language sake, for if we are to move language education into the forefront of learning in schools, then researchers and teachers must take responsibility for studying how various literacy events are linked to particular forms of learning (i.e., afford particular opportunities to internalize and transform literacy skills, strategies, and ways of knowing). Ultimately, it is children who are the consumers of curricular reform.

In order to understand how Sharing Chair and Morning Message were socially constructed and reconstructed by Trisha and her students, it was necessary to ask a number

of sub-questions that might provide kernels of information that, taken together, described the social construction of these literacy events. Before examining the impact of this study on theory and practice, a brief summary and discussion of findings of this study follows.

In both Sharing Chair and Morning Message, there were rather explicit rights and duties given to the roles of author and audience members. In turn, these rights and duties served to frame the types of responses students engaged in with one another. For example, students who read their journals in Sharing Chair, while given the right to call on members of the peer audience, also had the duty to respond to peers' questions. As a result, student authors were discursively positioned to engage in literate behaviors such as explaining a particular point, justifying their actions, defending their position in the face of confrontational queries, and clarifying information to help the peer audience to understand a particular point. This finding is particularly important in that it suggests that when researchers study different literacy events, they must take into account how socially constructed roles and their unique rights and duties may result in differential discursive positioning, and, thus, opportunities to learn. One should not assume that participating in a particular literacy event will have the same impact on all students. Moreover, it seems particularly important to ensure that all students have opportunities to participate in different roles.

A second sub-question focused on how the discourse moves of the teacher and students differed in the two literacy events. While only a small number of studies (see Michaels, 1981) have examined classroom discourse in literacy events that moved away from teacher-led question and answer sequences, this study also attempted to extend this research by using a framework outlined by Burbules (1993). Rather than treat all literacy events as having the same discourse goals, Burbules' framework more clearly differentiates events, making comparison of events within and across modes of discourse possible.

Sharing Chair and Morning Message, representing the discourse modes of

conversation and inquiry, respectively, placed different demands on both students and the teacher. Although both of these literacy events had socially constructed roles for 'author', 'audience', and 'teacher', and both events used the personal experiences of students to construct meaning, the goals of the two events (sharing stories and constructing a written text) demanded different modes of discourse to accomplish their goals. These different modes of discourse were particularly apparent when examining Trisha's talk. In Sharing Chair, with its goal the creation of a discourse space for children to share their stories in conversations with one another, Trisha's discourse profile showed that she accounted for a relatively small percent (21%) of the total speaking turns. Importantly, the nature of her turns were largely of two types, to facilitate the conversation and to model appropriate conversational norms. Trisha sat on the floor with other audience members, bid for a speaking turn by raising her hand after a student had read their story, monitored turn-taking, modeled questions, and monitored the appropriateness of talk in the group.

Trisha's talk in Morning Message, however, was dramatically different. Trisha served as scribe for the group and took 41% of the total speaking turns. Trisha orchestrated a number of discourse moves, including a wide range of instructional, content, involvement, and management moves. The content of Trisha's talk showed that she was introducing and extending students' use of a number of conventions used by mature writers in a wider community of authors. An examination of Trisha's literacy content moves showed that she was actively cultivating and apprenticing her students into a particular literate discourse and literate behaviors related to reading and writing.

Furthermore, an analysis of the discourse profiles of each of the individual participants revealed how different individuals participated in the two literacy events. A number of interesting findings, patterns and themes emerged in this analysis. First, there was a wide range of verbal participation among students, including differences in the percent of turns demonstrated by students in their different roles in the two events. For

some students, being the author was a powerful way to increase their verbal participation, while other students were actively involved in both their roles as author and audience member. Second, the quality of participation also differed across students and pointed to the critical importance of creating discourse spaces such as Sharing Chair and Morning Message to engage students in conversational and inquiry dialogues. As the example of Gerry illustrated, teachers must not assume that children come to school with the confidence, skills, and strategies of more experienced conversationalists. Learning conversational norms such as telling a good story, asking appropriate questions, actively listening, and describing your experience are discourse skills that must be developed in school. Finally, there was a strong relationship between the level of verbal participation of individual students in Morning Message and their ability to edit and revise another's Morning Message. Students with a high level of verbal participation tended to have a higher number of revisions and made more complex changes to the unedited text. However, it may be that these students were more verbally involved because they had a deeper knowledge of editing and revision strategies to begin with. The notion of "discourse profile" may have particularly important implications for both assessment and future classroom discourse research (see Hartman, 1991).

The results of this comparison in discourse profiles of the teacher and students suggests that Burbules' (1993) framework of discourse modes is useful in delineating the types of discourse moves and literate behaviors that are afforded in different literacy events. Different literacy events fostered the development of different conversational, discursive, and cognitive abilities as students constructed meaning in response to the socially sanctioned goals of each event. In the following sections, I extend the discussion and summary by examining how the study of instructional events might impact both theory and practice. I then conclude the chapter with an examination of the significance of this work, its limitations, and possible directions that this line of research might take in the future.

Theory and Practice

Theory

✓ With heightened interest in the work of Vygotsky (1978) and the belief that all higher psychological processes like reading and writing are inherently social processes, the importance of language-based theories of learning (Halliday, 1993) and studies of classroom discourse (Cazden, 1988; Green, 1983) has never been more important. At the core of this integration is the centrality of language as the primary means in which culture is created, transmitted and transformed in language using contexts (Jacob, 1992). Equally important, as the various fields of disciplinary knowledge have undertaken curricular reform in ways that reflect a more constructivist approach to learning, it is imperative that researchers have the theoretical understanding and methodological tools to capture the complexities of studying how various contexts lead to the construction and reconstruction of meanings (Green, 1983; Gee, Michaels, & O'Connor, 1992; Jacob, 1992).

Recently there has been a number of research ventures that have begun to draw from these complementary fields in powerful ways (Christie, 1991; Lemke, 1989; O'Connor & Michaels, 1993; Santa Barbara Discourse Group, 1992b; Wells, 1994), though the study of instructional events represents one particularly important step in influencing the ways in which children experience school. In schools, it is largely in instructional events that the conventions of culture are communicated and developed (Christie, 1991), making them a particularly rich site for study.

In this study, I have attempted to show the complementary nature of a social constructivist theory; tools of analysis taken from an interactional sociolinguistic perspective, including discourse analysis and ethnographic methods (e.g., participant-observation, fieldnotes, interviewing); and the study of two literacy events as primary units of analysis. The results of this study have illuminated important theoretical and methodological considerations, including several decisions that were made before

embarking on data collection and those that evolved from the study.

In this study, I adapted the study of literacy events in several significant ways to address some of the potential problems outlined above. First, I followed the lead of the Santa Barbara Discourse Group (1992a) and O'Connor and Michaels (1993) by choosing an exemplary teacher. Unlike Christie (1991), whose study of the writing planning genre revealed the lack of transfer in the meaning making process from the teacher to her students, I chose apriori a teacher who I believed exemplified the potentials of the two literacy events chosen. The ramifications of this choice were to examine how one exemplary teacher both created the relatively stable features of the event and used discourse on a moment-to-moment basis to construct meaning with her students. By choosing exemplary teachers, it is possible that researchers can begin to examine generic processes that these teachers use across grade levels and events, leading to a more empirical base from which to make instructional decisions.

A second choice that was made apriori was to use the work of Burbules (1993) to inform my choice of literacy events to study. Importantly, nearly all of the research that has examined classroom discourse in specific classroom events has focused on what Burbules would call "discourse as instruction" (for exceptions, see Michaels, 1981). Burbules' framework provided an important first look at the various literacy events of the Early Literacy Project, and accounted for both the goals of the instruction (convergent or divergent) and the nature of the social relationship (inclusive, critical). This framework may be highly effective in further refining various events, raising potentially powerful questions such as "What are examples of literacy events that represent each of the four modes of discourse, instruction, debate, inquiry, and conversation?" and "What similarities and differences do the literacy events in the various modes of discourse have with one another?"

Following from the second, a choice was made to choose not one but two literacy events that were believed to represent the discourse modes of conversation and inquiry. The reasoning behind this decision was to examine how different modes of discourse might result in different socially constructed meanings or affordances. More specifically, if we adopt some of the recent definitions of literacy that suggest being literate is one's facility in using a number of "school-based" (Michaels & O'Connor, 1990) or "secondary" (Gee 1989) discourses, then it will be imperative to begin defining what is meant by these complex terms. If we take "school-based" to mean "those conventional ways of speaking that occur through formal instructional events," then the study of how various literacy events result in different literate discourses magnifies their importance. Put another way, it appears that the study of various literacy events may be instrumental in helping to define and lend meaning to the very provocative notions of being literate as coming to adopt the conventionalized discourses that are privileged in school and wider society.

Socially constructing discourse spaces: Methodology and educational affordances.

An interactional sociolinguistic perspective was a particularly powerful approach to the study of instructional events, though this certainly should be considered only one such set of tools. The resulting discourse analysis in this study was highly complicated. First, the two literacy events of Sharing Chair and Morning Message, though certainly having common generic features (e.g., phases of activity, rights and duties, socially defined roles), also naturally led to different types of discourse analysis. For example, the "role" of teacher was quite different in the two literacy events, which led me to spend much more time analyzing the teacher's talk in Morning Message, where Trisha participated in 41% of the turns compared to just 21% in Sharing Chair. Importantly, the conversational goals of Sharing Chair and the development of a written text in Morning Message resulted in different discourse moves, including a much broader range of instructional, literacy content, and involvement moves in Morning Message. Conversely, it was the students

themselves who were the primary participants in Sharing Chair, which led me to conduct individual discourse profiles on each student.

Second, there was necessarily a movement from “part-to-whole” and “whole-to-part” throughout the transcript analysis. While the primary unit of analysis was the literacy event, it was the study of three levels or layers that was indispensable in gaining insight into how these two events were socially constructed and reconstructed. Each level of analysis produced critical insights that impacted the others. The first level of analysis was to document those features of the literacy event as a whole that were, indeed, generic—they were patterned and relatively predictable and stable features of the events over time. These generic features included the typical phases of activity, including how the event was indexed and set the stage for undertaking particular types of work and the rights and duties that were given to the various roles in each of the events (e.g., teacher, author, audience). It was this level of analysis that was essential in determining that the socially sanctioned roles of author and audience were critical determinants of the amount and nature of verbal participation in which students might engage.

The second level of analysis then examined the range and types of discourse moves and how, on a moment-to-moment basis, the teacher and students discursively positioned one another to undertake particular types of response. This microanalysis of the moment-to-moment discourse moves and the ways in which these moves aligned and realigned both social and cognitive participation became central to this study. For example, in Morning Message, one particularly powerful set of moves had the goal of involving either individuals or the entire group. In Sharing Chair, a particularly powerful pattern of talk was created as children told personal stories, which then positioned others to tell similar stories that built upon and extended the original story.

Tannen’s (1989) study of conversational involvement strategies provided one basis for studying the nature of this talk. However, when one moves beyond the study of talk

among intimate conversationalists to an entire classroom of students who may or may not have the same intimacy, this notion of conversational involvement will need to be greatly expanded. In this study, the involvement moves of revoicing, floor holding, supporting, permission, and humor were used in addition to the original involvement strategies of repetition, imagery, and dialogue (Tannen, 1989).

A final level of discourse analysis examined the question “How do individual students participate in the various literacy events?” This analysis required that talk of individual students be extracted from the transcript and then categorized depending upon the role the child was in (i.e., as author or audience member), and the types of discourse the child was using. This analysis was particularly important in attempting to understand the complexity of discourse that various children engaged in. For example, in *Sharing Chair*, a student who had quite low levels of participation, Gerry, was a student who was only emerging as a conversationalist. Gerry told only one personal story over the five *Sharing Chairs*, a two sentence story about his puppies getting hit by a car. Similarly, in *Morning Message*, Gerry asked a partner, Byron, to help him explain where their sand castle was located on the playground and how large it was. It was argued that *Sharing Chair* and *Morning Message* are particularly important milieus for developing these critical conversational skills, skills that should not be taken for granted as occurring naturally with many special needs students.

Two other findings were particularly interesting as a result of this examination of individual students. The first was the importance of having socially sanctioned “roles” of author and audience member, with their unique rights and responsibilities. Though there were exceptions, it appeared that in both *Sharing Chair* and *Morning Message*, it was important that each student be involved as the author. In several cases, the author’s role accounted for over seventy-percent of the total turns a student engaged in. Since the author had responsibilities in both *Sharing Chair* and *Morning Message* that required him or her to

participate verbally, this appeared to be an important way to ensure that all children had opportunities to be engaged in the unique forms of positioning that resulted in these roles.

The final theoretical consideration that this study attempted to help clarify and define was the Santa Barbara Discourse Group's (1992b) notion of "educational possibilities analysis," what I've also referred to as educational affordances. The purpose of using such an analysis was twofold. First, this study assumed that being literate is not a single entity or something that someone has, but is situated in specific contexts and involves a wide range of behaviors with their unique language using practices. Reading, writing, speaking, and listening are tools to accomplish social goals. Different social goals, like reading and responding to a story in Sharing Chair or constructing a group text in Morning Message, afford students different opportunities to use and "try on" some of the conventionalized ways in which the larger community of readers, writers, and speakers participate with one another.

Second, the study of how exemplary teachers create educational affordances for their students is part of a larger research movement to understand and clarify on a case-by-case basis how teachers across grade levels and subject-matters create conditions that allow students to engage in behaviors that redefine what it means to be a "student" in these classrooms. If researchers are going to bring language-based theories of education into the educational reform conversation, there must be a concentrated effort in linking discourse to specific learning outcomes and a careful explanation of how particular teachers create literacy events that afford opportunities for students to engage in particular literate behaviors. In contrast to empirical studies that compare experimental and control groups on some measure of achievement, the notion of educational possibilities is geared towards describing how the individual teacher socially constructs and reconstructs the classroom community in order to afford students opportunities to learn.

Educational Practice

Ultimately, it must be students who benefit from the creation of literacy events that move beyond the more transmissive models of teaching that have fragmented learning (Allington, 1992) for the very students who might benefit most from more meaningful and purposive learning activities (Heshusius, 1989; Poplin, 1988 a,b). The study of how exemplary teachers socially construct and reconstruct their classroom community and the literacy events within this community does and must have a political motive--the communication and clarification of teaching practices that engage students in qualitatively different ways of being a "student" in school. The potential benefits of this program can have far reaching consequences for all students (Lemke, 1989a,c).

This study provides several important insights and directions for classroom practice. These insights and directions include (1) the teacher's conscious choice of the range and types of literate behaviors she wants children to engage in, (2) the cultivation of the dialogical relationship as a fundamental condition for engaging students in rich forms of discourse, and (3) the use of Sharing Chair and Morning Message as exemplars for bridging students unique experiences beyond school and the conventionalized language using practices of the larger community of readers, writers, and speakers. Each of these suggestions for classroom practice are discussed below.

A range of literate behaviors and language using practices. In this study, Sharing Chair and Morning Message created conditions that allowed students to speak with one another about text in quite different ways. In Sharing Chair, there was an emphasis on the individual production of a written text in a journal and the publication of this writing through reading among a group of peers. The peer audience, including the teacher, provided feedback in the form of questions and comments, including the telling of one's own topically related story. Affordances in this curriculum genre included, but were not limited to, practicing independent writing while considering the needs of an audience,

developing questioning skills, responding to questions and comments through justifying, explaining, critiquing, and defending one's point of view, and learning critical skills and strategies related to carrying on a conversation with others (including telling stories, using the intertextual resources of others to build your own response, critical listening skills, use of humor, etc.).

At first glance, a teacher might be hard pressed to find value in merely allowing children to "talk" to one another around different students' turns as author. However, as the case of Gerry and others illustrated so vividly, children "used" this discourse space to meet their own unique needs, including "trying on" various language using practices like telling a story to try and capture an audience's attention. To paraphrase Michaels and O'Connor (1990), learning to participate in socially appropriate conversations in school should not be assumed to exist *apriori*; rather, it is necessary that learning how to converse with one another become a "school-based discourse" that is valued and privileged, especially for children who do not bring these discourse forms to school. Teachers might do well to ask themselves whether there are opportunities for students to engage in forms of discourse that closely resemble those in which intimate partners might engage outside of school. The ramifications for learning to become a socially competent member of such discourse forms cannot be understated for students in special education classrooms, students who are often perceived as being deficient in critical social skills.

Morning Message afforded students different literate behaviors. Unlike the usually deliberate and relaxed pace of the conversations in Sharing Chair, Morning Message was a more intense problem-solving venture in which students co-constructed, on-line, a written story that the group negotiated with one another. The goals of this curriculum genre necessitated a different mode of discourse (inquiry) and different skills and strategies. No text existed *apriori* in Morning Message, but had to be created each time the class initiated the activity. As a result, students participated in a way of knowing writing that included

viewing writing as consisting of extended problem solving, the use of specific planning (e.g., Who is our audience?), organizing (e.g., What categories should we use?), drafting (e.g., What is the topic sentence? What would be an interesting concluding sentence?), editing (e.g., carets, asterisks, cross-outs, underlining, paragraphing, spelling, pronominalization), and revising (e.g., reorganizing words, sentences, or paragraphs) conventions that the larger community of writers might use. In short, Morning Message was an apprenticeship into many facets of the writing process surrounding a personal information story.

The teacher plays a particularly important role in gradually introducing and apprenticing students into more complex writing conventions over time. Different children internalize the various conventions at different rates depending upon prior experience, background knowledge, and amount of practice. Especially important was the role that experience plays in internalizing these social dialogues to guide independent behavior. When comparing more experienced and older fourth-grade students' independent editing and writing of a Morning Message story to those of novice first and second-grade students, the older students were able to make more editing changes and more complex changes to an unedited text. More importantly, these students also used a wider range of writing conventions and in more appropriate ways than the younger first and second-grade students when writing independent texts without support. Though these findings are not surprising, they do indicate that special needs students may need *intense* and *sustained* opportunities to practice these conventions if teachers expect their self-regulated use in other contexts (Baker & Zigmond, 1993).

However, a teacher should not hesitate in introducing fairly complex writing conventions to very young first and second-grade special needs students. Even first and second-grade special education students regularly used carets to insert words, asterisks to move a sentence to another location in the text, and crossing-out words that did not make

sense in their Morning Message stories. At the end of the year, most of these students were seen rereading their text and attempting to use these conventions in their own writing, if not in entirely appropriate or meaningful ways (see example of Ray in Chapter 5). Though these conventions are still at a performative level of development and lack the conditional knowledge that comes with extended practice, this exposure forms a critical backdrop for their self-regulated use in the future.

The cultivation of the dialogical relationship. Developing a classroom community in which group members genuinely share in each other's achievements, respect one another's opinions, and have an *esprit de corp* takes extensive, hands-on work by the leader of the community, the teacher. Teachers should not mistake notions of community and equity to mean that the teacher does not have particular rights and duties as a significant more knowledgeable member of the classroom. Rather, it is the deft ways in which the teacher orchestrates cognitive and social participation that distinguishes the classroom in which students and teacher develop a dialogical relationship based upon the communicative virtues of trust, concern, hope, and appreciation:

While many are drawn to dialogue as a pedagogical approach because of egalitarian sentiments, equality per se is not necessary for dialogue to exist. Were this not true, dialogue could not exist, for example, between adults and children. The fact that participants are unequal in knowledge, experience, or intelligence is not a detriment to the possibilities of dialogue--on the contrary, it often helps explain why partners are drawn into the relation with one another. Two other characteristics are more important than equality for this dialogical relationship to succeed. There must be some level of reciprocity that binds the partners together in a mutual relation of concern and respect (a relation that is fully cognizant of their differences); and there must be a real chance for everyone concerned to participate in, contribute to, or withdraw from the discussion. While in specific dialogical situations the nature and degree of actual participation by each member will not be exactly equal to that of every other, this cannot in itself be read as a failure of the dialogue. (Burbules, 1993, pp. 27)

In this study, Trisha paid unyielding attention to the daily construction of the dialogical relationship. Just as the literacy events themselves had relatively stable patterns, yet were constantly constructing and reconstructing new meanings on a moment-to-moment

basis, so too was the dialogical relationship being renegotiated each day. Clear rights, duties, and responsibilities were socially sanctioned for different speakers and the roles in which they played, but the ebb and flow of discourse also required constant attention. This constant attention was maintained largely through Trisha's deft use of conversational involvement strategies that aligned and realigned the social relationship of members towards one another and to the content under consideration (O'Connor & Michaels, 1993). For example, Trisha frequently held the floor for a speaker whose idea was not being considered by other participants or revoiced a student's idea to ensure that the child received authorship for the ideas, yet did not necessarily have to defend their position. At the heart of these involvement moves was an enormous respect for students' contributions. Trisha supported students' verbal participation, resulting in the gradual development of a community that came to honor and respect other's risk-taking and involvement. In short, Trisha gave each of her students a critical "voice" in her classroom, allowing each to develop in a community that privileged their unique contributions.

Though I have defined in painstaking detail the anatomy of some of these involvement moves, it should become clear that there is no steadfast formula or script for their use. It is only through awareness, direct experience, and careful reflection that teachers make these conversational moves their own.

Sharing chair and morning message as sites for constructing conventional

knowledge. Both Gee (1989) and Michaels and O'Connor (1990) have argued vigorously for a discourse-based definition of literacy, one that views individuals as not either "having" or "not having" literacy, but a definition based upon one's experience and facility with using literacy in different social contexts. The importance of this alternative perspective of being literate has enormous ramifications for understanding school success and failure. Rather than viewing students as being deficient in their abilities to read, write, and speak, this perspective suggests that teachers must look closely at the fit between

children's language using practices outside of the home and those privileged in school settings (Au & Jordan, 1981). For example, the work of Au and Jordan (1981) and others (Au & Mason, 1983) at the Kamehameha schools in Hawaii found that Native Hawaiian children's patterns of speaking at home were characterized by much overlapping of speech, what was called "talk story." In contrast to the strict rules for turn-taking in the round-robin reading groups that occurred in schools, these children and their parents simultaneously built upon and added to one another's contribution to create a story that was the collective of the group. When teachers changed their reading instruction to match this pattern of meaning construction, children's reading achievement scores rose dramatically. This, and other studies (see Heath, 1983; Michaels, 1981) have provided convincing evidence that teachers must be sensitive to the language using practices that their students bring to school.

At issue, then, is one of the most challenging questions in education today: "How do we privilege the language practices and experiences that students bring to our classroom, on the one hand, while also teaching students the conventionalized knowledge of the larger culture of readers and writers?" Students entering American schools today are more diverse than at any point in our history, with more non-English speaking and bilingual students, in addition to ever increasing numbers of minority students and those requiring special education services. The two literacy events outlined in this study, Sharing Chair and Morning Message, seem to fulfill what Wells (1994) sees as essential for students to make the bridge between their out of school ways of knowing and speaking and the conventional knowledge that is attached to various curriculum genres:

Clearly, a key factor in the working out of the relationship between socio-cultural background and school achievement is the nature of the activities in which children are expected to engage in school. In principle, there is no reason why school tasks should not be selected such that they validate and build on the sociosemantic functions that individual children have already mastered, while systematically introducing those that are as yet underdeveloped. This would certainly be in keeping with Vygotsky's conception of learning

and teaching in the zone of proximal development (Tharp & Gallimore, 1988). However, in practice, the tasks and modes of discourse that tend to be privileged are precisely those that are least familiar to nonmainstream children; as a result, a situation is created in which these children become educationally disadvantaged. (Wells, 1994, pp. 76)

In this study, both Sharing Chair and Morning Message used student(s) own *personal stories*, their unique feelings and experiences as the starting point for constructing meaning. As was shown in both literacy events, it appears that having the opportunity to become personally involved in one's own and others' stories was an important feature of each of these activities. The narrative quality of both telling and constructing stories with one another was a powerful pre-condition for the introduction of conventional knowledge. Specifically, each activity created a level of involvement and commitment among students and teacher. This dialogical relationship, in turn, seemed to be a critical feature in making the introduction of conventional tools "make sense" for the group to use. Rather than teaching literacy conventions in decontextualized activities devoid of meaning and purpose, teachers may want to introduce conventions in the context of constructing meaning with one another. When teachers create literacy events that nurture the dialogical relationship, they are simultaneously laying an essential foundation for the active uptake and ownership of conventional knowledge. This critical dual condition, then, must be examined when analyzing the effects of curricula on those students who do not come to school with the same language using practices as their peers.

In closing, there is good reason for teachers to feel discomfort in initiating literacy events like Sharing Chair and Morning Message. In each of the events, the teacher does not necessarily know where the lesson is going. There is no scope and sequence chart, nor are there scripted questions at the end of the chapter. The teacher gives up considerable authority through transferring control of much of the meaning-making process to the students. The two events require an investment in instructional time. And, finally, both events involve modes of discourse that are unfamiliar to many teachers and classrooms.

Yet, if teachers and administrators are serious about developing a type of classroom community that is truly inclusive of all learners, that privileges the unique experiences and language using practices that children bring to school, then there needs to be concrete examples of how literacy events create conditions that give children access and ownership of their learning. Sharing Chair and Morning Message afforded many different literate behaviors to be exposed, practiced, and internalized by students. The special needs students in this study were actively engaged in learning the often implicit rules for conversing with others, including asking appropriate questions, commenting on another's story, and becoming aware of rules for turn-taking. These students also were apprenticed into the rich language using practices of writers, including the negotiation of all phases of the writing process. If these literate behaviors are valued as being important in the literacy curriculum, then these two events may be appropriate for many classrooms.

Significance, Limitations, and Future Directions

Ultimately, the goal of studying language and learning is the education of children. Changing language using practices in classrooms is not merely a shift in linguistic form. Rather, these shifts alter the very ways in which children come into contact with, use, and understand content. The social contexts we create for children, especially the semiotic systems provided in these contexts, will largely determine the types of learning that occur.

The study of exemplary teachers' discourse using practices in specific instructional events can allow teachers and researchers access to the ways in which these teachers create social contexts that are qualitatively different from other classroom communities. The educational lives of children, especially those children who come to our schools at a disadvantage in sharing the modes of discourse privileged by most middle class students and teachers, demand that we do a better job in making educational decisions based upon classroom discourse data. In this sense, researchers of classroom discourse must now assert themselves into the political and policy making bodies that influence education. To

make this leap from research to policy, researchers will continue to need the rich descriptions of exemplary teachers constructing and reconstructing meaning with their students, studies that compare and contrast literacy events between and among teachers, and studies that link literacy events to specific examples of the literate behaviors that might be internalized and used by students.

Though I would agree with O'Connor and Michaels (1993) that the study of classroom discourse should not be interpreted as leading to prescriptions and rigid scripts for talking in classrooms, it is critical that researchers move beyond merely descriptive studies of classroom talk and make visible how different literacy events can create affordances for children through the ways in which they organize and use various semiotic systems, including discourse (See McCarthy, 1991; 1992). Researchers must continue to describe and clarify in rich detail what exemplary teachers do semiotically to create the social contexts in their classrooms.

This sociolinguistic study shed light on the potential for studying literacy events in schools. An interactional sociolinguistic perspective was used and proved to be a particularly valuable perspective for understanding both the relatively stable features of literacy events and the microanalysis of the moment-to-moment discourse moves and the ways in which these moves served to position members' relationships to one another and the content under consideration. This study described some of the literate behaviors that were afforded for the students and teacher in two literacy events, and showed that two different modes of discourse, conversation and inquiry, involved the teacher and students in different patterns of talk, different levels of involvement, and different types of literate behavior.

Though still unclear, it may be that the study of literacy events in school may be a critical entry point in clarifying Gee (1989) and Michaels and O'Connor's (1990) notions of being literate as having facility in using a number of "secondary" or "school-based"

discourses. More importantly, Sharing Chair and Morning Message seemed particularly well suited to addressing the difficult question of creating instructional events in school that can use students' out-of-school experiences as an entry point into the shared conventions used in the wider community of writers and readers. This finding is directly related to issues surrounding authority and power, and suggests specific ways in which the teacher might create literacy events that transfer control of the meaning-making process to students.

This study also had a number of limitations that point to future research. First, though the study of exemplary teachers is a particularly powerful way in which to begin describing, on a case-by-case basis the generic processes that these teachers might engage in across grade levels and subject-matters, there remains a critical need for cross-case comparisons of teachers and students constructing and reconstructing purportedly the same literacy events. Cross-case comparisons of different teachers, both those believed to be exemplary and those believed to be less so, will allow more vivid images of the contrasts between teachers and make more visible those areas of difference.

Second, this study examined only five lessons each of Sharing Chair and Morning Message over a three month period. Though I did conduct several transfer measures with the younger first and second grade special needs students in another teacher's classroom, it became apparent that there would be enormous potential in examining the discourse in an activity over an entire year and even across years. However, the microanalysis necessary to examine transcript data is extremely time consuming, necessitating some constraints on the corpus of data collected. It may be less beneficial to return to more global categories, such as counts of the number of open ended vs. inferential questions the teacher asks students, than to continue with smaller data sets that more carefully examine the construction and reconstruction of literacy events.

Third, the primary unit of analysis for this study was the literacy events, not individual students or the teacher. A sub-question of the study asked how different

individual students participated in the two events, but in no way did this examination constitute case studies of specific individuals. Again, a brief examination of different students' verbal participation and their performance on the two transfer measures appeared to point to some important research questions. For example, how might students with low verbal participation be involved more frequently in the construction of meaning? How does this involvement influence the literacy performance of these students? What is the relationship of verbal participation and internalization as demonstrated on measures of reading and writing?

Fourth, the methodology utilized in this study, borrowing from ethnography and sociolinguistics, was violated in several important ways. Several decisions were made apriori, including the choice of literacy events to study and the choice of an exemplary teacher with whom I had been studying for two years. Additionally, I created and had the teacher implement two transfer measures that were not naturally occurring events in the classroom.

At the same time, as this and other studies have suggested (See McCarthey, 1991), if the study of classroom discourse is to effectively influence teaching practice, then there must be attempts to link discourse to learning. This means that studies of classroom discourse must move beyond the kind of "value neutral" stance that has tended to pervade past studies of classroom discourse (Lemke, 1989c). In this study, several transfer measures and an interview of the students that asked them to explain Morning Message to a younger child were given to help shed additional light on what might have been learned and internalized by students. In retrospect, it can be argued that these measures were not dynamic in the Vygotskian (1978) sense, nor were they contextualized in meaningful and purposive events. Future studies might benefit from a more tightly coupled dynamic

assessment as students participate in meaningful events (see Campione & Brown, 1987; Minick, 1987; for discussion on Dynamic Assessment).

To conclude, this study supported more recent definitions of literacy as including a continuum of behaviors that occur in situated literacy events with their uniquely patterned ways of using language, including variations in both content and pedagogy. As researchers continue to study the affordances created as teachers and students work together to construct different literacy events, it is hoped that one day both researchers and teachers will have a better set of lenses in which to view effective instruction for all children, especially those who have not traditionally benefitted from the potential fruits of school success. The programmatic study of various literacy events on a case-by-case basis is positioned to further both teachers' and researchers' understandings of the link between discourse and learning. And, ultimately, it will be our children themselves who are the recipients of a very different way to "student" in school.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

DESCRIPTION OF EARLY LITERACY PROJECT CURRICULAR ACTIVITIES

Choral reading. Choral reading is used to promote students' reading fluency. Big Books, poems, and predictable books are used as sources for finding repetitive texts that allow even the most reluctant readers access to reading connected text. Often times these texts are rewritten on large chart paper. Then teachers and students chorally read the story with the teacher pointing to each word. Gradually, students take over increasing responsibility for reading the text, pointing to words, and leading the comprehension discussion.

Importantly, these Big Books, poems, and predictable books can often be integrated into existing thematic units. For example, one project teacher used the Big Book "Animals Should Definitely Not Wear Clothing" during a thematic unit on "Animals". After chorally reading the book as a whole group, the teacher then had individual students read the pages on their own. This narrative story was then extended by the teacher when she brought in real pictures of different animals that the children labeled and compared/contrasted depending upon their different body types. Finally, the teacher had students invent a new animal by combining the characteristics of two animals, such as a "shark with wings". Students then brainstormed five pros and cons of such an animal and wrote a story about their animal that was then illustrated, published, and shared in Author's Chair.

Poems have been particularly useful, serving as both a sponge activity while the teacher is waiting for students to return from their regular classes, and as central activities in allowing students access to connected text during Undisturbed Silent Reading, Partner Reading, and Author's Chair. Copies of poems are distributed to children and put into poem folders. Children can read their poems to each other, take them home as a home share activity and read them to parents, or use them publicly with partners.

The strength of choral reading seems to be that all children, even those unable to read, are provided opportunities to read connected text that are *repetitive* and *predictable*. Teachers are able to promote the matching of the spoken words and written text through pointing to each word while reading. This process mimics the learning process that occurs at home between parent and child, and provides an important context for beginning readers.

Partner reading. Partner reading is a collaborative effort between two student (or adult) in which students take turns listening to each other read. Students are usually given the opportunity to choose their own partners and texts, but exceptions are made based upon the needs of the class. A benefit of paired reading is its effect on both the more able and less able reader. In keeping with much of the literature on peer-tutoring (Maheady & Sacca, 1987), both students seems to benefit as the less able reader listens to a more able model and the able reader is given responsibility for helping the less able reader when needed. Like Author's Chair, Partner Reading is an opportunity for children to read to a real audience and listen to the oral reading of text.

Partner Reading is used both as an independent reading activity and as a key component in gaining information surrounding a thematic unit. For example, in a thematic unit around African animals, one teacher had students Partner Read an expository text on giraffes before coming to the whole group and brainstorm ideas for their group story.

Partner Reading is an important activity as teachers attempt to "up the ante" on poor readers. ELP instruction includes varying levels and forms of support, from the heavily-supported context of choral reading, the less-supported and joint reading of texts in Partner Reading, and the solo reading of texts in independent reading.

Combining Partner Reading with Response to Literature (reader response groups) helps to ensure that the focus of Partner Reading is the twin goals of developing reading fluency and comprehension.

Undisturbed silent reading (USR). USR is an opportunity to give children many opportunities to pick-up and read books of their own choosing and interest. This time can also be used to promote students reading fluency on practiced texts. This activity requires that the teacher and anyone entering the room engages in reading. As one of the primary goals of USR is for students to view themselves as readers, it is critical that the teacher model reading with text they are genuinely interested in.

Structuring the USR period is an individual choice. Interestingly, on the Early Literacy Project, the very fact that teachers *had* an USR period resulted in teachers creating richer classroom libraries and environments to support reading, such as bean bag chairs and carpet squares. Some teachers have altered the USR time to include listening to stories on tape at a listening center. This is particularly helpful for nonreaders, who listen to stories while matching the spoken words to print/pictures on the books in front of them.

When children are given opportunities to choose their own texts, they have tended to choose books that are appropriate to the support they require (e.g., reading alone, reading to a peer, reading to an adult). Also, students tend to choose books that have been introduced to the class by the teacher or read by other students.

It is useful to keep track of stories that children have read in their personal reading logs that make-up part of their overall portfolio (Tierney, 1991). Poems introduced to the class are put on the computer and solicited for students to put in their poem folders. These poems tend to be a favorite for the emergent reader during USR time and can also be entered in the student's reading log.

Interactive reading. During all forms of reading, including choral reading, teacher read alouds, USR, and reading around the thematic units, teachers interact with students to develop reading comprehension and the aesthetic responses of readers.

For nonconventional readers and writers, this time can be used to *develop concepts about books and print*, such as: title, author, illustrator, word consciousness, letter, sentence, paragraph, periods, and question marks.

For all children, there is a focus on the development of reading comprehension during interactive reading. Titles and pictures in books promote children's abilities to make *predictions*. During reading, children are guided in the identification of story parts, such as the story setting, characters, problem, response (happenings), outcome, and conclusion. Children are then led to generate their own written or oral story summaries or retellings on the basis of this *story grammar*.

For expository texts, children are guided in *identifying categories* that occur in the texts, using the organizational pre-maps as a way to scaffold their understanding and

comprehension. An emphasis is placed upon children's ability to *summarize* based on the organizational maps of the information in the texts (Englert & Mariage, 1991a).

Throughout the comprehension process, an overt emphasis is placed on making visible to students a *language* (e.g., posters) that remind them of comprehension strategies. Teachers *model* and guide children in predicting and confirming strategies, discussing personal meanings and interpretations, relating text content to students' experiences and background knowledge, projecting themselves in the story, *summarizing* stories, using text-monitoring strategies, *evaluating* the text (e.g., "What was your favorite part?", "Did you like...?"), and *comparing/contrasting* two or more texts.

Stories are *extended* by teachers through oral or written activities. Teachers may use the language patterns from predictable books, poems, or organizational maps as scaffolds to help children write their own texts. Teachers write the language pattern leaving blanks where students might generate their own words. Students may also use puppets or pictures to retell the stories or act out story parts.

Response to literature. Responding to literature can be conducted anytime students read narrative text. In the beginning, it is recommended that the teacher model and think-aloud each of the different responses before allowing students to complete responses independently or in small groups.

Having bulletin boards or posters devoted to the different ways children can respond to literature serves as a helpful scaffold for children and helps prevent misunderstanding. It is important that responding to literature does not become a worksheet task in which the students fill out the different response forms. For example, one might want to conduct the responses orally in a whole class setting or have pairs of students complete an exercise together and then report back to the class on the text they read.

Five activities used in the Early Literacy Project are (1) affective responses to inform others, (2) illustrating and writing the story sequence, (3) mapping the main character, (4) illustrating the story form, and, (5) writing a brief summary of the story.

In its ideal form, it is hoped that groups of students can form "clubs" in which they constructively grapple with ideas in the text and think critically about what they have read. Instructional procedures for guiding students in making affective reader responses, include: (a) modeling the variety of ways of responding, (b) asking questions that require students to use the various purposes of responding to literature:

- *identifying the author's purpose (e.g., "Why do you think the author said that?")

- *comprehending stories (e.g., predicting, sequencing, and using story structure to summarize)

- *evaluating one's persona response to a text ("How did that make you feel? Why?", "Did you like....? Why/Why not?");

and (c) prompting students to take ownership of the story dialogue in a four-step process:

- *"What questions have we been asking?" (List questions); "What are some other questions we can ask that we can add to our list?" (e.g., "What did we like/dislike?", etc.)

- *teacher assigns student leader for first 5 minutes of reading group, using questions to guide discussion,

- *teacher scaffolds and support performance.

Over time, it is expected that students can begin to move beyond merely extracting

the author's intended meaning, to a more personal response that links to prior experience. This view of comprehension suggests that many traditional forms of instruction are only partially suited to the full range of possible responses to what is read (Raphael, McMahon, Goatley, Woodman, & Pardo, 1992).

Morning message. Morning Message is a language experience activity in which students are able to draw from their personal experience both within and outside of school to generate written text. The teacher serves as scribe and helps students to formulate their verbal responses into sensible written prose.

A large piece of chart paper is used for whole class construction and is placed on an easel or the blackboard in front of the room. For older students, small cooperative groups may generate their own Morning Message independently and then report back to the class. During Morning Message, a student volunteers a personal experience that will be constructed into a story. Other children ask questions of the student as they jointly participate in writing about the experience. The teacher promotes students' control of the writing process by asking the students questions, "Do you want that in your story?", "How can we say that?", and "Where does that idea go?".

Ideas can come directly from students, or on certain days the teacher may choose a focus topic that seems appropriate given a thematic unit, a new student to the classroom, or a world event that is of great importance. For example, during the Persian Gulf Crisis, one teacher chose to generate a topic for discussion such as "If you were President Bush, would you send troops to the Persian Gulf?" The students then constructed a class story based upon their responses to the question.

The Morning Message format is also used to model writing and editing strategies for stories that are written as part of thematic units. For example, one teacher, working on a thematic unit around monsters, put students' stories about monsters on an overhead projector and had the whole class help the student edit their story.

Strategy and skills instruction can also be embedded in Morning Message. Topics that can be discussed in Morning Message include: getting ideas for stories; the use of main ideas, dialogue, story structure, humor, story detail, visual imagery, and clarifying meanings. A variety of mechanical skills can also be introduced, including capitalization, punctuation marks, pronouns, possessives, apostrophes, and paragraphing. Editing conventions are introduced and modeled in Morning Message, including deleting and inserting information, using carets, and using an asterisk to add ideas when there is not ample room. At the end of the lesson, teachers can promote skill/strategy use by saying, "How many people might use...in their next stories? Okay, let's see tomorrow how you use this in your story."

Morning Message for each day are saved and at the end of each week are published on the computer in the form of a classroom newspaper. The newspaper is then sent home with each child and read to parents as part of a home share activity.

Sharing chair. Sharing Chair is an opportunity for students to participate in several activities that are critical for developing a literate community in the classroom. Students are able to make their work public through either reading their own or other's text (including reading books) and receive recognition for their efforts.

As in all activities on the Early Literacy Project, how the teacher conducts Sharing

Chair is an individual decision. For example, some teachers have allowed children to come to a reading corner and sit on the floor while the author sits in a special chair while reading his or her text, while others have maintained the whole group setting and have the author sit in front of the room. In either case, the Sharing Chair is a special place where the author is given respect by others and the responsibility to call on other students about questions they have around the reading. The teacher is usually off to one side or in the back of the room and becomes an audience member who models appropriate questions asking as though they were another student. Giving the author a choice to have someone help him or her read their text can help them allay fears and has served as an important way for students to rely on each other for help.

Writing Workshop/Author's Center. To promote writing abilities, students engage in several processes in writing, including planning, organizing, drafting, editing, revising and publishing their texts. Teachers use whatever think-sheets are needed from the Cognitive Strategy Instruction in Writing project (Englert, Raphael, Anderson, Fear & Gregg, 1988) to support students' thinking. In teaching the process, teachers model the thought processes that underlie writing a class story. Students then apply the strategies and thought processes to construct their own stories. Whenever possible, teachers encourage student-to-student collaboration during writing to promote students' acquisition of the language tools they will need to regulate their own performance.

To develop writing abilities, teachers model writing with a group story to introduce and model writing strategies. Teachers guide students in planning their stories, including determining who they are writing for and why, and brainstorming ideas. Next, students organize their stories using a "think-sheet" that corresponds to different text structures and genres. For example, the "explanation" think-sheet has a section that answers text-structure questions such as "What is being explained?", "What materials are needed?", and "What are the steps?". The key words for the explanation text structure are also listed (e.g., first, second, next, and finally). Similarly narrative group story might have the story parts consisting of "setting", "character", "problem", "solution", and "conclusion". The emphasis in the Writing Workshop is to introduce students to the language and strategies that good writers use. Each of the POWER (plan, organize, write, edit, revise) strategies are listed on large chart paper to make the language and strategies of writers accessible. Teachers also introduce other writing conventions such as the caret, asterisk, question marks, etc. Upon completion, the stories are entered into the computer and illustrated by students for the final publication. Having been exposed to a particular story type or text structure, students can follow-up this group story by writing their own stories in Author's Center. In the Author's Center, students are organized in a group to collaborate on planning, organizing and drafting their stories. Students turn to each other as resources in the writing process, and students conduct their own editing sessions.

Dialogue journal writing. Dialogue Journals play a particularly important role in developing audience awareness and writing facility. Students are able to select their own writing topics and usually write for between 10 and 15 minutes. Journals can then be read in Author's Chair or handed in. Regardless if children choose to share their journals in Author's Chair, all students receive a written response from the teacher the next day.

A variety of procedures can be used for journal writing. In many cases, no topic is assigned and students simply write about self-selected topics. However, this open-ended format has proven difficult for some students. Some teachers elect to provide writing topics for those students who cannot decide what to write about. For example, in many

classrooms, teachers have developed an "idea" bank that is visible in the room. Other teachers have individual students jot down ideas in their writing folder any time a topic comes to them. Experience shows that students who need extra support will elect to use the teacher topic, while other students choose to write about their own topics.

At times, journal writing can be structured to promote planning to read or write. These focus journals may require that students write in advance of a literacy activity to activate background knowledge or alert them to topics that may be related to a thematic unit. Focus journals have been particularly helpful when they precede a whole group brainstorming of a topic. One teacher, who had been invited to the Barnum Bailey and Ringling Brothers Circus, had her students expand upon the sentence stem "At the circus I learned..." before having them come to the whole group discussion. In this way, even the most reticent students have ideas written down and ready to share.

APPENDIX B

TEACHER INTERVIEWS

First Teacher Interview (Informal, Conversational)

Beliefs about Teaching, Learning, Literacy, and Participation in the Early Literacy Project

1. How does the Early Literacy Project Curriculum allow for the integration of new students?
2. How do you develop your work ethic in this community?
3. How is instruction “individualized” in your classroom?
4. Do you think there is a need for special education?
5. What sense do you get as to the “status” of your special education students in the regular education classroom?
6. What is your perception of the type of teaching in regular education classes that would support special education students?
7. How has your classroom management system changed as a result of participating in the Early Literacy Project?
8. Why do you think that students will not participate sometimes?
9. Could you characterize what has changed in terms of literacy the past year as compared to before the Early Literacy Project? (e.g., teaching reading and writing)
10. Explain your understanding of Project Read, the District endorsed literacy program, as a “complete” literacy program?
11. Explain each of the literacy events in your classroom.
12. How do you use the three Apple computers in your classroom?
13. Talk about your thematic unit on the Desert.

Personal Background Information

1. Tell me about your family and background.
2. How did you get interested in teaching the deaf?
3. Tell me about your current and college education.
4. Tell me a little bit about your past six years of teaching.

School Context

1. How would you characterize staff relations in this school?
2. Characterize your interactions with the regular education teachers who have your students? (Are most teachers supportive of special education?)
3. Can this type of instruction (ELP Curriculum) work in regular education classrooms?
4. Characterize your attempts at working with regular education teachers in more co-teaching or inclusive arrangements.

SECOND INTERVIEW**Formal, Semi-Structured Teacher Interview****General Information on the Students, the School, and Instruction**

1. Tell me about your students this year.
2. What would you consider the highlights so far?
3. What has been the most frustrating?
4. How is your relationship with the regular education teachers this year?
5. You have a new principal this year. How are things going?
6. What activities on the Early Literacy Project are you currently using?
7. What Thematic Units have you done so far?
8. What are your plans for the remainder of the term?
9. What do you consider the strengths of your instruction? Weaknesses?

Questions Specific to the Activity Settings of the Study

10. What are your goals for using Morning Message? How do you adapt that activity to "up the ante" for your students?
11. What are your goals for the Dialogue Journals and their daily use in Sharing Chair? How have you adapted these activities to "up the ante" for your students?
12. What outcomes or benefits to students have you seen by using these two activities?
13. How do you think the students have used these activities for their own benefit? (Example: How do you think different children have represented themselves by talking about certain topics. As an example, Nathan seems to always talk about "Superheroes" and appears fairly egocentric).

APPENDIX C

STUDENT INTERVIEWS

First Interview: Background Information and Beliefs about Literacy

Background Information: Outside School

1. Tell me about your family.
2. Tell me about your friends. Who are they? Where do you play?
3. Tell me about your neighborhood?
4. What are your favorite hobbies?

School Information

5. Who are your teachers?
6. Why are you in two different rooms?
7. What's different about Ms./Mr. _____'s_ Class and this class?
8. How do you like Longhaven School? (What do you like? What do you dislike? Why?)
9. What's your favorite activities at school? On the playground?
10. Tell me about the playground. What do you do outside? Who do you play with?

Classroom Information

11. What kinds of things do you do in Ms. _____'s_ class? Which is your favorite? Why?
12. How do you like being in Ms. _____'s_ class?
13. Who are your friends in Ms. _____'s_ class?
14. Tell me about each of the students in Ms. _____'s_ class?

Literacy Knowledge

Reading

15. Do you like to read?
16. Do you have any books at home? Do you read at home? What?
18. What are your favorite books?
19. Does your parents read to you?
20. Who do you consider a good reader in your classroom? Why?
21. Do you consider yourself a good reader?
22. Let's imagine that this is Ms./Mr. _____'s class (special education class). This star represents the best reader in the class (top star). This star represents the lowest reader in this class. Where would you place yourself? Why did you choose that one?

*
*
*
*
*
*
*
*
*
*

23. Let's imagine that this is Ms./Mr. _____'s class (regular education class). This star represents the best reader in the class (top star). This star represents the lowest reader in this class. Where would you place yourself? Why did you choose that one?

Writing: General

24. How do you like to write? Why? Why not?
25. What are your favorite things to write about?
26. Where did you learn to write? How?
27. What do you think makes a good writer? Why is that important?
28. Do you write in your classroom? At home? When? How often?
29. What's the most difficult thing about becoming a good writer?
30. Let's imagine that this is Ms./Mr. _____'s class (special education class). This star represents the best writer in the class (top star). This star represents the lowest writer in this class. Where would you place yourself? Why did you choose that one?

31. Let's imagine that this is Ms./Mr. _____'s class (special education class). This star represents the best writer in the class (top star). This star represents the lowest writer in this class. Where would you place yourself? Why did you choose that one?

*
*
*
*
*
*
*
*
*
*
*
*
*
*
*
*
*
*
*
*

Writing: Planning

32. Suppose you were asked to help a younger student write a paper about a wild animal. What would you tell them to do first? Next?
33. What are some topics you have written about?
34. What are some topics that you would like to write about in the future? Where do you get your ideas?
35. What types of writing do you do?

Writing: Drafting

36. What has helped you most in writing? (How do you use mapping, peers, to help you?)
37. When you are actually writing your paper, what are some of the things you think about? (audience, reader sensitivity, interest)
38. Is Morning Message writing? Dialogue Journal? Why? Why not?

Writing: Editing, Revising, Publishing

39. What do you do after you finish your first draft? (What kinds of changes do you make?)
40. How do you do that? Do you ever talk to others, share your writing, or conference with the teacher?
41. When you are all finished writing, what do you do? Where does it go? Who sees it?

Writing: Holistic

42. (Using actual paper produced by child) "Tell me about this paper?" (Elicit topic generation, planning, organizing, drafting, editing, revising, and publication conventions).
43. (Using Dialogue Journal) "Tell me about this type of writing?" (Elicit purpose, audience, teacher's responses, enjoyment, frequency).

SECOND INTERVIEW

Information about Morning Message

1. If you were to explain how to do Morning Message with younger students in Mrs. Barnes' room, what would you tell them?
2. How do you like Morning Message?
3. Has Morning Message helped you to become a better writer?
4. Do you use things you have learned in Morning Message in your own writing?

APPENDIX D

TEACHER'S DISCOURSE MOVES IN MORNING MESSAGE

Below are working definitions and examples of Trisha's discourse moves in the discourse space of Morning Message. Discourse moves are presented in four categories, including instructional moves, literacy content moves, involvement moves, and management moves. However, it is imperative that these categories not be viewed as being separate entities. Rather, within the same utterance, there are almost always both pedagogical (i.e., instructional, management, and involvement functions) and content functions. For example, the following utterance, "Hannah, should I put a caret there?", would involve three "moves" and be coded as follows:

<u>Utterance</u>	<u>Discourse Move or Function</u>	<u>Type of Move</u>
"Hannah"	Involvement Move	Direct Call
"Should I put the caret there"	Literacy Content Move	Editing Process
"?"	Instructional Move	Questioning

Thus, the mode of delivery, or *instructional move*, is in the form of a *question*. The *literacy content* under consideration involves the *editing process*, in this case the use of a caret to edit a part of the written text. Trisha also uses the *involvement move* of *directly calling* on Hannah so she has the speaking right to respond to the question. Importantly, whether an utterance was coded depended upon the linguistic *function* of the utterance, not the linguistic form. For example, if the same utterance was said in a derogatory fashion and was aimed at *managing* Hannah's behavior, then the utterance would be coded as a *Management Move* with the type being *Behavioral* (as opposed to managing the conversation or the community).

Instructional Discourse Moves

Instructional Discourse Moves are distinguished from other discourse moves in that they function to communicate content to students. Whereas Literacy Content Moves focus on the actual literate content being discussed amongst participants, Instructional Discourse Moves include those ways in which content is presented to students, whether through the form of questions, thinking-aloud, modeling, etc. This category refers to the *mode of delivery or construction* of content.

Questioning

The most common way in which content was presented to students was through the asking of questions. This instructional move usually functioned to ask an individual or the entire group to respond to or consider a particular point. The importance of questioning in Morning Message was that they usually functioned to turn responsibility for meaning construction back to the students.

Examples: Trisha: "So can we leave (the word) 'her' out?"
Trisha: "What do you want, 'and then' up here?"
Trisha: "Okay, how about this 'and'?"

Thinking-Aloud

Making visible one's inner thinking through thinking-aloud was a particularly powerful discourse move that Trisha used in Morning Message. Thinking-aloud allowed Trisha to demonstrate the thinking of a more knowledgeable member of the writing

community to other group members.

- Examples: Trisha: "Well, you know what we could do, we could get all the names up here and then decide what to do?"
- Trisha: "Ok, the only way I know if that's what is sounds like is if I reread it. So I am going to reread this. I know we read the first sentence and that worked out okay: 'Hannah has a lot of relatives in her family.'"

Modeling

As the scribe for the Morning Message lesson, Trisha was responsible for writing the group's message. This responsibility allowed her to demonstrate, or model a number of skills and strategies that more able writers used while constructing their text. Modeling was often accompanied by other instructional moves like thinking-aloud (a form of modeling) or questioning, but was distinguished from other moves in that Trisha was explicitly apprenticing students through a physical demonstration.

- Examples: Trisha: "Ok, I've got a question. I want to know, I want you to describe this person to me. So if I say describe Hannah to me, you would say she is a girl, she has red hair, she's in fourth grade. Okay. So I want you to tell me about, this person, listen, this person's name is (reading really fast because there are no commas) 'auntSueauntJulieuncleReuben'. Okay, tell me about 'auntSueauntJulieuncleReuben'."
- Trisha: "I, and, I do not know how to spell it (Atari) though. I'm going to guess (but) put an 'S' (reminder to check spelling later) up her because I need to clarify the spelling."

Instructing

Though Trisha spent a great deal of time giving responsibility for meaning-making back to the students, she also commonly stepped in and directly instructed students on particular conventions. This form of move tended to be more direct, similar to a mini-lesson a teacher might give on a particular convention students were having difficulty with in their writing. There typically was less negotiation and more talking "at" students in this move. Importantly, these instructing moves were most often introduced only after extensive attempts at allowing students to construct meaning with less support were provided. Specifically, instructing moves were often used only after less-supported attempts were given to the students. The first example below illustrates this idea. After a several minute discussion about whether the word "birthday" should be capitalized because it was Angie's "personal holiday", and was thus an "important word" that would conform to this capitalization rule, Trisha steps in and directly informs the group that this would not be capitalized.

- Examples: Trisha: "So, even though you are convincing, and I was going to give you guys a choice, but I think it should be the correct way so that you guys will remember it. So we're going to change this to a small 'b'."
- Trisha: "I can't just, when I am changing (two sentences) into one sentence, I can't just say I am going to get rid of the period. I have to do more than that."

Trisha: “‘And an atari’ or just ‘and’? Ok, listen to the sentence though. ‘They are going to play nintendo and atari.’ I see what you’re saying, you’re looking at this right here. But the only time we change it to ‘an’ though, is when we have an ‘a’ before that word.”

Broadcasting

Unlike the directed and goal oriented nature of instructing moves, broadcasting moves were one of the least intrusive ways in which Trisha gave students opportunities to construct meaning for themselves. I use the term “broadcasting” in the sense that a person, the teacher, announces something, but there is little indication as to who the message is directed. The tone of this move was one of little affect. Trisha simply gave information back to the group to consider, without any attempt to sway thinking one way or the other. Often times, this broadcasting consisted of simply reading what the students had written up to that point or repeating what a member of the group said so more people could hear. Importantly, it should be remembered that rereading the text and repeating what a child said also functioned as involving moves. Though the linguistic form is identical, the social function of broadcasting does not have the intent to involve students, but to merely put information out there for anyone to consider.

Examples: Trisha: “Angie’s birthday is on Saturday. She is having a party on the 24th. They are going to play regular Nintendo.”
Trisha: “We have a ‘her’ here and a ‘her’ here. ‘Her’ here, ‘her’ here.”
(said in a deadpan tone)

Initiating

Initiating statements as defined here were statements that were

Examples: Trisha: “Okay, topic sentence.”
Trisha: “Okay, let’s listen.”
Trisha: “Go ahead and ask Juan.”

Evaluating

Evaluating statements were used very infrequently by Trisha. In this study, evaluating statements were defined narrowly as those statements in which Trisha evaluated a comment made by a student with a direct response. The function of this move, though often discussed in the literature as being negative and effectively shutting-off the voice of a student, was to focus students’ attention or to state an opinion. Importantly, this move was used to advance instruction, not to manage behavior.

Examples: Jerrod: “They’re all, they’re all...”
Trisha: “No, that’s not what I asked, this is all one name, that’s what it looks like, “auntSueauntJulieuncleReuben.”

Angie: “Wouldn’t it be capitalized because we’re going to be celebrating it (her birthday) tomorrow?”
Trisha: “No....Is Mr. Clinton going to be celebrating it?”

Directing Attention

Trisha would often direct students attention to particular features of the text to help provide additional support and prompt thinking. Directing attention moves had the function

of focusing attention, but differed from the direct instructional moves in that they tended to withhold support and prompt students to construct meanings of their own. Often times a directing attention move was used to point out a feature in the text that might need editing, or to contrast two different possibilities put forward by the group.

Examples: Trisha: "Ok, how about this 'and'?"
 Trisha: "Ok, listen, I'll do it both ways. Listen carefully. 'Angie's birthday is on Saturday the 24th.' That's the first one. 'Angie's birthday in on April 24th on Saturday.'"
 Trisha: "How about 'grandma'?"

Uptake

The notion of 'uptake' draws upon the work of Collins (1983). In this move, as opposed to the teacher evaluating a student's idea, the teacher "lifts" a student's idea or experience and gives it life by holding a place for the idea in the flow of conversation. This move was used by Trisha in two ways. In the first use of the uptake move, Trisha used the idea of an individual student or small group of students and gave the idea back to the group for consideration. As examples one and two below illustrate, uptaking an idea in this fashion often involved the teacher in repeating a child's idea. However, unlike broadcasting, where there was little affect and no discernable direction, uptakes tended to highlight an idea and suggest to other members of the group that this idea is worthy of attention.

A second use of the uptake move was used when Trisha drew upon an individual's personal experience to help provide an example that might help the group over a hurdle. This form of uptake, while coded as an instructional move because of its explicit focus on advancing the understanding of the group, was also a potentially powerful way to give voice to a student who may not have actually been a verbal participant in the conversation. In the third example below, Nigel, a student who had not yet participated verbally in the Morning Message lesson, was brought into the conversation by Trisha due to his unique position as the only uncle or aunt in the class. Since the group was struggling with whether to capitalize the word "uncle", Trisha deftly involved Nigel to build support for the group's collective understanding.

Examples: Danny: "There are too many 'ands'."
 Trisha: "Too many 'ands'. What are we gonna do?"
 Danny: "Commas!"
 Trisha: "Commas instead of 'ands'?"

 Jerrod: "Her aunts and uncles."
 Trisha: "We could of,..."
 Hannah: "I shouldn't have said this."
 Trisha: "No, its fine. We could've done it the way Jerrod just said, too. Jerrod just said 'her aunts and uncles', basically like 'her aunts and uncles are...'"

 Trisha: "Ok, I know that, Nigel, you're an uncle, aren't you?"
 Nigel: "Yeah."
 Trisha: "So does, when Monique (Nigel's niece) grows up, is she going to call you 'Uncle Nigel? or just 'Nigel'?"
 Nigel: "Uncle Nigel."
 Trisha: "Okay, so for her, to Monique, is that your name, 'Uncle Nigel'?"

Nigel: "Yeah."

Trisha: "So when we have a name, we have to do what?"

Danny: "Capitalize."

Scaffold

In this study, the notion of scaffolding moves was defined narrowly as the teachers provision of support in order for a student to accomplish a task they may not be able to complete independently. In no way should this narrow operational definition of scaffolding move be confused with the larger concept of "scaffolding" as it relates to Vygotsky's (1978) notion of zone of proximal development. The term scaffolding move is used here to indicate Trisha's explicit attempt to provide an explicit prompt or clue for a student, while not giving the student an answer to a particular problem. In the first example below, Trisha has a small group of students attempting to clarify the spelling of the word "walleye" in the dictionary. The students had been at the task for several minutes, and Trisha steps in to give them a clue to the location of the word if the correct spelling starts with the letters "w-a-...".

In the second example, Trisha attempts to help Hannah reduce a list of names that were separated by the word "and". Trisha's first scaffolding move in this instance is the direct question, "What part is not her name?". After Hannah does not answer correctly, Trisha continues to support Hannah's thinking by raising additional questions that eventually lead to Mark giving the correct answer, which Hannah then repeats ('Her') and extends ('Then').

Examples: Trisha: If it is spelled "W--A" it should be on this page in this column (of the dictionary)."

Danny: "But you need commas."

Trisha: "Grandma and Grandpa Cheny. Is that JUST their names?"

Ss: "Yes." "Yes." "No."

Hannah: "Yes, that's what I call them."

Trisha: "'...and then Grandma Cocking.' What part is not her name?"

Hannah: "'Grandma'".

Trisha: "'Grandma'" is not her name?"

Hannah: "'Cocking'".

Trisha: "'Cocking'" is not her name?"

Mark: "'Her.' 'Her.'"

Hannah: "'Her'" and 'then.'"

Pausing/Partial Idea

Another move that served to scaffold students' understanding was the use of pauses or partial thoughts that provided a prompt for children's thinking. This move often resembled a kind of "fill-in-the-blank" game, where Trisha provided a particular thought but left the "answer" for the students to fill in. This move provided a lot of support for children, so was used mainly after less scaffolded moves were given. The tenor of this move often resembled that of a game or competition, usually invoking more than one child to yell out an answer. In the first example, students were struggling with verb usage, including whether to use the words "has", "have", or "had" in the sentence "Byron and his dad _____ a cooler." In the second example, Trisha uses a partial idea to prompt Nathan's to tell the group what the pronoun "they" was replacing in the text.

Examples: Nathan: "has", "have".

Trisha: "Think about when this happened. When did this happen?"

Danny: "A week ago. 'Had.'"

Hannah: "Last week!"

Trisha: "Last week."

Hannah: "'Had!'"

Trisha: "So 'Byron and his dad.....had a cooler.'"

Angie: { "had!"

Hannah: "had!"

Janitra: "had!"

Examples: Trisha: "Ok, that's what they caught. I think what you wanted to change is this one (pointing to the next sentence)."

Nathan: "'They.'"

Trisha: "'They?'" Very good. Instead of....."

Nathan: "'Byron and his dad.'"

Trisha: "Yep, you can use 'they.'"

Responding

Trisha responded to questions that the students asked of her or to their efforts. This move had an instructional focus in that Trisha's response served to clarify or extend a student's thinking

Examples: Danny: "Do you need a pause (comma) in there?"

Trisha: "I don't know, I know I need to capitalize 'i' because its the beginning of our topic sentence. Do I have to capitalize 'week'?"

Angie: "I couldn't figure it out, I thought about it."

Trisha: "Probably because you put two classes (Angie: "Yeah"), so it sounded funny."

Transfer Control

Transferring control moves were moves in which Trisha explicitly gave control of meaning-making decisions. Typically, these moves were addressed to an individual speaker, giving them the speaking floor and decision making power. Again, the notion of transferring control moves in no way captures the larger concept of transfer of control as it relates to giving children increasing control of various processes (i.e., becoming self-regulated learners) or to the role of transfer in control in apprenticeship models of teaching and learning. The term as used here is used only to define a small number of instructional moves that were distinctly geared towards giving control of decision making to students.

Examples: Trisha: (Students are brainstorming topics for Danny, the chosen author, to consider) "Okay, let me, just let me quickly write these (topics) down. Okay, One: Camp. I am going to abbreviate. Squirt gun. Okay, any other suggestions? I am going to give you a choice. Janitra?"

Trisha: "I still want you to be in charge Danny, so when they (audience), um, when they make comments and stuff, you still choose them."

Jerrold: “‘Ms. William’s taking a class trip’.”

Trisha: “Some people think that’s okay. What do you think? (looking at the author, Danny).”

Literacy Content Moves

In Morning Message, and every instructional event, there are both pedagogical and content registers (Christie, 1991). There is general agreement among researchers that classroom discourse can be thought of as having both social goals (e.g., issues of authority, power, rights and duties of speakers) and academic content goals (Barnes, 1992). In the Morning Message discourse space, a number of literate conventions were introduced, practiced, and transformed by members of this classroom community. In this study, the literate behaviors, skills, and strategies used in Morning Message have been referred to as the literacy affordances, or educational possibilities (Santa Barbara Discourse Group, 1992) that were created within this event. The following literacy skills and strategies represent some of the conventions that were used by Trisha in the five Morning Message lessons observed for this study.

Clarification

Example: Trisha: “And are you going to clarify that (spelling) for me?”

Trisha: “Thanks for clarifying that for me Nathan. I thought you meant something different, I am glad you went back over that.”

Word Usage

Example: Trisha: “‘Relatives’ in place of what?”

Nathan: “‘Family.’”

Danny: “‘People, people.’”

Trisha: “‘and then’ or ‘And then (pointing to message). What do you want, ‘and then’ up here (after grandma cox)?”

Verb Tense

Example: Trisha: “Think about when this happened. When did this happen?”

Danny: “A week ago. ‘Had’.”

.

.

.

Trisha: “Because it already happened. ‘They had a cooler to put the fish in.’ Now let’s see if that goes with the sentence before that just to make sure. ‘Byron’s dad caught a walleye, and Byron caught a carp and a bunch of bluegills. Byron and his dad had a cooler to put the fish in.’”

Editing Process

Example: Trisha: “Put a caret there?”

Trisha: “Do you want me to add this?”

Trisha: “So can we leave ‘her’ out?”

Trisha: “Ok, let’s list them.”

Trisha: "Now wait a minute, we got to go through this, because we didn't make any corrections."

Capitalization

Example: Trisha: "Ok, ok, 'Hannah's family has a lot of relatives.' Juan said, 'Doesn't the "family", doesn't the "family" have to be capitalized?'"

Trisha: "Okay, so what do you think, should I capitalize 'grandpa'?"

Trisha: "A lowercase 'b' because its not the beginning anymore."

Choice of Alternative Meanings

Example: Trisha: "'First is Hannah's grandpa cheney,' or 'First is her grandpa cheney?'"

Trisha: "Okay, but I need to know what you want up here though. Is that what you want it to say?"

Trisha: "NO? Jerrod? Do you think we should leave it in here? 'Nathan is going to bring...' instead of putting it towards the bottom?"

Punctuation

Example: Trisha: "Where's the comma, right here?"

Trisha: "So everywhere I find and 'and' I am going to take it out and put a comma?"

Trisha: "Ok, you do not want a period there?"

Trisha: "Apostrophe 's', so I add a caret."

Heather: "Yeah, exclamation point!"

Spelling

Example: Trisha: "Do you know how to spell it? (writing, sounding out word) 'A-S-H-C-R-A-F-T.'"

Trisha: Do you remember how I said sometimes I write it to see what looks good? (Trisha writes on board: 'wolleye', 'walleye', 'whalleye', and 'wholleye')"

Re-reading

Example: Trisha: "Ok, the only way I know if that's what it sounds like is if I reread it. So I am going to reread this. I know we read the first sentence and that worked out okay..."

Trisha: "Ok, let me read it again, 'First is her grandpa..."

Cross-Outs

Example:

Hannah: "Take that out (pointing to 'who she's married to')."

Trisha: "This? (crosses out 'who she's married to')."

Trisha: "'her' and 'then'. Let's try to get rid of that (crosses-out). Let's go to the next one."

Topic

Example:

Hannah: "I know, but I should have wrote about something else (i.e., chose another topic as author)."

Trisha: "No, this is a good topic."

Trisha: "That was a good subject (topic) Hannah, it was just a hard one to figure out."

Trisha: "I am going to put 'When he grows-up' (as a possible topic)."

Personal Experience

Example:

Trisha: "Ok, I know that, Nigel, you're and uncle aren't you?...So does, when Monique grows up, is she going to call you 'Uncle Nigel'? or just 'Nigel'?"

Topic Sentence

Example:

Trisha: "Ok, we need a topic sentence. Also, Danny, would you like to give that for us?"

Trisha: "How can I show my topic sentence then?"

Opinion

Example:

Trisha: "Ok. right, but Nathan's response was fine too, wasn't it?"

Trisha: "I do, I see what Angie is saying, and i see what Danny and Nathan are saying. And that's when we come into a problem and what we're going to DO about it."

Unclear Meaning

Example:

Trisha: "It doesn't sound right?"

Trisha: "I don't know, it says what it is supposed to. Let's read it one more time."

Trisha: "(to Vietnamese student who does not speak English) Ok, canoeing, you have water (draws picture of water)//There's a canoe, and you have paddles (draws). And you go in a boat (simulates rowing with arms)."

Categorization/Mapping

Example:

Trisha: "What Angie is saying is that every time we usually write...we have categories, right, and we talk about one thing first, and then when we talk about something else, we indent, and then talk about something else. Is that right?"

Trisha: "Okay, let's think about some categories. What do you want to know about her?"

Trisha: "'Characteristics.' Oh, I need a bigger circle. I didn't think you guys would remember that!"

Sequencing/Organization

Example: Trisha: "Okay, so what you are saying is, you want to keep this, but you think it should go somewhere near the bottom later because right now we want to talk about, we're talking about what we're going to DO at camp."

Trisha: "Okay, raise your hand if you think this sentence is in the right place. Its good, perfect, right there. Raise your hand if you want to put is some place else later? Okay, that looks like a majority."

Trisha: "So where does the next sentence start?"

Trisha: "Okay, which one should we start with? What she eats, what she wears, what she does, her family, or h her characteristics?"

Questioning/Commenting

Example: Trisha: "This is a really tough one. Ok, how about another question, a comment, another comment , and see where it goes. Let me re-read it, I am sorry."

Trisha: "Does anybody have any comment to add?"

Trisha: "Okay, any other questions for Byron?"

Paragraphing

Example: Trisha: "Because she's seen that this isn't how we normally write. We were writing as a whole group in what we were doing, or what we were going to do. And then it switched right to Nathan by himself. And so she was thinking..."

Trisha: "YEAH, like everybody does one paragraph and then the next paragraph could've been what everybody wanted to do separately...I mean, it would have been a new paragraph on that stuff."

Trisha: "I am going to do what Gerry said, he told me to indent."

Asterisk

Example: Trisha: "Okay, so take the period away and I'll put 'and' here and put the star (asterisk) here instead of down here (all the way at very bottom of page)."

Trisha: "Yeah, that's what Janitra said. But do I need to put a star? Now look, this is all crossed-off, right?"

Pronoun Usage

Example: Trisha: “Byron’s dad...”
 Ss: { “HIS!!” (dad)”

Trisha: “You think ‘his’?”

Trisha: “We do have a lot of ‘Byron’ (repeated use of name instead of substituting other pronouns such as ‘his’).”

Dictionary

Example: Trisha: “‘Walleye’ is what we’re looking for. If you can’t find it under ‘W-A’, geez, I thought that’s how you spelled it. Yeah, try ‘W-O’.”

Trisha: “If its spelled ‘W-A’ it should be on this page in this column.”

Conclusions

Example: Trisha: “I know, I know. Do you want to end it? (put ending on story)”

Dates

Example: Trisha: “Okay, if I didn’t have this date up here (covers with hand), would I have to have the month name?...But because I have the date up there, I don’t need to put it in there.”

Audience Sensitivity

Example: Trisha: “Okay, you know what, we’ve already hear a little bit in Sharing Chair. So its kind of like you’re jumping ahead, because you have to think about your parents. Do they know...”
 Trisha: “And you’re talking about going somewhere or doing something and the parents don’t know why you asked that or even said that. So we might need to put something down so they know what we’re talking about.”

Trisha: “Okay, so let’s introduce our parents to Angie.”

Contractions

Example: Trisha: “Okay, Tracey says that instead of saying she cannot wait for her birthday to come, we should put she ‘can’t’ wait for her birthday to come. How many people like ‘cannot’? Raise your hand. How many people like ‘can’t’?”

Janitra: “That should be a contraction.

Trisha: “Okay, let’s make that a contraction.”

Run-On Sentence

Example: Trisha: “Is that a run-on?”
 Ss: “Yeah.”
 Trisha: “Okay, let’s make sure we split it up. So want to put the period and we don’t want to put the ‘and’ in.”

Involvement Moves

Involvement moves in this study were defined as discourse moves that functioned to create an increased level of involvement in an individual, small group, or the entire class. This category of moves borrows from Tannen's (1986) notion of "conversational involvement strategies", in which three moves, repetition, imagery, and dialogue were found to be used extensively between conversational partners to both give one's self more air time and to involve one's addressee. O'Connor and Michaels (1993) also found that a common discourse move, revoicing, was used extensively by several exemplary teachers with whom they worked. Particularly important in this move was how this move realigned both the social relationships of community members and the content under consideration. Two features of classroom discourse make the study of involvement moves particularly important. First, it is generally agreed upon that discourse not only communicates academic content under consideration, but also negotiates the social relationship of group members. Second, as curricular events with alternative discourse goals continue to be introduced, it will be necessary to have new conceptual tools to understand how teachers effectively transfer control of meaning-making to students through their talk.

Revoicing

Revoicing occurs when the teacher (or another student) takes an individual student's idea and reformulates the idea for other group members to consider. Authorship for the idea is given to the student, but the reformulation of the idea by the teacher may serve to realign the clarity of the content and/or the social relationship of members of the community. (For detailed examination of this move, see Chapter 5).

- Examples:
- Angie: "But, we can cross-out those (ideas, and put them later in the story)."
- Trisha: "What Angie's saying, I think, and tell me if I am wrong, okay.. What Angie is saying is that every time we usually write...we have categories, right, and we talk about one thing first, and then when we talk about something else, we indent, and then talk about something else."
- Trisha: "So, but what you're saying is that you really kind of wanted 'April 24th' in there somehow?"
- Trisha: "Ok, what he's saying...But what he's saying is that we could put this in one sentence..."
- Trisha: "What she's saying is that 'Angie's birthday is on Saturday' and 'She is having a party on the 24th.'"

Repeating

Repeating what a student says can communicate to the speaker that you are actively listening to what they have to say. In the classroom, this repetition also serves to help ensure the other group members accurately heard a particular individual's idea, giving the speaker a sense of ownership. As with all involvement moves, repeating may serve to realign both the content of the discussion and the social relationships among group members.

- Examples:
- Mark: "That doesn't sound right."
- Trisha: "That doesn't sound right."
- Janitra: "Angie's birthday party is on Saturday...the 24th."

Trisha: "Angie's birthday party in on Saturday the 24th."

Re-Reading

In Morning Message, re-reading the written text was an important way in which Trisha reoriented attention and the involvement of the group towards the story they were constructing. Trisha would either re-read a sentence, several sentences, or the entire text the group had constructed up to that point in time. Since re-reading one's text and asking whether what you have written makes sense is the most fundamental aspect of the drafting, editing, and revising process, this re-reading became a routine within the community.

Examples: Trisha: "And now it says, 'Angie's birthday is on Saturday and she is having a party on the 24th.'"
 Trisha: "They are going to play the regular Nintendo."
 Trisha: "Do you want to do that, take off 'They're going to play games' because they already have 'They're going to play regular Nintendo?'"

Supporting

Trisha often became a coach or cheerleader for the group, supporting the group's efforts, especially during particularly tough going. As Morning Message was often cognitively difficult for the students, it was important to support and reward the efforts of the group. These supporting moves usually served a maintenance function; trying to keep the involvement of group members high during difficult or trying times.

Examples: Trisha: "You guys can write it any way, we just said that. But what we need to do is as a team to figure out the best way."
 Trisha: "It DOES sound right. All of them sound right."
 Trisha: "Mark, you had an excellent point though. I wouldn't have even thought of saying that's, that's a holiday for that person. That was excellent thinking."
 Trisha: "Oooh this is hard."
 Trisha: "I didn't think you guys would remember that!"
 Danny: "Can their characteristics go, I mean, with family?"
 Ss: "No, it goes with family."
 Trisha: "It can, it can. It depends upon how you do it. It can."

Directly Calling on Students

Directly calling on an individual student was an important way Trisha gave speaking rights to particular students and involved them in the discussion. Though the student author had the right to call on audience members after giving the topic sentence and the completion of a sentence, the teacher reserved the right to call on students at other times. This right allowed the teacher to call on particular students who might add important opinions and ideas to the conversation or to involve a student who had not participated extensively in the discussion (See example of Nigel at beginning of this Appendix).

Examples: Trisha: "I am going to do what Gerry said, he told me to indent."
 Trisha: "You have to indent. Byron?"
 Trisha: "Okay, just a minute, Tracey you don't want the period here?"

Trisha: "(To the author, Angie) Okay, let's move on then. You get to choose, what would you like to talk about next, your family, what you do, what you eat, what you wear?"
 Trisha: "I don't know. I don't know, Hia."

Floor-Holding

Trisha used her role as teacher to ensure that all students had opportunities to contribute their voice to the group constructed stories in Morning Message. Often, however, it was necessary for Trisha to "hold the speaking floor" for a particular student who had either (a) not been heard by the group, or (b) had been interrupted by another student. This floor-holding served to communicate to members of the group that the verbal involvement of all members was valued. If students who are less aggressive in their attempts at gaining speaking turns were to be continually denied access by "louder" voices, they would soon cease to make efforts to gain the speaking floor. The teacher, then, plays a critical role in trying to ensure access for all students.

Examples: Trisha: "(Holds floor for Janitra, who raised but then lowered her hand)
 Janitra, did you have your hand up? What did you want a category on?"
 Trisha: "Okay, Danny, I didn't hear you. What did you say?"
 Trisha: "What Gerry?...What did you just say to me?"
 Trisha: "(Ignores Janitra's comment to hold Danny's idea) Is that what you're saying?"
 Trisha: "Wait, wait, wait. Stop. Janitra, what did you just say?"
 Trisha: Just a second. Byron, 'together?'"

Humor

Humor is a potentially powerful way in which to create involvement within the classroom. Lemke (1985a) found that when science instructors changed their discourse with students from the typical question-answer sequences to a more non-conventional, open-ended discussion format, the engagement rate of students increased dramatically (three to four times). One way to reduce the asymmetry in power between teacher and student, or what Goffman (1981) refers to as "role distancing", may be to introduce more humorous episodes into one's discourse. Since humor is often created through the juxtaposition of what is typical and that that is atypical, it seems particularly well suited to altering the traditional teacher-student register. In turn, it appears that humor, when used judiciously and carefully, may be a powerful way to increase the level of involvement in students.

Examples: Angie: "Capitalize. Uncapitalize 'and', um, lowercase, um, 'she.'"
 Trisha: "Uncapitalized huh (chuckles)."
 Angie: "Yeah (laughs)."
 Hannah: "Are we going to have different dorms?"
 .
 .
 .
 Danny: "Of course."
 Trisha: "Want to put that? Danny?"
 Danny: "Parents like to hear that."
 Trisha: "(laughing) Parents like to hear that."

Trisha: “(a discussion about what a ‘fraction’ is ensues; Trisha has drawn pictures of a pizza on the board to demonstrate) One, so she gets one fourth too. This one’s Danny’s. We’re doing math during Morning Message. And I cut it crooked on purpose so I could have the biggest piece.”

Ss: “Ahhhh!!!”

Permission

A final way in which Trisha attempted to involve students was through asking for permission to discuss or alter a particular idea. Just as using humor alters the typical teacher-student discourse pattern, asking a student or group of students for permission to alter their idea is also an atypical event in most classrooms. The implicit message being sent by such a move is to transfer control and empower students as decision-makers with legitimate authority. Since this move is atypical in most classroom interactions between teacher and students, it serves also to distance the teacher from their traditional role as the sole authority of knowledge. Though this move was used sparingly in Morning Message, it was particularly powerful in privileging the voice of individuals and the group in general.

Examples: Trisha: “What Angie’s saying, I think, and tell me if I am wrong, okay.”

Management Moves

As the leader in the classroom, the teacher has the right and responsibility for ensuring that children have a safe, productive working environment. As part of the classroom community a teacher creates for children, the teacher must make decisions as to the normative features that talk takes in his or her classroom. The teacher’s decisions about the rules, routines, roles, rights, and responsibilities that different speakers have in particular circumstances provide the boundaries for the types of talk the students and teacher will engage-in with one another. The teacher has the right to enforce and uphold particular standards that the community has agreed are important. In this sense, a vital responsibility of the teacher in a classroom is to *use* the inherent power in their role as leader to manage the classroom community, the conversations, and the behavior of the members. As Michaels and O’Connor (1990) note, successful classroom dialogues are orchestrated by the teacher, which includes deftly managing aspects of the environment and discourse itself to ensure the most productive outcomes of these engagements.

Conversational Management

In Morning Message, Trisha managed a number of aspects of the conversation, including the beginning and ends of a lesson, turn-taking rights and duties, speaking rights and duties, and the pacing of the lesson. Due to the often high-paced nature of Morning Message, it was important that Trisha retained the right to manage particular aspects of the conversation. Though management moves occurred rather infrequently, they played a particularly important role in the event.

Examples: Trisha: “Raise your hand if you think that’s the way we should start this (topic sentence)?”
 Trisha: “Ok, she’s the new student (in the class), thanks for reminding me. Ok, Angie, come up and sit in the chair (as author).”
 Trisha: “Ok, we have to stop for now because we have poetry and theme. So what I would like to do is to think of some questions for Angie. She’ll be in the chair again.”

Trisha: "Read this with me (chorally as a whole class)."

Trisha: "Angie. That's just a suggestion. Ok, do you remember about (hurt) feelings."

Community Management

Occasionally, it was important for Trisha to manage the implicit and explicit speaking norms and social relationships that guided the classroom community. This category of discourse moves reflects Trisha's attempt to create and sustain particular standards for the students, especially the importance of inclusivity, equity, and sharedness that underlie the rules for social interaction. Community management involved managing the social norms that related to feelings and opinions. This form of management differed from class and behavior management, whose focus were the violation of behavioral standards at the group (class management) and individual (behavior management) levels.

- Examples:
- Trisha: "I think Danny was concerned about Nathan because, you know what's really hard, is that we are so close in this room. We are. We're the family in Room 104, and nobody want to hurt anybody else's feelings."
- Trisha: "I do, I see what Angie is saying, and I see what Danny and Nathan are saying. And that's when we come into a problem and what we're going to DO about it. And that's what I am saying, maybe today is not a good time to do this, because did you notice that after we did this, and we went to the next sentence, it was hard to get back into it."
- Trisha: "How many people see Angie's point."
- Trisha: "Okay, do you remember about (hurt) feelings?"

Class Behavior Management

Class management moves focused on behavioral rules violations at the group level. Rules violations included such things as unsolicited or inappropriate comments, inattention, lack of participation, and other off-task behaviors (e.g., pounding pencil on desk, turning-around and bothering neighbor).

- Examples:
- Trisha: "Now this is, shhh, you have to work together."
- Trisha: "Ok, you guys need to keep it down just a little bit. If you've got a comment, please raise your hand, we want to hear it, but its the little noises that are bothering the group."
- Trisha: "Okay, read this with me. Okay, before we start this, I can see what's going to happen already. When we get down here, please do not yell. You can get a little excited, but please don't yell at me."

Individual Behavior Management

Individual behavior management focused on behavioral rules violation at the individual level. Rules violations included such things as unsolicited or inappropriate comments, inattention, lack of participation, and other off-task behaviors (e.g., pounding pencil on desk, turning-around and bothering neighbor).

- Examples:
- Trisha: "Janitra, can you move your desk back. If she does something, you make a choice (to Gerry)."

Trisha: "Now Gerry, I've asked Janitra to move and she moved, and you're still having problems. This is mine (pencil). The little one is mine (little pencil)."

Trisha: "Gerry (stating name during behavioral incident)."

LIST OF REFERENCES

LIST OF REFERENCES

- Allington, R. L. (1992). The legacy of "slow it down and make it more concrete". Learner factors/teacher factors: Issues in literacy research and instruction, the Fortieth Yearbook of the National Reading Conference. National Reading Conference, Chicago, IL.
- Allington, R. L., & McGill-Franzen, A. (1989). School response to reading failure: Instruction for Chapter 1 and special education students in grades two, four, and eight. Elementary School Journal, 89, 529-542.
- Alvermann, D. (1990). Teacher-student mediation of content area texts. Theory into Practice, 28(2), 142-147.
- Anderson, L. M., Raphael, T. E., Englert, C. S., & Stevens, D. D. (1991). Teaching writing with a new instructional model: Variations in teachers' beliefs, instructional practice, and their students' performance. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association. Chicago, IL.
- Au, K., & Jordon, C. (1981). Teaching reading to Hawaiian children: Finding a culturally appropriate solution. In H. Treuba, G. Guthrie, and K. Au (Eds.), The social context of instruction: Group organization and group processes (pp. 209-225). Orlando, FL: Academic Press.
- Au, K., & Mason, J. (1983). Cultural congruence in classroom participation structures: Achieving a balance of rights. Discourse Processes, 6, 145-167.
- Bakhtin, M. M. (1981). The dialogic imagination. Edited by M. Holquist. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.
- Bakhtin, M. M. (1986). Speech genres & other late essays. Edited by C. Emerson and M. Holquist. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.
- Ball, D. L. (1990). With an eye on the mathematical horizon: Dilemmas of teaching elementary school mathematics (Craft Paper 90-3). East Lansing, MI. National Center for Research on Teacher Education, Michigan State University.
- Barnes, D. (1992). From communication to curriculum. Boynton/Cook- Heineman. Portsmouth, NH.
- Bereiter, C., & Bird, (1985). Use of thinking aloud in identification and teaching of reading comprehension strategies. Cognition and Instruction, 2, 131-156.
- Bereiter, C., & Scardamalia, M. (1985). Cognitive coping strategies and the problem of "inert" knowledge. In S. Chipman, J., W. Segal, & R. Glaser (Eds.), Thinking and learning skills: Current research and open questions (Vol. 2, pp. 65-80). Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Bloome, D. (1986). Building literacy communities. Theory into Practice, 15, 71-76.

- Bogdan, R. C., & Biklen, S. K. (1982). Qualitative research methods for education. Boston: Allyn & Bacon.
- Bos, C. S., & Anders, P. L. (1990). Interactive teaching and learning: Instructional practices for teaching content and strategic knowledge. In T. E. Scruggs & B. Y. L. Wong (Eds.), Intervention research in learning disabilities (pp. 116-185). New York: Springer-Verlag.
- Brophy, J., & Good, T. (1986). Teacher behavior and student achievement. In M. Wittrock (Ed.), The handbook of research on teaching (3rd ed.). Riverside, NJ: Macmillan.
- Brown, P., & Levinson, S. (1987). Politeness: Some universals in language usage. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bruffee, K. A. (1984). Peer tutoring and the "conversation of mankind". College English, 46, 635-652.
- Bruner, J. (1991a). The narrative construction of reality. Critical Inquiry, 18, 1-21.
- Bruner, J. (1991b). Acts of meaning. Cambridge: Harvard Educational Press.
- Burbules, N. C. (1993). Dialogue in teaching: Theory and practice. New York: Teachers College Press.
- Calkins, L. M. (1991). Living between the lines. Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann.
- Cazden, C. B. (1988). Classroom discourse: The language of teaching and learning. Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann.
- Cairney, T., & Langbien, S. (1989). Building communities of readers and writers. The Reading Teacher, 42, 560-567.
- Campione, J. C., & Brown, A. L. (1987). Linking dynamic assessment with school achievement. In C. S. Lidz (Ed.), Dynamic assessment: An interactional approach to evaluating learning potential (pp. 82-115). New York: The Guilford Press.
- Chang-Wells, G.L., & Wells, G., (1993). Dynamics of discourse: Literacy and the construction of knowledge. In Forman, E. A., Minick, N., & Stone, C. A. (Eds.), pp. 58-89.
- Christie, F. (1991). Pedagogical and content registers in a writing lesson. Linguistics and Education, 3, 203-224.
- Coles, G., (1987). The learning mystique: A critical look at "learning disabilities". New York: Fawcette Columbine.
- Collins, J. (1982). Discourse style, classroom interaction, and differential treatment. Journal of Reading Behavior, 14, 429-438.

- Daiute, C. (1986). Do 1 and 1 make 2? Patterns of influence by collaborative authors. Written Communication, 3(3), 382-408.
- Davies, B., & Harre, R. (1990). Positioning: The discursive production of selves. Journal for the Theory of Social Behavior, 20(1), 42-63.
- Dudley-Marling, C., & Searle, D. (1991). When students have time to talk: Creating contexts for learning language. Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann.
- Edwards, D., & Mercer, N. (1987). Common knowledge: The development of understanding in the classroom. New York: Methuen.
- Eisner, E. (1985). Aesthetic modes of knowing. In E. Eisner (Ed.), Learning and teaching the ways of knowing, (pp. 23-36). Chicago, IL: the University of Chicago Press.
- Englert, C. S. & Palincsar, A. S. (1991). Reconsidering instructional research in literacy from a sociocultural perspective. Learning Disabilities Research & Practice, 6, 225-229.
- Englert, C. S., Palincsar, A. S., Raphael, T. E., & Gavelek, J. R. (1991). Transforming the learning disabled into self-regulated learners: The development and implementation of a sustainable early literacy curriculum. A grant funded by the Office of Special Education Programs (No., H 023C90076).
- Englert, C. S., Raphael, T. E., & Anderson, L. M. (1992). Socially-mediated instruction: Improving students' knowledge and talk about writing. Elementary School Journal, 92(4), 411-450.
- Englert, C. S., Raphael, T. E., Anderson, L. M., Anthony, H. M., Fear, K. L., & Gregg, S. L. (1988). A case for writing intervention: Strategies for writing informational text. Learning Disabilities Focus, 3(2), 98-113.
- Englert, C. S., Raphael, T. R., & Mariage, T. V. (1994). Developing a school-based discourse for literacy learning: A principled search for understanding. Learning Disabilities Quarterly, 17, 3-33.
- Englert, C. S., Rozendal, M. S., & Mariage, M. (1994). Fostering the search for understanding: A teacher's strategies for working in students' "zones of proximal development". Learning Disability Quarterly, 17, 187-204.
- Englert, C. S., Tarrant, K. L., & Mariage, T. V. (1992). Redefining instructional practice in special education: Perspectives on good teaching. Teacher Education and Special Education, 15(2), 62-86.
- Erickson, F. (1986). Qualitative methods in research on teaching. In M. Wittrock (Ed.), Handbook of research on teaching (3rd edition), (pp. 119-161). New York: MacMillan Publishing Company.
- Fagan, W. T. (1989). Empowered students, empowered teachers. The Reading Teacher, 42, 572-579.

- Florio-Ruane, S. (1987). Sociolinguistics for educational researchers. American Educational Research Journal, 24(2), 185-197.
- Florio-Ruane, S. (1991). Instructional conversations in learning to write and learning to teach. In L. Idol & B. F. Jones (Eds.), Educational values and cognitive instruction: Implications for reform, (pp. 365-386). Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Gallimore, R., Goldenberg, C. N., & Weisner, T. S. (1992). The social construction and subjective reality of activity settings: Implications for community psychology. Paper prepared for a special issue of the American Journal of Community Psychology. February, 1992.
- Gallimore, R. & Tharp, R. (1990). Teaching mind in society: Teaching, schooling, and literate discourse. In L. C. Moll (Ed), Vygotsky and education: Instructional implications and applications of sociohistorical psychology (pp. 175-205). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Gavelek, J. (1990). The vygotsky space. Personal correspondence.
- Gee, J. P. (1989). What is literacy? Literacies Institute (Technical Report No. 2). Newton, MA: Education Development Center.
- Gee, J. P., Michaels, S., & O'Connor, M. C. (1992). Discourse analysis. In The handbook of qualitative research in education. Orlando, FL: Academic Press.
- Goffman, E. (1981). Forms of talk. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Goldenberg, C. (1993). Instructional Conversations. The Reading Teacher, 46(4), 316-326.
- Goodlad, J. I. (1984). A place called school. New York: McGraw Hill.
- Goodman, Y. M., & Goodman, K. S. (1990). Vygotsky in a whole-language perspective. In L. C. Moll (Ed.), Vygotsky and education: The instructional implications and applications of sociohistorical psychology, (pp. 223-250). New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Graham, S. & Harris, K. R. (1989). Improving learning disabled students' skills at composing essays: Self-instructional strategy training. Exceptional Children, 56(3), 201-216.
- Green, J. L., (1983). Exploring classroom discourse: Linguistic perspectives on teaching-learning processes. Educational Psychologist, 18(3), 180-199.
- Halliday, M. A. K. (1993). Towards a language-based theory of learning, Linguistics and Education, 5(2), 93-116.
- Halliday, M. A. K., & Hasan, R. (1989). Language, context, and text: Aspects of language in a social-semiotic perspective. Oxford University Press.
- Hartman, D. K. (1991). The intertextual links of readers using multiple passages: A

- postmodern/semiotic/cognitive view of meaning making. In Learner factors/teacher factors: Issues in literacy research and instruction, (pp. 49-66). National Reading Conference, Chicago, IL.
- Hedegaard, M. (1990). The zone of proximal development as basis for instruction. In L. C. Moll (Ed.), Vygotsky and education: Instructional implications and applications of sociohistorical psychology, (pp. 349-371). New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Harre, R. (1984). Personal being: A theory for individual psychology. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Heap, J. L. (1991). A situated perspective on what counts as reading. In C. Baker & A. Luke (Eds.), Toward a critical sociology of reading pedagogy, (pp. 103-139). The Netherlands: John Benjamins.
- Heath, S. B. (1983). Ways with words: Language, life and work in communities and classrooms. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Heshusius, L. (1989). The Newtonian mechanistic paradigm, special education, and contours of alternatives: An overview. Journal of Learning Disabilities, 22(7), 403-415.
- Hymes, D. (1974). Foundations in sociolinguistics: An ethnographic approach. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Jacob, E. (1992). Culture, context, and cognition. The handbook of qualitative research in education, (pp. 293-335). New York: Academic Press, Inc.
- Johnston, P., & Allington, R. (1991). Remediation. In R. Barr, M. L. Kamil, P. Mosenthal, and P. D. Pearson (Ed.'s), Handbook of reading research volume II, (pp. 984-1012). New York: Longman.
- Keller-Cohen, D. (1993). Rethinking literacy: Comparing colonial and contemporary America. Anthropology and Education Quarterly, 24(4), 288-307.
- Lampert, M. (1990). When the problem is not the question and the solution is not the answer: Mathematical knowing and teaching. American Educational Research Journal, 27, 29-64.
- Lemke, J. L. (1989a). Social semiotics: A new model for literacy education. In Bloome (Ed.) Classrooms and literacy, (pp. 289-309). Norwood, NJ: Ablex.
- Lemke, J. L. (1989b). Making text talk. Theory into Practice, 28(2), 136-141.
- Lemke, J. L. (1989c). Using language in the classroom. Oxford University Press.
- Lemke, J. L. (1990). Talking science: Language, learning, and values. Norwood, NJ: Ablex Publishing.

- Lenz, K. B. (1989). In the spirit of strategies instruction: Cognitive and metacognitive aspects of the strategies intervention model. Prepared for the National Institute of Dyslexia Second Annual Conference, February, 1989. Revised for publication, April, 1989. The University of Kansas Institute for Research in Learning Disabilities, January, 1989.
- Mariage, T. V. (1994). Communication in socially-mediated activity: An examination of discourse in two literacy events. A paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association. Atlanta, GA.
- Mariage, T. V. (1995). Why children learn: Examining the nature of teacher talk during reading. Learning Disability Quarterly, 18(3), 214-235.
- Mariage, T. V., & Englert, C. S. (1993). The systemic influence of the early literacy project curriculum: A four-year longitudinal study of student achievement from first to fourth grade. A paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the National Reading Conference. Charleston, SC.
- McCarthy, S. J. (1991). Authors, text, and talk: The internalization of dialogue from social interaction in writing. Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation. Michigan State University, East Lansing, MI.
- McCarthy, S. J. (1992). The influences of classroom discourse on student texts: The case of Ella. In Literacy research, theory, and practice: Views from many perspectives. National Reading Conference, Chicago, IL.
- Mehan, H. (1979). Learning lessons. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Merriman, S. B. (1988). Case study research in education: A qualitative approach. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass Publishers.
- Michaels, S. (1981). "Sharing time": Children's narrative styles and differential access to literacy, Language in Society, 10, 423-442.
- Michaels, S. (1985). Hearing the connections in children's oral and written discourse. Journal of Education, 167, 36-56.
- Michaels, S., & O'Connor, M. C. (1990). Literacy as reasoning within multiple discourses: Implications for policy and educational reform. Paper presented at the Summer Institute for the Council of Chief State School Officers. Newton, MA: Clark University.
- Minick, N. (1987). Implications of Vygotsky's theories of dynamic assessment. In C. S. Lidz (Ed.), Dynamic assessment: An interactional approach to evaluating learning potential (pp. 116-140). New York: The Guilford Press.
- Moll, L. C., & Greenberg, J. B. (1990). Creating zones of possibilities: Combining social contexts for instruction. In L. C. Moll (Ed.), Vygotsky and education: Instructional implications and applications of sociohistorical psychology (pp. 319-348). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Moses, R. P., Kamii, M., Swap, S., & Howard, J. (1989). The algebra project: organizing in the spirit of Ella. Harvard Educational Review, 59(4), 423-443.
- Myers, J. (1992). The social contexts of school and personal literacy, Reading Research Quarterly, 27(4), 297-333.
- O'Connor, M. C. (in press). Managing the intermental: Classroom group discussion and the social context of learning. To appear in Slobin, D. I., Gerhardt, J., Kyratzis, A., & Guo, J., (Eds.), Social Interaction, Social Context and Language: Essays in Honor of Susan Ervin-Tripp. Lawrence Erlbaum.
- O'Connor, M. C., & Michaels, S. (1993). Aligning academic task and participation status through revoicing: Analysis of a classroom discourse strategy. Anthropology and Education Quarterly, 24(4), 318-335.
- Orsolini, M., & Pontecorvo, C. (1992). Children's talk in classroom discussions. Cognition and Instruction, 9(2), 113-136.
- O'Sullivan, P. J., Ysseldyke, J. E., Christenson, S. L., & Thurlow, M. L. (1990). Mildly handicapped elementary students' opportunity to learn during reading instruction in mainstream and special education settings. Reading Research Quarterly, 25, 131-146.
- Palincsar, A. S., & Brown, A. L. (1988). Teaching and practicing thinking skills to promote comprehension in the context of group problem solving. Remedial and Special Education, 9(1), 53-59.
- Palincsar, A. S., & Brown, A. L. (1989). Classroom dialogues to promote self-regulated comprehension. In J. Brophy (Ed.), Advances in research on teaching. Greenwich, Connecticut: JAI Press.
- Paris, S. G., & Oka, E. (1986). Self-regulated learning in exceptional children. Exceptional Children, 53(2), 103-108.
- Poplin, M. S. (1988a). The reductionist fallacy in learning disabilities: Replicating the past by reducing the present. Journal of Learning Disabilities, 21(7), 389-400.
- Poplin, M. S. (1988b). Holistic/constructivist principles: Implications for the field of learning disabilities. Journal of Learning Disabilities, 21(7), 401-416.
- Portes, P. R. (1985). The role of language in the development of intelligence: Vygotsky revisited. Journal of Research and Development in Education, 18(4), 1-10.
- Pressley, M., El-Dinary, P. B., Gaskins, I., Schuder, T., Bergman, J. L., Almasi, J. A., & Brown, R. (1992). Beyond direct explanation: Transactional instruction of reading comprehension strategies. Elementary School Journal, 92(5), 513-556.
- Raphael, T. R., Englert, C. S., & Kirschner, B. W. (1989). Students' metacognitive knowledge about writing. Research in the Teaching of English, 23(4), 343-379.

- Reid, D. K., & Stone, C. A. (1991). Why is cognitive instruction effective? Underlying learning mechanisms. Remedial and Special Education, 12(3), 8-19.
- Roehler, L. R., & Duffy, G. G. (1991). Teachers' instructional actions. In Handbook of reading research (Vol. 2, pp. 861-883). White Plains, NY: Longman.
- Rogoff, B. (1990). Apprenticeship in thinking: Cognitive development in social context. Oxford University Press.
- Santa Barbara Discourse Group (Dixon, C., de la Cruz, E., Green, J., Lin, L., & Brandts, L.) (1992a). Do you see what we see? The referential and intertextual nature of classroom life. Journal of Classroom Interaction, 27(2), 29-36.
- Santa Barbara Discourse Group (Green, J., Dixon, C., Lin, L., Floriani, A., Bradley, M. with Paxton, S., Mattern, C., & Bergamio, H., Columbus, OH) (1992b). Constructing literacy in classrooms: Literate action as social accomplishment. In H. H. Marshall (Ed.), Redefining student learning: Roots of educational change. Norwood, NJ: Ablex.
- Santa Barbara Discourse Group (Heras, A. I., Yeager, B., Floriani, A., Dixon, C., Jennings, L., & Green, J.) (1992c). Two languages, one community: An examination of educational possibilities. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the National Reading Conference. San Antonio, TX.
- Sulzby, E., & Teale, W. H. (1991). Emergent literacy. In Barr, R., Kamil, M. L., Mosenthal, P., & Pearson, P. D., Handbook of reading research volume II, (pp. 727-758). New York: Longman.
- Tannen, D. (1989). Talking voices: Repetition, dialogue, and imagery in conversational discourse. Great Britain: Cambridge University Press.
- Tharp, R. G., & Gallimore, R. (1988). Rousing minds to life: Teaching, learning and schooling in social context. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Tuvay, S., Jennings, L., & Dixon, C. (1993). Classroom discourse and opportunities to learn: An ethnographic study of knowledge construction in a bilingual third grade classroom. A paper presented at the National Reading Conference. Charleston, SC.
- Vygotsky, L. S. (1978). Mind in society. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Vygotsky, L. S. (1988). Thought and language. Edited by A. Kozulin. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.
- Wells, G. (1986). The meaning makers: Children learning language and using language to learn. Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann.
- Wells, G. (1993). Reevaluating the IRF sequence: A proposal for the articulation of theories of activity and discourse for the analysis of teaching and learning in the classroom. Linguistics and Education, 5, 1-37.

- Wells, G. (1994). The complementary contributions of Halliday and Vygotsky to a "language-based theory of learning". Linguistics and Education, 6, 41-90.
- Wells, G. & Chang-Wells, G. L., (1992). Constructing knowledge together: Classrooms as centers of inquiry and literacy. Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann.
- Wertsch, J. V. (1985). Vygotsky and the social formation of mind. Cambridge, MA: The Harvard University Press.
- Wertsch, J. V. (1991). Voices of the mind: A sociocultural approach to mediated action. Cambridge, MA: The Harvard University Press.
- Wertsch, J. V., Minick, N., & Arns, F. (1984). The creation of context in joint problem-solving. In B. Rogoff and J. Lave (Eds.), Everyday cognition: Its development in social context, (pp. 151-171). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Wertsch, J. V., & Rogoff, B. (1984). Editors' notes. In B. Rogoff and J. Wertsch (Eds.), Children's learning in the "zone of proximal development", (pp. 1-6). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Woods, P., Bruner, J., & Ross, G. (1976). The role of tutoring in problem solving. Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry, 17, 89-100.

