Thompson, K. (September 2009). The Role of Research-Based Ideas about Language Acquisition in California's Curriculum Materials for English Language Development. (Unpublished qualifying paper). Stanford University, Stanford, CA.

Among the multitude of components that influence student learning, textbooks have long been one of the primary components with which education researchers, reformers, and policy makers tinker – often by first tinkering with the guidelines or standards that define textbook content. Why are textbooks and their associated guidelines such a popular component with which to tinker? First, the capital required to influence textbook guidelines is minimal compared to the capital required to train teachers, for example. Second, since they are static, physical products, textbooks are far easier to control and analyze than are other key factors influencing student learning, such as teachers' instructional practices, which are dynamic and intangible.

In 1967, Jeanne Chall wrote *Learning To Read: The Great Debate*, a seminal work in which she analyzed the elementary-grade reading textbooks of the day, as well as a vast array of reading research. She exposed what she considered to be a significant disconnect between the findings of reading research and the content of reading textbooks. Chall joined a long line of other researchers, reformers, and policy makers who have attempted to influence student learning by changing the content of textbooks, in some cases attempting to strengthen the link between research and curriculum materials. Here, I examine a current case in which textbook content in a particular curricular area has changed: the case of English Language Development curricular materials in California. Specifically, I explore what role ideas from research about second language acquisition do or do not play in the new materials.

U.S. schools serve a growing number of students who begin their education not yet fluent in English. In thirteen states, the number of English learners (ELs) has more than doubled in the last decade (National Clearinghouse on English Language Acquisition, 2006). Much debate exists about the appropriate materials and methods for facilitating students' acquisition of

English, and different assumptions about how language acquisition occurs underlie this debate. Approximately 25% of students in California's public schools are not yet fluent in English, and in order to foster English learners' acquisition of English, California recommends that ELs receive 30-60 minutes of English Language Development instruction each day. In 2007, the State Board of Education issued new guidelines for English Language Development (ELD) curriculum materials, and publishers developed new materials ready for adoption by districts in 2009.

I examine the role that research on language acquisition plays in the curriculum development process. While "scientifically-based instruction" has become a buzzword in education policy, to what extent are research-based ideas about language acquisition present in the new ELD materials? Which research-based ideas predominate and why? How does the State Board of Education and the state standards and curriculum frameworks influence which research-based ideas get reflected in the ELD materials?

To explore these questions, I first review a variety of literature. From linguistics, I provide a brief overview of the research knowledge base regarding second language acquisition, with a focus on research about instructed language learning in particular. I specifically examine research on several topics from linguistics explicitly addressed by the state framework and curriculum materials, including contrastive analysis, transfer, and corrective feedback. I also outline the limited research investigating current English Language Development practices in U.S. schools. I then look at policy research that documents the political and economic factors that influence textbook development generally. From this literature review, I build a conceptual framework illustrating the position of research in the textbook development process for California's English Language Development materials. I then analyze the curriculum materials themselves, examining how they reflect specific ideas from the second language acquisition

research. Finally, I interview individuals involved in the creation of these materials to gain their perspective about the role of research on language acquisition in the curriculum development and adoption process.

Review of the Literature

Since national attention was drawn to the needs of English learners with the *Lau v. Nichols* (1974) Supreme Court decision and the subsequent *Castañeda v. Pickard* (1981) Fifth Circuit ruling, schools have been mandated both to teach language minority students English and to provide them access to core content-area curriculum. As *Lau* famously states, "Where inability to speak and understand the English language excludes national origin-minority group children from effective participation in the educational program offered by a school district, the district must take affirmative steps to rectify the language deficiency in order to open its instructional program to these students." However, the courts in *Lau* and again in *Castañeda* explicitly refused to define how a district should "rectify the language deficiency" of students not yet fluent in English. Instead, in *Castañeda*, the Fifth Circuit outlined a three-prong test for determining the adequacy of educational programs for language minority students. First, the Court stated, the program should be based on "an educational theory recognized as sound by some experts in the field or, at least, deemed a legitimate experimental strategy." Second, the program should be well-implemented, "with practices, resources, and personnel necessary to transform the theory into reality." Finally, the program must "produce results indicating that the language barriers confronting students are actually being overcome."

While arguments about the relative efficacy of bilingual and English immersion programs have grabbed headlines for decades, a lower-profile debate about how to teach English has

simmered, influenced by linguistics research and by ideology. A central question in the debate about how to teach English in U.S. schools is to what extent does formal linguistic instruction facilitate language acquisition?   Linguists have debated the role that other speakers play in acquisition in naturalistic settings, with some arguing that humans are hard-wired to develop language and therefore need only minimal input from speakers of the target language during a critical period in early childhood to jumpstart acquisition (cf. Pinker, 1989). Others have argued that acquisition is not just a matter of neurological programming but that other speakers play a crucial role in acquisition by providing corrective feedback and modeling target forms (cf. Chouinard & Clark, 2003). This argument dates to the beginning of acquisition research, and each position has its own implications for whether/how instructed language learning might take place.

The Research Knowledge Base Regarding Second Language Acquisition, with a Focus on Contrastive Analysis, Corrective Feedback, and Transfer

Research on language acquisition has a relatively short history. Chomsky's seminal work *Syntactic Structures* (1957) not only served as a lightning rod for linguistics generally, it also contained provocative implications about how children acquire language. Children learn language so quickly and competently, with such little input, that the human brain must be hard-wired for language acquisition, Chomsky (1959) argued. These assertions stood in stark contrast to the behaviorist ideas of B.F. Skinner (1957), which dominated research in psychology and learning at the time and which viewed language acquisition as simple stimulus-response phenomenon. While individuals had kept diaries of children's speech dating back to the eighteenth century, the advent of the portable tape recorder and the simmering Skinner/Chomsky

debate prompted researchers to begin analyzing children's speech more carefully. The most well-known example of this early acquisition research is Roger Brown's careful, longitudinal analysis of the speech of three young children (1973). Brown documented that children seem to acquire grammatical morphemes in a particular, invariant order. For example, Brown's subjects all incorporated the plural marker –s into their speech before they incorporated the third person singular verb inflection –s. Brown's findings seemed to support Chomsky's theory that neurological factors rather than environmental ones shaped the course of acquisition.

Soon other researchers tested whether Brown's findings applied to second language acquisition. Do speakers of different primary languages acquire the grammatical morphemes of their second language in a predictable order? While findings varied to some degree, it appeared that speakers of different languages did acquire the grammatical morphemes of their second language in a relatively predictable order, though not in exactly the same order as primary language learners did (cf. Bailey, Madden, & Krashen, 1974; Cancino, 1976, cited in Hakuta & Cancino, 1977; Dulay & Burt, 1974a).

Meanwhile, prior to Chomsky's entry into the field, foreign language teachers and researchers had been exploring the extent to which second language learners' errors could be explained by interference from their first languages. For example, did Spanish speakers tend to place adjectives after nouns when learning English since this is the appropriate word order in their first language? This idea was termed contrastive analysis since it was alleged to be the contrasts between speakers' languages that accounted for difficulty in the acquisition process (Lado, 1957). While contrastive analysis held intuitive appeal, upon close examination, first language interference seemed to explain only a small percentage of learners' errors; one widely cited paper found that only 5% of errors showed evidence of first language interference (Dulay

& Burt, 1974b).

Furthermore, contrastive analysis over-predicted errors, as well. For instance, as Mitchell and Myles (2004) point out, the placement of unstressed object pronouns in English and French differs, with English sentences placing the object pronoun after the verb (*I like **them***) and French placing the object pronoun before the verb (*Je **les** aime* – literally, *I **them** like*). Therefore, contrastive analysis would predict that both English speakers learning French and French speakers learning English would produce errors in the placement of object pronouns in the target language. However, data do not support this prediction in full. English speakers at the beginning stages of learning French do seem to produce utterances with misplaced object pronouns (*J'aime **les***), replicating the position of the object pronoun in their primary language. However, French speakers learning English do not produce utterances with the object pronoun in the position it occupies in their primary language (*I **them** like*).

Together with findings about the relatively invariant order of second language learners' acquisition of grammatical morphemes, the relatively limited power of contrastive analysis to explain the course of second language acquisition lent support to the notion that a neurological program for language learning, in Chomsky's terminology a Universal Grammar, underlies the acquisition process – in both first and second languages.

However, other researchers continued to argue for the importance of input from other speakers in the acquisition process. First language acquisition researchers have demonstrated that adults do provide corrective feedback to young children, offering information to children about which utterances in the language are grammatical (cf. Chouinard & Clark, 2003; Farrar, 1992; Saxton, 1997; Sokolov & Snow, 1994). Though this feedback rarely takes the form of overt corrections (i.e. "Say *went* not *goed*"), adults do often reformulate children's utterances,

supplying an unknown lexical item or a missing inflection, for example. Observational, experimental, and longitudinal studies have documented that parents reformulate children's erroneous utterances from 20 to 67% of the time, with reformulation rates decreasing as children get older (Chouinard & Clark, 2003; Farrar, 1992; Saxton, 1997).

This line of first language acquisition research has parallels in second language acquisition, with researchers arguing for the importance of providing corrective feedback to second language learners. However, as with first language acquisition, speakers' errors often seem impervious to correction, and studies investigating the efficacy of corrective feedback for second language learners' phonological and syntactical errors have shown mixed results. A meta-analysis of studies of 15 studies on corrective feedback within the second language acquisition context (Russell and Spada, 2006, cited in Saunders & Goldenberg, in press) found positive effects for corrective feedback across all studies.

However, as Lyster and Ranta (1997) and Lyster (1998) emphasize, the effectiveness of corrective feedback seems to vary by type of error and by type of feedback. In the Canadian immersion classrooms that were the focus of the study, students repaired 60% of phonological errors following recasts (in which teachers repeated students' utterances but with errors corrected) but only 22% of grammatical errors following recasts (Lyster, 1998). And while recasts were the most common form of corrective feedback that teachers provided, they were the least likely to lead students to repair their utterances. Elicitation (in which teachers left strategic blanks for students to fill in missing words), clarification (in which teachers prompted students to provide additional, clarifying information), and metalinguistic feedback (in which teachers provide comments to students about linguistic forms – without providing explicit corrections) were all more likely to lead to uptake than recasts were (Lyster & Ranta, 1997).

Furthermore, additional research suggests that learners' attention to corrective feedback varies. Mackey, Perdue, and McDonough (2000) videotaped dyadic interactions between college-aged non-native English speakers and native English speakers, during which the native English speakers provided corrective feedback to their partners. Subsequently, the non-native English speakers watched videotapes of the interactions and were prompted to describe their thinking during selected episodes of corrective feedback. In only 13% of cases in which learners received morphosyntactic feedback did they recognize this feedback as related to morphology or syntax; they either did not realize they received feedback at all or thought the feedback was related to another linguistic feature (Mackey et al., 2000). Taken together, this research on corrective feedback presents a somewhat confusing picture. As a separate review of the literature on corrective feedback states, "Future research is needed to explore the exact conditions under which recasts – as well as other types of feedback - are likely to be effective in L2 acquisition" (Nichols, Lightbrown, Spada, 2001, p. 752). As Nichols et al. (2001) suggest, perhaps learners at different stages of second language proficiency are more able to make use of different types of corrective feedback.

A related strand of research in second language acquisition has explored the extent to which knowledge from a speaker's first language transfers to her second. When aspects of the speaker's two languages conflict, as with the placement of adjectives in Spanish and English, the speaker might experience interference, as discussed above, with negative consequences from a transfer process. However, when aspects of the speaker's two languages are similar, as with the similar pronunciations of some consonant sounds such as /m/ and /f/ in Spanish and English, the speaker might experience positive consequences from a transfer process. Ultimately, much transfer research aims to uncover how language is represented in the brain. Are the two

languages of a bilingual speaker stored as two separate systems, with the concepts *agua* and *water* encoded separately, not linked to a common conceptual core? Is there a single core language representation, with additional modules for features specific to particular languages?

Despite several decades of research on transfer, conclusions remain limited. Most researchers agree that metalinguistic knowledge – the idea that symbols encode sounds, for example – does transfer across languages and can facilitate the acquisition of a second language (Bialystok, 2001). For instance, children who have already learned that words can be segmented into beginning, medial, and ending sounds can transfer this knowledge across languages. And children who have learned that sentences require end punctuation can similarly transfer this knowledge across languages, even if the new language they are acquiring has different conventions regarding end punctuation. Some research suggests that bilingual individuals in fact have heightened metalinguistic skills and greater cognitive flexibility, perhaps because their knowledge of two languages has forced them to recognize that linguistic symbol systems are arbitrary (cf. Bialystok, 2001).

However, other research has suggested that learners' do not automatically draw on knowledge from their first language when learning a second and can benefit from explicit instruction regarding how and when to apply first language knowledge. For example, while Spanish-English cognates are quite common, particularly in science texts, a Spanish speaker who encounters the word *similar* in an English-language text will not necessarily hypothesize that this word might have the same meaning as the Spanish word *similar* (August, Carlo, Dressler, & Snow, 2005). One study of 5th grade Spanish-speaking English learners found that students who had been taught explicit cognate awareness strategies were able to infer meaning for cognates more accurately than students who had not been taught these strategies (Dressler, 2000, cited in

August et al. 2005), though cognate pairs with less phonological overlap caused more difficulty for students (i.e. *oscuro/obscure* was more difficult for students than *amoroso/amorous*). While researchers generally concur on the utility of explicitly pointing out cognates to students, larger questions about the nature of bilingual individuals' representations of their two languages remain.

Current research on transfer has explored whether speakers draw on specific aspects of their primary languages when learning a second language, with only certain aspects of the primary language affecting the second language acquisition process. For example, Montrul (2000) found that those learning a second language seemed to draw on the functional morphology but not the argument structure of their primary language when acquiring specific syntactic structures in the second language. As she writes, "Transfer does not necessarily operate as a block in all linguistic domains. … If grammar is organized in a modular way, there is no particular reason why all modules should be acquired with the same ease or approached in the same way" (p. 233). Learners, Montrul finds, do not seem to draw on their primary languages when building hypotheses about the transitivity of particular verbs in their target language. Instead, learners may "resort to a default transitive template when they do not know the specific semantic constraints on certain lexical items in the target language" (p. 264). However, Montrul's position is not held by all linguists. As one linguist succinctly stated in a recent piece on transfer, "There is disagreement among current theoretical models of L2 acquisition regarding the role of the L1" (Whong-Barr, 2006, p. 189).

The theoretical divisions within the field of second language acquisition carry over to the debate within applied linguistics about the shape that instructed language learning should take. One camp, building on the Chomskian notion that language acquisition proceeds according to a

pre-specified neurological program, stresses the futility of explicit instruction and corrective feedback. Instead, many in this camp argue for a focus on meaning – with many opportunities for learners to use the target language for real communicative purposes. However, other researchers, building on the first language acquisition research that demonstrates the importance of the input and feedback speakers receive, argue that a focus on forms – with systematic, explicit grammar instruction – should predominate (see Ellis, 2005 for an overview of these two camps).

Research on English Language Development Practices in U.S. Schools

As recent reviews of the existing research on educating English learners have shown (August & Shanahan, 2006; Genesee, Lindholm-Leary, Saunders, & Christian, 2006; Goldenberg, 2008), the best way to teach English Language Development (and, by extension, the best materials to use for this instruction) is an "area about which there is little agreement" (Goldenberg, 2008, p. 13). Several studies have attempted to synthesize research about instructed language learning and derive key principles to guide instruction (cf. Ellis, 2005; Keck, et al. 2006; Lyster, 2007; Norris & Ortega, 2000; Russell & Spada, 2006). But very little existing research analyzes current English Language Development instructional practices in U.S. schools.

Three recent studies do compare different implementations of English Language Development for students in the earliest grades. Saunders, Foorman, & Carlson (2006) compared two groups of classrooms. In one group of classrooms, ELD existed as distinct, stand-alone block of time during the instructional day. In other classrooms, teachers integrated ELD into general reading/language arts instruction. Saunders et al. (2006) examined 85 kindergarten classrooms, including both bilingual and English-only settings, collecting observational data

about the content and format of instruction, as well as data about student literacy outcomes.

Results indicated that teachers who taught ELD as a separate block – in both bilingual and

English-only classrooms - spent more time on oral language and literacy activities than teachers

in classrooms where ELD was integrated into language arts instruction. Additionally, "English

learners in classrooms with separate ELD blocks had modestly but significantly higher English

oral language and literacy scores on the Woodcock Language Proficiency Battery, controlling for

fall performance" (Saunders, Foorman, & Carlson, 2006, p. 181). While this finding is

provocative, the study has significant limitations. First, since this was not a randomized or

quasi-randomized experiment, it is impossible to definitively attribute differences in student

performance to differences in the format of ELD instruction. Perhaps other classroom

characteristics besides the format of ELD instruction, such as teacher expertise or instructional

materials, explains the difference in student performance. Furthermore, the language and

literacy learning needs of kindergarteners are distinct. Similar studies at other grade levels

would be necessary for these findings to be generalizable to other age groups.

   In a separate but similar study, O'Brien (2007) compared student outcomes in

kindergarten and first grade classrooms with three different implementations of ELD. In

Condition 1, teachers used specific ELD materials that included explicit grammar, phonics, and

vocabulary instruction. In Condition 2, teachers used ELD materials that they themselves

collected and designed. In Condition 3, teachers integrated ELD into their existing language arts

instruction. Results suggested that students in Condition 1, with a publisher-designed ELD

program, showed significantly greater gains in English speaking and listening skills (as measured

by the California English Language Development Test) than students in the other conditions.

Additionally, analysis of lessons in the three conditions showed differences in emphasis:

On average, teachers in Condition 1 spent 52 percent of lesson time in teacher-led

interactive tasks that focused on grammar, language function, and content-related

vocabulary. Teachers in Conditions 2 and 3 spent no time whatsoever on grammar or

language function. Most of the lesson time in Conditions 2 and 3 was devoted to either

discrete vocabulary (Condition 2: 86 percent) or content-related vocabulary (Condition 3:

84 percent) (Saunders & Goldenberg , in press, p. 50).

These results would seem to support those who argue for an explicit focus on forms in instructed

language learning. However, researchers have suggested than teachers' limited knowledge about

language prevents them from designing their own curriculum materials for second language

instruction (Fillmore & Snow, 2000). Furthermore, experts have found support for English

learners within publishers' previous versions of their basal series lacking, which is why

California's State Board of Education strengthened the requirements for EL support in the

current adoption cycle (California Department of Education, 2008). Thus, perhaps O'Brien

simply demonstrates that thoughtfully designed materials are better than poorly designed ones.

The final study in this group presents results from a randomized experiment investigating

the effects of an intensive English language intervention on student literacy outcomes, again in

both bilingual and English-only classrooms (Tong, Lara-Alecio, Irby, Mathes, & Kwok, 2008).

The English language intervention consisted of a distinct ELD block (75 minutes in kindergarten

and 90 minutes in first grade), which focused primarily on developing students' oral language.

Results indicated that students who experienced the ELD intervention showed greater literacy

growth than students in the control classrooms who did not receive the intervention, regardless of

whether students were in bilingual or English-only settings. While these results seem consistent

with those of Saunders, Foorman, & Carlson (2006) and O'Brien (2007), this study again has

limitations. As the authors point out, it may simply be that the extended time students spent on English Language Development activities led to improved student outcomes. Again, this study focuses on the earliest grades, leaving questions about the effectiveness of a distinct ELD block for older students unanswered.

These three recent studies constitute the existing literature directly investigating current ELD practices. However, recent chapter by Saunders & Goldenberg (in press) attempts to synthesize implications from research for English Language Development instruction, drawing on these three studies, as well as meta-analyses and individual studies carried out in other contexts. Saunders & Goldenberg provide fourteen guidelines for educators, categorized according to the strength of the research evidence supporting each. As they point out, "Clearly much work remains to be done to develop an empirical research base on which to build effective ELD instructional programs" (p. 87). Saunders & Goldenberg propose only two guidelines that they find to be supported by relatively strong evidence from research on English learners in U.S. schools. First, they assert, "Providing ELD instruction is better than not providing it" (p. 41). Second, "ELD instruction should include interactive activities among students, but they must be carefully planned and carried out" (p. 41). Other questions, such as the relative emphases on forms and meaning, the role of corrective feedback, and the efficacy of a distinct ELD block have less definitive answers, Saunders & Goldenberg assert.

This research on second language acquisition generally and English Language Development practices in U.S. schools has complex, somewhat murky implications for English Language Development curriculum materials. Very little existing research examines the actual curriculum materials being used to teach English to non-native speakers in U.S. schools and analyzes the ideas about language acquisition reflected in these materials. My research aims to

fill this gap.

The Textbook Development Process: What Role Does Research Play?

Before turning to an analysis of California's new English Language Development

materials, it is worth examining other work on textbooks in the United States, particularly studies

that illuminate the multiple factors at play in the textbook development process. These studies

include economic analyses of the textbook industry, examinations of the historical evolution of

textbooks – particularly in the field of language arts – and descriptions of California's specific

textbook development process. First, as many researchers emphasize, textbook development is a

capitalistic enterprise: Publishers want to sell books. Publishers had revenues of $40.3 billion in

2008, with $7.4 billion (18%) of that revenue coming from what is known in the industry as the

"elhi" (i.e. elementary and high school) sector (Book Industry Study Group, 2009). Meanwhile,

textbook cost has increased dramatically over the last decade, with the average price of a basal

reading textbook in California jumping from $18 per student in 1990 to $50 in 2005 (Hill, 2007).

The textbook publishing industry has experienced considerable contraction in recent years, with

numerous mergers and acquisitions (Lee, 2007; Weisman, 2009). Currently, only three major

textbook publishers exist – Pearson, Houghton Mifflin, and McGraw Hill - leaving educators

with fewer choices of materials.[1] In 1988 California's State Board of Education adopted 13

different reading textbooks at the elementary grades from which districts could choose. In 2002,

only three publishers submitted reading textbooks for possible adoption, and the State Board

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[1] These three publishers have acquired other well-known imprints in recent years. McGraw Hill bought Macmillan in 1993, Pearson bought Scott Foresman in 1996, and Houghton Mifflin purchased Harcourt in 2007. Therefore, some of the newly adopted English Language Development curriculum materials are actually being offered by the same publisher because the series were created by different branches within a larger conglomerate. For example, McGraw Hill has two sets of ELD materials on the 2008 adoption list in California, one created by Macmillan McGraw Hill and one created by SRA McGraw Hill.

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selected two of these. This steep decline in textbook options resulted, in part, from the sharp

decrease in the number of large, national publishers (Hill, 2007).

With its six million K-12 students, California plays a central role in the textbook

publishing market. California is one of twenty states in which textbooks are adopted at the state,

rather than the local level (Hill, 2007). In order to receive state dollars for textbook purchases,

districts must buy textbooks that have been formally approved by the State Board of Education.

Thus, any publisher that wants to gain access to California's six million students must insure that

its textbooks meet exhaustive criteria established under the auspices of the State Board. Since no

publisher wants to develop more versions of a given textbook than absolutely necessary and

since no publisher can afford to miss out on the lucrative California market, the textbook criteria

developed in California – along with the textbook criteria of several other large states that also

have statewide adoption processes, particularly Texas and Florida – drive the content of

textbooks across the nation (Kirst, 1984).

California's English Language Development materials are explicitly designed to support

students' attainment of the state's Reading/Language Arts standards (California State Board of

Education, 2007).[2] The criteria stipulating the content of the ELD materials are contained within

the state's Reading/Language Arts Framework, and the materials themselves are one component

of publishers' broader basal reading series. Basal reading series stand as "more colorful, more

expensive, and more plentiful" than other textbooks (Shannon, 1991, p. 217), with weighty

teacher's editions (currently running at six volumes per grade level) and numerous ancillary

components, such as CD-ROMs, song charts, posters, transparencies, and assessment handbooks.

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[2] Positioning English Language Development as part of the language arts curriculum has particular consequences for the form ELD materials will take. Whether it is sensible to conceive of English Language Development as a component of the language arts curriculum is outside the scope of this paper but should be problematized in future research.

Furthermore, these reading textbooks exert enormous influence over what happens in classrooms; estimates indicate that teachers use these textbooks between 70 and 90% the time (Kirst, 1994; Shannon, 1991).

Numerous researchers have examined factors that influence the content of textbooks generally and reading textbooks specifically. After surveying and interviewing textbook reviewers in Texas, Marshall (1991) concluded that in Texas, "the influence of state guidelines was pervasive and highly determinate" (p. 129), shaping the content of adopted textbooks, as well as reviewers' decisions about which textbooks to adopt, more than any other factor. However, individual reviewers' idiosyncratic assessments of the organization, content, and pedagogical effectiveness of each textbook also influenced their decisions. A study of the basal reading adoption process in Indiana found even greater idiosyncrasy in reviewers' assessments: "Curriculum objectives developed by selectors' districts carried little weight, because reviewers 'knew what they were looking for'" (Courtland, 1983, cited in Marshall, 1991, p. 127).

As noted above, researchers have identified economic factors as an important influence on textbook content. Not only do publishers bend over backwards to ensure that their materials meet the curricular guidelines of large states with statewide adoption processes, they also strive to meet states' "social content" standards, avoiding controversial topics and eliminating racial and gender bias. In California, these social content standards include "the appropriate depiction of male/female roles, ethnic and cultural groups, older persons, religions, and dangerous substances and the avoidance of brand names and corporate logos" (Honig, 1991, p. 107).

Furthermore, publishers operate under tight time constraints. California adopts new versions of textbooks every six years, with the first two years after each new adoption devoted to rewriting the curriculum framework for that subject area (Hill, 2007). In order to create, pilot,

and revise a basal reading series in the remaining four years of the adoption cycle, publishers must begin developing their new series immediately after the new framework is released. Time is of the essence.

While knowledgeable authors have in the past been seen as influential factors in the textbook development process, more recent research suggests a weakening of authorial influence on textbook content. As Keith (1991) explains, earlier basal readers were often the work of one individual who was closely identified with the product, as with the Dick and Jane readers created by William S. Gray during the middle of the twentieth century. However, single authorship is a thing of the past. Textbooks are now the work of a complex mix of academic authors, editors, and school-based consultants, among others. Because an editor manages the writing team, these materials are referred to as "managed textbooks." As Keith (1991) points out, "In most instances, … this is a writing team in name alone, rather than in working style. … It is rare for these individuals to meet or function in any coordinated fashion. Coordination is the editor's job" (p. 48). By interviewing authors of California's ELD materials, I will illuminate author's perspectives on the influence they have and the role that research plays in shaping textbook content.

The Specifics of California's Adoption Process

In order to understand the role of research about second language acquisition in California's ELD materials, a brief overview of the specific timeline and actors in California's adoption process may be helpful. As noted earlier, this complex process lasts six years and involves a wide variety of stakeholders. The first two years are spent revising the curriculum framework. The framework is intended to provide guidance for how to teach each academic

content standard at each grade level; it includes textbook selection criteria for the subject matter in question. First, the Curriculum Framework and Criteria Committee (CFCC) is appointed. This body revises the Framework and presents a draft to the Curriculum Commission (CC). Then the Subject Matter Commission (SMC), Curriculum Commission, and State Board of Education (SBE) hold public hearings on the framework, with the SMC revising the framework itself. The State Board then approves a final version of the revised framework. As noted above, since this framework contains explicit criteria for what textbooks must contain, it plays a central role in shaping textbook content. Members of the four committees involved in the framework's creation have an opportunity to exert great influence over the state's textbooks.

Once the curriculum framework is finalized, publishers begin developing their textbooks. Meanwhile, the State Board appoints members to two different committees who will review textbooks submitted for consideration, the Instructional Materials Advisory Panel (IMAP) and the Content Review Panel (CRP). These are large committees. Over one hundred individuals, mostly classroom teachers, serve on IMAP (California Department of Education, 2009). Individuals serving on the CRP have advanced degrees in the relevant subject area, though many more practioners than researchers serve on this panel (California Department of Education, 2009). IMAP and CRP members are trained about how to use criteria from the Curriculum Framework to evaluate publishers' materials. Then, over the course of one week, IMAP and CRP members review curriculum materials submitted by the publishers and develop a report to the Curriculum Commission regarding which materials they recommend for adoption. The Curriculum Commission then finalizes adoption recommendations while a public review process occurs and publishers have the opportunity to appeal the Curriculum Commission's recommendations. Finally, the Curriculum Commission presents recommendations to the State

Board of Education, which makes the final adoption decisions.[3] Again, many individuals have

the potential to influence adoption decisions, but textbook criteria written into the Framework -

as shaped by the Curriculum Framework and Criteria Committee, the Subject Matter Committee,

the Curriculum Commission, and the State Board - drive the process.

Numerous critiques of California's adoption process point to various problems with the

process. First, some argue that IMAP and CRP members receive inadequate training, have

inadequate time to conduct a thorough review of the lengthy materials submitted by publishers,

and receive inadequate compensation for their participation in the process (Keith, 1991; Kirst,

1984; Hill, 2007). Second, so many individuals and committees and involved in the adoption

process that work is duplicated. A report from the Legislative Analyst's Office (Hill, 2007)

recommends that the Curriculum Commission be abolished to limit this duplication of work.

Third, the textbook selection criteria are so numerous, the LAO argues, that IMAP and CRP

members cannot adequately determine publishers' compliance with all of them. They argue for

streamlined criteria, only stipulating key content to be covered. Finally, according to Kirst

(1984), the qualifications of members of the various committees involved in the adoption process

should be more carefully scrutinized, particularly for the committees involved in the

development of the Curriculum Framework.

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[3] Information for this overview was drawn heavily from a Legislative Analyst's Office report on the textbook
adoption process in California (Hill, 2007). For a helpful diagram of milestones throughout the process see page 10
of the LAO report.

Figure 1. Factors influencing the creation of English Language Development curriculum materials in California.
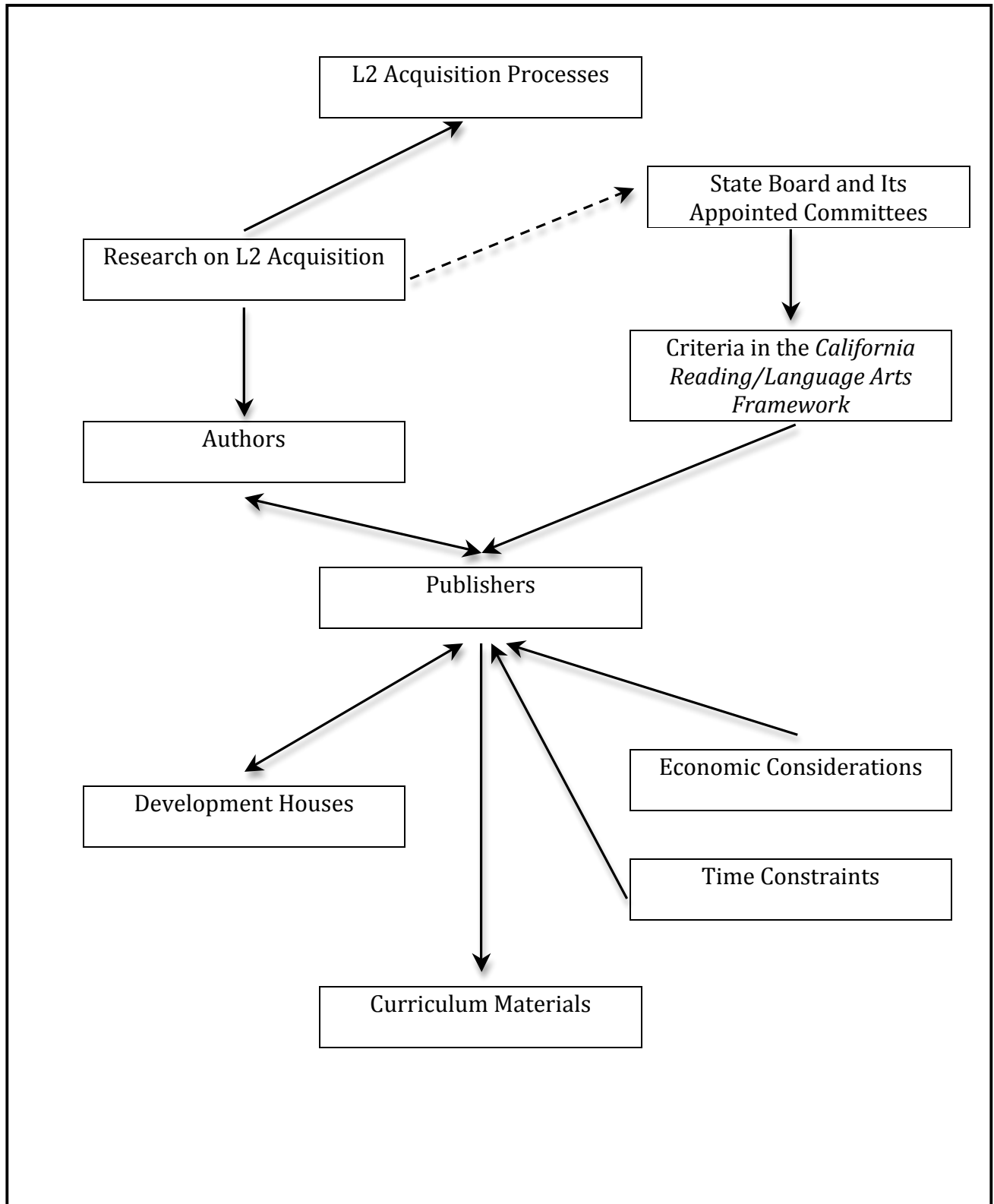
Conceptual Framework: The Place of Research in the Textbook Development Process

Based on the research literature about factors at play in textbook development processes

nationally and in California specifically, I have constructed a schematic illustrating the role of

research about second language acquisition in the creation of California's English Language

Development materials. As Figure 1 illustrates, research has the potential to influence the ELD

curriculum materials in two ways. First, textbook authors, whose background as academics

provides them with knowledge of research, can directly draw on this research knowledge in their

work with publishers. However, research, as mediated by authors, is only one of many

influences on publishers. Authors' research-based ideas may be overridden due to economic

considerations, time constraints, criteria in the Reading/Language Arts Framework that may run

counter to research, and the work of development houses charged with implementing publishers'

visions for the materials. The second mechanism by which research may influence the ELD

materials is through the State Board of Education and its appointed committees, who may or may

not draw on research when drafting the California's Reading/Language Arts Framework, as

indicated by the dashed line connected research and this group.

Methods and Data Sources

While this conceptual framework illustrates the pathways by which research *may*

influence curriculum materials, I will now turn to examining whether ideas from research did

actually influence California's English Language Development curriculum materials through

these pathways. First, I will briefly analyze the criteria for ELD curriculum materials in the state

Reading/Language Arts Framework for evidence of research-based ideas. Next, I will review

the curriculum materials themselves for evidence of research-based ideas. Finally, I will

summarize authors' perspectives on the role research played in the creation of the ELD materials.

For the analysis of curriculum materials, I examine materials from the four publishers whose textbooks for the new 60-minute English Language Development block have been adopted by the state of California. I closely review multiple aspects of the Teacher Guides, including: introductory sections describing each publishers' vision of best practices for English Language Development and overviews of each series' lesson plan structure. In addition, I analyze each publishers' description of skills that are transferable and nontransferable from students' primary language. I also examine lesson plans at a variety of grade levels in each series, including the student reading materials, student workbook pages, vocabulary, and assessments associated with each lesson. I then explore connections between the textbook components and scholarly ideas about language acquisition, unearthing assumptions underlying the curriculum materials.

Second, I report on interviews with six individuals involved in the creation of the curriculum materials to gain their perspective on how research-based ideas about language acquisition do or do not get reflected in the materials themselves. I used a semi-structured interview protocol, exploring similar topics with all interviewees but allowing space to explore particular issues that emerge (Lindlof & Taylor, 2002). I outline cross-cutting themes that emerged from these interviews following transcription and coding.

Results, Part 1: Ideas from Second Language Acquisition in California's Criteria for English

Language Development Curriculum Materials

The *Reading/Language Arts Framework* adopted by the California State Board of Education in 2007 is a 377-page document that "offers a blueprint" for how the state's language arts standards should be implemented at each grade level (California State Board of Education, 2007, p. v). In addition to elaborating on the standards, the Framework contains 55 pages outlining the criteria that the State Board will use to evaluate curriculum materials under consideration for adoption.

As the California State Board of Education (2002) states in the introduction to California's English Language Development standards, they consider ELD subordinate to English-language arts instruction (ELA):

> The English-language development (ELD) standards are designed to supplement the
> English–language arts content standards to ensure that limited-English proficient (LEP)
> students (now called English learners in California) develop proficiency in both the
> English language and the concepts and skills contained in the English–language arts
> content standards … The ELD standards are written as pathways to, or benchmarks of,
> the English language arts standards. (pp. 11-12).

The *Reading/Language Arts Framework* further clarifies, "The purpose of differentiated instruction in English is to move English learners as quickly as possible through stages of language proficiency and to enable them to achieve mastery of the English–language arts content standards" (California State Board of Education, 2007, p. 274). The fact that the State Board conceptualizes ELD as a support to ELA explains why the publishers of language arts textbooks are the ones tasked with creating ELD materials and why the Reading/Language Arts Framework

Table 1. Reading/Language Arts programs specified in the *California Reading/Language Arts Framework*.

Program	Description
Program 1	Reading/Language Arts Basic Program, K-8 • One hour of ELA instruction in K, 2.5 hours in 1st-3rd, 2 hours in 4th-6th, and 1-2 hours in 7th-8th. • This ELA instruction **includes** 30 minutes of extra support for English learners
Program 2	Reading/Language Arts-English Language Development Basic Program, K-8 • Same as Program 1 EXCEPT: o Includes 60 minutes of **additional** English Language Development instruction for English learners. This brings the total ELA/ELD block to 2 hours in K, 3.5 hours in 1st-3rd, 3 hours in 4th-6th, and 2-3 hours in 7th-8th.

Program 3	Primary Language Art-English Language Development Basic Program, K-8
	
	• Same as Program 1 EXCEPT:
	
	    o Reading/Language Arts Instruction occurs not in English but in students' primary language.
	
	    o As in Program 2, includes 60 minutes of **additional** English Language Development instruction for English learners.

Program 4	Intensive Intervention Program in Reading/Language Arts, Grades 4-8 • Provides 2.5-3 hours of stand-alone language arts instruction for students reading at least two years below grade level.
Program 5	Intensive Intervention Program for English Learners, Grades 4-8 • The same as Program 4, but targeted for English learners performing two years or more below grade level.

contains the criteria by which ELD materials will be evaluated.

For the 2008 reading/language arts adoption, the State Board described five different types of instructional programs for which publishers could submit materials. These five program types are summarized in Table 1. I focus here on the criteria and materials for Program 2, which requires one complete hour of English Language Development "instruction," connected to but distinct from the regular ELA curriculum. While Program 1 also requires materials for 30 minutes of "support" for English learners, this "support" is designed not as a separate block of instructional time but as a means by which teachers can differentiate the regular ELA curriculum to make it accessible to English learners.

With these two program options, one providing 30 minutes of ELD support integrated into the language arts block (Program 1) and one providing 60 minutes of separate ELD instruction (Program 2), albeit tied to the core language arts curriculum, the Framework dodges the question of whether ELD should be taught as a separate block.[4] As noted above, while some studies suggest that students in classrooms in which ELD is taught as a separate block make more growth in English proficiency than their peers (O'Brien, 2007; Saunders, Foorman, & Carlson, 2006; Tong et al., 2008), so far this research is limited to young children in the first two years of elementary schools and, in some cases, student outcomes may be attributable to other factors, such as the increased time spent on ELD-related activities, rather than the existence of a separate ELD block. For both Programs 1 and 2, the Framework permits activities targeted for English learners to be scattered throughout the day rather than lumped together into a block, leaving decisions about scheduling up to individual districts, schools, and teachers. In describing

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[4] Teachers could potentially use English learner materials from either Program 1 or Program 2 for a distinct ELD block, though Program 2 materials more easily lend themselves to such a block since they are more extensive and more explicitly designed as English Language Development lessons rather than as lessons supporting the core language arts series.

requirements for Program 2, the Framework states, "The one hour of daily [ELD] instruction may be presented in smaller segments or lessons. For example, programs may provide daily instruction that includes two to four lessons that total one hour per day" (California State Board of Education, 2007, p. 297).

What stance does the Framework take regarding the debate about whether instructed language learning should focus on meaning or on forms? The Framework repeatedly specifies that English Language Development instruction must be "explicit, sequential, linguistically logical, and systematic" (California State Board of Education, 2007, p. 298). This phrase is identical to the Framework's stipulations regarding language arts instruction generally.[5] Furthermore, ELD materials must provide "formal linguistic instruction, practice, and opportunities for application" (California State Board of Education, 2007, p. 298). These phrases suggest an alignment with the body of research that advocates an emphasis on grammar over meaning. The Framework seems to reject the arguments of Chomsky-inspired researchers such as Krashen who suggest that both first and second languages are learned through a pre-specified neurological program that resists explicit instruction and correction, and therefore, language classes should simply emphasize communicative interaction. Instead, the Framework seems to side with those who argue that second language learning is heavily influenced by formal instruction and correction.

Despite the lack of clarity in the second language acquisition research literature on the value of corrective feedback and contrastive analysis, the Framework firmly embraces both

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[5] In describing requirements for curriculum materials for the basic reading/language arts program (i.e. Program 1), the Framework states, "The basic program curriculum in kindergarten through grade eight provides comprehensive guidance for teachers in providing effective, efficient, explicit, sequential, linguistically logical, and systematic instruction" (California State Board of Education, 2007, p. 292).

concepts. Publishers' ELD materials must incorporate "corrective feedback during all phases of instruction, practice, and application" (California State Board of Education, 2007, p. 315). The materials must also identify "skills that are transferable from students' primary language to English and nontransferable skills" and teacher's guides must identify "language transfer issues" (California State Board of Education, 2007, p. 298). Furthermore, the materials must include:

> a linguistic, contrastive analysis chart in the teacher edition that shows and explains how new or difficult sounds and features of the English language are taught and reinforced. Comparisons with the five (or more) of the most common languages in California and African American vernacular English will be incorporated as appropriate, accentuating transferable and nontransferable skills (California State Board of Education, 2007, p. 318).

What accounts for this strong slant in the Framework towards the notion that language can be systematically, explicitly taught, even though the research literature is somewhat divided on this point? Given the fact that I had no direct access to individuals involved in the creation of the Framework itself, definitive answers are impossible to determine. However, there seems to be a clear parallel between the Framework's slant on reading instruction and its slant on English Language Development. The well-known reading wars in California, which grew most heated in the 1990s, pitted advocates of whole language instruction, who emphasized exposing children to rich literature and teaching reading through an inductive process, against advocates of explicit phonics instruction, who emphasized providing instruction in the sounds letters make and teaching reading through a deductive process. Beginning in the mid-1990s, phonics advocates began to gain the upper hand, thanks in part to the determined leadership of Marion Joseph (Lemann, 1997; Sack, 2003).   Pointing to abysmal standardized test scores that they blamed on

the state's whole language instructional practices, the phonics advocates revamped curriculum frameworks, textbook evaluation criteria, assessment policies, and teacher training to dramatically increase emphasis on phonics (Lemann, 1997; Manzo, 1998). The state legislature even passed bills enshrining the importance of phonics in state law. Assembly Bill 170, unanimously approved by both houses, declared that it was the "intent of the Legislature that fundamental skills ... including systematic, explicit phonics, spelling and basic computation be included in adopted curriculum frameworks and that these skills and related tasks increase in depth and complexity from year to year" (California State Assembly Bill 170, 1995).

Thus, in the Framework's stipulations about English Language Development curriculum materials we find echoes of the language used to describe the phonics-based reading instruction that became the norm in California. Just like phonics instruction, ELD instruction should be "direct," "systematic," and "explicit," according to the state's Curriculum Framework. In fact, all facets of reading/language arts/ELD instruction, from vocabulary to writing, should be "direct, systematic, and explicit" (for examples of this phrase's use in the Framework, see California State Board of Education, 2007, pp. 296, 305, and 306). Thus, California's conception of ELD instruction owes more to Skinner than it does to Chomsky, with learning viewed as the result of step-by-step instruction and practice rather than as an inductive process initiated via exposure to natural language. It is no wonder, then, that corrective feedback and contrastive analysis are also considered valuable instructional practices by the Framework since these practices also stem from a belief that language learning is at least influenced by a stimulus-response process.

Is there any evidence that the Framework was influenced by findings from second language acquisition research about the importance of interaction with other speakers or the

importance of meaning-centered, communicative activities in language learning? Imprints from this line of research are more difficult to find in the Framework, but they are present in some sections. For example, in an overview of strategies for developing students' academic vocabulary, the Framework stresses the importance of reading aloud to students, allowing time for "instructional discussions" in which the class grapples with interesting questions, and encouraging students independent reading and writing. In a separate section outlining guiding principles for English Language Development instruction, the Framework emphasizes the importance of meaning-based communicative activities, stating that instruction should be "designed to provide for students' experiences with English that are understandable and meaningful and enable the students to communicate with peers and adults and thereby participate fully in the academic program" (California State Board of Education, 2007, p. 273).

Farther along in this overview of guiding principles for ELD instruction, one sentence reveals the balance the State Board is trying to strike between "direct, systematic, and explicit" instruction and opportunities for students to engage in meaning-based activities. This sentence reads, "Most important, teachers plan opportunities, supported by appropriate instructional materials, for students to produce language they have acquired, use language in academic interactions with peers and adults, and monitor and correct their oral and written language" (California State Board of Education, 2007, p. 273). The first two items in this list - students' production of language that they have acquired and their use of this language in interactions with others - are cornerstones of the communication-centered language learning approach. However, the final item on the list, the notion that students should "monitor and correct" their language use fits squarely with the forms-focused language learning approach in which accuracy is stressed over fluency. In some respects, the Framework's vision for English Language Development

could be viewed as a compromise, an attempt to create a balanced approach towards ELD, analogous to the balanced approach to reading instruction that the National Research Council advocated in its seminal 1998 report *Preventing Reading Difficulties in Young Children*, which outlined a vision of reading instruction that combined an emphasis on both phonics and comprehension. However, language development is not entirely analogous to reading instruction. Unlike the research base regarding the efficacy of phonics instruction at the early grades, the research base regarding the efficacy of direct, grammar-focused second language instruction for K-12 students is simply not conclusive, in part because much of the existing research has been conducted in foreign language learning contexts at the college level, as numerous scholars point out (Saunders & Goldenberg, in press; Mitchell & Myers, 2006; Spada & Lightbrown, 2008).[6]

Ultimately, the Framework appears to emphasize the forms-based approach more than the communication-centered one, as suggested by the sheer number of times in which the words "direct," "systematic," and "explicit" appear. This emphasis of grammar over meaning runs counter to the recommendations of Ellis (2005), who, after reviewing decades of research on instructed language learning, concludes that although a focus on grammatical forms is important, "Instruction needs to ensure that learners focus predominantly on meaning" (p. 34). Again, without direct access to the individuals involved in the creation of the Framework, we can only speculate about the reasons behind their selective attention to certain elements of research on second language acquisition.

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[6] While some hypothesize that certain linguistic features, such as pronunciation and morphological features, can only be taught via explicit, direct instruction rather than communication-focused approaches (Spada & Lightbrown, 2008), more research is needed to substantiate this claim.

Results, Part 2: Ideas from Research on Second Language Acquisition in California's ELD

Curriculum Materials – An Examination of the Materials Themselves

In November 2008 the California State Board of Education formally adopted four publishers' curriculum materials for Program 2, the Reading/Language Arts-English Language Development Basic Program.[7] These materials are designed to provide an additional hour of English Language Development instruction, in addition to the core English Language Arts program. The four publishers whose materials were approved were Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, Pearson Scott Foresman, SRA McGraw Hill, and MacMillan McGraw Hill. In the remainder of the text, I to each program by an arbitrary letter (Program A, Program B, Program C, and Program D) in order to preserve a focus on overall trends in the role of research in ELD curriculum materials rather than on critiques of specific publishers' materials. To examine how ideas from research do or do not get reflected in these materials, I first review the Teacher's Guide for each series, examining introductory sections describing each publishers' vision of best practices for English Language Development and overviews of each series' lesson plan structure. I also examine the student reading materials and workbook pages. I then focus specifically on ideas about contrastive analysis, transfer, and corrective feedback reflected in each series. Given the sheer volume of materials, with teachers' guides for a single grade level running to more than 1000 pages in some cases, analyzing materials at each grade in-depth was not possible due to time constraints. Many components, such as contrastive analysis charts and descriptions of the series' approach to ELD instruction, are identical across grade levels. When materials varied, as with student textbooks and workbooks, I focused particularly on materials at the 4th grade level. As a former 4th grade teacher, my experience with curriculum materials at this grade level

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[7] In fact, the State Board approved all materials submitted for Program 2.

sharpened my ability to analyze and compare materials. Also, publishers' materials followed a predictable format within grade levels and across grade levels, as well, reducing the chance that focusing my analysis of the materials on a single grade level would generate misleading conclusions. When possible, I verified that my observations based on the 4th grade student materials held for other grade levels, as well.

Program Components and Lesson Plans

Despite the overwhelming list of materials in each series as evident in Table 2, the components of each publishers' ELD materials are actually quite similar. As with the English Language Arts materials, each ELD series centers around a student textbook and/or workbook, with a series of phonics, vocabulary, comprehension, and writing lessons built around a weekly reading selection. Each week's series of lesson follows the same basic pattern from week to week. A Teacher's Guide provides detailed lesson plans for each day, as well as extensive supporting materials, including materials related to contrastive analysis, transfer, and corrective feedback, which will be discussed in greater depth below. As required by the state Framework, each series also includes additional materials for newcomer students. Various ancillary components, such as songbooks, cards highlighting sound/spelling combinations, and CD-ROMs with technology resources, are also included.

Given the attempts to emphasize both forms-focused and communication-focused instruction in the Framework itself, different publishers' materials stress each type of instruction to varying degrees (see Table 3). Programs D and B fall at two extremes on this continuum. In describing the approach to writing instruction within its ELD materials, Program D states, "Writing instruction begins with capitalization, basic punctuation, penmanship, and using the

Table 2. Components of publishers' ELD materials.

Program A	Program B	Program C	Program D

• Teacher Guide (Grades K-6): lesson plans for 36 full weeks, minimum of one hour per day
• Practice Books (Grades K-6): practice with phonics, grammar, vocabulary
• Concept Readers (Grades K-6): "A full-color, content-focused little book for each week's lesson" (p. xxix)
• Teacher Resource Books (Grades K-6): with "Scaffolded Discussion Cards for using language functions in discussions about texts and literature" (p. xxix)
• ELD Assessment Handbook (Grades K-6)
• Transparencies (Grades 1-6)
• Word Builders (Cards and Holders)
• Sound/Spelling Cards
• Sounds of Letters CDs
• Audiotexts
• Write-on/Wipe-off Boards
• Picture Cards
• Welcome, Newcomer! Teacher Guide and Vocabulary and Concepts Posters
	• Teacher Edition (Grades K-6)
	• Skill-Based Practice Reader (main component, Grades K-6, fiction and nonfiction, also on CD)
	• Retelling Cards (Grades K-6, for each Practice Reader)
	• Content Big Book (Grade K-1, selections on science and history topics)
	• Content Reader (Grades 2-6, with two-page selections on science and history topics)
	• Pre-decodable and Decodable Readers (K)
	• Decodable Readers' Library (Grades 1-2)
	• Decodable Passages (Grades 2-6, in Practice Book)
	• Visual Vocabulary Resources (Grades K-6)
	• My New Words (Grades K-6)
	   o Picture Wordbook
	   o Activity Workbook
	• Practice Book (Grades K-6, with Annotated Teacher's Edition with vocabulary masters and activities)
	• Instructional Routine Handbook (Grades K-6)
	• Language Transfers Handbook (Grades K-6)
	• Progress Monitoring Assessment (Grades K-6)
	• Sound-Spelling WorkBoards
	• Sound-Spelling Cards
	• High-Frequency Word Cards
	• Word-Building Cards
		• Teacher Edition
		• Student Worktext (main component, a softbound workbook with a short weekly reading selection and associated activities)
		• Practice Book (separate softbound book, daily workbook page associated with lessons, including vocabulary, comprehension, and syntax/grammar/writing activities and weekly concept journal)
		• Leveled Word Cards (photos, synonyms, antonyms, definitions, related words, example sentences, etc. for vocabulary words)
		• Progress Monitoring Assessment (ELD Unit Tests)
		• Song Books
		• Big Books (K-2)
		• Posters
		• Technology Resources
		• Digital Path (online materials)
		• Transparencies
		• Newcomer Program (one book for 3rd-5th grades)
			• Teacher Edition (Grades K-6)
			• Teacher's Resource Book (K-6, assessments, pre-decodable and decodable readers)
			• Lapbooks (K)
			• ELD Activities (Grades K-1, practice activities for vocabulary, comprehension, skills and strategies, and grammar and writing, identify Key Vocabulary words, Academic words, ad Spanish cognates)
			• ELD Stories and Activities (Grades 2-6, selection tied to the core selection, vocabulary, comprehension check, grammar and writing, ~15 pages per week, also Key Vocabulary words, Academic words, and Spanish cognates)
			• EL Photo Library Cards (K-6?)
			• Also materials from core *Imagine It!* program:
			o Alphabet Letter Cards (K)
			o Alphabet Sounds Wall Cards (K)
			o Alphabet Sound Cards (K)
			o Picture Cards (K)
			o Pocket Chart Sounds Cards (K)
			o Pocket Chart Picture Cards (K)
			o Lion Puppet (K)
			o Alphabet Big Book (K)
			o White board (K)
			o Sound/Spelling Cards (1-6
			o Sound/Spelling Wall Cards (K-6)
			o Workshop Kit Uppercase and Lowercase Letter Cards (2-6)
			o Student Readers (1-6)
			o Language Arts Handbook (1-6)
			o Transparencies

Table 3. Selected characteristics of 4th grade ELD programs.

Program	Categories of Weekly ELD Lesson Plans	Pages in ELD Teacher's Guide	Word count of Week 1 reading selection	Vocabulary for Week 1 reading selection	Writing Activity for Week 1
A	• Setting the Stage • Vocabulary & Concepts • Word Recognition & Spelling • Grammar & Usage • Language Functions • Comprehension • Writing • Oral Reading Fluency	~757	911 words	vacation, relax, camping, a lot of**, most of the time**, many**, each**	Write a narrative (over several weeks).
B	• Oral Language (whole group) • Vocabulary (whole group) • Comprehension (whole group) • Phonemic Awareness/Phonics (small group) • Fluency (small group) • Grammar and Usage (small group) • Writing/Spelling (small group)	~715	1897 words in Selection 1; 348 words in Selection 2; 2245 words total	immigrant, allow, inspection, fair disease, legal, constitution, capitol, military, courts, speech, make predictions*, make inferences*, word origins*, description*, text structure*	Write separate summaries of the week's two reading selections. (Also work on personal narrative over several weeks.)
C	Lesson Components Not Broken Out by Category	~225	101 words	banjo, gourd, parlor, appreciate*, culture*, diverse, praises, **diversity, values**	Paragraph answering the question, "What experiences bring diverse people together?"
D	• Listening and Speaking • Reading • Grammar and Writing	~1201 (divided into two volumes)	764 words	escape*, fortune, dangerous*, distance, left behind, alone, afraid, hopeful, lonely, hopes, fear*, choice, forgotten, task, happiness, *necessary*, deserted, happy, traveling	Write a character description for a realistic fiction story (work on story over several weeks).

Note: Vocabulary words marked with * are considered academic language by the respective programs, words marked with ** are considered language function words, words in bold are considered challenge words, and words in italics are considered Spanish cognates.

knowledge of sounds to write words" (ELD Teacher's Guide, p. 1). This represents a clear example of a "direct, explicit, systematic" deductive approach to instruction. In Program D, each week's lesson plan begins with a day focused on instruction in sounds and spelling, with text not introduced until Day 2. For example, the first segment of Day 1 during the first week of instruction in 4th grade is designed to teach students the short *a* and short *e* sounds and spellings. Although references to the week's reading selection are made, students engage in no extended reading or writing during the first day of instruction each week. Not until Day 2 do students see or discuss concepts related to the week's reading selection, an eight-page nonfiction story entitled "Alexander Selkirk: Alone on an Island" about the Scottish explorer on whom the Robinson Crusoe stories were based. The following extended excerpt from the Teacher's Guide illustrates the tenor of the first day's lesson, which is intended for the whole class during the 60-minute ELD portion of the day:

> Say, "In this week's selection we will read many words with short vowel sounds. One of these sounds is /a/. The name of the main character in our selection begins with this sound. His name is *Alexander*." Stretch and exaggerate the name as you say it, pointing out that the second a also stands for the /a/ sound. Say the names of any students in your classroom that have the /a/ sound. Ask: "What others names do you know that have the /a/ sound?"

> Say, "Another short vowel sound is /e/. The name Alexander has this vowel sound, too." Say the name again, this time exaggerating the /e/ sound. Have student repeat your pronunciation. Then say, "The word *escape* starts with the short *e* sound. Say the word after me: *escape*. When you escape, you get away from something. For example, if you saw a tornado coming (show English Learner Photo Library Card 315), you would want to escape from it." Discuss other times when people might want to escape.

> Say, "The sounds /a/ and /e/ are close. However, you can see how I hold my mouth differently to say each sound. My mouth is open more when I say /a/ than when I say /e/." Demonstrate moving back and forth in pronouncing /a/ and /e/ and then have students join you, focusing on the mouth position for each vowel sound.

> Say, "We have seen that the name Alexander has both sounds. Another word that has both sound is *handbell*." Say the word again, stretching and exaggerating the /a/ and /e/ sounds. Have students repeat the word after you. Say, "A handbell is a small bell with a handle" (Program D, 4th Grade ELD Teacher's Guide, p. T6).

In addition to learning the short *a* and short *e* sounds and their associated spellings, the remainder of this day's ELD objectives are to learn the week's key vocabulary words and to identify and correctly write common and proper nouns. While "Listening and Speaking" exists

as a specific strand within each week's lesson plan, all of the objectives in this category relate to sounds and spellings. For Day 1 of Week 1, the Listening and Speaking objectives are "Students will: learn the sounds /a/ and /e/; identify words with/a/ and /e/; and learn to spell words with /a/ and /e/ (Program D, 4th Grade ELD Teacher's Guide, p. T4). All of the week's Listening and Speaking objectives relate to the sounds /a/ and /e/ and their associated spellings, and this construction of Listening and Speaking as defined by sounds and spellings continues throughout the program; all of the objectives for Listening and Speaking for every week of the program relate to sounds and spellings.

In contrast, in Program B's weekly lesson plans, each day starts with a meaning-focused oral language activity. For example, during Week 1, which focuses on a reading selection about an immigrant boy who moves to the United States, the first day of instruction begins with the following activity to build background knowledge and foster student interaction through oral language (words in italics are intended to be said by the teacher):

Moving To A New Place   *Moving to a new place can be exciting, but it can be scary too. It is exciting because you can see new things and meet new people who may become friends. It is scary to leave behind old friends and familiar places and go somewhere where you are a stranger.*

Think/Pair/Share   *Have you or somebody you know moved to a new place? What were some exciting or scary things about the move? Tell a partner* (Program B, 4th Grade ELD Teacher's Guide, p. 6)*.*

The Teacher's Guide then goes on to list sentence frames that students at different levels of language proficiency could use to express their thoughts.

Also, in the Program Overview at the beginning of the ELD Teacher's Guide for Program

B, when listing the reasons why this particular program should be effective with English learners, one of the four reasons given is because the program builds students' oral language. In the description of how the program builds oral language, the focus is not on the explicit teaching of sounds but on communication. "Daily opportunities are provided for Whole Group, Small Group, and partner-structured discussions," the Teacher's Guide states (Program B, 4th Grade ELD Teacher's Guide, p. iv).

Nonetheless, given the criteria stipulated in the Framework, Program B also makes frequent mention of the need for direct instruction focused on forms. In describing the series' approach to ELD instruction, the introduction to the ELD Teacher's Guide states, "The lessons provide explicit, sequential, linguistically logical, and systematic instruction in English Language Arts content" (Program B, 4th Grade Teacher's Guide, p. v). Each week's lessons also include lessons on specific sounds. However, unlike Program D, these lessons come after students have talked with each other about a question related to the week's reading selection and appear only on one day of the weekly lesson plan overview.

Meanwhile, Programs A and C fall somewhere between the strong emphasis on forms found in Program D and the relatively strong emphasis on communication in Program B. The most distinctive characteristic of Program C is the brevity of its reading selections. Like Program B, each day's lessons are split between whole class and small group activities, with detailed instructions about weekly "Practice Stations" that students rotate through during each day's small group time. Also like Program B, the topic of the weekly reading selection is what gets stressed first, with Day 1 of each week focused on building background knowledge. For example, the key question for Week 1 asks, "What brings diverse peoples together?" (Program C, 4th Grade ELD Student Worktext, p. 24). Students discuss this question before reading

several paragraphs focused on how music connects people. Furthermore, as in Program B, opportunities for students to engage in discussions with their peers are a part of each day's lesson plan. Program C calls these peer-based discussions "Daily Table Talk" and includes scaffolded sentence frames to support the responses of students at different English proficiency levels. As with both Programs B and D, the key vocabulary words for the week are also introduced on Day 1. However, the reading selections in Program C are markedly shorter than the reading selections in the other programs, running only a few paragraphs. Program C's reading selection for Week 1 in 4th grade contains only 101 words, and no reading selection in the 4th grade curriculum spans more than one page.[8] In comparison, the Unit 1, Week 1 4th grade reading selections for the other programs range from 764 to 1,897 words (see Table 3).

Phonics lessons in both Programs A and C are less frequent than in Program D, occupying part of only one day's lesson plan (compared to daily phonics lessons in Program D). In Program C, Day 2 of each week contains a whole-class phonics lesson with ideas for how to differentiate the lesson to make it accessible to students with different English proficiency levels. In Week 1, for example, the lesson focuses on the different sounds the *–ed* ending of past tense verbs makes (/d/, /ed/, and /t/) and connects to grammar lessons about past tense verbs. In this lesson, after some modeling by the teacher, students use letter tiles to change regular present tense verbs into past tense verbs. The Teacher's Guide provides a full page of explicit, scripted instructions for this lesson.

All four programs include opportunities for student writing, though there is considerable variability in the complexity of the writing tasks assigned to students, ranging from completing a

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[8] The length of Program C's reading selections remains much shorter than the reading selections of the other programs throughout the year. The selection for the last week of the year (Unit 6, Week 5) in the 4th grade student book is only 115 words long.

relatively formulaic, scaffolded summary workbook page (Program B) to creating an entire original narrative (Program A). The writing activity for Program B is directly based on the week's two reading selections, whereas the writing activities for the other three programs are not. In Program D, for example, each week students write a single paragraph in their "Weekly Concept Journal" answering the week's thematic question, which they have been discussing all week. Though this question is tied to each week's reading selection, full comprehension of the selection is not required to complete the writing activity. For example, in Week 1, students write a paragraph answering the question, "What experiences bring diverse peoples together?" The week's selection about how music brings people together provides one example, but students are free to discuss others, not mentioning music at all. Only Program A has "Writing" as a separate strand for each week's lesson plan, and each day's curriculum includes a writing activity, building to a culminating project. The other series either combine writing with grammar (Program D) or spelling (Program B) in the week's plans.

In summary, while the *California Reading/Language Arts Framework* lists exhaustive criteria stipulating the contents of ELD curriculum materials, the criteria allow enough room for interpretation that considerable variability in the publishers' materials exists. While all publishers include explicit phonics instruction, opportunities for small group discussion, and interaction with connected text in their materials, the degree of attention to these and other components of the ELD curriculum varies widely across publishers. This variation may be a result of the fact that, unlike reading instruction, we have very few studies that investigate the effectiveness of different approaches to instructed language learning with English learners in K-12 U.S. schools. The Saunders et al. (2006), O'Brien (2007), and Tong et al. (2009) studies are important exceptions, but they included only kindergarten and first grade students in their

samples and did not directly compare a carefully-designed meaning-focused English language curriculum to one focused on forms. Therefore, in the absence of clear direction from the research literature, both the Framework and the materials waffle, including materials designed to appease a variety of stakeholders.

Contrastive Analysis and Transfer

One place in which neither the Framework nor the ELD curriculum materials waffle is regarding contrastive analysis. As noted above, the state Framework required all publishers' materials to contain a contrastive analysis chart demonstrating how sounds and features of English compare and contrast with the sounds and features of five or more additional languages spoken in California, highlighting transferable and non-transferable skills. Each of the four publishers' materials approved for Program 2: Reading/Language Arts-English Language Development Basic contain the required contrastive analysis chart and comments about transfer. On the surface, these charts and comments about transfer appear quite similar, but a closer examination reveals significant differences.

Each publisher provides a chart, ranging from 9 to 17 pages long, listing sounds and grammatical features of English and specifying how these compare and contrast with the sounds and features of between six and 14 different languages. In addition, each program provides a write-up instructing teachers in how to use the contrastive analysis chart.

Some programs provide more in-depth information, as well. Program C has a four-page section in its contrastive analysis materials entitled "Introduction to Linguistics," which provides an overview of the defining features of sounds, with an overview of place of articulation, manner of articulation and voicing for consonants, as well as a schematic of the mouth illustrating vowel

height, among other topics. In addition, both Programs B and C provide a narrative overview of

key characteristics of the different languages addressed in their contrastive analysis charts. The

narrative overview of Vietnamese from Program C, for example, reads as follows:

Background
Approximately 80 million people in Vietnam speak Vietnamese. The northern dialect is the standard,
though central and southern dialects also exist. Most Vietnamese speakers in the United States are from
southern Vietnam and speak the southern dialect.

Spoken
Vietnamese is a tonal language, so each syllable is pronounced with a distinctive tone that affects meaning.
Vietnamese has a complex vowel system of 12 vowels and 26 diphthongs. Its consonants are simpler, but
Vietnamese syllable structure allows few possibilities for final consonants.

Students may need help noticing and learning to reproduce final consonant sounds in English words and
syllables. Vietnamese syllable structure allows for limited combinations of initial consonants. Students
also may need help with the more complex initial consonant clusters of English words and syllables.

Culture Clues
In traditional Vietnamese education, there is a strict division between the roles of student and teacher.
Students may be confused if asked to direct a part of their own study, so encourage group work.

Written
Since the 1600s, Vietnamese has used a Romanized alphabet. Many characters written in Vietnamese have
sounds different from their English counterparts, such as *d, x, ch, nh, kh, g, tr, r,* and *e*.

Grammar Hot Spots
-    Like English, Vietnamese uses Subject-Verb-Object (SVO) syntax, or word order.
-    Vietnamese does not use affixes; instead, syntax expresses number, case, and tense (Program C,
     4th Grade ELD Teacher's Guide, p. xxiii).

The publishers' contrastive analysis materials are striking for how much understanding of

linguistics they assume. Few teachers are likely to comprehend sentences such as, "Khmer has

approximately 24 dependent vowels and 16 independent vowels," (Program D, 4th Grade ELD

Teacher's Guide, Appendix, p. 2) or, "Cantonese has six stops, aspirated and non-aspirated /p/,

/t/, /k/; three fricatives /f/, /s/, /h/, and two affricates /ts/, /tsh/" (Program C, 4th Grade ELD

Teacher's Guide, p. xxiii). In addition, Program C organizes its contrastive analysis chart

according to the International Phonetic Alphabet, which, while more precise than the notation

used in the other programs' charts, is unlikely to be familiar to teachers. However, Programs C

and D also provide general information about commonly spoken languages that is simple to

grasp, such as, "Cantonese is one of the seven major Chinese languages, not all of which are mutually intelligible" (Program D, 4th Grade ELD Teacher's Guide, p. xxiii). Similarly, Programs C and D also give narrative descriptions highlighting special difficulties students might have, such as, "English articles and prepositions are difficult for Cantonese speakers. *In, on,* and *at,* for instance, can be translated as the same preposition in Cantonese" (Program D, 4th Grade ELD Teacher's Guide, p. xxiii), which seem readily interpretable by teachers.

How do publishers intend these charts to be used by teachers? Each provides a similar explanation of the steps teachers should follow when using contrastive analysis. Program B's instructions to teachers are typical:

1. **Highlight Transferrable Skills** If the phonics skill transfers from the student's primary language to English, state that during the lesson. In most lessons an English Learner feature will indicate which sounds do and do not transfer in specific languages.
2. **Pre-teach Non-transferrable Skills** Prior to teaching a phonics lesson, check the chart to determine if the sound and/or spelling transfers from the student's primary language into English. If it does not, preteach the sound and spelling during Small Groups time. Focus on articulation, using the backs of the small Sound-Spelling Cards, and the minimal contrast activities provided.
3. **Provide Additional Practice and Time** If the skill does NOT transfer from the student's primary language into English, the student will require more time and practice mastering the sound and spellings. Continue to review the phonics skill during Small Group time in upcoming weeks until the student has mastered it. Use the additional resources, such as the extra decodable stories in the Teacher's Resource Book, to provide oral and silent reading practice" (Program B, Language Transfer Handbook, p. 7).

Some programs offer caveats, acknowledging that the variability of transfer issues. For example, Program A reminds teachers, "It bears pointing out that if students do not demonstrate difficulty with a sound, even if the chart indicates that difficulty is possible, there is no need to emphasize it" (Program A, 4th Grade ELD Teacher's Guide, p xviii).

Contrastive Analysis Charts: Phonology. The most striking differences in publishers' contrastive analysis materials lie in the assertions they make about which sounds do and do not transfer across languages (See Table 4). For example, according to Program A, C, and D's

Table 4. Characteristics of linguistic contrastive analysis materials: phonology.

	Program A	Program B		Program C[9]	Program D
Number of pages	9 pages	16 pages		16 pages	17 pages
Number of comparison languages	6 languages	6 languages		7 languages	14 languages
Sounds flagged as non-transferable or potentially problematic for Spanish speakers	Initial Consonants: /v/ /th/ voiced /sh/ /j/ /y/ /h/ /r/ /s/ /z/ /p/, /t/, /k/ Medial Consonants: /zh/ /r/ Final Consonants: /v/ /j/ /m/ /ng/ Vowels: short i long a short e short a short o schwa short u short oo	Sound Transfer Consonants: /j/ /z/ Digraphs: /sh/ /hw/ *r*-Controlled Vowels: /âr/ /îr/ Variant Vowels: short oo schwa Transfer is listed as *approximate* Consonants: /r/ /th/ voiceless /th/ voiced Short Vowels: short a short i short o short u *r*-Controlled Vowels: /är/ /ôr/ /ûr/ Variant Vowels: /ô/ /ôl/	Sound-Symbol Match Consonants: /h/ /j/ /kw/ /z/ Digraphs: /sh/ /hw/ /th/ voiceless /th/ voiced Short Vowels: /a/ /i/ /o/ /u/ Long Vowels: long a long e long i long o long u /yü/ *r*-Controlled Vowels: /ûr/ /âr/ /îr/ Variant Vowels: /ou/ /ô/ /ôl/ long oo short oo schwa	No equivalent Consonants: v (/v/) θ (/th/ voiceless) z (/z/) ɹ (/r/) ∫ (/sh/) ʒ (/zh/) ʤ (/j/) Vowels: ɪ (short i) ɛ (short e) æ (short a) ʊ (short oo) ɔ (/ä/) ə (schwa) ʌ (short u) ɝ (/ûr/) Differences in sound or symbol used Consonants: p (/p/) b (/b/) w (/w/) ð (/th/ voiced) ɾ (quick tongue tap as in bu**tt**er) j (/y/) k (/k/) h (/h/) Vowels: i (long e) e (long a) u (long oo) ɑ (short o) ɑʊ (/ow/) ɑɪ (long i)	short a /b/ short e schwa /g/ /h/ short i /j/ /k/ short o /ô/ short oo /p/ /r/ /sh/ initial /s/ plus stop /t/ /th/ voiceless /th/ voiced short u /v/ /w/ /y/ /z/ /zh/ final /ch/ final/f/ final /sh/ final /th/ voiced final /d/

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[9] Program C uses the IPA to represent the sounds of English. To allow comparison across programs, I have included in parentheses the symbol used by the other programs to indicate the same sound.

contrastive analysis chart, the short *e* sound as in *bet* does not transfer from Spanish. Programs

A and C provide the additional information that when native Spanish-speakers see the letter *e* in

a word, they may read it using the long *a* sound from English, rendering *pet* as *pate*, for example.

However, Program B says the short *e* sound does exist in Spanish and is represented with the

letter *e*. These differences in judgment across programs occur in other cases, as well. For

example, Programs A and D note that Spanish speakers may have difficulty with the /p/ sound.

As Programs C and D note, because this sound is less aspirated in Spanish than in English, when

Spanish speakers form this sound, it may seem closer to /b/. However, Program B notes no issue

with the /p/ sound. On the other hand, Programs B, C, and D all indicate that the voiced /th/

sound as in *though* may present problems for native Spanish speakers, while Program A suggests

the sound will present "little difficulty" for this group of students.

One clear difference between the program's phonological contrastive analysis charts is

that the contrastive analysis charts for Program B are organized in a fundamentally different

way. Program B's contrastive analysis charts for sounds are split in two. One chart, entitled

"Sound Transfers" seems to indicate whether a particular English-language sound occurs in other

languages. The second chart, entitled "Sound-Symbol Match" seems to indicate whether the

same symbol is used to denote a particular sound in English and in other languages. All boxes

for Cantonese, Hmong, and Korean are blank on this "Sound Symbol Match" chart since these

languages do not use the Roman alphabet and therefore represent no sounds with the same

symbols that English uses. Taking these two charts together, we see that, according to the

authors of Program B, while the long *oo* sound as in *pool* does exist in the Spanish language, it is

not represented with the same symbols as in English, and this difference in the symbols used to

represent the long *oo* sound in the two languages may cause confusion for students. (In other

words, the "Sound Transfer Chart" indicates no issue for the long *oo* sound but the Sound-Symbol Match chart does.) The other programs, however, collapse these two ideas – whether a particular sound exists in another language and whether the same symbols are used to represent that sound – into one chart. Thus, the phonological contrastive analysis chart for Program A simply indicates that native Spanish speakers will likely experience "little difficulty" with the long *oo* sound.

One other difference between the program's phonological contrastive analysis charts is the degree of precision for which they seem to be aiming. In other words, how close does the /t/ sound in one language have to be to the /t/ sound in another language for adequate transfer to occur? Programs A, C, and D seem to be aiming for considerably more precision, as reflected by the number of comments they make regarding possible difficulties Spanish-speaking students may have with consonant sounds in English. Program A notes 15 consonants Spanish speakers may have difficulty with in English, Program D notes 20, and Program C notes seven English consonants with no Spanish equivalent and eight additional English consonants which use different symbols or have slightly different sounds than their Spanish counterparts.[10] In contrast, Program B notes only eight English consonants that might be problematic for Spanish speakers in any way (counting both consonants that do not appear in Spanish and consonants that are encoded by different symbols in Spanish). Programs A, C, and D also provide specific information about the type of problem or substitution Spanish speakers are likely to make for particular consonants. For example, both Programs A and D indicate that the /s/ sound may be difficult for Spanish speakers when it appears at the beginning of a word, with students adding

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[10] Program A separates out transfer issues by initial, medial, and final consonants. If a consonant appeared in more than one category (for example, the /v/ sound appeared on both the initial and final consonant lists), it was counted only once.

an /e/ sound before the /s/, producing *estudent* for *student* in some cases. Program B, on the

other hand, indicates no transfer issues for the /s/ sound. Perhaps the greater degree of precision

with sounds we see in Programs A and D is related to their greater emphasis on phonics overall.

Recall that the first lesson for each week of the Program B curriculum begins with an extended

demonstration of how particular sounds in English are formed, whereas the first lesson for each

week of the Program A curriculum begins with a discussion among students related to the topic

of the week's reading selection. Perhaps the precision with which sounds are taught in the

curriculum as a whole reflects the degree of precision considered relevant for contrastive

analysis purposes.[11]

Contrastive Analysis Charts: Grammar. In addition to specifying which sounds do and do

not transfer from particular primary languages, publishers' contrastive analysis materials also

specify grammatical features of these primary languages that differ from grammatical features of

English and therefore might cause difficulty for students learning English. Again, despite

surface similarities among publishers' grammatical contrastive analysis materials, these materials

vary in the number, type, and specificity of the grammatical features they highlight. Program C

is again distinct, in this case because it does not provide a separate grammatical contrastive

analysis chart at all, but rather contains bulleted lists of "Grammar Hot Spots" within narrative

descriptions of different primary languages. These "Grammar Hot Spots" highlight two ways in

which grammatical features of each primary languages contrast with English. The "Grammar

_____

[11] Interestingly, while the number of English consonant sounds seen as presenting possible transfer issues for
Spanish speakers as well as the emphasis on phonics throughout the weekly lesson plans would suggest that
Program D would discuss sounds with considerable precision, some aspects of its contrastive analysis chart appear
somewhat problematic from a phonological perspective. For example, the contrastive analysis chart for Program D
suggests that Spanish speakers may have difficulty with the /g/ sound and indicates that students may pronounce
ring as *rink*. However, the final sound in *ring* is not /g/ but /ng/ (or, in IPA terms, not [g] but [ŋ]).

Hot Spots" listed for Spanish are:

- Double negatives are part of standard grammar in Spanish. Stress the single negative construction in English.

- English prepositions are a common stumbling point for Spanish speakers (Program C, 4th Grade ELD Teacher's Guide, p xxii).

At the other extreme, Program D specifies 23 separate grammatical features of Spanish that differ from English and which, according to the authors of Program D, may cause difficulty for Spanish speakers learning English. (See Table 5.) For example, Program D lists five different ways in which articles are used differently in Spanish than in English, noting, for instance, that no indefinite article is necessary when describing an individual's occupation in Spanish (i.e. *Ella es maestra* – literally translated as *She is teacher* – is a well-formed sentence in Spanish), a grammatical difference not noted in any other program's contrastive analysis materials.

In no case is a specific grammatical feature highlighted as potentially problematic for native Spanish speakers by all four programs. Grammatical features mentioned in the contrastive analysis materials of three out of the four programs include: differences in negation; differences in the formation of the possessive; differences in whether sentences require the verb *have* or *be*; differences in the placement of adjectives; and differences in the formation of comparative adjectives. Meanwhile, numerous grammatical features are mentioned in the contrastive analysis materials of only one program, most often by Program D. For instance, Program D is the only program that mentions particular features of word order in Spanish that differ from word order in English, including the fact that word order is somewhat more flexible in Spanish, with emphasis changing when word order changes, and the fact that the verb can precede or go after the subject. Nowhere in the ELD materials is there evidence that publishers considered research from

Table 5: Characteristics of linguistic contrastive analysis materials: grammar.

	Program A	Program B	Program C	Program D
Differences in grammar flagged as potentially problematic for Spanish speakers	Frames differences by listing characteristics of Spanish that differ from English. Nouns * Possessives are either inferred or not formed in the same way. * The word order for possessives is different. * Count and noncount nouns are different. Pronouns * Subject pronouns may be dropped. * "Topic-comment" structure is allowed, with pronoun followed by subject. Verbs * "Speakers of the primary language have difficulty recognizing that merely a vowel shift in the middle of the verb, rather than a change in the ending of the verb, is sufficient to produce a change of tense in irregular verbs." * Helping verbs are not used in negative statements in the primary language. * The past continuous form can be used in contexts in which English uses the expression *used to* or the simple past. * Transitive and intransitive verbs vary.	Frames differences by describing problems that might arise in English because of differences between English and Spanish. Articles * Overuses articles Nouns * Confuses countable and uncountable nouns * Uses prepositions to describe possessives Pronouns * Omits subject pronouns * Omits the pronoun *one* Verbs * Omits helping verbs in negative statements * Uses the past-continuous tense for recurring action in the past * Confuses transitive and intransitive verbs * Confuses related phrasal verbs * Uses *have* instead of *be* Adjectives * Places adjectives after nouns * Avoids *-er* and *-est* endings * Confuses *-ing* and *-ed* forms	Does not contain a separate chart listing ways in which the grammar of different primary languages contrasts with English grammar. Instead embeds two "Grammar Hot Spots" within narrative descriptions of each primary language. The two "Grammar Hot Spots" for Spanish point out differences in: * Negation * Prepositions	Frames differences by listing characteristics of Spanish that differ from English. Articles * No indefinite article with profession or occupation * Definite article can be omitted * Definite article can be used with a profession * Definite article with days, months, places, idioms * Definite article used for generalization Nouns * Differences in when *-es* is added. * Possessive nouns are formed with an *of* phrase Pronouns * No gender difference for third person singular pronouns * No distinction between subject and object form of pronouns (eg. *I gave the books to she*) * Can omit the pronoun *it* as subject (but not the verb *to be*) * Definite articles used for parts of the body in place of pronouns Verbs * Different verbs (other than *to be*) are used with certain adjectives and prepositional phrases

* Phrasal verbs do not exist in the primary language. * Some Spanish constructions use *have* where English uses *be*. Adjectives * Adjectives commonly come after nouns in the primary language. * Comparative and superlative are usually formed with separate words in the primary language, the equivalent of *more* and *most* in English. * Confusion of *-ing* and *-ed* (*interesting* vs. *interested*) Prepositions * English prepositions do not match the prepositions of the primary language precisely. Sentence structure * The phrase with the indirect object can come before the direct object in Spanish. * Spanish requires double negatives in many sentence structures. Questions * In the primary language, there is no exact counterpart to the *do/did* verb in questions			* *That* clause used rather than infinitive * Present tense can be used in place of future and present perfect tenses * *Have* is used to express states of being (such as age or hunger) Adjectives * Can reflect number and gender * Follow the nouns they modify (though position can vary and affect meaning) * Comparative adjectives do not change form Word order * Word order can change and emphasis changes * Verb can precede or go after the subject * Subject pronoun can be omitted when subject is understood Negatives * Double negatives are used for reinforcement * Negative marker goes before verb phrase

linguistics about whether certain aspects of the primary language (i.e. functional morphology vs. argument structure as discussed in Montul (2000)) are more likely to affect acquisition of the second language.

Occasionally programs describe grammatical differences between Spanish and English in different ways. For example, both Programs A and B point out that negative statements in Spanish do not include auxiliary verbs. Program C points to a related feature, stating that the negative marker goes before the verb phrase in Spanish. From a syntactic perspective, the statement made by Programs A and B and the statement made by Program D are both true. Spanish does not use auxiliary verbs to mark negation, and the negative marker does come before the verb phrase in Spanish. In fact, native Spanish speakers learning English must learn how the auxiliary verbs *do/does/did* function in English negation and where the negative marker *not* appears. Mastering just the use of auxiliary verbs or just the placement of the negative marker will not enable English learners to create well-formed negative sentences in English. However, whether contrastive analysis and corrective feedback help English learners create well-formed negative sentences in English is unclear, for the reasons outlined earlier.

As with the contrastive analysis materials related to phonology, the contrastive analysis materials related to grammar seem to vary in their specificity and precision. As Table 3 indicates, Program D, which highlights the greatest number of English grammatical features that might pose difficulties for native Spanish speakers, is the only program in which grammar is combined with writing in weekly lesson plans. The other programs teach "Grammar & Usage" as a distinct component of ELD and then either teach writing separately (Program A) or combine writing instruction with spelling (Program B). Perhaps in Program D's conceptualization of ELD instruction, grammatical precision is central to written expression. As we see in the

introduction to Program D's Teacher's Guide, building accuracy seems to be considered a precursor to focusing on expression and fluency in writing. The Teacher's Guide states:

> Writing instruction begins with capitalization, basic punctuation, penmanship, and using the knowledge of sounds to write words. … The English Language Development program provides instructional and practice opportunities for students to develop the fundamental skills in sentence structure, grammar and spelling. These skills then are folded into the writing instruction so that students can apply these skills in their own writing (4th Grade ELD Teacher's Guide, p. 1).

Thus, a greater emphasis on explicit instruction in phonics and grammatical forms seems associated with a greater degree of specificity in program's phonological and grammatical contrastive analysis materials.

Contrastive Analysis, Transfer Issues, and Corrective Feedback within Lesson Plans. In addition to the contrastive analysis charts that come with each publisher's ELD materials, each series also integrates comments about contrastive analysis, transfer, and corrective feedback into its lesson plans, with varying frequency. Programs B and D contain the greatest number of notes to teachers regarding contrastive analysis and transfer issues.

For Program B, the majority of these notes simply tell teachers to consult the *Language Transfers Handbook*, which contains Program B's contrastive analysis charts. On Days 1, 2, 3, and 4 of each week's lesson plans, a textbox labeled "Language Transfers: Sound Transfers" is included as a sidebar. Typically this textbox reads, "Refer to the sound transfers chart in the Language Transfers Handbook to identify sounds that do not transfer in Spanish, Cantonese, Vietnamese, Hmong, Korean, and Khmer" (Program D, 4th Grade ELD Teacher's Guide, p. 8).

Occasionally, there is slightly more information. For example, in Unit 1, Week 2, Day 1 for a lesson involving the long *a* sound, there is an additional sentence added: "In some languages, including Cantonese, Vietnamese, and Hmong, the transfer for the long *a* sound is only approximate" (Program D, 4th Grade ELD Teacher's Guide, p. 30). How teachers might use this information is left implicit, discussed briefly in the overview of the contrastive analysis materials but not in the lesson plan itself.

Program D's notes to teachers regarding contrastive analysis issues are more specific. Lesson plans include "Transferring Language" textboxes on the side, relating information about different transfer issues students may have. For example, during the first day of Week 1, Unit 1's Listening and Speaking lesson, students are practicing the /a/ and /e/ sounds. The "Transferring Language" sidebar says, "In Spanish the letter *a* is pronounced /aw/, as in *casa*. You will want to model the /a/ sound in a variety of simple decodable words such as *cat* and *man*" (p. T6). For the same day's lesson in the Connecting Sounds and Spellings section, when students are reading and spelling words, a "Transferring Language" sidebar says, "The silent *e* rule is not present in many languages. In some cases, final *e* is pronounced as a long *a*. Expect students to transfer this rule to English at times. When this happens, review the silent *e* rule for English" (Program D, 4th Grade ELD Teacher's Guide, p. T7). "Transferring Language" sidebars occur six times during each week's lesson, primarily on the first two days of the week, which focus more heavily on sounds. These sidebars sometimes repeat. (Unit 3, Lesson 4, for example, has the same sidebar about the silent *e* rule.) One of the six "Transferring Language" sidebars each week always focuses on cognates, pointing out vocabulary words introduced on Day 1 that are cognates in Spanish.

The ELD Teacher's Guides for each program also include notes to teachers with

suggestions about corrective feedback they could provide to students, as required by the

California Reading/Language Arts Framework. For Program B, on Days 1, 2, 3, and 4 of each

week's lesson plans, a textbox labeled "Corrective Feedback" appears as a sidebar. These

textboxes offer more specific instructions to teachers than the "Language Transfer" textboxes do,

but the advice they offer is not tied to particular languages and often does not seem to be in the

spirit of corrective feedback as it is discussed in the second language acquisition literature. One

such textbox reads:

Corrective Feedback: Short Vowel Sounds

One Syllable Words:

- Model how to spell each short vowel sound.

- Model how to blend all sounds in a word.

- Have students repeat.

Multisyllabic Words:

- Model how to segment words syllable by syllable.

- Model how to blend the word parts.

- Have students repeat (Program B, 4th Grade ELD Teacher's Guide, p. 8).

Later in the week, the textbox reads:

Corrective Feedback: Write a Summary

- Help students identify the main ideas from the selection.

- Help students identify important details from the selection.

- Have students reference the main ideas and details as they write their summaries

   (Program B, 4th Grade ELD Teacher's Guide, p. 16).

Program C includes similar general pointers that it labels "corrective feedback." For example,

for a lesson in which students use letter tiles to form past tense verbs by adding the –*ed*, a textbox states, "Corrective Feedback: Caution students to only use regular verbs. If students choose irregular verbs, explain that the verb is irregular. This means it does not follow the –*ed* rule. Help students think of regular verbs to replace any irregular verbs they try to use" (Program C, 4th Grade ELD Teacher's Guide, p. 25a). In Program A, a textbox labeled "Corrective Feedback" appears next to a writing lesson on Day 4 of each week's lesson plans and reads simply, "Use the Writing Conference Forms in the *ELD Assessment Handbook* to provide students with constructive feedback (p. 247)" (Program A, 4th Grade ELD Teacher's Guide).

In all four of these cases, what publishers have labeled "corrective feedback" seems to simply represent ideas for how to help students if they experience difficulties. However, in the second language acquisition literature, the term corrective feedback has a very different, very precise meaning. In this context, corrective feedback means information offered to an interlocutor following an erroneous utterance. As noted earlier, linguists have analyzed the effects of different types of corrective feedback on speakers' future utterances. In addition to explicit correction, in which a competent speaker overtly points out a learner's error, types of corrective feedback include: recasts, in which the more competent speaker repeats back the erroneous utterance but with the errors repaired; clarification requests, in which the competent speaker asks the learner to provide additional, clarifying information; elicitation, in which the competent speaker leaves strategic blanks for learners to fill in missing words; and metalinguistic feedback, in which the competent speaker provides comments to the learner about linguistic forms – without providing explicit corrections (Lyster, 1998; Lyster & Ranta, 1997). While recasts typically represent the most common type of corrective feedback offered to language

learners (Lyster, 1998; Chouinard & Clark, 2003), linguists continue to disagree about whether learners attend to recasts and incorporate information conveyed by recasts into their stored linguistic knowledge (compare Pinker, 1989 to Chouinard & Clark, 2003, for example). However, all linguists would agree that telling students to identify the main idea in a reading selection before writing a summary does not represent corrective feedback. Corrective feedback occurs in response to an error, specifically, to an error in a spoken utterance. Offering general guidance to students about a writing task or modeling segmentation and blending of words, while perhaps useful, is not corrective feedback as the term is generally understood by linguists.

Interestingly, elsewhere in their Teacher's Guides, different ELD programs offer other advice to teachers regarding corrective feedback. Program D, which seems to generally have a more explicit approach to instructed language learning focused on forms, nonetheless lists the following as the first in a series of "General Principles of English-Language Instruction":

> Correcting student's English: Focus on the students' meaning rather than on "perfect" speech. Rather than overtly correcting a student's error, recasting and modeling the correct English is helpful. For example, if a student asks, "Did you went to the office?" the student has effectively communicated the meaning of the question. The teacher might respond to the student by saying, "Did I go to the office? Yes, I did." The teacher does not emphasize or point out the error but simply restates the question correctly an answers it. The teacher should also make note of recurring errors to provide further formal instruction (Program D, 4th Grade ELD Teacher's Guide, p. 3).

As noted previously, there is division within the field of second language acquisition as to whether and under what circumstances recasts such as those advocated here are effective. However, linguists would at least recognize what is being discussed here as one version of corrective feedback.

Problems with the language transfer components of California's ELD curriculum materials have been noted by others. After reviewing the various ELD series as observers of the

state adoption process, Californians Together, a group that advocates on behalf of the needs of English learners, also remarked on inaccuracies in the language transfer and contrastive analysis materials. In a letter to the State Board of Education, Californians Together urged, "The linguistic descriptions given to teachers of English Learners need to be correct. Recommendation: The linguistic descriptions given to teachers of English Learners should be checked by a Curriculum Review Panel (CRP) with expertise in linguistics" (Californians Together, 2008).[12]

Results, Part 3: Ideas from Research on Second Language Acquisition in California's ELD Curriculum Materials – Interviews with the Authors

Having seen which ideas about second language acquisition were incorporated into the *California Reading/Language Arts Framework* and having seen how the curriculum materials themselves do and do not reflect ideas from second language acquisition, we now turn to interviews with the authors of the materials themselves. What role did research on second language acquisition play as the authors tried to craft the ELD materials? What other factors guided the curriculum development process? How much influence did authors have over the final form of the materials? And what concerns do authors have about how the materials will be implemented?

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[12] In making this recommendation, Californians Together cite the following example from one publisher's materials: "PRONOUNCING /e/ [i.e. the short *e* sound, represented in the IPA as [ɛ]] … Spanish speakers may want to pronounce *e* as a long *a* sound." Californians Together then claims, "The /e/ sound transfers across languages (eg. hen and *gente*) so this linguistic advice is incorrect." The publishers of California's ELD materials are divided about whether the short *e* sound ([ɛ] in IPA terms) exists in Spanish – with Programs A, C, and D suggesting Spanish speakers may have trouble with this sound and Program B indicating it presents no problem for Spanish speakers. The degree to which the [ɛ] sound is present in a particular Spanish speaker's phonological system will vary according to an array of factors, including dialect.

After obtaining a list of authors for each of the four programs, I contacted as many individuals as possible, often with an introduction from a professor who was acquainted with a particular author. Ultimately, I conducted semi-structured telephone interviews with six authors with expertise in reading and/or language development who had worked on the different series. I interviewed authors from each of the four programs, audiotaping our conversations. To insure that authors felt able to speak freely about their experiences, they were guaranteed anonymity.

Authors mentioned numerous factors that influenced the shape that the curriculum materials took, of which research was only one. As five of the six authors explained, ultimately, the publishers are engaged in an economic enterprise, and so they need to make decisions that will maximize their chances of selling books.   Thus, while authors and their knowledge of research can influence the materials to some degree, they do not have carte blanche to create the ideal curriculum they would want. Publishers are "a commercial endeavor," one author reiterated. "They want to sell their books. And so as authors, we've been put in the position of trying to influence the theoretical understanding and articulate the research base, but at the same time, up against considerable restraints because our influence is limited."

According to the authors, the key to insuring that publishers' books sell is to make certain that the materials meet the state's adoption criteria as precisely as possible. Thus, the Framework plays a key role in determining the form the curriculum materials take. "The Framework guides like a, a hawk what the publishers do because they're going to have to match that Framework and show it, see if this addresses this," one author explained. The Framework's influence on the curriculum development process has negative consequences on the quality of the curriculum materials in the eyes of some authors. Publishers adopt a "checklist mentality," one author explained, making certain that whatever subskills a particular state's adoption criteria

call for are included in their materials, with the adoption criteria of large states driving the

process. "It's an issue of coverage versus depth, and it's sure coverage," this author added. The

publishers "want something in there that can get checked off by every checklist in the country.

So if you don't have cause-effect highlighted so that you can see somewhere supposedly they've

been taught cause and effect, then you're in trouble." So publishers, in the words of another

author, try hard "to make sure that the thing [meets] the standards to a T." A third author

explained, "We wanted to make sure that it was very obvious when reviewers looked through the

materials that it did reflect the Framework."

In addition to satisfying what a fourth author referred to as the "bean counters" in the

state education bureaucracies who make decisions about textbook adoptions, publishers also

have to satisfy the demands of the teachers who actually use their materials. One author gave an

extended description of the compromises publishers sometimes make to satisfy consumer

demand:

> [The publishers], as much as I, want these materials to be developed in a way that will
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> enhance achievement for all kids, and we're talking specifically about English learners.
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> But then you get out and do these marketing kind of focus groups, and teachers will say,
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> "Well, we don't want that." And across the board, they'll say, "We don't want that" –
>
> whatever that is. We wanted to introduce an oral language component because obviously
>
> we know from the research that it's extremely important to develop these kids' oral
>
> language. "I don't have time for that. I don't have time for that." So that's, they have to
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> really sometimes compromise what they would want and what we all know is optimal
>
> materials because, frankly, they're not gonna sell. The teachers are gonna go with
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> somebody else that doesn't have that oral language component because it seems easier,

that other program seems easier to implement than one that is much, you know, more

sophisticated in that way. So that is one issue, I think, that we all have to grapple with.

And sometimes as researchers we are pretty emphatic about some things we want in a

program, but then it gets pilot tested out there, and the schools, just across the board, say,

"We don't like that." Or they want more of something else that you know they're never

gonna use, for example, I don't know, they want some bells and whistles like with

technology. I mean, we know and there are studies to even show it, a lot of that stuff just

sits on the shelf. A lot of teachers don't have the time to learn or the expertise to know

how to use the technology effectively, but it's sure a nice selling point.

This author contrasted the research-based practices that publishers and authors might advocate

with teachers' own "folk theories about what works and what doesn't." Three authors mentioned

pilot testing and focus groups as a key component of the curriculum development process and a

mechanism by which consumer (i.e. teacher) opinion influenced the shape of the materials.

In addition, time constraints also limited the degree to which research about second

language acquisition influenced the ELD materials. According to one author, by the time

California issued its new criteria for ELD materials, her publisher had already finished

prototyping the core language arts materials and even begun marketing them. Thus, the new

ELD criteria sent the publisher into turmoil, scrambling to cobble together the ELD curriculum

materials in only two months, with no time to seek input and feedback from authors. Secondly,

since all authors have other full-time jobs, they have limited time to spend working on the

curriculum materials directly. Thus, their own restricted availability limits the extent to which

they can serve as a mechanism by which ideas for second language acquisition research can

influence the ELD materials.

On a related note, three authors also raised questions about the role of development houses in the curriculum development process. Given editors' and authors' limited availability, development houses function as subcontractors, handling much of the nitty gritty work of writing the daily lesson plans, based on prototypes designed by the authors and editors. In the opinion of these three authors, the development houses often did not have staff members with expertise in language development, so they had difficulty following the prototypes for the materials. As one author stated when describing the challenges that come with relying on development houses, "[The publishers] would give it to some Joe Schmo firm, you know, 'Here are the prototypes. Create it.' And if those people didn't have writers with expertise, you got a mess. … You need people who really know what they're doing prototyping and then writing this stuff. Because the devil's in the details."

Also, simple cost and weight limitations also influenced the curriculum development process. According to one author, because developing a new textbook series is so expensive, publishers begin by thinking, "What can we use that we already have?" Furthermore, although authors and publishers might wish to include more extensive explanation of activities and more nuanced instructions to teachers, size and weight limitations restrict the possibilities. As another author explained, the publishers mediate battles over "real estate," the physical space on the series' pages. "There's only a certain amount … that they can allow," this author stated. "Otherwise, you know, these manuals, you need a wheelbarrow."

With these marketing, time, cost, and weight constraints, combined with the restrictions imposed by the state Framework and the sometimes limited expertise of the development houses, what space was left for authors' own understanding of second language acquisition research to influence the ELD curriculum materials? To varying degrees, all the authors agreed that their

knowledge of research played some role in shaping the materials. Most authors felt that their input was the primary mechanism by which ideas from second language acquisition research influenced the curriculum development process. As one author stated, "I would sit there and say, 'You need to read this.' Or, you know, 'This is really research-based.' Basically, [research] gets translated if the authors bring it to the attention of the people who are producing these things." Another author found that the writing team's knowledge of research on second language acquisition and English learners did undergird decisions about the materials. "I have to say honestly, there was never a time that either I personally was just kind of going, 'Well, my hunch is' this or that. We really did look to the research and what we know and base our decisions on what we know," this author explained.

Several authors agreed that the Framework was extremely specific about some aspects of the curriculum and less specific about others, leaving authors more able to influence the materials in these other areas. "What I'm essentially saying," one author explained while discussing the general English language arts materials, "is that the vocabulary and comprehension portions of the Framework left more room for interpretation than the phonics piece." These authors could point to central tenets from their own research or research-based ideas that they advocated for that were incorporated into the materials in these areas of the curriculum where greater flexibility was permissible. For example, one author described how she and a co-author strongly advocated for extensive opportunities for student interaction within the ELD program, since they felt the research clearly supported this:

> That's something that both [my co-author] and I had an influence on, making sure that there were lots of opportunity to interact. Again, that oral language component. I can remember a discussion at one of the meetings when we had, I guess they're vocabulary

cards or something, but the teacher actually, they talk about the picture. But the way that it was when we first reviewed it, I said, "You know, I could see a teacher just still dominating, even though the whole purpose of this activity is to have a quote-unquote discussion. You know, we really need to work these questions in such a way as it's going to prompt more elaborated participation by the students." So I think that whole oral language [component] shows up in many, many different aspects of the ELD program and the core program.

One author found her influence over the materials to be more limited. Rather than serving as a key contributor, this author felt that, although she provided research-based advice to the publisher, few of her ideas were incorporated into the curriculum materials. In her opinion, publishers seek out authors who are trusted by teachers and whose names lend credibility to the publishers' materials, but the authors' true influence over the materials, in her experience, seemed severely restricted. This author felt that the Framework did reflect key ideas from second language acquisition research, but she felt that the curriculum materials themselves did not always translate the stipulations from the Framework in a suitable way. Nonetheless, she empathized with the constraints under which her publisher was operating and the difficulty of creating materials that met the dizzying array of adoption criteria.

In at least three cases, authors acknowledged that gaps in the literature on second language acquisition and English learners in U.S. schools limited their ability to rely on research when creating the ELD curriculum materials. One author explained:

> The research sort of answers these questions, but it really doesn't tell you that much about what to do, not the research in this area, which I have thoroughly reviewed. It gives you some ideas like it's important to build background, it's important to

differentiate instruction, it's important to focus on the different components, blah blah

blah. … I think, "Look, these second language learners aren't gonna understand this

unless you do X or Y," but there's no research I read that tells me that. Generally it does

tell you things like, you know, it's important to build the kids' background knowledge,

but that's different than saying, "Look at this picture. You better start with that."

Also, another author felt that the research provided little to no guidance on the best ways to

group students during ELD instruction:

Empirically we just don't have answers to … all those kinds of grouping questions,

which actually I get asked a lot in schools because it's amazing and frightening, the kinds

of [groupings] districts and schools come up with are frightening. My gosh, you know,

some [ELs] are just completely segregated for a good part of the day. … So we really

need some guidance, and that's where I would say my frustration would come in, in that

we had to kind of, like I say, almost like [use] our best educated guess as to how much

small group versus [whole class], and the configuration of the small groups.

Two authors mentioned instances in which they felt stymied by the curriculum

development process because of existing state and federal policies, which in these author's

opinions, forced them to ignore the best evidence from research. Both of these authors cited

Proposition 227, which severely restricted bilingual education in California, and No Child Left

Behind, which, in California's implementation, requires all English learners to participate in the

state's standardized testing program in English, as obstacles to high-quality curriculum

development for ELs. As one author explained, the anti-bilingual sentiment in California leads

policy makers to minimize the importance of developing students' primary languages and instead

focus on developing English as quickly as possible:

The whole premise – and this is the problem, the premise is that Spanish is just a tool for

learning English, or that Spanish reading is no different than English reading, without

recognizing the linguistic structures of the languages that drive reading instructional

methods. And that's going to be a battle for a long time. And it's not a battle that the

publishers are in a position to fight because they have to meet the criteria handed to them

by the Curriculum Commission. They have to design their programs according to the

models that they're given. And so they can't be engaged in trying to change policy or

change the perception of the policymakers.

The second author concurred, describing the mess she feels has been created by not providing

primary language instruction to students, despite the research support for such instruction.[13] In

this author's opinion, since the vast majority of English learners in California do not receive

primary language instruction, it is then up to the publishers and authors to create elaborate

scaffolding for English Language Development and especially English language arts materials so

that they will be accessible to ELs, but this is a very tall order.

In turning to the contrastively analysis, transfer, and corrective feedback components of

the ELD materials that I highlighted previously, no authors I interviewed seemed to have played

a key role in creating these materials, which perhaps explains why the term corrective feedback

is used very differently in the publishers' materials than it is in the linguistics literature. When

asked about her involvement in the contrastive analysis materials, one author replied:

I was asked, and oh my gosh, it was so long ago, I can't even remember this stuff, but I

remember sending them a few different sort of charts that showed the language transfers,

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[13] The State Board did approve three publishers' Spanish language arts textbooks for adoption in 2008. However, since Proposition 227 passed in 1998, the percent of English learners receiving primary language instruction has dropped dramatically, down from 29.1% prior to the law's passage to 5.6% in 2006-07 (Wentworth, Pellegrin, Thompson, & Hakuta, in press).

information about transfer, but that was really kind of the extent of it. The people who work on the team are all bilingual, so I think that they, from their own education and their own personal experience, they're all native speakers of other languages. So I think that that probably went into it.

This author had questions about the usefulness of the contrastive analysis and transfer materials to teachers and suggested that materials which gave teachers ideas about how to highlight cognates with students might be more helpful. Another author reported having given her publisher ideas about where information about features that transfer could be located, but she still questioned the accuracy of some the materials the publisher created. "There were instances where I don't think they were getting it right. But I thought that it was good to do," this author stated.

Interestingly, of the six authors I interviewed, all four of those who had significant involvement in the publishers' English Language Development materials had significant reservations about the existence of a one-hour ELD block.[14] One author worried that after spending 2 ½ hours in language arts instruction and one hour in ELD, English learners would have very little time left, particularly for science and social studies instruction. If given free reign over curriculum design, this author said, "I would spend a whole lot less time teaching these kids English, and a whole lot more time teaching them science and social studies, using those content areas to scaffold instruction to develop their language skills."

Two other authors worried that, given the ways in which many districts and schools were choosing to implement ELD, English learners would be segregated from other students for a longer chunk of the school day. As one author recounted:

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[14] Two of the authors I interviewed worked primarily on the publishers' core English language arts materials rather than on the English Language Development materials.

Now we go from a good idea that should be integrated into thematic instruction that

teachers should be trained, prepared to do it within their classrooms, to mandating a pull-

out model. And when I've talked to policymakers, the rationale is, well, if we don't

specify it and structure it this way, it doesn't get done. And I can understand that point of

view because it's true that teachers who are told to differentiate but not given the tools to

do it, they just won't do it. And so it doesn't occur, it doesn't happen, and the students

lose out. But on the other hand, we don't need more rigidity in terms of policies because

there are schools and programs that are – for example, dual immersion programs, they

know how to do this [i.e. build students' language skills in the course of content area

instruction].

Multiple authors expressed deep concern that the core language arts materials, which

form the basis of 2 ½ hours of the school day, were not more accessible to English learners

(though several felt they had succeeded in pushing publishers to make the core materials more

accessible to ELs). As one author stated, "You've created this ELD program that's trying to

reinforce what's going on in the main program, so starting there you've got problems because if

the main program were adequate, you wouldn't need that." Yet, as another author stressed,

simply having a high-quality language arts program is not sufficient either. "When we start

saying that the ELA framework and all the ELA standards are sufficient to encompass all of our

learners, I get very nervous about that because it minimizes the whole second language

acquisition process," this author explained. "There are specific needs, and the National Literacy

Panel report was clear on this. There are specific needs of these learners, and you know it from

learning another language. You cannot be taught as if you're a native speaker."

During the language arts/ELD textbook adoption process, a coalition of advocates for English learners worked with state legislators to draft a bill, which would have added another option to the reading/language arts materials in California: a core language arts series specifically targeted to meet the needs of English learners. This bill, SB 1769, initially passed both houses of the legislature but was vetoed by Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger after two former governors, Gray Davis and George Deukmejian weighed in, expressing concerns that the new option would create a two-tier system in which English learners would be held to lower standards than other students (Rosenhall, 2006). While this effort to create a modified core language arts curriculum for English learners failed in the short-term, it did have some lasting impacts, in the opinion of one author who was involved in the process. "We think that we made visible a lot of issues in the curriculum that then brought about changes in the curriculum framework," this author asserted – although she had strong reservations about the feasibility and consequences of a one-hour ELD block.

<div align="center">Conclusion</div>

Researchers have used the term loose coupling (Weick, 1976) to describe aspects of schools and other organizations that contain features such as decentralization, delegation of discretion, absence of feedback loops, and the ability of multiple means to produce the same ends. As with many aspects of the educational system, textbooks seem only loosely coupled with student learning.[15] In part, the loose coupling between textbooks and student learning

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[15] Recent political developments in California highlight the loose coupling between textbooks and student learning. In an effort to balance the state budget in a time of severe revenue shortfalls, the Legislature froze the textbook adoption and purchasing requirements for California public schools until 2013 (Gutierrez, 2009). State school administrators, not wanting to spend their dwindling dollars replacing books only seven years old, fought hard for this freeze on textbook adoptions (Gutierrez, 2009). However, if textbooks and student learning were more directly

results from the fact that students' experiences with textbooks are typically mediated by teachers, who can present the material contained in the textbooks in a wide variety of ways – including not presenting the material contained in the textbooks at all.[16]

Basic facts about school organizational structures loosen the coupling between California's English Language Development curriculum materials and student learning even further. Schools group students by age range, with the underlying assumption that students of similar ages have similar developmental needs and therefore are ready to learn similar material at a similar pace. However, English learners' proficiency in English is not tied to their age. An fifth grade classroom might include students who just immigrated to the U.S. within the past month, as well as students who were born in the U.S. but still do not test as fluent in English. These students obviously have vastly different needs, yet publishers must create one set of the English Language Development textbooks for fifth graders. These textbooks must develop the English listening, speaking, reading, and writing skills of all ELs at all proficiency levels, while also supporting students in reaching the same grade-level language arts standards – an extremely tall order.

This task is made even more difficult by the fact that, despite the numerous ancillary components such as song charts and CD-ROMs, ELD textbooks are largely static, linear collections of reading selections with related activities. While the *California Reading/Language Arts Framework* (California State Department of Education, 2007) exhorts publishers to differentiate these readings and related activities for students of different English proficiency

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linked, if improvements to textbooks clearly led to improvements in student learning, one might imagine that the Legislature would have retained funding for new textbooks in the revised state budget.

[16] In some cases, administrators have attempted to tighten the coupling between textbooks and student learning by exercising greater oversight over teachers' use of textbooks, creating curriculum pacing guides indicating which textbook pages teachers should cover during particular weeks and carrying out frequent observations of classrooms to insure that teachers are using the textbooks as intended (cf. Corn, 2005).

levels, ultimately, each week's lesson revolves around only one reading selection, the same selection for all students at that grade level. The reason for this seems quite simple. As one author pointed out, textbook "real estate" – the amount of space on a page devoted to a particular topic – is extremely valuable. There is simply not enough "real estate" to include multiple reading selections for students of different proficiency levels, without, in the words of this author, needing "a wheelbarrow" to cart around the textbook materials. While digital textbooks, with the capability to deliver a more personalized, dynamic learning experience, become more of a reality each day (Lewin, 2009), neither policy makers nor teachers seem ready to abandon traditional print textbooks in language arts and English Language Development at the elementary grades.

Not only are textbooks and student learning loosely coupled, but textbooks and research on second language acquisition are loosely coupled, as well. As indicated in Figure 1 (see page 22), research enters into the textbook development process in one of two ways: as policy makers develop textbook criteria or, more typically, as authors work with publishers to develop textbook content. Yet, as noted earlier, authors' research-based ideas may be overridden due to economic considerations, time constraints, textbook adoption criteria that may run counter to research, and the work of development houses charged with implementing publishers' visions for the materials. Furthermore, as reviews of the literature related to English Language Development in K-12 U.S. schools (Goldenberg, 2008; Saunders & Goldenberg, in press) and instructed language learning in general (Ellis, 2005; Keck, et al. 2006; Lyster, 2007; Norris & Ortega, 2000; Russell & Spada, 2006) make clear, current research simply does not provide clear answers to numerous questions crucial to instructional practice. What is the ideal balance between communicative activities focused on meaning and grammar-based activities focused on forms? Does corrective

feedback facilitate acquisition? If so, what types of corrective feedback work best for which learners? What is the role of students' primary languages when acquiring a second language? While research suggests answers, the lack of a clear consensus within academia limits the ability of research to drive textbook development.

Meanwhile, the materials related to contrastive analysis, transfer, and corrective feedback that publishers' materials do include seem unlikely to be used by teachers at all. Furthermore, the enterprise of noting how languages compare and contrast with one another is extremely complicated and is not easily reduced to charts and checkboxes. Such charts and checkboxes inevitably must minimize variation among speakers and only highlight general trends. For example, while it is true that adjectives in Spanish typically follow the nouns they modify, as Program A asserts, this is not always the case. (For instance, *el animal raro* (the animal rare) and *el raro animal* (the rare animal) are both acceptable phrases in Spanish, with the first referring to an animal that is strange and that second to an animal that is uncommon.) Fillmore and Snow (2000) lamented teachers' lack of knowledge about linguistics in their widely cited piece "What Teachers Need to Know about Language." In some regards, including linguistic information about students' primary languages represents an effort to increase teachers' linguistic knowledge base. However, without a strong linguistics background, teachers may misinterpret these materials.   If teachers reify these materials as representing the definitive truth about their students' languages, a disservice has been done to both students and teachers.

Finally, authors and advocates alike have expressed serious misgivings about the length of time devoted to English Language Development, on top of the multiple hours of English Language Arts students must sit through each day. As Saunders & Goldenberg (in press) point out, emerging research seems to indicate that teaching ELD during a distinct block of time each

day is associated with greater increases in students learning. However, methodological weaknesses and/or restricted generalizability limit the robustness of this finding. Furthermore, despite the State Board's decision to provide schools and districts with the option of structuring a one-hour ELD block (up from 30 minutes previously), we have no clear research finding about what constitutes the ideal length of an English Language Development class at various grade levels. Research also does not provide guidance about how learners should be grouped for ELD. Thus, while authors and committee members involved in drafting the Framework drew on research while shaping textbook content, they may have drawn on different, contradictory research, given the lack of consensus among academics on key issues. We see examples of this in the different degree of emphasis publishers' ELD materials place on phonics- and grammar-based lessons compared to meaning-focused communicative interactions.

More research on instructional practices, curriculum materials, and grouping strategies for English Language Development instruction in K-12 schools is clearly needed. However, the loose coupling of research and textbooks combined with the loose coupling of textbooks and student learning suggests that innovation and collaboration will be necessary if new ideas from research are to make a difference not just in the curriculum materials teachers use but in the learning of students.

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