

New Directions in Second Language Socialization Research*

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Duff, Patricia A. 2003. **New Directions in Second Language Socialization Research.** *Korean Journal of English Language and Linguistics* 3-3, 309-339. This paper provides an overview of second language (L2) socialization research, some examples of recent studies addressing this topic, and finally a theoretical reconceptualization of L2 socialization. The three studies to be presented include secondary schools in an English-as-a-foreign-language context in Central Europe, mainstream classes in an English-as-a second-language school in Western Canada, and programs for English language and nursing skills for immigrant Canadians. This empirical, qualitative research does not support a linear, deterministic view of L2 socialization; such a view assumes, erroneously, that students or other novices are fully willing and able to adopt stable, monolingual, local target L2 norms and that members of the target culture are both competent and receptive to the newcomers. Some consequences and implications of these findings are discussed.

Key Words: language socialization, classroom research, participation, community, silence

1. Introduction

First language (L1) socialization research, as it is now known, began in the 1970s but its extension or application to second-language (L2) contexts is relatively recent, with the majority of research conducted during the last decade. The goal of this paper is (1) to provide a brief review of research on L2 socialization, (2) to illustrate current theoretical and empirical conceptualizations of it, and (3) to consider

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alternative models that better reflect the social, linguistic, cultural, political and educational conditions of contemporary society that affect people's participation in new discourse communities. I will describe issues of access, accommodation, resistance, ultimate attainment, and the multiple norms and communities that learners often negotiate. I will also emphasize the notion of linguistic and cultural hybridity typical of many language learners, communities, and sociolinguistic practices today, and the implications of this hybridity for applied linguistics.

2. What is Language Socialization?

Language socialization research originated with such linguistic anthropologists as Ochs (e.g., 1988), Schieffelin (1990), Watson-Gegeo (1992, 2001, in press; Watson-Gegeo & Gegeo, 1986), and Heath (1993), who conducted groundbreaking studies on L1 socialization patterns in such diverse places as Western Samoa, Papua New Guinea, the Solomon Islands, and in the United States. Their aim was to understand how children, by means of their social interaction with others, and with the benefit of either explicit or implicit messages about how to use language appropriately in different contexts, acquired and used particular language forms in their natural sociocultural contexts. The common focus of the studies in Schieffelin and Ochs' (1986) book *Language Socialization Across Cultures* was everyday, sociolinguistic or pragmatic oral routines involving adults, older siblings, and young children in playgrounds, homes, and schools. These routines included praising, shaming, prompting, teasing, greeting, and calling out. Also examined were language play, and the use of indirectness versus directness and different registers in speech. Analyses often looked at micro-linguistic features in these routines and in ordinary conversational utterances, such as sentence-final grammatical particles in Japanese or lexical items that carry information about the affective, epistemic, or gendered stances

and identities of speakers.

Perhaps because of the early links between language socialization, traditional cultures, and anthropology, early L1 research often featured languages other than English. Several studies dealing with L1 Japanese illustrate the type of linguistic analysis undertaken in some socialization research. Clancy (1986, 1999), Cook (1999) and Suzuki (1999) investigated the linguistic socialization of young Japanese children, focusing specifically on the socialization of affect, attention and in turn identity through language routines and affect-marking lexical items and grammar or morphology. Children encounter these forms by means of modeling (observation) especially, but also through direct instruction and feedback on their own use of certain forms. For example, in a study of Japanese mothers' interactions with their 2-year olds, Clancy (1986) observed that "mothers made it clear that behaviors falling outside the range of normal expectations are frightening and repulsive" (p. 237). In Excerpt 1, a child, Maho (2;1) pretended to host her mother at a tea party. When Maho pretended to eat a toy dish or plate, her mother twice said this is *kowai* ('scary'), something a monster would do, to convey that her actions were not appropriate. She also used the affect-marking sentence-final particle *yo* after the last utterance.

(1) Mother: Mahochan ga tabeteru no? Kaijuu mitai. **Kowai**. Iya.
Kowai, obake mitai. Mama obake **kirai** yo.

You're eating it? Like a beast? It's scary. I don't like it.
 It's scary, like a monster. I hate monsters. (p. 237).

In a second example, Suzuki (1999) examined the suffix *chau* (the contracted form of *-te shimau*, 'to put away or finish') used by a mother with her two-year old son. This form was used to convey negative affect associated with an event or situation, such as Winnie the Pooh not being able to get out of a tight space because he had

eaten too much; a child having eaten a lot of sweets; or toys not being treated carefully by children. These examples are shown in Excerpts 2-4 below. All of the utterances were produced by the mother when addressing her child.

(2) ara! puusan ga ippai de derarenaku natchatta

'Oh! Pooh cannot get out because (his) stomach has become
-chatta too full' (p. 1430)

(3) hora, moo nai, yotchan ga minna tabechatta kara

'See, (they) are gone, because you have eaten-chatta (all of
them)' (p. 1431)

(4) hora hora kowarechau yo. gan gan gan tte yattara. ne.

'Look, look, (the phone) will break-chau. If you go bang,
bang, ban. You see.' (p. 1434)

In a third study, Cook (1999) examined how Japanese children are socialized to listen to one another's utterances in classroom settings in order to signal that they are respectful, attentive, and cooperative classmates, virtues within Japanese and other educational cultures. Evidence of this are teachers' questions to students who are not paying attention about whether they are in fact listening, as shown in (5):

(5) Teacher: Hai, Fukushima-san no yutta koto kikoemashita ka?

'Did (you) hear what Fukushima-san said?'

((Turns to Akabane-kun))

Akabane-kun, kikoeta:?

'Did (you) hear it, Akabane-kun?'

Kikoeta tte iu ka, kiiteta?

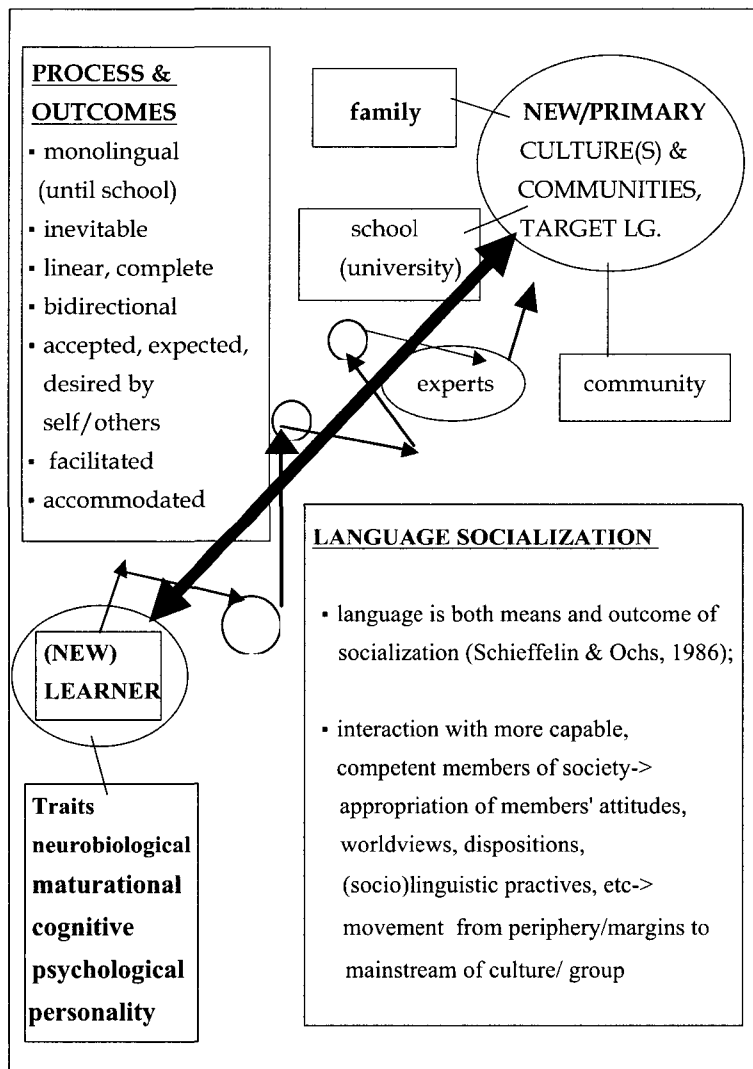
'Rather than hearing it, did (you) listen to it?'

(p. 1448)

L1 socialization research such as this was originally inspired by Hymes' (1972) insights about the nature of communicative competence and the many variables involved in speech events than influence the way we speak. It was also influenced by Vygotsky's (1978) emphasis on sociocultural and sociohistorical contexts of learning, and by a number of other scholars, including Rogoff (1990) and Lave and Wenger (1991), who emphasized that learners need to be guided or apprenticed into certain activities and behaviors, including linguistic behaviors, by more capable peers, caregivers, or instructors. Whereas much L1 socialization research, as exemplified by the Japanese studies reported above, has investigated patterns of grammatical or lexical use in narrowly defined contexts of use (e.g., in play settings with 2-year olds in their own homes), much current research has emulated Heath's (1983) seminal research on L1 literacy development across different English-speaking cultures. This more educationally oriented research often broaches larger issues connected with immigrant or indigenous minority groups and their problems gaining access to the language and literacy skills of the dominant culture. The researchers do so by bringing the disciplines of (applied) linguistics and education together to address problems of alienation, underperformance, and other consequences of disjunctions in discourse practices between cultural groups.

Figure 1 represents a simplified model of L1 socialization based on these studies from the 1980s. The boxes in the top left and bottom right corners describe the process as it is often understood: more or less monolingual (in the home), inevitable, linear, accepted, expected, desired, facilitated and accommodated.

Figure 1
Common View of Language Socialization (L1)



Implicit in this model is the notion that youngsters, as cultural and linguistic novices, have sufficient access and exposure to the community, its speakers, and language practices, and there is

sufficient goodwill and expertise on the part of their interlocutors to assist, mentor, and accommodate them into the target culture and its practices. By means of children's interactions with their older siblings and other caregivers, and explicit instruction and scaffolding on the part of their interlocutors, they learn target language forms plus the beliefs, attitudes, and knowledge that come bundled up with language in a particular culture. Thus, they eventually become "legitimate, full participants" in the target culture or community of practice, to use Lave and Wenger's (1991) terms, proficient in the language and well steeped in—and generally compliant with—its social, cultural, and ideological values and practices. There is some "give and take" between experts and novices, as Schieffelin's (1990) book title suggests, since socialization can take place in both directions (Jacoby & Gonzales, 1991), but in the end it is assumed that most children become proficient and sociolinguistically adept L1 speakers. Of course, successful language socialization also depends on children's own neurobiological, cognitive, psychological and linguistic capacity to notice, acquire, integrate and use the language in their environment. These learner-internal processes operate in parallel and in a complementary way with the contextual social-interactive ones, the latter being the main focus of socialization research.

3. Research on L2 Socialization

L2 or bilingual socialization research has typically focused on minority students' integration into the oral and written practices of new, more heterogeneous cultures in L2 contexts; alternatively, it has examined majority students' experiences when immersed in L2-mediated educational or work activities (see reviews by Bayley & Schecter, 2003; Kramsch, 2002; Garrett & Baquedano-Lopez, 2002; Zuengler & Cole, in press). What follows is a sampling of settings that have been studied in North America and elsewhere in L2 socialization research.

· *Life in bilingual and multilingual communities* (Schechter & Bayley, 1997, 2002; Zentella, 1997; Crago et al., 1993; Patrick, 2003). Many of these studies have looked at issues of code-switching and language choice, maintenance, or shift in communities in Texas, California, New York City, and Northern Quebec.

· *The integration of immigrants in elementary and secondary L2 content classrooms* (Duff, 2002a, 2002b; Harklau, 2003; Toohey, 2000; Willett, 1995; Cole & Zuengler, 2003; Pon et al., 2003). These studies often examine the experiences of immigrant students in Canadian and American urban areas before and after being mainstreamed in classrooms with native English-speaking peers. They study the difficulties newcomers face and the efforts made to socialize them into new practices, many of which are connected with L2 and other literacies.

· *High school and university students in foreign language/L2 immersion programs* (Ohta, 1999; Moore, 1999; Duff, 1995; Kanagy, 1999; Siegal, 1996; Watson-Gegeo, 1992; Rampton, 1999). Studies have looked at the potential but also problems of L2 socialization in foreign-language contexts. In many of these studies, the target language has not been English but has been German, Japanese, or French.

· *Students being socialized into academic discourse(s) in postsecondary programs* (Casanave, 1992; Kobayashi, 2003; Morita, 2000, 2002; Poole, 1992; Zappa-Hollman, 2002). The majority of these studies examine how university students learn to give oral presentations or engage in new academic literacies in L2 academic communities.

· *Professional programs and workplaces* (Duff, Wong & Early, 2000; Goldstein, 1997; Katz, 2000; Li, 2000; Roberts, 2001; Roy, 2003; Sarangi & Roberts, 2002). These studies examine how workers are expected to speak and act in new L2-dominant workplace cultures, on the basis of dominant (L2) ideologies as well as ideologies of solidarity and L1 use among workers from the same backgrounds.

Below, I will briefly present aspects of three qualitative studies I have conducted over the past decade examining oral discourse, in

particular, to illustrate some new directions in L2 socialization research in English language programs and to reconceptualize L2 socialization processes and outcomes. The studies took place in English-immersion programs in Hungary and in Canadian high school mainstream classes and workplace-oriented programs for immigrants.

3.1. English Language Socialization in Dual-language Secondary Schools in Hungary

In the late 1980s, Hungary implemented an innovative program of dual-language education. Instead of requiring that students study Russian as a foreign language, several dozen public schools across the country adopted a Western European foreign language, like English, as the medium of instruction for most of the subjects taught. My research in three Hungarian-English dual-language (DL) programs in three regions of the country began in 1989, the year Hungary regained its political independence from the former Soviet Union. The research involved various kinds of L2 proficiency testing, questionnaires and interviews, and extended classroom observations (Duff, 1997).

In terms of L2 socialization, the classroom research revealed that the new curriculum actually involved more than just a new medium of instruction. With English, came a new approach to teaching, and new materials, perspectives, funding sources, teachers and teacher training programs. Furthermore, the schools offered students new identities as English speakers with opportunities to travel to English-speaking countries. The students became much more closely aligned with Anglo-American media, pop culture, language, opportunities and aspirations than was possible before.

My analysis focussed on how, in the innovative English-medium sections of the experimental DL schools, rigorous oral assessment known as the *felelés*, or recitation—widely used throughout Europe—was being shunned by many teachers and reformers. In the traditional recitation activity, a teacher would spontaneously select a student

each lesson to provide a fluent, concise summary of the previous day's lesson, followed by questions. This recitation, and all the rituals leading up to it, was done in front of the class and a grade out of 5 was announced at the end of the session (Duff, 1993, 1995, 1996). Among other things, this activity served as preparation for oral final examinations that are still customary in high school and university content areas in Hungary.

However, in English-medium classrooms these ritual activities were being replaced by other types of oral interaction and assessment for which teachers and students were still establishing the rules. Hungarian DL teachers wanted to relinquish some of their control, formality, and disciplinarianism in order to foster critical discussion in ways that might previously have been politically unwise and unwelcome. They wanted to "democratize" learning and speaking in their classrooms, thus socializing them into new values and instructional practices. Teachers' history lectures were therefore supplemented with task-based discussions, jigsaw reading and other group work and through voluntary, planned student presentations, and these social practices were a product of teachers' own recent socialization in communicative EFL language classes. However, two sorts of phenomena resulted in these situations: (1) the DL students conveyed their newfound preference for more liberal forms of assessment and discussion to their traditional Hungarian language teachers in non-DL classes, to the teachers' annoyance; and (2) because some of the DL students had had much more EFL instruction and exposure to native English speakers than their teachers had ever had, students often took the liberty of correcting their DL content teachers' or classmates' English or their manner of speaking. During student oral presentations, for example, students would often ask presenters to slow down, repeat their main points, and spell or write important words on the board, so they could take better notes. In other words, the students were socializing one another and their more traditional teachers into different (presumably better) teaching

practices, sometimes to a fault, when they became too demanding or critical.

Excerpts 6-8 provide illustrations of students' role in correcting one another and their DL teacher during social studies lessons. Excerpt 6 contains a correction of the incorrect term *National Convent*, found in the first line, initiated by a student (Maria, who was doing a presentation), and then picked up on by the teacher:

(6) Maria: they wanted to have a National Convent. ((second time term was misused)) (1.9)

Student: ((student in background utters "convention"))

Teacher: Convention.

Maria: Convention?

(1.3) And-they wanted to suspect-the king...

((several turns later...))

Maria: Uhm what's the difference between-NAMES I mean-there is a National uh Assembly the uh Legislative Assembly and-National Convention is just the NAME different o:r-is the function. different too.

In this example, Maria incorporated the suggested linguistic change or recast in her responses even over several turns. In some cases, the student also solicited input regarding the correct EFL term, or conversely, asked for the corresponding Hungarian technical term:

(7) Anik: and so the Habsburgs, who were - ah - initially - ah - ah
hogyan van az, hogy kibérelve? ("How do you say *kibérelve*?")

Student: Rent ((SSS laugh))

Teacher & SS: Hire

Anik: Hired by the: - ah=

Student: =But it's not hired

Anik: Okay - so -

Janos: Paid by.

Anik: Paid by the Habsburgs, so the Hajdus was - initially - who were initially - paid by the Habsburgs, ah - then supported Bocskay, because of his promises ...

In Excerpt 7, Anik sought the English expression corresponding to *kibrelve* and elicited three translations from others: *rent(ed)*, *hire(d)*, and *paid*. The teacher's suggestion, *hired*, was contested by one student, and another replied *paid*, which Anik—and presumably the teacher too—accepted and used. Hungarian academic high school teachers have expert knowledge of their subject area but they are held to a high standard of EFL competence by their students, who may have a superior grasp of the language across a wider range of situations, registers, and subject areas, as well as less accented speech. In some of the classes observed, this difference between teachers and students may have accounted for the teacher's general lack of concern for the *form* of students' utterances, concentrating on the *substance* instead. It also sent a message to students to do the same. Yet in student presentations or lectures, other students were just as likely as the teacher to correct the speaker's English or to make comments about the content. They also did this when the teacher herself was lecturing, as the following example shows, based on the teacher's pronunciation of the word *boat*.

(8) Student: How did they manage to do that the whole - the whole army? But how. but how.

Teacher: They were outnumbered [probably

Student: [(By boat from) Transylvania. Good.

Teacher: No they didn't need boats ((pronunciation for "boats"))

Student: Boats ((laughs))

Students: ((loud laughter, especially from boys))

Teacher: Boats ((laughs?))

In this example, in addition to posing numerous questions and

predicting the teacher's next utterance, they drew attention to her mispronunciation of the word *boat*. Thus, the socialization and resocialization taking place in connection with classroom language use was both bidirectional and bilingual. Furthermore, in terms of language socialization models, since the norms of L2 classroom interaction in Hungary were in a state of flux, it is not clear what the "target" community, culture, norms, or practices were in this case.

A similar sort of phenomenon has been reported in heritage language schooling. In extracurricular weekend heritage language classes for Chinese-American children, He (2003) revealed how children attempted to challenge their Chinese teacher's authority and socialize her into more liberal (mainstream) educational values and activities, like those found in their mainstream American elementary schools. Thus, whereas their Chinese teacher wanted the young children to quietly, seriously, and quickly practice writing Chinese characters, the children wanted to have contests, with cookies as rewards. In particular, as shown in Excerpt 9, He analyzed the teacher's versus the students' use of the pronoun *women* ('we' or 'us'), in contrast to *tamen* ('they/them'), to index their collective identities as either serious Chinese students or American children whose mainstream teacher permitted more fun and games in class. (Tc=teacher; G4=young girl)

- (9) Tc: mai cookie? **Women** shi xuexi ah bu yong chi de
 'Buy cookies? **We** are here to learn. We don't need food.'
- G4: zai zuexiao Mrs. Colon jiao **women** zhe yang
 'At school Mrs. Colon asks **us** to do like this.'
- Tc: zheli- zheli uh shi zhongwen xuexiao ah **women** bu- **tamen**
 zhe yang **women** bu zhe yang ah
 'It's Chinese School here. **We** don't- **They** do this (but) **we**
 don't.'

Indeed, heritage language classes in America pose interesting

challenges to current understandings of language socialization and the notion of speech community. The target language being studied is often one's own ancestral language in heritage language classes, which in early childhood might have been one's L1. However, heritage language learners may be seeking membership in communities of the past, the present, or the future, each with their respective sociolinguistic norms—whether connected with education in the ancestral homeland or with new or hybrid immigrant/diaspora cultures. Although beyond the scope of this paper, then, language maintenance, loss, and revitalization are topics integrally related to language socialization which, like foreign language immersion, represent promising avenues for future research (Kulick, 1992; Schechter & Bayley, 2002; Zentella, 1997; Garrett, 1999).

In summary, the Hungarian study highlighted that (1) L2 socialization processes can be examined in foreign language contexts, although ultimate L2 attainment levels investigated in some other research in foreign-language contexts have been much less impressive than the Hungarian results I have discussed elsewhere (Duff, 1996; cf., Atkinson, 2003; Rampton, 1999; Canagarajah, 1993; Watson-Gegeo, 1992; Moore, 1999); (2) language (re)socialization can be bidirectional in FL/heritage language settings, to the chagrin of some teachers whose authority may be challenged or compromised in the process; and (3) in times of political and economic change and globalization, the target communities for learners may be those of other multilingual L2-speakers and not native-speakers.

3.2. Language Socialization in Multilingual, Multicultural High School Classrooms in Canada

A study conducted in a very different context revealed another set of issues for our model of L2 socialization. A recent headline from the *Vancouver Sun* newspaper declared: "Vancouver leads the diversity race" (Reeveley, 2003). In fact, Canada's 2001 census data revealed that nearly 40% of Greater Vancouver area residents were born outside of

Canada (with increasing numbers of Koreans), and many of those have arrived within the last decade. That diversity in turn has meant that roughly half of elementary and secondary school students in Vancouver are English language learners (ESL students). This situation obviously poses many challenges for immigrant English language learners and for the local public schools, which must provide appropriate content-based L2 instruction.

My research took place in a large secondary school in the Vancouver area. The goal of the overarching study was to examine the language socialization among Asian immigrant students in mainstream content areas. Like the Hungarian study, it was an ethnography of communication in high school social studies classes (Duff, 2002a). Over a period of two years, I observed and audio- or videorecorded the classes of two experienced Grade 10 teachers and interviewed them and their students. I focused on teacher-fronted discussions in which students' active participation was expected, and especially current events discussions, which are part of the Grade 10 Social Studies curriculum. Three issues I will discuss from this study are: (1) the unexpected hybridity and intertextuality of the classroom talk; (2) general issues and tensions surrounding ESL students' participation and socialization in class discussions; and (3) implications for theorizing about language socialization.

Excerpts 10 and 11 came from one current events discussion in a male teacher's class:

(10) Teacher: Well you guys live like in the *Ally McBeal* generation. Right?

John: What?

Teacher: Where they share a bathroom.

Male student: No way.

Teacher: Right? On *Ally McBeal* but when I=

Sue: =Did you hear about the transsexual who sued the=

Teacher: =when I grew up it was more strict

(11) Teacher: on American TV stations they used to have this thing that came on this public service message it would say even in my time, it's the '70s, and "It's 11 o'clock. Do you know where your children are?"

Doug: It was on the *The Simpsons*

Teacher: Great. Doug and Shh! ((to someone else))

Doug: It's like

Teacher: Quiet. ((Said to other students who are chatting))

Doug: Homer's like eating TV dinner and it's like [announcement] and then he says "I told you yesterday I don't know."

Students: ((Laughter))

Teacher: Uh *The Simpsons*. They're so good.

These two excerpts of classroom talk from the same discussion contain references to *Ally McBeal* and *The Simpsons*, well-known American television programs in the late 1990s. *Ally McBeal*, a show about a company of eccentric young lawyers, is mentioned in connection with articles about "cyber ethics," which was in a short newspaper article the teacher was reading to the class. The article mentioned that spreading rumors on the school internet system—a breach of cyber ethics—was like producing graffiti on bathroom walls; this prompted the class to talk about differences between graffiti in male vs. female bathrooms and then the teacher observed in Excerpt 10 that his students probably used co-ed bathrooms just like they do on the *Ally McBeal* show. A male student refuted this suggestion.

The second excerpt a few turns later introduced another kind of text, from public service announcements in the past that aired on TV at 11 pm, to remind parents to keep an eye on their children. This announcement was mentioned because of the need in contemporary society to know where one's children are on the internet. Doug told the class about how he heard that same announcement during an

episode of *The Simpsons*. (Homer is often portrayed as an incompetent parent in this animated cartoon series.)

References to pop culture in excerpts like this provided connections to the contemporary cultural worlds of local students, like Shakespearean or Biblical allusions in previous generations indexed and rewarded other kinds of knowledge. Through verbal play, talk of war and peace and scandals, and discussions of both fictional and living characters, students could display their identities, knowledge, interests, past experiences, sense of humor, and affiliations with one another and they were encouraged to do so. The teacher felt that participating in current events discussions would make them good conversationalists and interesting people, important attributes in his view. It was therefore intended to be a significant component of their language socialization.

Many lessons had multiple references to pop culture and other kinds of texts in quick succession. ESL students in the social studies classes found it very hard to understand what was being talked or laughed about and sometimes it seemed like an almost deliberate way of excluding them. They said they enjoyed watching the affectively charged exchanges but the talk was often too complex linguistically, intertextually, and interactionally for them to be able to participate. They didn't have the background knowledge about pop culture or about current events in Europe, North America and the Middle East or the linguistic agility to quickly interpret and link seemingly disparate texts. Consequently, they became silent but conspicuous voyeurs and outsiders for up to an hour a week of current events discussions. The teacher thought they were simply shy, whereas their local classmates thought that they didn't have the language skills and didn't make an effort to participate. When teachers tried to ask these students about their own cultural experiences in current events discussions or in connection with history topics, they often froze with fear, not knowing how to respond, afraid of being laughed at by others because of the way they sounded—by their "audible identities"

—and their inability to make immediate connections with the prior talk. Silence protected them from humiliation but it did not help them find a way to participate in these whole-class discussions; it represented what Pon et al. (2003) refer to as a "linguistic double bind" when describing the silence they observed among immigrant high school students in their study in Eastern Canada. Even the so-called oldtimer ESL students in my study, that is longtime Canadian residents, were still mostly silent during discussions, despite having excellent English skills and having been socialized in Canadian classrooms for up to 10 years already.

The lack of overt participation in current events discussions with or without pop culture references was part of a bigger gulf between the students born in Canada and those who were not. Unlike Rampton's (1995) findings, there was no "crossing" ethnolinguistic community boundaries between 1st generation Asian-Canadian and local European-Canadian groups in either of the classes I observed, inside class or outside, and no attempts for English speakers to learn Chinese, the most widely spoken language group in Canada, after English and French. Two bright ethnically Chinese males who had been in Canada for about 10 years explained that their socialization into communities of English-L1 peers had been quite seamless and successful in elementary school in another Canadian city, but that in this highly multicultural city and at this age, it was impossible. Their social worlds and activities were now mutually exclusive. From time to time there was interesting group work in class among students from different backgrounds but, as Leki (2001) also reported, it was usually imposed on them by teachers and the ESL students were often assigned only minor roles by local students.

Cross-group interaction had taken place in students' ESL classes in other years though, between newcomers from different L1 backgrounds, and they became friends and learned each other's languages. In those ESL classes, as in Harklau's (1994) research, students were encouraged to tell others about themselves and their

interests, and they were not afraid to be heard. Thus, the issue of access to target communities and to accommodation cannot be taken for granted in L2 socialization. Resistance may come from the newcomer, an immigrant teenager who reluctantly came to the new country and does not want to learn the L2 or adapt to local cultural practices or has difficulty doing so; and resistance may come from the target community that resents diversity or growth. Moreover, with highly mobile populations, socialization is multilateral as well as potentially bidirectional, with different target communities involved. Some students planned to return to Hong Kong or Taiwan to do business. Others were like global citizens, well connected to communities in Canada and elsewhere. Many planned to continue their studies at a local Canadian university. However, who they chose to align themselves with in class was also influenced by who would agree to befriend and mentor them. English language learners and local students just couldn't seem to become friends—there would be "too much explaining to do," as one local boy said.

Despite the reticence, silence, and misgivings about their status in their new Canadian educational culture, many of the same English language learners in this third study were performing reasonably well academically, in fact better than many of their talkative local peers. As children of middle-class immigrant parents, these newcomers had access to language and content tutors outside of class and often came with reasonably strong study skills and academic preparation—something that immigrants from less affluent backgrounds might lack. They didn't necessarily see the verbosity of their classmates and current events repartee as a sign of strength or expertise, something to emulate; some saw it, rather, as a sign of weakness, a distraction from the more crucial lessons of social studies, and an impediment to their successful academic progress. At the same time, they wished they could understand what was being said and laughed about and could participate without feeling afraid or foolish. Newcomers often looked up to their more accommodating and proficient ESL classmates as

their role models, instead of local students. Thus, the norms representing expertise and preferred modes and models of socialization depended on the perspectives, goals and resources of participants themselves.

To summarize, (1) students in this multicultural school were being socialized into hybrid and intertextual discourse practices involving both social and academic texts; (2) the connection between students' participation and their identities in class was an important one and one that was created and recreated through the discourse practices and topics of discussion; (3) the reasons for the observed participation patterns and silence among English language learners were not well understood by teachers and local students; (4) even after many years in Canadian schools, the immigrant students were not necessarily compliant with local norms for classroom talk.

3.3. Language Socialization in ESL/skills Programs for Canadian Immigrants

A third study involved a very different population and institutional setting, and somewhat different issues for L2 socialization as well. The participants were immigrant women and men in a one-year vocational English program in urban British Columbia. This study represents the trend to examine linguistic socialization beyond primary and secondary schooling to include other institutional settings, such as after-school community centres for youth, churches, workplaces, and virtual communities. It is also consistent with the goal of considering *lifelong* and *lifewide* socialization (by *lifewide* I mean people's concurrent participation in different sociolinguistic communities and activities).

This study took place in a Canadian immigrant services agency that provided, among many other programs, ESL and healthcare courses for people planning to work as longterm resident care aides. Care aides mostly look after elderly people in nursing homes, private homes, and hospitals. Duff, Wong and Early (2000) examined the

impact of immigrants' participation in these ESL and skills programs on their lives, careers, families, and communities; and on their L1/L2 use inside and outside of institutions such as hospitals. A study of current program participants was conducted over the period of one year and another study looked at former participants who had completed similar programs in two previous years (Duff et al., 2000/2002; Wong et al., 2001). The programs involved immigrant women primarily, some of whom had previously worked in healthcare as doctors, nurses, or home care workers in the Philippines, China, Vietnam, or Sri Lanka. Some had raised families in Canada and had waited many years for the chance to learn English. In the meantime, they had worked in factories or fast-food restaurants where their co-workers were often non-native English speakers.

The program involved two 6-week practica as well as courses; one practicum was in an inner-city hospital and the other in a very comfortable suburban middle-class nursing home. In this third study, it was surprising that in the inner-city hospital—and in some of the other care facilities that former students eventually found work in—English was not spoken much by the people they took care of; the elderly residents spoke Toisan, a southern dialect of Chinese, or other languages, and were often unable to comprehend and produce speech well because of the effects of aphasia, Alzheimer's Disease, dementia, deafness, blindness, or a combination of these afflictions. Many of the care aides' co-workers were also non-native English speakers. Urban public institutions such as these hospitals are obviously much more multilingual and non-English-dominant than expected. In some cases, the immigrant caregivers had a clear advantage over monolingual English speakers because they could converse with residents in their L1, which meant a great deal to the lonely, frail residents. Even the Chinese care aides had to learn new dialects of Chinese. Also, although the students had mastered many of the technical English medical terms for urinary track infections and other ailments, the people they cared for did not recognize these terms. As one student

reported:

if we say some professional word they don't understand yeah, if I say ... "bowel movement" maybe they say, yeah "poop?"

Another said:

I learned to talk slowly... [I]n this job, you need to talk slowly and explain very well because many people suffer dementia or they don't understand.

Thus, students needed to learn how to modify their speech, slowing it down, reducing its complexity, and using colloquial English. Similarly, when elderly English-speakers at the nursing home used slang or new vocabulary with them, adjustments were needed. Pragmatic sensitivity was required as well, because not all people expect to be spoken to about their bodies or bodily functions in the same way, depending on their upbringing and prior experience with English. Socialization into L2 pragmatics is important but often very subtle and is an area presently attracting more research because of the high stakes often attached to the successful execution of speech acts, such as requests (Kasper, 2001; Li, 2000).

For those elderly residents who no longer had the ability to speak or hear language, the caregivers needed to learn other ways to communicate with them. Therefore, the elderly, like their caregivers, were being socialized into new linguistic or paralinguistic practices; using body language, gestures, speech modifications, and learning to read and write bodily expressions like texts, gently touching faces or hands to convey meanings, or observing eyes and mouths for silent messages. In a focus group in the hospital, a Spanish-speaking male care aide in our study said:

even I don't speak [their] language, but you give them love... we

establish communication. Because then somehow they let me know what they want. Even with just pointing fingers, or the eyes. Or for example... lady she's paraplegic, for example, right? She doesn't move anything. Stroke and everything, right? But when I feeding her, [and] she doesn't want something, she just clench her mouth like that. I know she doesn't like it. But so I switch something else, I explain it. "We're going to try the peach pie" or whatever. And she ate, so she liked eh... I know the language is a barrier but... I can jump the barrier.

What, then, were the target norms and practices that these students of English and nursing needed to learn? Their classroom lessons prepared them for one set of norms, and their informal, on-the-job experience provided another. Knowledge of academic English and nursing skills was important but not sufficient—they needed larger repertoires of communication skills *and* other languages, like Cantonese or Toisan. Secondly, what communities were these immigrant care aides being socialized into? Not generally into communities of native or highly proficient English speakers—although they were delighted with their experiences at the suburban nursing home where the elderly English-speaking residents were only too happy to talk to them. However, their chances of eventually obtaining employment with middle-class, educated, English-L1 speakers like those in the local suburban nursing home were slim because of long waiting lists to work at those facilities.

Thus, their socialization into and through English for the workplace may have provided them greater access to work, but not necessarily greater social integration into English-speaking society. Goldstein (1997), who conducted a study of immigrant Portuguese-Canadians working at a factory in the Toronto area, also reported that the Portuguese women on the factory lines in her study communicated among themselves in L1 Portuguese, not English, even after living many years in Canada, and chose not to attend ESL classes paid for by

the company during company hours. Solidarity with members of their primary social reference group, other Portuguese-Canadians, was more important than upward and outward job mobility and the use of Portuguese among themselves also helped minimize costly errors on the factory lines.

However, the difference in our study and Goldstein's was that many of the workers in ours did seek upward and outward mobility and greater daily contact with local English speakers, beyond the confines of local Chinese-speaking communities, for example. Although they may not have achieved that goal within one to two years of completing their education, they had nonetheless gained marketable skills, self-esteem, independence, confidence, greater proficiency in English, and an opportunity to provide compassion and care to others. They could now help people whose English was not as good as theirs and go to their own doctors or potential employers without using their children or spouses as interpreters. They said:

I know how to search job, because before I don't go. I need somebody. If I go somewhere, I call someone, one of my friend or my husband. "Come with me, come with me, help me". Now... by myself, I go and ask.

I was a little depressed [before, but now] I can be part of this society and I can be like... any other Canadian person. I have my certificate... I can work... of course I feel like an immigrant but I know I can live here like any Canadian person.

Thus, L1 and L2 socialization may last a lifetime but integration into L2 society might take even more than one generation.

4. Conclusion

As depicted in Figure 1 earlier in this paper, language socialization

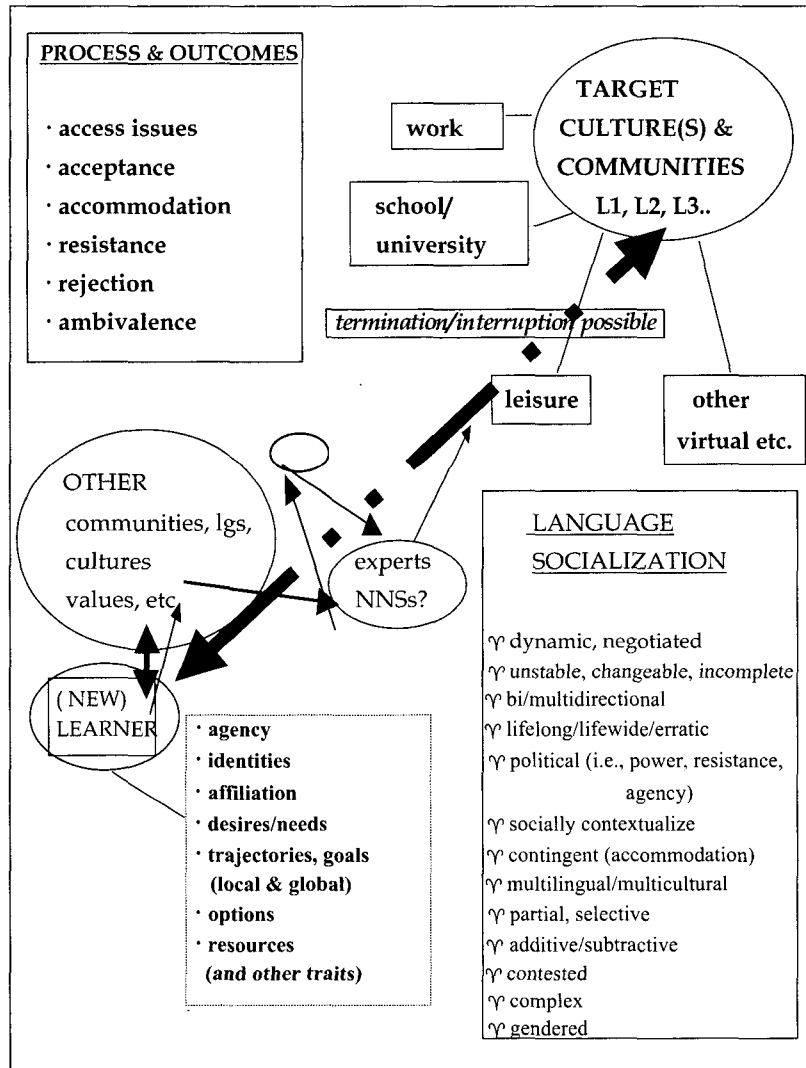
has often been assumed to be a relatively short, linear, monolingual process facilitated by experts who have considerable good will and patience and who helpfully accommodate newcomers to their group, their culture, their community. Furthermore, although the newcomers may take away from their socialization experiences different things at different rates, it is expected that they will eventually appropriate the experts' skills and knowledge. This may hold true in many contexts. However, as my research in Hungarian dual-language schools, Canadian secondary schools, and workplace-oriented programs for immigrants has revealed, language socialization in contemporary societies is often quite different.

In sharp contrast to Figure 1, Figure 2 indicates that unlike primary language socialization, access, accommodation, monolingualism, homogeneity, stable and reasonable target language norms, expertise on the part of so-called experts, and people's affiliation with just one major community over a long period of time cannot be taken for granted. Instead, the social contexts of learning tend to be much more complicated, fluid, dynamic, competitive, multilingual, and potentially unwelcoming. People are concurrently negotiating and maintaining membership and identities in many different communities, in their L1, L2 and even L3 or a mixture of these at any given time, and their degree of affiliation with each community and language may vary, waxing and waning over time. As Duff et al. (2000) revealed, people also may succumb to different maladies related to aging that constrain their functional language abilities and different kind of resocialization become necessary.

Language socialization is a process marked by peaks and valleys, progression and regression, times of learning and forgetting, of belonging and not belonging, of speaking and being silent, and all the tensions, confusion, and points in between. However, under the right conditions, both L1 and L2 socialization can open up wonderful new possibilities, transform participants and their interlocutors, and also transform society and mainstream practices themselves, especially in

highly heterogeneous communities.

Figure 2
More Complex View Of Language Sociolization (L2)



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