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**Achieving distinction through Mock ESL: A critical pragmatics analysis of classroom talk
in a high school¹**

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Abstract

This chapter investigates the widely noted yet little investigated stigma that is associated with English as a second language (ESL) as an institutional and social identity category in North American public schools. Drawn from a critical ethnography conducted in an ESL program at a large urban high school in Hawai‘i (Tradewinds High), the chapter examines how linguistic prejudice, linguistic nationalism, xenophobia, and assimilationism are constituted, instantiated, and circulated through use of a linguistic style referred to as “Mock ESL.” Four occasionings of Mock ESL are analysed, which were voiced by oldtimer, generation 1.5 ESL—or “Local ESL”—students in public displays of distinction from low-English-proficient newcomer classmates, or “FOBs” (fresh off the boat).

For the analysis of these data, an ethnographically-informed, socially-constituted critical pragmatics conceptual framework is outlined, which situates the microanalysis of classroom talk within broader critical and ethnographic perspectives, and views them as mutually informing. This not only works to ground, warrant, and elaborate particular critical ethnographic claims about the stigma of ESL in data-near, participant-relevant terms, but to demonstrate how the “micro” politics of Mock ESL is linked to the “macro” politics of language and education in Hawai‘i, and in the US more generally. Specifically, by considering Mock ESL in terms of the

language ideological processes of iconization, erasure, and fractal recursivity, the chapter illustrates how the recursive projection of social processes at several different levels of “macro”/“micro” relationship ultimately undermines this binarism, demonstrating instead how the “macro” is *constituted in* the “micro,” and vice versa.

The chapter concludes with a brief consideration of certain pedagogical interventions informed by the critical pragmatics analysis, which are aimed at interrupting the re/production of linguistic chauvinism.

* * * *

At: Thank god there's no ESL in college.
 Mr. Talmy: There's ESL in college, At.
 At: No way. No way!
 China: If I have to take ESL in college, I'm gonna kill myself.²

Brahdah: Wat? Get ESL in calij? Ho, jas falo yu araun!.... So iz ESL calij diploma les dan reglr calij diploma?
*What? There's ESL in college? Damn, it just follows you around!.... So is an ESL college diploma less than a regular college diploma? (Talmy, 2005, p. 586)*³

Introduction

In two and a half years of critical ethnographic fieldwork in the ESL program at Tradewinds High,⁴ a public high school in Hawai'i, one of the most pervasive perspectives I heard voiced, from ESL students and teachers alike, was how utterly, how totally uncool it was to be a student in the school's English as a second language (ESL) program. This view is implied in the data extracts above, in which three old-timer (Lave & Wenger, 1991) “Local ESL”⁵ students referenced the stigmatized status of ESL: At, who had lived in Hawai'i for three years, assuredly, but mistakenly, applauds the absence of ESL programs in college; China, who had lived in Hawai'i for five years, vows suicide if assigned to college-level ESL; and Brahdah, a 9th grader

who had spent his entire school career in ESL, wonders whether the deficiencies accorded to ESL translate into an “ESL college diploma” that is somehow less than a “regular” one.

Similarly negative views about the status of ESL in the social orders of North American public schools have been noted repeatedly in the literature on Kindergarten-12th grade (K-12) ESL (see, e.g., Derwing, DeCorby, & Jamieson, 1999; Duff, 2002; Faltis, 1999; Gunderson, 2006; Harklau, 1994; Johnson, 1996; McKay & Wong, 1996; Talmy, 2009c; Toohey, 2000; Valdés, 2001; Watt & Roessingh, 2001; Willett, 1995). Despite this, few studies have directly addressed why ESL might be so “uncool,” and fewer still have examined how this “uncoolness” might actually happen. In fact, despite the rapid increase in the number of ESL students in North America in recent years, there remains comparatively little applied linguistics research that concerns K-12 ESL at all, particularly for the high school years (Duff, 2005). This is of some concern, since ESL students in North America are far more likely than non-ESL students to come from families living in poverty (by some estimates, as high as 75% [August & Hakuta, 1997]), and secondary ESL students, in particular, are among the most likely school-age populations to “drop out,” be “pushed out,” and to “disappear” (Gunderson, 2006) from school, with rates ranging from twice the national average in the US (Ruiz de Velasco, Fix, & Clewell, 2000), to *three-quarters* of ESL students at one large urban Canadian high school (Watt & Roessingh, 2001). As Faltis (1999) has argued, the empirical silence concerning secondary ESL can only work to perpetuate a status quo in which these students’ access to equal educational opportunity remains seriously compromised.

This chapter thus takes up Faltis’ (1999, p. 1) call for increased attention to what he refers to as “one of the most unexamined and overlooked areas of education”: secondary ESL. It concerns the widely noted yet little investigated stigma associated with ESL, focusing in

particular on the linguisticism (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000) or linguistic prejudice that informs it. It does so by privileging in microanalytic detail the actions of students such as At, China, and Brahdah, whose experiences are similarly underrepresented in the research literature, by examining Local ESL students' use of a parodic language variety that I call Mock ESL. As I argue below, use of Mock ESL worked to project within the Tradewinds ESL classes assimilationist language ideologies concerning ESL, second-language (L2) English, and ESL speakers that were also evident in the wider school and societal contexts.

In addition, I outline in this chapter the theoretical framework that I use to make this argument. Considering that the larger study (Talmy, 2005) the data below are drawn from is a critical ethnography (see, e.g., Anderson, 1989; Levinson, Foley, & Holland, 1996; Quantz, 1992; Simon & Dippo, 1986), and one that incorporates the analysis of classroom talk-in-interaction, the term that I have appropriated for this framework is "critical pragmatics" (cf. Mey, 2001). However, I should note that my aim in elucidating what I mean by "critical pragmatics" is not intended to be definitional; it is primarily illustrative, meant to demonstrate the benefits that accrue when critical ethnography and an analysis of talk-in-interaction are used complementarily (Miller & Fox, 2004). That notwithstanding, elucidation of a critical pragmatics theoretical framework necessitates discussion of analytic traditions that investigate talk-in-interaction, such as (applied) conversation analysis (CA) and membership categorization analysis (MCA), and those that undertake the analysis of discourse from critical perspectives, including Fairclough's version of critical discourse analysis (CDA) (e.g., 1989, 1992, 2001) and certain iterations of (critical) discourse analytic work in discursive and rhetorical psychology (e.g., Billig, 1996; Edley, 2001; Wetherell, 1998; Wetherell & Edley, 1999) and feminist psychology (e.g., Kitzinger, 2000, 2007, 2008; Kitzinger & Rickford, 2007; Speer, 1999; Stokoe, 2000,

2003, 2006, 2010; Stokoe & Edwards, 2007; Stokoe & Smithson, 2001; Wilkinson & Kitzinger, 2003, 2008; cf. Wowk, 2007).

In the next section, I discuss in more detail this critical pragmatics framework. I then sketch a brief historical context of linguisticism in language and education policy in Hawai‘i, before introducing the Tradewinds study and some of its primary findings. Next, I consider research done on mock language varieties as a means to contextualize Mock ESL, the focus of my analysis. Following this, I analyze four extracts of Mock ESL use by oldtimer Local ESL students in classroom interaction. Afterward, I discuss the implications of instances of Mock ESL use, particularly in terms of three language ideological processes formulated by Irvine and Gal (2000; Irvine, 2001): iconization, erasure, and fractal recursivity. I conclude with consideration of how this all relates to the perspectives voiced by At, China, and Brahdah at the start of this chapter, concerning the stigmatized status of ESL.

Toward a critically-oriented, socially-constituted, ethnographically-situated pragmatics

If critical approaches to language use in the context of social practices fail to be convincing as a result of a lack of theoretical and methodological rigour...they destroy their own *raison d'être* and make the task all the more difficult for anyone who does observe the basic rules of documentation, argumentation and explicit presentation (Verschuere, 2001, p. 60).

As is often the case for more marginal research traditions, [critical discourse] research has to be ‘better’ than other research in order to be accepted (van Dijk, 2001, p. 353)

In this section I discuss the theoretical framework I adopt for the critical pragmatics analysis below. I first discuss my conceptualization of pragmatics, and then outline some general principles of critical research. Afterward, I engage some of the problematics that can arise in a critical analysis of classroom talk, namely, tensions between two streams of empirical work in pragmatics: research in critical discourse analysis and in the analysis of talk-in-interaction. It is

in this discussion that I argue for a respecification of the term “critical pragmatics,” so that it represents a greater diversity of approaches in pragmatics that can attend to the critical analysis of discourse.

Pragmatics

It is important to state at the outset that I do not consider myself a pragmaticist. Nor for that matter do I consider myself a conversation analyst, or a membership categorization analyst, or—speaking of membership categories—a discourse analyst. Rather, I consider myself a critical ethnographer. This has implications for how I conceptualize pragmatics, as well as how I believe pragmatics could be recruited for critical pragmatics research in (language) education.

To begin with, it means that I take a necessarily broad view of pragmatics, consistent with what Verschueren (e.g., 1998) calls a “pragmatic perspective.” This is a “more sociological conception of pragmatics” (Horn & Ward, 2004, p. xi), which draws on, and shares objects of study with, neighbor disciplines such as sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology, to name two traditions I draw upon in this chapter. It is a perspective which contrasts with a “component perspective” of pragmatics (Verschueren, 1998), and the “narrowly circumscribed, mainly Anglo-American conception of linguistic and philosophical pragmatics” advanced by Horn and Ward (2004, p. xi), among others.

Additionally, I approach pragmatics from a broadly social interactionist perspective, consistent with what Kasper (2006) terms a “discursive pragmatics,” whereby action, meaning, and context are “constituted not only *in* but *through* social interaction” (p. 284). I also embrace a theoretically-principled analytic opportunism, that is, I do not claim allegiance to any one analytic framework, but appropriate them as necessary.⁶ As well, I take an unabashedly ethnographic approach (Blommaert, 2005), one that is situated theoretically in cultural studies

(e.g., Hall, 1996, Williams, 1977, Willis, 1977), critical education studies (e.g., Giroux, 1997), and post-structural critical applied linguistics (Pennycook, 2001).

Locating “critical”

The task of elaborating what I mean by “critical” is challenging in that there is a plurality of critical theories, based on the diverse work of a range of scholars, from Marx to Freire, Vološinov to Foucault. Just as critical theories are not monolithic, neither are they static, as they change and shift due to ongoing, “synergistic” relationships among themselves, and with cultural studies, post-structuralism, postmodernism, and post-colonialism (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2000).

However, while there is no single agreed-upon definition of “critical,” there are certain principles and objectives shared in the critical “project” (cf. Simon & Dippo, 1986). At the risk of reducing an extremely complex cluster of theoretical alignments and fissures, these include variants of some of the following principles:

- that society is stratified and marked by inequality, with differential structural access to material and symbolic resources;
- that power arrangements are asymmetrical;
- that there is a reciprocal, mutually-constitutive relationship between social structures and human agency;
- that social structures mediate social practices but do not determine them;
- that society, power, agency, and culture do not exist atemporally, but are sociohistorically situated;
- that there is no such thing as “value-free” research: all knowledge is “interested” (Foucault, 1972);

- that it is not enough to simply describe inequality; it must be transformed through sustained critique and direct action, or praxis (this “emancipatory impulse” has garnered considerable criticism [see, e.g., Ellsworth, 1989], resulting in recent conceptions of praxis as more circumspect, situated, collaborative, and reflexive).

When the two subsections above are considered together, the theoretical framework that I adopt for this study can be glossed as a critically-oriented, socially-constituted, ethnographically-situated pragmatics (also see Blommaert, 2005).

Respecifying “critical pragmatics”?

Consideration of the two subsections above also logically results in the collocation “critical pragmatics.” Interestingly, however, there are comparatively few references to work that is in some way identified by this label (but see, e.g., Koyama, 2004; McHoul, 1988), prompting Jacob Mey, in the second edition of *Pragmatics: An introduction* (2001), to comment thus:

Since nobody, to my knowledge, has appropriated the term yet, I suggest letting the... work done... mainly [by] the so-called ‘Lancaster School’ of critical language awareness, centered on Norman Fairclough and his co-workers... be suitably captured by the common denominator of ‘critical pragmatics’ (p. 316; also see p. xi).

Faircloughian CDA is, in many respects, a plausible candidate for the mantle of critical pragmatics. Over the years, there has been a considerable amount of important research on language-in-use that has adopted Fairclough’s increasingly elaborated, quasi systemic-functional analytic framework. At the same time, however, it should be noted that there is no compelling reason to delimit “critical pragmatics” to Faircloughian CDA, especially in light of the many substantive critiques that have been made of it (see, e.g., Blommaert, 2005; McHoul, 1988;

Slembrouck, 2001; Verschueren, 2001; also see Pennycook, 2001, 2003). It is in this respect that I would argue for a critical pragmatics that is respecified to include a wider, more inclusive, and more representative range of analytic frameworks that can (and do) attend to the critical analysis of discourse (cf. Blommaert, 2005), and the critical analysis of talk-in-interaction.⁷

Much has been written in recent years of paradigmatic tensions between traditions in CDA and the analysis of talk-in-interaction (see, e.g., Billig, 1999a; 1999b; Blommaert, 2005; Fairclough, 1989, 1992; ten Have, 2007; Kitzinger, 2000, 2008; Schegloff, 1997, 1998, 1999a, 1999b; Verschueren, 2001; Wetherell, 1998; Wilkinson & Kitzinger, 2008; Wooffitt, 2005; Wowk, 2007). This includes, of course, CA and Faircloughian CDA, two methods closely associated with pragmatics, as well as divergent lines of CDA that are not, including from discursive and rhetorical psychology (e.g., Billig, 1996; Edley, 2001; Wetherell & Edley, 1999), and feminist psychology (e.g., Kitzinger, 2000, 2007, 2008; Kitzinger & Rickford, 2007; Speer, 1999; Stokoe, 2000, 2003, 2006, 2010; Stokoe & Edwards, 2007; Stokoe & Smithson, 2001; Wilkinson & Kitzinger, 2003, 2008). I am not going to rehearse these debates in any detail (for a summary, see Wooffitt, 2005, pp. 137-157), but they essentially go as follows: CA, with its “naïve epistemology,” its insistence on “unmotivated looking,” its overriding commitment to endogenous orientations, and its restricted conceptualization of context, is overly formalistic, scientific, technicist, and “micro.” Because CA does not necessarily attend to matters of social justice, discrimination, and inequality, it is argued, it is complicit in their perpetuation. Conversely, CDA has been criticized for “theoretical imperialism,” inadequate methodological rigor, and a corresponding failure to provide sufficient warrant for critical claims,⁸ telling more about the analyst’s politics than how racism, sexism, or homophobia, for example, might actually be accomplished in everyday life.⁹

From my perspective, there is substance to both sets of critiques. For example, the notion of ideological neutrality in CA is, in my view, disingenuous, since obviously, such a position is itself ideological. Relatedly, to suggest that data can be approached with a “clean gaze” (Stokoe & Smithson, 2001, p. 6), implies what amounts to an omniscient analytic position: that research can be conducted, and data analysed “from nowhere in particular” (Pavlenko 2007: 167). As well, I find the restricted view of context in “basic” (Heritage, 2005), “pure” (ten Have, 2007), or Schegloffian (e.g., 2007) CA unduly limiting (though this is not the case for “applied” CA; see footnote 9 and below; also see Kitzinger, 2008; Stokoe & Smithson, 2001; Talmy, 2009c).

At the same time, however, I find myself too often wanting critical empirical work, especially in applied linguistics, to push beyond a nominal functional analysis of a document, or a thematic analysis of an account generated in an interview, or an ungrounded abstraction like “dominant discourse,” which is frequently posited as if it simply exists or is so self-evident that it requires no further elaboration. As many scholars, including those with critical interests, have shown, more than a few critical studies play fast and loose with warrants for claims, with inadequate evidence of the analytic legwork undertaken to substantiate what otherwise amounts to a collection of predictable “theory-induced judgement[s]” (Verschueren, 2001, p. 69; also see Schegloff, 1997). As a result, returning to Verschueren’s (2001, p. 60) hyperbolic warning, these studies may ultimately wind up “destroy[ing] their own *raison d’être*,” or perhaps more plausibly, “undermin[ing] the practical and political utility of [their] analyses” (Widdicombe, 1995, p. 111).

With these points in mind, and in line with the stance of analytic opportunism mentioned above, I adopt more of an agnostic position than has characterized the frequently partisan debates between critical discourse analysts and analysts of talk-in-interaction, and argue not for the

superiority of one or another tradition, but for a stronger commitment in critical discourse research to empirically-grounded and demonstrable “documentation, argumentation and explicit presentation” (Verschueren, 2001, p. 60). One analytic means that critical pragmaticists might adopt for this endeavor is CA, or at least, “applied” CA, which, in contrast to the scientific interests of “pure” CA (i.e., to “discover the basic and general aspects of sociality” [ten Have, 2007, p. 174]), “‘uses’ CA concepts and methods for accomplishing its own particular [i.e., critical] agenda” (p. 56; cf. Kitzinger, 2008). Other analytic approaches that can be used include, but are not limited to, MCA (e.g., Sacks, 1972, 1992; also see Antaki & Widdicombe, 1998), interactional sociolinguistics (Gumperz, 1982), the ethnography of communication (e.g., Saville-Troike, 2003), language socialization (e.g., Ochs, 1990, 1993, 1996), discursive psychology (e.g., Edwards & Potter, 1992), and linguistic anthropology (e.g., Duranti, 1997). However, it is important to underscore that the call for demonstrability and defensibility in this respecification of critical pragmatics in no way aspires to any form of analytic objectivity, nor aims to deny the “creative act of researcher interpretation” (Anderson, 1989, p. 252). It is my hope, rather, that by more substantively warranting claims in critical discourse research, more work can go toward mobilizing efforts to *change* social injustice, rather than debating whether this point or that is indeed supported by the data that a particular analysis encompasses. More to the point, high standards of rigor and care in critical pragmatics research will help to ensure that whatever means ultimately *are* chosen to promote transformation are empirically grounded, locally relevant, judiciously circumspect, collaboratively produced, and thus, one might hope, more effective (cf. Gore, 1992).

Language and national identity in Hawai‘i: Linguicism in historical context

As fellow citizens, we need a common language. In the United States, that language is English. Our common history is written in English. Our common forefathers speak to us, through the ages, in English.

US Secretary of Education William Bennett (1985, in Crawford, 2008, p. 5)

Speak American! To speak American is to *think* American!.... Here in Hawaii the language is AMERICAN. The majority of us *speak* American...but there are still some of us who...still speak other languages.... [However, e]very citizen has been given the advantage of American school education...and *knows* the language!

“Speak American” advertisement

Hawaii Magazine, 1943 (in Roberts, 2003)

If you can read this, thank a teacher. If you can read this in English, thank a soldier.

Bumper sticker

In this section, I provide a brief historical discussion of language and education in Hawai‘i, framed in terms of linguistic anthropological work on language ideologies. I do this in order to sketch what some might call a “macro” context for the analysis of Mock ESL below, but which I term instead a framework for interpretation.¹⁰ Specifically, I consider a one nation/one language, or nationalist language ideology (Woolard, 1998) in the US and in colonial and post-colonial Hawai‘i, in which nation, language, culture, and social identity are mapped onto one another in one-to-one correspondence. Crudely put, this is a monolingual ideology, whereby a mythic, homogeneous variety of (American) English, erased (Irvine & Gal, 2000) of any variation, is cast as a central criterion for US-American national identity. In contrast, languages other than English, different varieties of English, and “marked” accents of English are just that: other, different, marked—indexes of non-US-American or “foreign” identity (cf. Bucholtz & Hall, 2004; Irvine & Gal, 2000; Woolard, 1998).

The history of language education and politics in Hawai‘i is typified by linguistic nationalism, as well as by linguicism, the “[i]deologies, structures, and practices which are used to legitimate, effectuate, regulate, and reproduce [social inequality]...on the basis of language”

(Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000, p. 30).¹¹ Both linguistic nationalism and linguicism were evident from the very institutionalization of Hawai‘i’s formal education system. Established in 1820 by *haole*¹² missionaries, the public school system was organized into two tiers, based on language. The language of the “select schools,” created for the children of missionaries and Hawaiian royalty, was English; in the “common schools,” which enrolled the children of Hawaiian non-elites, the medium of instruction was Hawaiian (Benham & Heck, 1998; Buck, 1986; Kawamoto, 1993).

In 1896, three years following the US-backed overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy, Hawaiian was banned as a language of instruction, replaced by English throughout the Islands’ schools (Buck, 1986; Kawamoto, 1993; Reineke, 1969; Sato, 1985). This policy led to a perilous decline in the use of the Hawaiian language, a decline that, until recent revitalization efforts, threatened the existence of the language (Buck, 1986; Reineke, 1969). It also marked the start of a period in which race as a factor in educational segregation would be complemented, and later superseded, by language.

By the turn of the 20th century, thousands of immigrant laborers from China, Portugal, Japan, the Philippines, Korea, and Puerto Rico had come to Hawai‘i to work the Territory’s sugar and pineapple plantations. A contact language, or pidgin, developed as a result of these workers’ need to communicate. Eventually, this pidgin developed into a creole, a fully-elaborated code spoken as a first language by immigrant children and used throughout the wider community.¹³ By the 1930s, Pidgin, as Hawai‘i Creole came to be widely called, was spoken by approximately 40% of the Islands’ population and had become a critical, if often stigmatized, symbol of “Local” culture and identity. Due to its origins, the sociopolitical context of its development, and the racial, ethnic, and socioeconomic backgrounds of many of its speakers,

Pidgin was (and for many still is) seen as “broken English,” a sloppy way of speaking, negative views perpetuated by decades of efforts aimed at “correcting” Pidgin out of existence (Buck, 1986; Kawamoto, 1993; Sato, 1985, 1991; Tamura, 1993).¹⁴

Any implicit ideological association of English with US-American identity prior to the turn of the 20th century in Hawai‘i became overt when campaigns to Americanize immigrants swept the US, an effort that Tamura (1993) characterizes as a “crusade” (also see Buck, 1986). As Crawford (2004) notes, during World War I, Americanization efforts “took a coercive turn,” as “proficiency in English was increasingly equated with political loyalty; for the first time, an ideological link was forged between speaking good English and being a ‘good American’” (p. 88; also see Crawford, 2008). In the Territory of Hawai‘i, (English) linguistic nationalism was manifested in Americanization efforts that led to the suppression of a multilingual press, the eventual closure of heritage language schools, ongoing attempts to eradicate Pidgin, and the creation of yet another mechanism to segregate middle-class *haole* children from immigrants, children of color, and the working class: the formation of the English Standard Schools (Agbayani & Takeuchi, 1986; Benham & Heck, 1998; Buck, 1986; Kawamoto, 1993; Sato, 1985).

Whereas many of the “select” schools went on to form the basis of Hawai‘i’s extensive system of private schools, the English Standard Schools (ESS), established in 1924, were part of the public education system. According to Sato (1985, pp. 263-264), because *haole* middle class parents “could not afford private school tuition, their only alternative was to call for segregation in the public school system”; in other words, the ESS were “an attempt at having private schools at government expense” (Agbayani & Takeuchi, 1986, p. 33). As with the “select” schools, several institutions were set aside; this time, however, admission was based not on race or class,

but on proficiency in English. Yet, as Skutnabb-Kangas (2000) points out, linguistic frequently produces the same results as racism and classism (and is increasingly used as their proxy). Such was the case with the ESS: in the year following its designation as the first English Standard School, for example, Honolulu's Lincoln Elementary had a student body that was comprised of 19 Japanese, 27 Chinese, and 572 *haole* children (Benham & Heck, 1998, p. 149).

After 25 years, the ESS system began to be phased out, with the 1960 class of Honolulu's Roosevelt High School eventually becoming the last of the ESS graduates. However, segregation remained, both in the form of Standard English classes within schools, and in the continuing expansion of private schools. In fact, at nearly 17% (Office of the Superintendent, 2008), the state of Hawai'i today has the one of the highest percentages of children in North America who attend private school, as the public education system continues to rank among the worst in the US, based on indices that include standardized test scores, per-pupil spending, graduation rates, out-of-field teaching, and teacher salaries (see Talmy, 2005, pp. 145-149, 215-236).

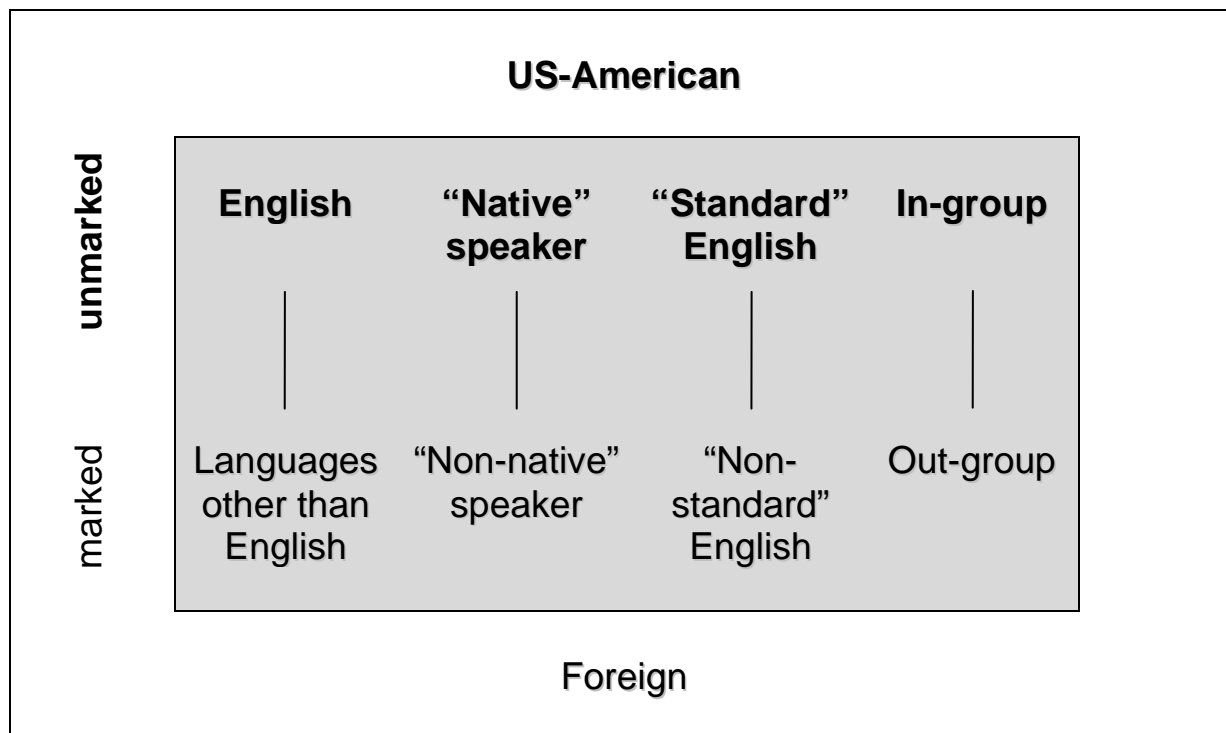
There have also been significant problems in contemporary Hawai'i with the public schooling of students who speak languages other than English. As Haas (1992) has chronicled, until the early 1990s, the Hawai'i Department of Education consistently flirted with the minimum standards set by federal law for bilingual and ESL students, and was repeatedly cited by federal oversight agencies for not adequately serving them.¹⁵ The pattern of misconduct receiving federal sanction included under-identification of students needing bilingual or ESL services, under-servicing of those who were identified, inappropriate staffing of bilingual/ESL programs, disproportionate placement of bilingual/ESL students in special education programs, segregation, and improper mainstreaming procedures.¹⁶

This is not to suggest that Hawai‘i is the only state that has inadequately supported students for whom English is a second language. At the federal level, successive reauthorizations of the 1968 *Bilingual Education Act* increasingly promoted “special alternative” ESL programs over bilingual education (Crawford, 2004). This particular manifestation of linguisticism culminated in the elimination of the *Bilingual Education Act* altogether in 2002 as part of the Bush administration’s *No Child Left Behind* legislation. Federal policy under *The English Language Acquisition, Language Enhancement, and Academic Achievement Act* now reinforces an assimilationist ideology of English monolingualism by making no reference to bilingualism at all. At the same time, around the US, efforts to cap the time students can remain enrolled in ESL classes are ongoing, reductions in ESL staffing continue, and cuts in funds for ESL teacher-training, professional development, and support services are being made. According to a recent survey (Zehler, et al. 2003), ESL students increasingly receive instruction delivered completely in English, more than half receive instruction not specifically designed for L2 learners, and ESL curricula are far less aligned with content standards than “regular” subject areas are. Finally, only 30% of public school teachers with ESL students have received the training necessary to teach them; of these teachers, fewer than 3% have degrees in ESL or bilingual education.

Taken together, the material and symbolic privileges accorded to English in pre- and post-statehood Hawai‘i dovetails in many ways with the nationalist language ideology discussed above, an orientation that views multilingualism as a nuisance at best; at worst, evidence of disloyalty or a lack of patriotism. In Figure 1, I have represented certain ideological linkages that are implied from the association of English with US-American identity (also see Crawford, 2004, 2008; Lippi-Green, 1997; Zentella, 2003), with “native” speaker and “standard” English serving as indexes (if not basic constituents) of this in-group identity, and languages other than English,

“non-native” speakers, and “non-standard” varieties of English as indexes of a relational out-group, or “foreign” identity. I return to the implications of this discussion further below. Next, however, I introduce the Tradewinds High study.

Figure 1. Representing hierarchical oppositions deriving from US linguistic nationalism



The study

One of the greatest errors in education is to assume that the larger social context of the school is irrelevant or even secondary to learning.... The social structure of the school is not simply the context of learning; it is part of what is learned. (Eckert, 1989, p. 179)

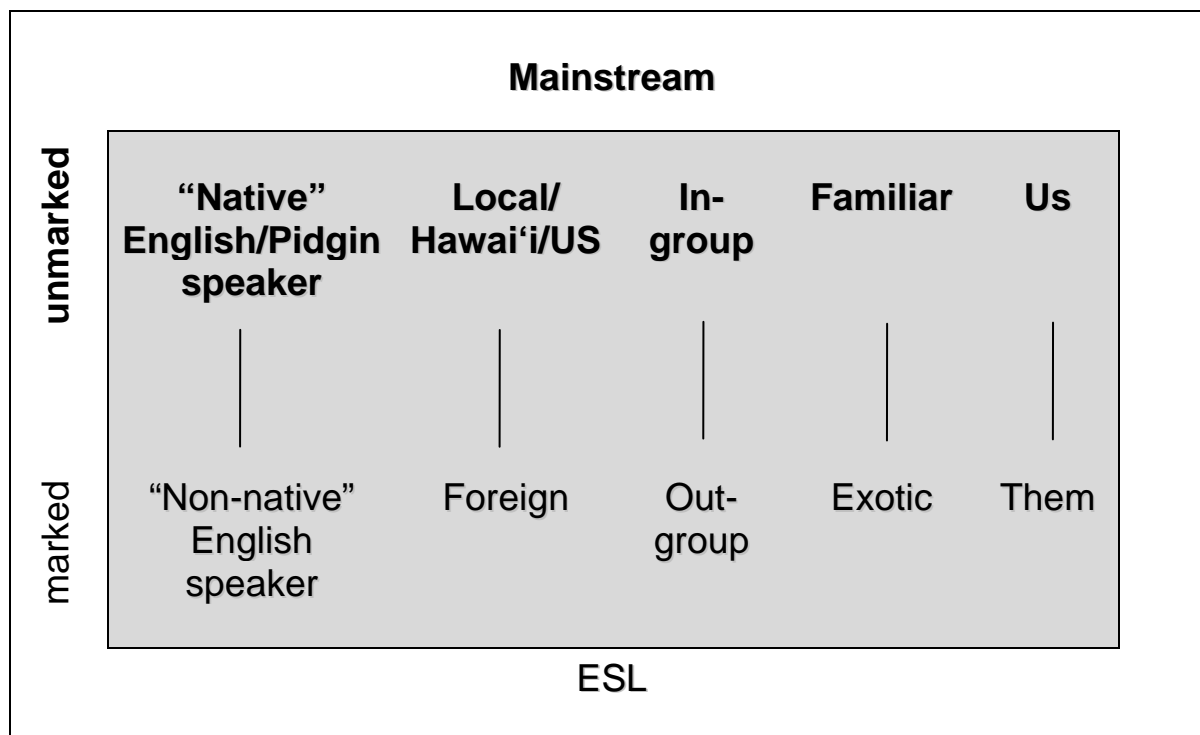
They say [ESL] is meant to help mainstream the kids. But I think a lot of it is to keep them out of the regular classes and out of the other teachers' hair.... [I]t's become sort of a...dumping ground for kids that they don't want to deal with.

Ms. Ariel, ESL teacher (in Talmy, 2005, p. 287)

The Tradewinds study consisted of 625 hours of observation in 15 high school classrooms, including eight dedicated-ESL classes, over 2.5 years. Observational data were generated in field notes and supplemented by 158 hours of audio-recorded classroom interaction. A total of 58 formal interviews were recorded with 10 teachers and 37 students, and classroom materials, schoolwork, and other site artifacts were collected for analysis.

The larger study concerned the production of ESL as a negatively marked (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004), or stigmatized identity category, with a focus on the role that linguisticism played in this. As its appellation connotes, “mainstream student” at Tradewinds was indicative of the category’s unmarked status; conversely, “ESL student” was marked, relationally defined by how it diverged from the “mainstream” norm (cf. Barth, 1969). What I call a “mainstream || ESL” hierarchy that was prevalent at Tradewinds was constituted by and constitutive of language ideologies concerning these divergences, whereby “native speakers,” “the mainstream,” and “regular students” were valorized as ideals, normalized by the explicit aim of the ESL program to “mainstream” its students. In Figure 2, I have represented the “mainstream || ESL” hierarchy in diagram form, and included an array of hierarchically-associated dualities implied by it: native || non-native speaker, US-American || foreign, in-group || out-group, familiar || exotic, and us || them (see Talmy, 2009a, for more details).

Figure 2. Representing the “mainstream || ESL” relational hierarchy at Tradewinds



The larger study examined the production of the “stigma” of ESL in two ways: first, in the “official” or school-sanctioned “cultural productions of the ESL student” (cf. Levinson, Foley & Holland, 1996), and second, in the oppositional “cultural productions of the ESL student” generated by a community of practice (CoP) (Lave & Wenger, 1991) of oldtimer Local ESL students which spanned all eight of the dedicated-ESL classes I observed over 2.5 years.

The official or school-sanctioned productions of the ESL student were manifested in Tradewinds ESL policy, curriculum, and instruction (see Talmy, 2005, pp. 237-286). Although the ESL population was large and diverse, the category “ESL student” was institutionally articulated in undifferentiated terms. The homogeneity of the category was connoted variously, from the Tradewinds ESL placement policy, in which length of enrollment at the school rather than L2 expertise (Rampton, 1990) or educational needs determined which ESL classes students

were to take, to the ESL program's uniform literature-based curriculum, whereby students, regardless of L2 expertise, received the same materials, assignments, and activities. The centerpiece of this curriculum was popular juvenile fiction such as *James and the giant peach* (Dahl, 1961) and *Are you there God? It's me, Margaret* (Blume, 1970), which was below grade-level and often had peripheral relevance to academic content or L2 English learning. In addition to such books were assignments that presumed that students "automatically affiliated" with the cultures, customs, and languages of "their" countries (Talmy, 2008, 2009a). As well, assignments introducing newcomers to customs and holidays of the US were common, as were other ESL mainstays, such as family tree activities, which many Local ESL students stated they had been assigned repeatedly in prior grades.

Local ESL students' responses to the school-sanctioned productions of the ESL student, were, as might be expected, largely negative. I have detailed a number of these students' (resistant) social practices elsewhere (Talmy, 2008, 2009a, 2009b, 2009c, in press), but they included leaving assigned materials "at home," not doing homework, and completing assignments that required minimal effort (e.g., worksheets) but not others (e.g., writing activities). The more overt, interactionally-mediated practices included bargaining for reduced requirements on classwork, refusal to participate in instructional activities, and the often delicate negotiations with teachers that resulted. There was also a cluster of practices in which Local ESL students engaged in public displays of "distinction" (Irvine & Gal, 2000; Irvine, 2001; also see Bucholtz & Hall, 2004) from their lower-L2-expert and newcomer ESL classmates, whom many Local ESL students dismissively referred to as FOBs (fresh off the boat). These displays, in which sociopolitical relations of difference, hierarchy, and stratification were produced and

underscored (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004, p. 384), took form in many ways, including the targeted use of Mock ESL.

Mock ESL

Negative attitudes toward other [language varieties] are rarely developed on the basis of [language] differences themselves; rather they are formed because of attitudes toward the *speakers* of those [varieties]. A suspicion of difference arises mostly from viewing other ethnic or social groups as less deserving, less educated, less intelligent, less acceptable—and these attitudes get transferred to the languages these groups of people speak. Language becomes the scapegoat for racist and classist stereotypes and biases (Wilson, 2001, p. 34).

In recent years, there has been a considerable increase in research on mock language. Mock language is a form of linguistic style, that is, “an organization of distinctiveness that operates on a linguistic plane yet is constitutive of social distinctiveness as it does so” (Irvine, 2001, p. 42). Research on mock styles has included Mock Ebonics (Ronkin & Karn, 1999), Injun English (Meek, 2006), Mock Filipino (Labrador, 2009), Mock Asian (Chun, 2009), Mock Standard Dutch (Jaspers, 2006), FOB accent (Reyes, 2007), Stylized Asian English (Rampton, 1995, *inter alia*), and, perhaps best known, Jane Hill’s influential work on Junk or Mock Spanish (1993, 1995, 1998; also see Zentella, 2003). Features of this latter variety include the insertion of morphosyntax, words, or phrases, particularly in Anglo English-speakers’ talk, that are stereotypically associated with Spanish, for example, “no problemo,” “no way, José,” “hasta la vista, baby,” “el cheapo,” and “correctomundo.” Semiotically, Mock Spanish, like other mock languages, functions in terms of direct and indirect, or “dual” indexicality (Ochs, 1990), signifying *directly*, in this case, the Mock Spanish speaker’s “desirable qualities: a sense of humor, a playful skill with a foreign language, authentic regional roots, an easy-going attitude toward life” (Hill, 1995, para. 3) while at the same time *indirectly* or “covertly” “reproduc[ing] highly negative racializing stereotypes of Chicanos and Latinos” (1998, p. 680).

Mock ESL shares similar semiotics to other mock language styles but has a greater relational range, indexing an archetypal, pan-ethnic Foreigner, rather than a specific racial or ethnolinguistic group (cf. Rampton, 2001, p. 271; Reyes, 2007, pp. 32-37). In terms of *indirect indexicality*, Mock ESL represents a form of “derisive crossing” (Rampton, 1995, p. 45), as the absurd syntactic error, hyperbolic phonology, lexical parody, and oral dysfluencies that characterize the style connote negative attributes including pragmatic incompetence, cognitive impairment, and a general, all-encompassing lack of social desirability. These language ideological associations also attach to the “figure” (Goffman, 1974) that is animated by the Mock ESL style shift, which can be glossed, in Local ESL students’ terminology, as a FOB. At the same time, derisive crossing into Mock ESL *directly indexes* the speaker’s distinction (Irvine & Gal, 2000; Irvine, 2001) from the real or imagined target of the style shift (i.e., the FOB figure), in terms of the ironic, metapragmatic comment the style shift achieves (if successful; see Extract 1). Additionally, Mock ESL directly indexes the L2 English expertise and interactional competence of the Mock ESL crosser, who in performing the style displays an often expert ability to manipulate L2 resources, as well as a discerning understanding of *which* linguistic resources can be recruited for these performances (see Extracts 2, 3, 4 below). It is in this respect that Mock ESL style shifts featured as an important social practice in Local ESL students’ performative displays of distinction from their lower-L2-expert and newcomer classmates. I turn now to the data to elaborate.

Achieving distinction through Mock ESL

All four of the extracts that I analyse come from two first-year ESL-A classes that I observed in my second-year of fieldwork at Tradewinds: ESL-A (2W), taught by Ms. Ariel, an experienced

ESL instructor in her first year of high school teaching, and ESL-A (2X), taught by Mr. Day, an industrial arts instructor with no background in teaching ESL, who was also in his first year at Tradewinds. I observed Ms. Ariel's ESL-A (2W) for 68 hours, and Mr. Day's ESL-A (2X) for 64 hours, and supplemented fieldnotes with 26 hours of audio-recording in ESL-A (2W), and 29 hours in ESL-A (2X). These included whole-class recordings, whereby a digital recorder was placed at the front (or rear) of a class, as well as student-carried recordings, in which individual students were outfitted with microphone and recorder, to record localized, especially student-student, interaction.

The ESL-A classes were the largest, most heterogeneous, and instructionally challenging in the Tradewinds ESL program. Both the ESL-A (2W) and (2X) classes averaged over 30 students during the course of the school year, with students aged 14-18, about one third of whom were at early levels of L2 development and/or had interrupted formal educations; another third of whom had lived in the US for between 3-10 years, many whom I identified as Local ESL (see Talmy, 2008, Table 1, p. 624); with the remainder at levels of English expertise in between.

The first extract I consider involves China and Raven, two 9th grade oldtimers of the Local ESL CoP in Ms. Ariel's class. Ms. Ariel was absent on this day and Ms. Jackson, a frequent substitute in the ESL program, was teaching. The interaction commences as Ms. Jackson is at the front of the classroom, pointing out instructions for a "freewriting" activity Ms. Ariel has assigned. Ms. Jackson aims to allot 15 minutes for the activity—that is, until "ten-thirty"—but China attempts to bargain for twice that (see Appendix for transcript conventions).

(1) *How do you spell 'A'?* [ELA42WmdS10: 104-122]

01 Ms J: [so today we are going to be doing] our jour^unals.
 02 Raven: [((shuffling cards)) ()]
 03 (2.6) ((backpack zippering))
 04 Ms J: you need to write a journal entry about,
 05 (1.1) ((T pointing at board))
 06 CKY: >freewriti[ng]

07 ?FS: [free[(writing)
 08 China: [>freewriti[ng<
 09 Ms J: [<freewriti[ng.>
 10 Eddie*: [(Miss)=
 11 ?FS: =(freewriting)=
 12 ?FS: =(>I don't [know.<)]
 13 Ms J?: [(sh!)]=
 14 Raven: =(common in here.)
 15 Ms J: students! (0.4) pay <attenti[on.>
 16 China: [ba:::h!
 17 (0.5)
 18 Ms J: okay. (0.7) <you pick something that you want to write about.>
 19 (1.0)
 20 Ms J: ((pointing at board; reading voice)) [do you have something in
 21 your mi:nd, (0.3) ↓write about it. (0.4) (write it down.)]
 22 ?Ss: [(
 23)]
 24 Dannica: you stole my book?
 25 Ms J: for ↑this, (0.5) I will give you: until:=
 26 China: =like half hour we need.
 27 Ms J: no tehn-[<thirty> ((i.e., 15 minutes))
 28 ?FS: [()]
 29 China: no half hour.
 30 (0.4)
 31 Ms J: fifteen minutes should be suff[(icient.)
 32 China: [>twenty-five! twenty-five.<
 33 ?FS: fif[teen]
 34 Ms J: [ten-]thirty.
 35 ?FS: (okay)
 36 ?FS: ()
 37 Ms J: >you know why=because< [this (0.4) this class (0.4)]=
 38 ?Ss: [()]
 39 China: ((Pidgin)) so [ha(d)!]
 is so hard!
 40 Ms J: =[today] is (0.5) early release right?
 41 China: yeah [bu-
 42 Ms J: [we (mu[st)
 43 China: [bu- [bu-
 44 Ms J: [>we have to hurry<
 45 ?FS: ()
 46 China: ((higher pitch, light nasal quality)) but we E-S-L student!
 (([b^hΛ wi iəsəl studən]))
 47 Raven: ((Pidgin)) wi- wi ↑so [↓dam!
 we're- we're so dumb!
 48 Ms J: [that's o↑ka:y!
 49 China: ((higher pitch, light nasal quality)) ↑we no English!
 (([wi no ɪŋɡəlɪʃ:])))
 50 ?FS: ([)]
 51 Raven: (((Pidgin)) haw du yu spel ↓'A'::.]=
 how do you spell 'A'?
 52 Ms J: =((to the class)) ten-[thirty!]
 53 Benz: [(got]her. (.) her.)
 54 (0.5)
 55 ?FSs: (okay let's be[gin.)
 56 Ms J: [begin! ready begin.

Bargaining for fewer assignments, reduced requirements on them, and the extension of deadlines was a central social practice of the Local ESL CoP (see Talmy, 2005, pp. 442-453). It was as successful as it was widespread, too, and was one of the primary reasons that the official ESL curriculum slowed down and became increasingly restricted over the course of an academic year. It is worth noting that such practices as bargaining in part helped to create an ESL program that was easy, unchallenging, and academically inconsequential: precisely what Local ESL students claimed to dislike about it (cf. Willis, 1977).

The bargaining in this interaction begins just as Ms. Jackson is determining the amount of time for the freewriting activity (line 25). China latches her turn with “like half hour we need.”, which leads to a series of preemptive counter-accounts in which both Ms. Jackson and China provide rationales concerning the duration of the assignment: Ms. Jackson maintains that 15 minutes (i.e., until 10:30) should be enough, and that the class is shorter than usual (“early release”) and thus needs “to hurry”, with China countering, in Pidgin, that the class is “so hard” (line 39). It is when Ms. Jackson is in the midst of her final two accounts (lines 40, 44) that China crosses into the style I call Mock ESL, uttering in line 46, with a higher-pitched, nasal quality, “but we E-S-L student!” The prosodic styling extends to coda /t/ deletion in “but” and is accompanied by equally marked syntactic “error,” namely copula deletion and plural neutralization in “student.” The shift in line 49, “we no English!”, is styled in similar prosodic terms, and also features absurdly marked “error.”

Mock ESL is recruited by China as a resource in his dispute with Ms. Jackson, similar to the participants in Rampton (1995), who crossed into Stylized Asian English while negotiating participation in an “interactional enclosure” where an authority figure had “control or influence over them” (p. 80). In this respect, it appears that China exploits his incumbency as a member of

the category “ESL student” and the omnirelevance of having difficulty with English, and thus, an English assignment, that is normatively bound to the category. Indeed, the linguistic resources that China marshals in the Mock ESL performance enact precisely this indexical linkage, providing an additional and hearable warrant, beyond the utterance that the class is “so hard,” for his claim that he requires more time for freewriting.

China’s style shift represents a semiotic process that Irvine and Gal (2000) have called iconization, that is, “the [association] of certain linguistic features or varieties as formally congruent with [a particular] group” (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004, p. 380) which “binds them together in a linkage that appears to be natural” (Irvine & Gal, 2000, p. 38). The group iconized by China’s shift into Mock ESL is, as he states in line 46, a general, essentialized group of English as a second language speakers, the figure of an archetypal ESL student, or FOB.

The phonological, morphological and syntactic features constituting this mock language variety are in essence the embodied performance of the activity that China binds to the category of “ESL student” in line 49, “we no English!”, and the attribute that Raven assigns it, in Pidgin: “so dumb” (line 47). The condition of cognitive deficit is expanded dramatically in line 51, to needing help to spell the letter ‘A.’

Although China and Raven have packaged this performance with several metapragmatic cues indicating they have keyed an ironic frame, Ms. Jackson does not at first orient to it; indeed, it is apparent from her sympathetic “*that’s o↑ka:y!*” (line 48), that she treats China and Raven’s line 46 and 47 utterances as genuine. This creates a context for the boys to continue their display, which they do: China, with his intensified line 49 Mock ESL utterance, followed by Raven’s absurd “how do you spell ‘A’?” It is at this point (line 52) that Ms. Jackson finally orients to the boys’ mockery: she abandons the negotiation with China, discontinues her

sympathetic tone from line 48, and shifts footing (Goffman, 1981) to address the class now, repeating with an exclamatory intonation her original deadline of 10:30. Following this, Benz, another Local ESL student, appears to congratulate China and Raven for their display, with “got her” (line 53).

In abandoning her negotiation with China, and abruptly shifting her footing (and tone), Ms. Jackson displays her orientation not only to the boys’ mockery of *her*, but to their ridicule of the category of “ESL student,” accomplished as it has been through the Mock ESL style shifts and the farcical attributes of ineptitude and cognitive deficit assigned to it.¹⁷ In this respect, then, Ms. Jackson also orients to the *distinction* that China and Raven have performed through their ludic display: that is, as students who *do* “know” English, who are *not* “dumb,” in contrast to the archetypal ESL student/FOB figure they have iconized through their parodic performance.

In addition to iconization and distinction, two related semiotic processes are evident in the display above: what Bucholtz and Hall (2004) call authentication and adequation. Authentication refers to the agentive “construction of a credible or genuine identity” (p. 385), for example, through the use of a code that is ideologically linked to a particular identity. Adequation, whereby “potentially salient differences are set aside in favor of perceived or asserted similarities” (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004, p. 384) is the converse of distinction. In the interaction above, then, China and Raven not only iconize the figure of an archetypal ESL student/FOB, and produce their distinction from it, their expert use of Pidgin and English produces identities of similarity, alignment, and authenticity with “Local” and “mainstream,” the social types that are ideologically linked to those codes. In this respect, the Mock ESL style shifts, and the negative attributes associated with the ESL student/FOB figure, both “indirectly” (Ochs, 1990; also see Hill, 1998) (re)produce the stigma associated with ESL, and serve as

resources for China and Raven to differentiate themselves “directly” from the category “ESL student”; simultaneously, their use of Pidgin and English aligns and authenticates them as members of its relational counterpart: Local/mainstream.

The next extract provides an indication of how style shifts to Mock ESL could be used to target lower L2-English expert students in very public ways. This interaction occurred during a whole-class vocabulary correction activity in Mr. Day’s ESL-A (2X). As both this extract and Extract 3 suggest, such activities provided rich opportunities for practices such as Mock ESL crossing, as they made available a range of candidate resources that were necessary for its occasioning: that is, putative L2 English “mistakes” that could be singled out for ridicule.

Here, Bush, a lower-L2-English proficient student from Hong Kong, volunteers a sentence he has written for the word “moment.” The sentence that he wrote was “a cruel murderer have used a few moment to kill four little girl and buried her.” As becomes evident, Mr. Day has difficulty comprehending Bush’s answer, a difficulty that is subsequently recruited as a resource by Mack Daddy, a Local ESL student from Chuuk, Federated States of Micronesia.

(2) *Moment* [ELA32Xmd7: 2007-2017]

01 ?FSs: [((overlapping talk))
 02 Mr. Day: [moment! who’s doing moment?
 03 Bush: ((raises hand))
 04 Mr. Day: alright good Bush, go. ((to talking students)) hey!=sh!
 05 Mochenia: ()
 06 Bush: ((reading from paper)) a cru:el murderer have used (a few
 07 moment to kill four little girl and buried her).
 08 Mr. Day: huh? used a what type of moment?
 09 (0.5)
 10 Tony: a few.=
 (([ə fju:])))
 11 Bush: =a few moment.
 (([ə fɛu moʊmɛnts]))
 12 (2.3) ((Mr. Day goes to Bush’s desk, looks at his paper))
 13 Ioane: ((singing)) () mo:me:nts.
 14 Jonelle: shut up.
 15 (0.2)
 16 Mack Daddy: ((low pitch, nasal monotone)) I don’t speak no English.
 (([aɪ dɒn spik no ɪŋɡlɪʃ]))
 17 (0.5)
 18 Mr. Day: uh excuse me Mack?

19 (1.7)
 20 Mr. Day: ((to Bush)) a few moment. so that would be s=
 21 Ioane: [((singing)) (come o:n)
 22 Mr. Day: =[a few moments.

Bush's line 6-7 utterance evidently proves to be a trouble source for Mr. Day as he utters a next turn repair initiator ("huh?") (Schegloff, Jefferson, & Sacks, 1977), and indicates that whatever has modified "moment" – "a what type of moment?" – is a repairable. However, there is a considerable delay following Mr. Day's repair initiation. By providing the candidate repair "a few" ([ə fju:]), Bush's friend Tony treats the silence in line 9 as Bush's and as evidence that Bush has not understood the source of Mr. Day's difficulty. Bush latches Tony's turn to finally provide a self-repair, but with identical pronunciation as his initial reading of the sentence (in line 7), that is, [ə feʊ]. Unlike Tony, it appears that Bush is either unaware of the source of Mr. Day's difficulty, or is unable to correct it; as a result, Bush's self-repair in line 11 becomes a repairable itself. It is at this point that the teacher abandons oral negotiation with Bush and initiates what amounts to an embodied other-initiated repair, as he moves to Bush's desk, looks over his shoulder, and reads Bush's sentence himself. If there had been any question that Bush's L2 expertise and interactional competence were at issue here, there is no longer. Bush's initial mispronunciation of "few" in his sentence reading, his initial lack of sequentially-projected uptake to Mr. Day's repair initiation (line 9), his lack of uptake to Tony's other-initiated repair (line 10), his failure to adequately self-repair the trouble-source (line 11), Mr. Day's subsequent embodied other-initiated repair (line 12), the extended time this latter action requires, and the sing-song correction of another "mistake" by the Local ESL student Ioane (who supplies in line 13 the plural morpheme in "moments"; cf. lines 20, 22): all of these actions form the context in which Mack Daddy's style shift occurs in line 16.

Mack Daddy's Mock ESL voicing is uttered in a lower pitch monotone, with a nasal quality. Similar to China's style shift in the previous extract, this utterance features exaggerated syntactic "error" and hyperbolic phonological styling indexical of "foreign" English. Also similar is the convergence of propositional content with embodied performance as Bush is iconized as an archetypal incumbent of the category "ESL student": a FOB. In contrast, Mack Daddy's style shift points to his awareness that such actions as Bush's are resources for a Mock ESL performance—that is, are candidate "mockables"—as well as Mack Daddy's L2 expertise and interactional competence to actually accomplish the parody. Mack Daddy has, in other words, indexed his distinction from Bush and the "ESL student" category.

In fact, Mr. Day appears to orient to Mack Daddy's display of distinction, and by extension, the hierarchical dualities that constitute it: Low L2-English-expert ESL student in the subordinate position, and Mack Daddy's unmarked counterpart in the superior. Mr. Day's line 18 utterance "uh excuse me Mack?" is a repair initiation, but as the emphasis and use of the vocative, and the preceding delay suggest, it is contextualized as a condemnation. This, and the fact that Mack Daddy does not provide a sequentially-projected second-pair-part, indicate both his and Mr. Day's orientations to the sanctionability of the Mock ESL performance, and to the stigmatized status of ESL that it connotes.

Mock ESL style shifts in participation frameworks involving teachers tended to be much more subtle than they were in Extract 2, likely because of the potential for punishment for such bald, on-the-record (Brown & Levinson, 1987) conduct. Such subtlety is evident in the next extract. Here students are peer-correcting a vocabulary quiz with their teacher, Ms. Ariel. Nat*, a Local ESL student from the Marshall Islands, singles out an apparent mistake on the quiz he is correcting, which belongs to 618. 618 was also a Local ESL student, but one whose L2-English

proficiency was such that she was a more peripheral member of the Local ESL CoP; it also made her an occasional target of performances such this one. The entire class is aware that Nat is correcting 618's paper, since he made this public a few minutes earlier. The vocabulary word in question is "falter", and the "correct" definition is "to hesitate" or "move unsteadily".

(3) *Stradily* [ELA32Wmd6: 2144-2160]

01 Ms. Ariel: does anyone have an answer for number fourteen (("falter"))?=
 02 Raven: =yes,=hesitate.
 03 ?MS: (hesitate.)
 04 Nat: ([])
 05 Ms. Ariel [hesitated.]
 06 Eddie: hesitate.
 07 ?MS: (oh wrong.)
 08 Ms. Ariel: or to move unsteadily?
 09 (0.8)
 10 Ms. Ariel: either of [those (0.5)]
 11 ?MS: [()]
 12 Ms. Ariel: will work.=
 13 Nat: =what about stradily.
 (([strædɪli]))
 14 (0.6)
 15 Nat: stradily.=
 16 Ms. Ariel: =hh
 17 (0.6)
 18 Nat: (they put) stradily:!
 19 Ms. Ariel: I think hhh
 20 ?Ss: hhhhh[hhhh
 21 618: [hu:[:h!
 22 Ms. Ariel: [what they mean:t wa:s (0.3) unsteadily=you know
 23 what?=this is [what I-]=
 24 618: [(shut up)]
 25 Ms. Ariel: =everyday this is what I correct. and I try to figure out
 26 okay what did that person mea[:n?
 27 ?Ss: [he hh
 28 ?MS: (nice)
 29 Ms. Ariel: so I try not to grade them on spelling=on the defin[itions=
 30 Raven: [mistake!
 31 Ms. Ariel: =because [I want to know they know the meaning.]
 32 618: [()]
 33 Raven: [()]
 34 CKY: mistake!
 35 China: Miss.
 36 Ms. Ariel: so I try to decipher what they meant.
 37 China: so wait you correct 618's paper every day?=
 38 Nat: =unstradily?
 (([ənstrædɪli]))
 39 (0.8)
 40 ?S: hhhh
 41 Nat: unstra[dily (is a)].]
 42 Ms. Ariel: [okay number fifteen, over]there, G-Koput.

There is much to comment on in this extract, but I will concern myself with the way Local ESL students find in the structure of a peer review activity the affordances for a display of distinction, specifically in terms of the Mock ESL voicings of “stradily” (lines 13, 15, 18) and “unstradily” (lines 38, 41). In contrast to Extract 2, only one apparent “mistake” has been singled out and made public here: 618’s evidently incorrect definition for the word “falter.”

The first point to note is the occasioning of the style shift. Nat has voiced this in a strategic way, as an ostensible check about a classmate’s quiz answer, which throws into question the frame of the “stradily” voicing: ironic? Or just checking an answer? This has important implications for the trajectory of the interaction, as Ms. Ariel in fact orients to Nat “just checking an answer”; indeed, she aligns herself with him and his amazement at such a mistake, as her extended explanation, spanning lines 22-23, 25-26, 29, 31, and 36, indicates. This clears the way for Nat to repeatedly revoice “stradily” without sanction, and for Nat’s classmates, including Raven, CKY, and China (all Local ESL students), to laugh and comment upon 618’s “mistake” (lines 30, 34, 35, 37; also see lines 20, 27, 28, 33, 40) in a similarly unsanctionable manner. They are, all could conceivably claim, simply reacting to an amusing error, not Nat’s display of distinction,¹⁸ which they have, it seems clear, oriented to themselves (see, e.g., lines 30, 34, 37).

The second point to note is the mode of the putative “mistake” that Nat has recruited for his performance: it is written. That is, no one has voiced “stradily” until Nat does in line 13, as he animates the quiz “answer” that 618 is publicly known to be author and principal of (Goffman, 1981). But has she in fact authored it? The apparent mistake involves a minimal misspelling, not of the vocabulary word “falter”, but of a word in the definition. In fact, the ostensible “mistake” may not be 618’s but *Nat’s*, who may just as well have *misread* 618’s

handwritten answer, “mistaking” with his stylized “unstradily” an “r” for an “e.” There is in fact some warrant for this assertion, in terms of how 618 contextualizes her line 21 “hu: :h!”, with the intonation, emphasis, and sound stretch indexing an unequivocal stance of astonishment.

As this interaction underscores, then, even the seemingly most insignificant L2 “mistake” could serve as a resource in the occasioning of Mock ESL style shifts, a mistake so evidently minor it may have involved the misspelling of a single letter in one word of a definition, or was perhaps a result of illegible handwriting, or perhaps even involved a misreading by the Mock ESL language crosser himself. Regardless, the indexical effects of such a display are identical to those that attended “mistakes” of a far greater magnitude (as, e.g., in Extract 2).

In fact, the hierarchical ordering of categories made relevant in Extract 3 is evident in a brief analysis of pronouns in these data, with Nat and Ms. Ariel’s “theys” and “thems” (lines 18, 22, 29, 31, 36) signifying an out-group of students who “everyday” (line 25) make mistakes such that Ms. Ariel has to “figure out okay what did that person mea:n?” As a consequence, she states, she cannot grade them on spelling or definitions—an utterance which in its very mention, displays her orientation to such an accommodation as marked—but on whether she can determine if “they know the meaning.” As China explicitly notes in line 37, 618 has been iconized as an incumbent of this “they/them” out-group. This out-group simultaneously invokes a relational “we/us” in-group of advanced, perhaps even “native” English speakers, the incumbents of which are Ms. Ariel, Nat, China, and the students who have aligned themselves with them through their laughter and sarcastic commentary (also see Talmy, 2009a).

The final interaction that I analyse took place among several Local ESL classmates during a classroom “study hall” session, when students were essentially given free time to “catch up” on overdue work. China had been walking around the classroom, talking to classmates and

to Ms. Ariel, before stopping at Eddie's desk. After a few moments, China asked Eddie how long he had lived in Hawai'i. Eddie orients to an apparent peculiarity in China's utterance, and Mock ESL is used to interesting effect as a consequence.

(4)Me no English [ELA42WmdS11: 658-667]

01 China: how long you come to Hawai'i.
 02 (6.2)
 03 China: I come here [two days only.
 04 Eddie: [how long you come Hawai(h)'i. China, you don't
 05 know how to speak En(hh)glish. how long you come to Hawai'i.
 06 ((laugh))
 07 Raven: ((laugh))
 08 Ash: ((laugh))
 09 China: ((higher pitch; light nasal quality)) I- I- I come over here
 10 only two day.
 (([aɪ- aɪ- aɪ kʰʌm ɒbə hiə
 onli tʰu de]))
 11 Eddie: ((laugh))
 12 China: ((higher pitch; light nasal quality)) me no English. me come
 13 here two day [only.
 (([mi no ɪŋɡəlɪʃ] [mi kʰʌm hiə
 tʰu de onli]))
 14 Eddie: [((laugh))
 15 (1.0)
 16 China: ((higher pitch; light nasal quality)) me kick your ass after
 17 school.
 (([mi kʰɪk jɔ æs æftə
 skuʷ]
 18 (1.1)
 19 China: and P-E.
 (([æn pi i.])))

China's question to Eddie in line 1, "how long you come to Hawai'i.", is followed by a substantial silence. Unfortunately, because I was working with other students at this time, I do not have a record of what transpired during this pause. However, it appears that either the marked duration of the silence in line 2, and/or a combination of non-verbal actions from Eddie, and/or his co-present Local ESL peers Ash and Raven, provided China with some indication that they had treated his line 1 utterance as improper. In line 3, China appears to anticipate some form of sanction, as he shifts footing to utter what seems a precursor of the Mock ESL

performance to come: although the style shift here lacks elements of a full-on shift to Mock ESL, such as those that come in lines 9-10, 12-13, 16-17, and 19 (note the plural morpheme on “days” [cf. lines 10, 13] and the lack of prosodic styling), Eddie, Raven, and Ash know that China has not “come here two days only.” This latter utterance is overlapped by Eddie in line 4, who provides metapragmatic comment about China’s initial question, first indexically, by revoicing it and contextualizing the revoicing with laughter, and then, denotatively, with “China, you don’t know how to speak En(hh)glish.” Raven and Ash then join Eddie in laughter.

It is at this point that China crosses into a fully-stylized Mock ESL. The variety includes similar features as those enumerated in the analysis of Extract 1, but over the course of the interaction, becomes progressively more exaggerated. In fact, it is the absurdity of China’s performance, from the increasingly hyper-incorrect syntax and styled prosody to the physical threats in his last two turns, that becomes what is hearably humorous—*instead of* China’s initial utterance. In a clear testament to China’s L2 expertise and interactional competence, the metapragmatic cues achieved by the style shift have worked to align the original L2 impropriety with a social other, a FOB, the same social other that Eddie makes relevant with his line 5-6 assessment, “you don’t know how to speak En(hh)glish.” With the line 1 mistake now “authored” by a “FOB,” rather than its (mere) animator, China, the style shift at once *mitigates* China’s incumbency as a member of that category, and remarkably, *aligns* him with the very Local ESL classmates who had singled out his impropriety in the first place. In an extraordinary display, China has transformed being “targeted” by Eddie and the others for his own L2 “mistake” into an ostensibly ludic, aligning *display of distinction*. It is unlikely that students with lower L2 expertise or interactional competence could have achieved such an adept reversal.

Iconization, erasure, and fractal recursivity

In line with the critical pragmatics analytic framework sketched earlier, I aim in the next two sections to situate the analysis in a broader ethnographic context, to consider the instances of Mock ESL style shifts just discussed in terms of their socio-historical, socio-political, and language ideological significance: specifically, in this section, through the lens of the three semiotic processes formulated by Irvine and Gal (2000): iconization, erasure, and fractal recursivity.

Iconization

The analysis has already made reference to the process of *iconization*, whereby “[l]inguistic features that index social groups or activities appear to be iconic representations of them, as if a linguistic feature somehow depicted or displayed a social group’s inherent nature or essence” (Irvine & Gal, 2000, p. 37). Through this process, the Mock ESL style shifts analysed earlier iconized the identity category “ESL student,” binding the following “inherent” attributes to it: rudimentary L2 English expertise, interactional incompetence, and pragmatic ineptitude (“Me no English”; “I don’t speak no English”); incomprehensibility and awkwardness (“stradily”; “a what type of moment?”); low mental capacity, infantilism, and befuddlement (“how do you spell A?” “but we ESL student”); and naïveté and novicehood (“I come here two day only”).¹⁹ Through practices such as Mock ESL crossing, the category of “ESL student” came to signify an archetypal social other, a FOB, that was relationally distinct from the perpetrators of these displays, and whose abnormality stemmed in myriad ways from a lack of familiarity with, experience of, and socialization into a wide range of L2 English, school, Hawai‘i, and US social practices.

Erasure

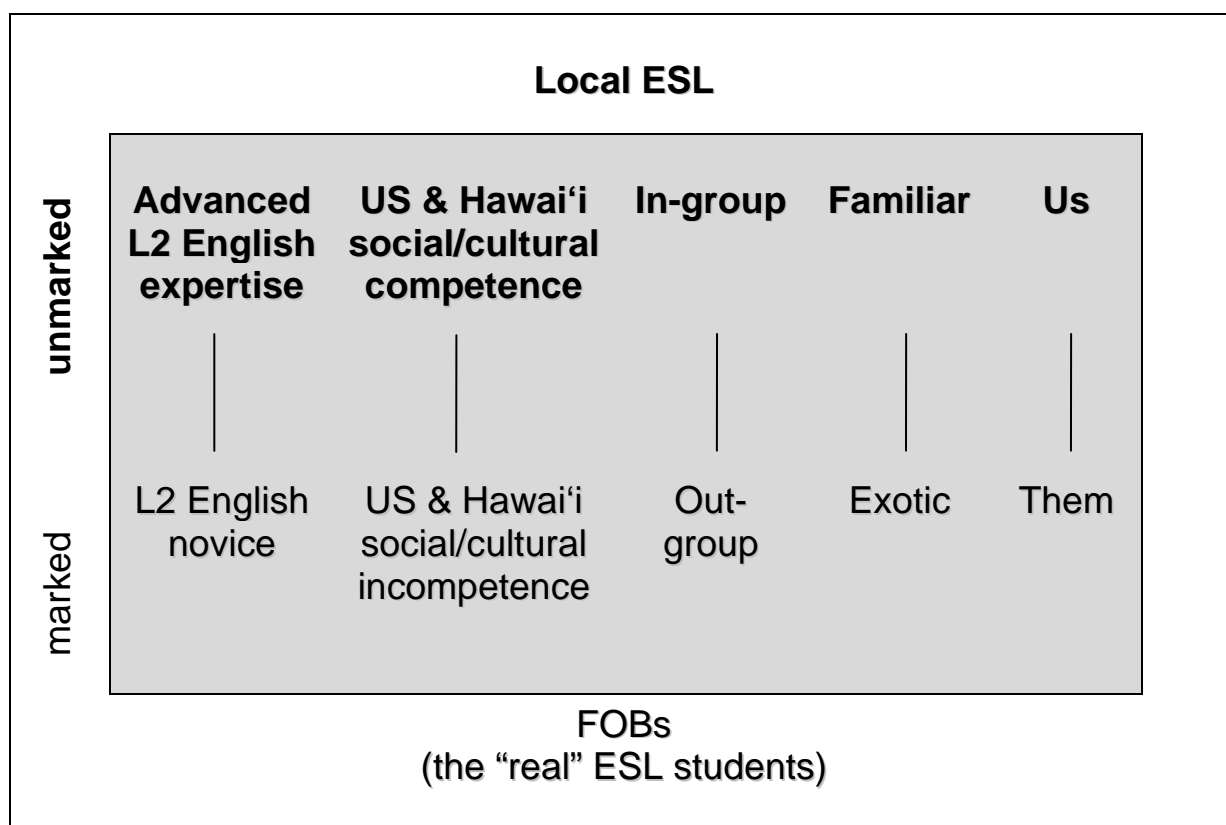
Erasure is the process by which difference is downplayed in an effort to underscore social and/or linguistic uniformity. As Irvine and Gal (2000, p. 38) argue, “in simplifying the sociolinguistic field,” the process of erasure “renders some persons or activities (or sociolinguistic phenomena) invisible. Facts that are inconsistent with the ideological scheme either go unnoticed or get explained away.” In terms of the analysis above, what was erased through displays of distinction such as Mock ESL crossing included the many *similarities* shared by Local ESL students and their lower-L2-English expert and newcomer classmates. By the same token, a great deal of variation in terms of L2 expertise and interactional competence among Local ESL students was suppressed, particularly in displays that involved several of these students (e.g., in Extract 3). However, the fluidity and fragility of these processes of erasure, the inherently contingent character of producing difference from FOBs, and similarity with other Local ESL students, made their vulnerability to being “unerased” omnirelevant, since *anyone* in the ESL classes could (and did) make L2 “mistakes”: the common targets of practices such as Mock ESL—lower L2-expert and newcomer ESL students—made them, to be sure, but then so did Local ESL students. Thus, irrespective of who authored them, *any* L2 mistakes could be recruited as candidate mockables for displays of distinction (ludic or otherwise) by Local ESL students at any time, and, as was the case with 618 (in Extract 2) and China (in Extract 4), Local ESL students could find themselves the target of these practices as well.

Fractal recursivity

Social practices such as Mock ESL styling worked to create a system of hierarchical oppositions, between the targets of Mock ESL (the FOBs) and the Mock ESL crossers (the Local ESL students). The iconic attributes of the “ESL student” category enumerated earlier (lack of

English expertise, interactional incompetence, low mental capacity, novicehood, etc.) were ascribed to the Mock ESL targets, while the Mock ESL crossers signaled through this practice their distinction from them. Schematically, this system of oppositions can be represented as a “Local ESL || FOB” hierarchy as in Figure 3.

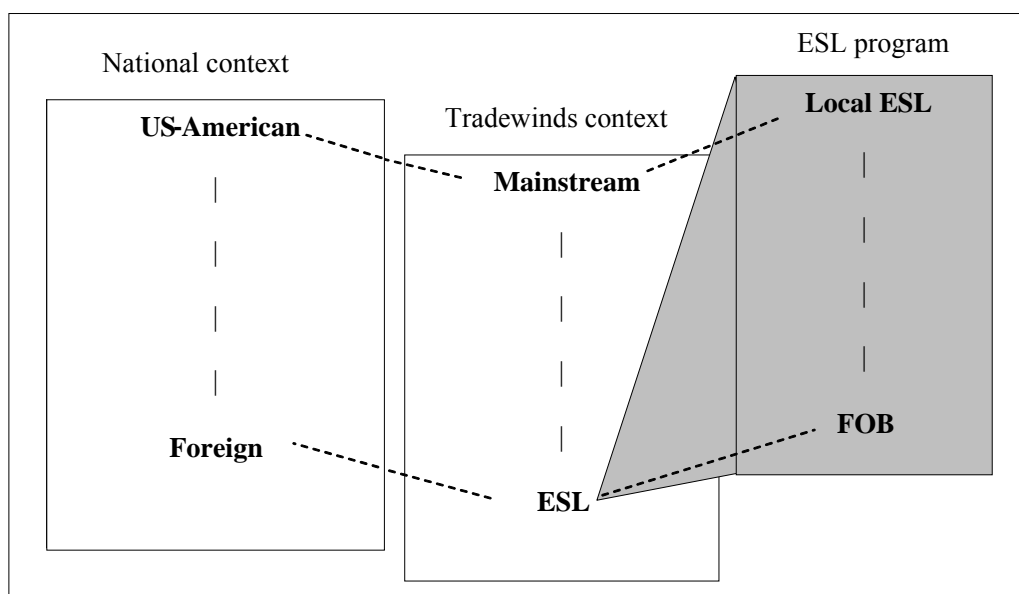
Figure 3. Representing the “Local ESL || FOB” relational hierarchy in the Tradewinds ESL program



The relations represented in Figure 3 should recall those depicting the “mainstream || ESL” hierarchy from Figure 2 (p. 19) and the “US-American || Foreign” hierarchy from Figure 1 (p. 17). The relationship between these systems of oppositions is adequately described by the third language ideological process posited by Irvine and Gal (2000), *fractal recursivity*. Fractal recursivity “involves the projection of an opposition, salient at some level of relationship, onto

some other level” (p. 38). This is a process “by which meaningful distinctions (between groups, linguistic varieties, etc.) are reproduced *within each side of a dichotomy*, creating subcategories and subvarieties” (Irvine, 2001, p. 33, my emphasis). That is, the “Local ESL || FOB” hierarchy can be seen as the local projection *within* the Tradewinds ESL program, of the relational dualities constituting the “mainstream || ESL” hierarchy in the wider school context. In view of the brief discussion of linguicism in Hawai‘i and the US—the Speak American campaigns, for example, the ongoing challenges associated with state and federal policy concerning the education of students for whom English is a second language—the “mainstream || ESL” hierarchy, and its recursive system of sub-categories, the “Local ESL || FOB” hierarchy, can *themselves* be seen as the recursive projection of systems of oppositions from a supra-local context, that is, of an iconic “US citizen” defined in contrast to a “Foreigner” (see Figure 4). In each of these recursive self-other iterations, it is English, or some “marked” or (mock) variety thereof, that figures centrally in the iconization process and the recursive projection of these systems of distinctiveness.

Figure 4. Representing fractally recursive language ideological oppositions at the supra-local, school, and ESL program levels



Distinction and stigma

To return to the perspectives voiced by At, China, and Brahdah at the beginning of this chapter (and referenced by other Local ESL students throughout), I have discussed one way that the stigma of ESL was achieved at Tradewinds High: through these students' Mock ESL style shifts.²⁰ The low prestige associated with ESL was not, in other words, merely a matter of discriminatory language and educational policies, assimilationist discourses concerning immigrants, negative language ideologies about multilingualism, or historical linguisticism, nor did it simply stem from the actions of administrators, educators, or "regular" students in the mainstream. Rather, ESL students themselves were central players in the production of the stigma of ESL at the high school as well, especially the oldtimers featured in the analysis above, in the micropolitics of mundane, everyday classroom conduct. In fact, it was apparent to me in my time at Tradewinds that an important index of (language) learning for many students in the ESL classes was a developing desire, and a corresponding development in ability, to publicly display a stance toward ESL that ranged from subtly negative to explicitly contemptuous. These abilities included embodied social actions such as leaving materials "at home," or not completing coursework, as well as those that were interactionally-mediated, including par excellence, engagement in practices such as Mock ESL crossing. Though the practices varied, all in some way worked to index the practitioner's distinction from "FOBs."

Having considered how the low prestige of ESL was achieved through indexical displays of distinction such as Mock ESL crossing, the question remains: *why* was ESL stigmatized at Tradewinds? This question is, of course, far more challenging to answer than *how* it was stigmatized, but I hope to have provided through the analysis above a defensible, and adequately warranted answer. I would like to suggest that, in part, a pervasive nationalist language ideology,

in which language, nation, and identity were iconized and associated in one-to-one terms, accounts for the production of ESL as a low prestige category at Tradewinds, as it converged with (and frequently served as a proxy for) racism, nativism, exclusionism, assimilationism, and xenophobia. These convergences operated in such a way that to “Speak American” became the equivalent of a shibboleth; to not speak it, or to speak it with “an accent” (Lippi-Green, 1997), was to index one’s status as an iconic outsider, an alien, a foreigner, someone who could be safely mocked and ridiculed, even in front of (and at times in concert with) teachers, since “they” did not belong.

Pedagogical implications

It’s unfair to ask educators, overstressed and underpaid as they are in the USA, to moonlight as political activists. The last thing they need is distraction from their important work in the classroom. Yet, like it or not, for educators determined to do their best for English language learners...advocacy is part of the job description (Crawford, 2008, p. 1).

While I agree with Crawford (2008) that ESL teachers must work as advocates for their students, their jobs, and their programs (see Crookes & Talmy, 2004), I also believe that part of their “job description” is to ensure that students become advocates for themselves. One way to go about this is not to consider advocacy a “distraction” (Crawford, 2008, p. 1), but to integrate advocacy into the ESL curriculum itself. For this endeavor, I would argue that close attention to interactional data can provide a remarkable resource, both in terms of informing curricular and instructional decisions, and as a basis for materials development, that is, for principled, grounded, and empirically-based pedagogical interventions, critical and otherwise.

For example, in an effort to raise awareness (among students, teachers, administrators, and parents) about linguisticism as a frequently unexamined form of socially accepted discrimination, activities could be formulated based on instances of Mock ESL crossing such as

those discussed in this chapter, on other research that concerns mock language (e.g., Mock Spanish, Mock Ebonics, Mock Asian), or other forms or instances of linguisticism (see Lippi-Green, 1997, for ideas). Such activities might involve debates, poetry or story writing, playwriting and performance, critical analyses of pop cultural artifacts, and research reports. Students could be asked to pose problems (Freire, 1993) about linguisticism, to discuss and write about incidents of linguistic prejudice that they themselves have experienced (and/or perpetrated), or to research examples of it in the cultural forms and social practices of everyday life: on the web, in mass media such as magazines, television, or movies, in history, and in literature. These activities could also ask students to consider linguisticism in relation to assimilationism, (English) monolingualism, linguistic nationalism, xenophobia, racism, and nativism; they would also, ideally, relate these matters to the status of ESL speakers in North America, and especially of ESL students in schools. In the broader goal of promoting L2 and subject-area learning and self-advocacy, such activities would allow teachers and students to usefully and creatively address issues related to linguisticism, to work toward change, and to help to make coursework more relevant to students' lives.

Conclusion

In this paper, I have outlined an ethnographically-informed, socially-constituted critical pragmatics analytic framework respecified beyond the Faircloughian "school" (Blommaert, 2005, p. 24) of CDA to include a wider range of analytic resources that can attend to the critical analysis of language-in-use. As an example, the critical pragmatics framework I used drew on applied CA, MCA, interactional sociolinguistics, and linguistic anthropology to complement, in data-near, participant relevant microanalytic terms, an analysis that was first and foremost a

critical ethnography. With this framework, I examined four occasionings of a linguistic style that I call Mock ESL as it was used by oldtimer Local ESL students in displays of distinction from lower-L2-English expert and newcomer ESL classmates at Tradewinds High. I interpreted these style shifts in terms of the language ideological processes of iconization, erasure, and fractal recursivity. I did so as a means to demonstrate how the politics of Mock ESL use could be socio-historically linked to the politics of language and education in Hawai‘i, and to illustrate the recursive projection of social processes at several different levels of relationship, ranging from “macro” to “micro,” or to put it more precisely, how the “macro” was *constituted in* the “micro” and vice versa. Finally, having endeavored to illustrate one way that the stigma of ESL was produced at Tradewinds High, I sought to address the matter of why it was stigmatized. I located one important source in the consequences and repercussions of a pervasive nationalist language ideology that circulated in the ESL program, and, I argued, in the wider school and societal contexts. I followed this discussion with a brief consideration of certain pedagogical interventions that might be pursued using discourse data such as those involving Mock ESL style shifts, so that the Ats, the Chinas, and the Brahdahs of the future might have less reason to malign and much more to gain from ESL.

Notes

¹ I am indebted to the students and teachers at Tradewinds High for granting me access to their classroom worlds, and for allowing me to represent those worlds. I am also grateful to the Pragmatics and Language Learning conference organizers, Gabriele Kasper, Hanh Nguyen, and Dina Yoshimi, for extending me the opportunity to present an early draft of this paper at PLL 17 in Honolulu. My thanks also to Sarah J. Roberts, who supplied me with resources drawn from her exceptional archival research on Pidgin. Finally, my gratitude to The Spencer Foundation and The International Research Foundation for English Language Education, two organizations that helped fund this study. The views expressed and any errors are my own. This article is dedicated to the memory of Terri Menacker, a kind mentor, outstanding scholar, and tireless advocate for Pidgin and speakers of Pidgin.

² The data in the epigraph are from fieldnotes, in contrast to the audio-recorded extracts I analyze below, and so are formatted differently and will not be subject to analysis.

³ All utterances in Pidgin (Hawai‘i Creole) in this chapter, such as Brahdah’s here, are transcribed in the phonemic Odo orthography (see Sakoda & Siegel, 2003), accompanied by an English gloss in italics.

⁴ The names of the students, the teachers, and the school in this paper have been changed. Students chose their own pseudonyms, unless denoted at first mention by an asterisk (*).

⁵ “Local,” an identity category in wide circulation in Hawai‘i, refers to someone born and raised in the islands (see Okamura, 1994; cf. Trask, 2000); “Local ESL,” an etic category, thus signifies ESL students whose actions indexed “Local” affiliations, and oldtimer status in Hawai‘i, the US, and in US ESL programs, as well as advanced L2 (English and Pidgin) expertise (see Talmy, 2008, pp. 623-625).

⁶ By a “theoretically-principled” analytic opportunism, I mean that the analytic frameworks must be theoretically compatible, as they indeed can be for critical analyses of talk-in-interaction (see Kitzinger, 2000, 2008; Miller & Fox, 2004; Speer, 1999; Stokoe, 2000; ten Have, 2007, pp. 42-64, 73-78; Wilkinson & Kitzinger, 2008).

⁷ For those, including Fairclough (e.g., 1992, pp. 85-86), who might argue that there is no need for such a respecification since CDA has utilized methods from CA, I suggest comparing how CA is used in Faircloughian CDA to how it is used, e.g., in feminist psychology (e.g., Kitzinger, 2000, 2007, 2008; Stokoe, 2003, 2010; Stokoe & Edwards, 2007; Stokoe & Smithson, 2001; Wilkinson & Kitzinger, 2003, 2008), where there is greater demonstrable adherence to analysis that takes seriously the commitment to endogenous orientations.

⁸ There are other critiques of (Faircloughian) CDA that are not necessarily linked to CA, including McHoul (1988), Pennycook (2001, 2003), and Verschueren (2001).

⁹ Gabriele Kasper (personal communication, June 2009) offers an important insight concerning the CA/CDA polemic, arguing that it does not take into account the distinction between “pure”/“basic” and “applied” CA (see below for more on this distinction): “the entire Billig/Wetherell/Schegloff debate suffers from a confusion of the explanandum. The explanandum of basic CA is the procedural infrastructure of interaction, no more, no less. Unless one argues that this explanandum is illegitimate (which would make as little sense to me as proscribing the study of grammar as an object in its own right), I think it needs to be accepted for what it is. Critical [discursive psychology], CDA, pragmatics, ethnography; institutional, feminist, critical CA, or CA-SLA for that matter, have different explananda. CA can be necessary as part of the explanans but it often cannot go the entire way.”

¹⁰ The term “macro context” would suggest that the historical discussion that follows is relevant, a priori, to my analysis of Mock ESL (Schegloff, 1997; ten Have, 2007, pp. 73-78). However, following points made in the previous section, it is my task to *demonstrate* in a defensible manner its relevance. See below.

¹¹ Tove Skutnabb-Kangas and Robert Phillipson have been charged (see Blommaert, 2001a, 2001b) with condoning a nationalist language ideology as their arguments concerning linguistic human rights appear predicated on a conflation of language with ethnic group and ethnolinguistic group with nation. For the record, Skutnabb-Kangas (2002, p. 540) has denied working within “the outdated (Herderian) nation-state ideology,” maintaining that critics have mistaken her use of arguments from international human rights law as evidence for it. While this point is arguable, it should be obvious that I use “linguicism” as a gloss for discrimination based on language, not to connote linguistic nationalism.

¹² *Haole*, from the Hawaiian word for “foreigner,” has over time come to denote “white” or “Caucasian.”

¹³ More thorough discussions on the genesis and development of Pidgin can be found, e.g., in Roberts (2000), Sakoda & Siegel (2003), Sato (1985, 1991), and Siegel (2000).

¹⁴ At the same time, although Pidgin currently is still stigmatized in many circles, in others it is celebrated (e.g., among Local authors, poets, educators, and activists). Regardless, in many communities and contexts in Hawai‘i, Pidgin remains the usual, unmarked code for communication. This was, indeed, the case in the Tradewinds mainstream, where Pidgin was commonly spoken, as was standardized English. In the Tradewinds ESL program, those students who spoke Pidgin most frequently were the long-term, oldtimer, Local ESL students. Unfortunately, the different statuses, functions, and domains of use of Pidgin and standardized English at Tradewinds were not a focus of the original study.

¹⁵ Violations dwindled as funds were cut (and mandates reduced) to oversight agencies such as the Office of Civil Rights (Crawford, 2004).

¹⁶ Although there is a long history of linguicism in Hawai‘i in which indigenous, Local, and immigrant populations have been denied the right to their L1s, Hawai‘i is noteworthy for having two official state languages (English and Hawaiian), and is currently a leader in developing school programs aimed at indigenous language revitalization, with over 1,500 children, at the time of this writing, in K-12 Hawaiian immersion schools across the state (see <<http://www.k12.hi.us/~kaiapuni>>).

¹⁷ Indeed, China and Raven’s mockery of Ms. Jackson is achieved in substantial part *because* she treats their performance as members of the category “ESL student” as genuine.

¹⁸ This would be an example of a “defensible fall-back” account, an interactional practice that featured prominently in the Local ESL CoP communicative repertoire (see Talmy, 2009b).

¹⁹ Other attributes, including “disrespect” and “immorality” were also bound to the category (see Talmy, 2009c).

²⁰ In fact, the negative representations of ESL in formal interviews with students such as At, Brahdah, and China can be considered another social practice that produced identities of distinction (see Talmy, in press).

Appendix

Transcript conventions

.	falling intonation
,	continuing intonation
?	rising intonation
!	exclamatory intonation
<u>underline</u>	emphasis
–	abrupt sound stop
LOUD	louder than surrounding talk
°quiet°	quieter than surrounding talk
(.)	micro-pause
(n.n)	pause of more than 0.2 second
[]	overlapping talk
=	latched speech
:	sound stretch
()	questionable transcription
(())	transcriber comments
<i>gloss</i>	English gloss of Pidgin (Hawai‘i Creole)
> <	faster than surrounding talk
< >	slower than surrounding talk
↑↓	rising/falling shift in intonation
hhh	laugh tokens
.hh	audible in-breath
?M/FS	unknown (male/female) student

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