What Meaning-Making Means Among Us: The Intercomprehending of Emergent Bilinguals in Small-Group Text Discussions

MAREN AUKERMAN
Werklund School of Education, University of Calgary

LORIEN CHAMBERS SCHULDT
Fort Lewis College

LIAM AIELLO
Stanford Graduate School of Education

PAOLO C. MARTIN
Stanford Graduate School of Education

In this study, the authors examine how emergent bilingual second graders collaboratively constructed textual understandings, a phenomenon they call intercomprehending, *by building on each other's contributions and positioning their ideas in relation to peer ideas. The study traces the interrelationships of the utterances of emergent bilingual students discussing text in English for the first time in the context of a small-group discussion focused on English-language picture books. The textual ideas students shared were highly contingent on peer ideas and at the same time drew substantially on the text itself, particularly the illustrations. The authors argue that intercomprehending may serve as a fruitful way for emergent bilingual students to build on what they know as they read and learn in school and that classroom teachers may do well to build on that resource.*

Keywords: comprehension, discussion groups, group discussion, emergent bilinguals, dialogic pedagogy, English language learners

The number of students who speak a language at home other than English continues to grow, with more than 4.5 million students in US public schools

classified as English language learners in the 2013–2014 school year (Kena et al., 2016). Many prevailing narratives about these students focus on what they are presumed to lack, describing them as "semilingual" (Cummins, 1979) or "Limited English Proficient" (Calderón, Hertz-Lazarowitz, & Slavin, 1998) or "low in oracy skills in both English and Spanish" (Vaughn et al., 2006, p. 154). Research indicates that many teachers, even those who believe strongly in bilingual education, also adopt such deficit views to the practical detriment of their students (Escamilla, 2001; Aukerman, 2007). At the same time, some teachers and researchers have pushed for a frame shift (e.g., García & Kleifgen, 2010; Gutierrez, Baquedano-López, Alvarez, & Chiu, 1999; Valdés, 2003), arguing that more attention should be paid to what students *are* doing as they navigate multiple languages, and to the mental flexibility and resourcefulness of *emergent bilinguals* (EBs) (e.g., García, Kleifgen, & Falchi, 2008).

Some frame shifting has begun to take place, particularly in the realm of oral language. Instead of aiming to make EBs indistinguishable from monolingual English speakers in their language use (Cook, 2002), many researchers are recognizing EBs for their capacity for *translanguaging* (Garcia, 2009)—that is, their ability to draw on language resources that may cross linguistic borders and to express themselves through such practices as use of the home language and intermingling languages. This growing focus on translanguaging began as a theoretical, pluralistic approach to bilinguals' language practices that pushed back against language ideologies operating from a monolingual norm. It seeks to normalize the fluid linguistic practices of bilingual communities, rejecting traditional hierarchies of standard or pure language forms, and it simultaneously serves as a transformative pedagogy that leverages the linguistic resources of bilingual speakers (García, 2011).

Some scholars (e.g., García, Makar, Starcevi, & Terry, 2011) have identified a particularly important dimension of translanguaging: students' ability to use peers as resources to help them communicate their ideas and "make sense of their worlds" (García & Leiva, 2014, p. 200). Translanguaging as a social practice (e.g., Creese & Blackledge, 2010; García, 2009) has started to affect language policies in schools—from calling attention to children's language use in classroom learning (e.g., Velasco & García, 2014) to being considered in school and district policies around language use and instruction (e.g., Creese & Blackledge, 2010; García & Sylvan, 2011). However, while children's oral sharing of their ideas in ways that draw on varied linguistic repertoires is slowly becoming more acknowledged as a collaborative social practice, scholars of second-language acquisition have generally not examined the implications of this insight for the particular ways in which EB readers comprehend and interpret text, their *textual meaning making*.

While it has been documented that textual meaning making is a complex process in which readers build on what they know and what their interests are to make sense of the words and images they encounter (e.g., Aukerman, 2007; Kress, 1997; Rumelhart, 1980; Sipe & Brightman, 2009), there has been scant

attention paid to the process of constructing and examining emerging ideas about texts as a collaborative social practice among EBs. Indeed, other than a handful of exceptions (e.g., Kwon & Schallert, 2016; Pacheco & Miller, 2016), scholars discussing translanguaging have skirted the overall topic of reading comprehension (a Proquest search for co-occurrence of the two terms revealingly returned zero results).

With neither reading researchers nor researchers of bilingualism documenting EB children's reading work as a joint endeavor, we wondered if EBs might be constructing textual meanings while discussing text in collaborative ways that are currently underrecognized. Although we believe that collaborative meaning-making work might well characterize the practices of monolingual children who are given opportunities to actively discuss their textual understandings, we chose to investigate the possibility of such phenomena specifically among EB children, because they are often viewed as less capable of comprehending and discussing text (e.g., Drucker, 2003; Kamps et al., 2007). Perhaps consequently, they are also more likely than their monolingual counterparts to be in settings where teachers follow scripted curricula heavy in teacher-directed, skills-based instruction with little opportunity to dialogue about text with one another (e.g., Arreaga-Mayer & Perdomo-Rivera, 1996; Pandya, 2011) in order to remediate perceived deficits (Escamilla, 2001; Neufeld & Fitzgerald, 2001). If shared textual meaning making does take place extensively among EBs, then recognizing and capitalizing on it could enable educators to treat them as the competent, thoughtful textual meaning makers we believe them to be, rather than as struggling readers, often described as being unable to comprehend.

Our study examines dialogue during text discussion in order to uncover the extent to which there is a textual meaning-making analogue to translanguaging as a social practice for young EB readers. Rather than looking at how students' utterances move between and across languages, we study what EB children do as collaborative meaning makers in social contexts where they read and discuss text in a second (or additional) language (L2). When multiple children are making sense of such text together, to what extent does their verbal participation indicate the construction and examination of emerging textual ideas as a collaborative social practice? Our descriptive, naturalistic study examines transcripts of teacher-facilitated discussions with second-grade EBs to document how students' ideas about texts emerged during literature discussions about picture books. We asked the following research questions:

- How did EBs talk about the text? To what extent and how were their text-related utterances related to other students' ideas?
- How did EBs explicitly draw on the text to explain and support their ideas?

We found that, far from simply accepting or rejecting each other's ideas in formulating their own, students collaboratively constructed textual understandings by building on each other's contributions and positioning their ideas

in relation to their peers'. Moreover, we found that student talk, while deeply contingent on peer ideas, was also frequently grounded in explicit references to the text, suggesting that both peers and text played substantive interanimating roles in the emerging understandings children voiced during discussions.

Meaning Making: From an Individualistic View to a Social Practice View

"Even the profoundest thinkers never questioned the assumption; they never entertained the notion that what children can do with the assistance of others might in some sense be more indicative of their mental development than what they can do alone" (Vygotsky, 1978, p. 85). Vygotsky wrote this in the early part of the twentieth century, yet the individualistic view of learning he critiqued arguably remains an implicit assumption in many education circles nearly a century later, particularly in the domain of reading instruction. Specifically, the act of making meaning of text is treated as an individual, in-the-head phenomenon, something that exists between text and reader. To illustrate this emphasis, we describe how this individualistic view of meaning making appears in three different domains: theories of meaning making, assessment of meaning making, and consideration of meaning making during classroom text discussion. In each domain we also discuss the dangers and limitations of such a view, particularly for EBs.

Beyond Individualistic Theories of Meaning Making

A number of seminal theoretical works on meaning making emphasize the individual reader, paying only limited attention to anything beyond the reader and the text. This is true of many traditional cognitive models of reading, such as schema theory (Rumelhart, 1980), which posits individuals as constructing meaning out of available schemata, or the existing knowledge of a reader that structures and constrains the possibilities for how a text can be understood. It is equally true of many reader response models of reading, such as Rosenblatt's (1978) vision of the reading of literature as an aesthetic, personal transaction between the reader and the text. Given that these L1 (first language) reading theories emphasize the individual, it is perhaps not surprising that education researchers who theorize about L2 reading (e.g., Bernhardt, 1991) typically also rely on an individualistic view of comprehension. While they may focus on how L1 and L2 reading is similar or different, they rely on the basic assumption that what matters during meaning making is what the reader does with the text *on their own.*

While there has been increased attention to sociocultural dimensions of meaning making over the past few decades, this work generally has not attempted to specifically theorize the process of L2 reading. And it mainly considers meaning making around historical and social conventions to which individual readers may or may not become socialized, such as whether and how

readers recognize parody (e.g., Freebody, Luke, & Gilbert, 1991; Smagorinsky, 2001). The salience of such conventions offers a valuable insight, but one that does not illuminate moment-to-moment meaning making as an emergent, contingent practice that may be built by multiple readers dialoguing during class discussion about text. When the immediate local context of the reading does receive attention, that attention tends to be directed at the nature of the task set for reading, typically by the teacher (e.g., RAND Reading Study Group, 2002), rather than examining peer interlocutors as co-constructors of contingent and emergent meaning.

Of course, readers can and do think about texts on their own when they are reading independently.[1] But, in the context of text discussion, the very work children do as they construct meaning from text happens in dialogue, as part of a social practice in which peers bring up textual ideas that can be potentially accepted, rejected, and/or further developed by another reader. Children's meaning-making processes can be understood as socially mediated by the intellectual work they encounter during dialogue with others about text. Given the growing understanding of languaging (Makoni & Pennycook, 2007) in classrooms as collaborative (e.g., García, 2009), it is time to move toward a theory of children's reading, particularly for EBs, that takes the social aspects of their textual meaning making seriously and seeks to understand how such meaning making occurs.

Beyond an Individualistic Assessment of Meaning Making

Reading comprehension assessment tends to operate in alignment with the prevailing individualistic theories of meaning making. The goal of such assessment is typically to determine how good children's on-their-own comprehension is, often assigning levels to a student's meaning-making skills (e.g., Glasswell & Ford, 2011). The focus is on the product, the meanings *made*, rather than the process, the meaning *making*.

Comprehension assessments are often problematic when applied to EBs, given that assessment text passages may be culturally unfamiliar and that EB students may have a difficult time fully expressing their mental representations of text in the newer language (Dzaldov & Peterson, 2005; Escamilla, 2009). Still, much of the reading research focused on EBs relies on such assessments, thus contributing to a predominant narrative of EBs as struggling readers in need of direct instruction to develop reading skills in English (Escamilla, 2001). Similar narratives have seeped into classroom assessment practices, where teachers routinely use comprehension assessments to assign a level to students. Students who do not score well may be assigned less challenging texts than they are capable of reading, a particular issue for EBs, who are more likely to be in contexts with scripted curricula and rigid leveling practices that shape opportunities for literacy learning (Dzaldov & Peterson, 2005; Glasswell & Ford, 2011; Gutierrez, Baquedano-López, & Asato, 2000; Kontovourki, 2012; Pandya, 2011).

Individual assessed comprehension measures might serve a few valid, if limited, purposes as one kind of glimpse into what students can do with text. Even so, one would do well to recognize that such measures fall well short of Vygotsky's (1978) imperative that we observe what children are able to do *with* others rather than alone when seeking to understand their current abilities. If students' processes of discussing texts figure in central ways into their meaning-making work, then they may be able to enjoy and make sense of texts that would look to be too hard when seen through the lens of an individualized view of meaning making. And they may do so in ways that never appear during individual assessment.

Given that EB students are particularly likely to be misjudged in terms of their reading due to their developing language skills (Escamilla, 2001), identifying how they read in groups where they can build on other people's ideas may be particularly important. While we acknowledge that it may never be practical to devise a standardized assessment measure that looks at how children engage in meaning making together, there may be considerable diagnostic value in using observation of groups as a way of understanding how EB students engage in meaning making in a fuller sense. Other than a few scholars (e.g., Almasi, O'Flahavan, & Arya, 2001; Zhang, Niu, Munawar, & Anderson, 2016) who have begun to look at how upper elementary students in discussion groups (in both monolingual and bilingual contexts) differ in the ways in which they, for example, reference text, critically evaluate text, and pose questions, there has been little research to date in this area.

Beyond Individualistic Views of Meaning Making During EB Classroom Text Discussions

Comprehension assessments, then, tend to instantiate individualistic theories of meaning making as a process; in turn, the use of such assessments figures strongly in how meaning making related to classroom text discussions has been examined empirically. Most studies of EB children during text discussions have focused on whether students got the "right" idea during the discussion and/or their individualized assessed comprehension performance (Iddings, Risko, & Rampulla, 2009; Kong & Fitch, 2002; Kong & Pearson, 2003; Zhang, Anderson, & Nguyen-Jahiel, 2013). One of the only empirical examinations of collaborative meaning-making *processes* among EBs is Van Den Branden's (2000) study of how EB children had different assessed comprehension outcomes depending on whether they were able to talk over meaning with others. However, again, the primary focus was not on *how* students engaged with each other's ideas but, rather, on *whether* doing so could favorably affect independently assessed comprehension, which it did. So, while discussion is increasingly recognized as facilitative of individual assessed comprehension, the actual nature of the meaning making during text discussions remains underexplored, making it difficult to know how and to what extent the process of meaning making during such discussions is collaborative in nature.

Toward a Social Practice View of Children's Reading:
Intercomprehending

We argue that the research community needs to both theorize and examine meaning making in ways that treat it as a social practice, as something that individuals do collaboratively across time and with each other. Encouragingly, children's classroom talk in general has become more recognized as a pedagogically valuable social practice among some education researchers. For example, Dyson (1993) has studied the talk of young children who are learning to write, highlighting how they build and perform written texts in conversation with one another and rely on social purposes for their writing of text.

We find particular promise in Mercer's (2000) concept of interthinking, which he defines as "joint, coordinated intellectual activity which people regularly accomplish using language" (p. 16). The process of interthinking during dialogue, he argues, is both collaborative and cumulative—features we see as central to a social practice perspective on textual meaning making. However, the emerging body of work on interthinking does not specifically examine it from the perspective of textual meaning making. We located only one researcher who has specifically applied the concept to children's discussions of texts. Pantaleo (2007) identified, importantly, that there *can* be interthinking among first-grade children during L1 read-alouds, but that study was not designed to document the extent to which interthinking characterizes such text talk or how the children draw on the text as well as peer ideas to make meaning. Furthermore, scholars have yet to understand how the process of interthinking applies to EBs, given that prior empirical work has largely been conducted with L1 learners.

Indeed, even when we broadened our search beyond those studies explicitly using the interthinking terminology, we found only a handful of studies of L2 reading that extensively documented and analyzed students' talk with each other during collaborative textual meaning-making work. One was a study conducted by Jiménez et al. (2015) on middle school readers working together to translate English text into their native Spanish. But that study primarily analyzed the lexical, syntactic, and semantic knowledge the students used rather than studying how they drew on that knowledge collaboratively and cumulatively. In other words, the social practice aspect of the children's translation work was the backdrop rather than the target of their analysis. Conversely, in a study with younger EBs, Kim (2016) focused deeply on the social dimensions of talk, documenting how preschoolers tended to voice agreement during book read-alouds in ways that aligned with their currently salient friendships. The study focused, however, on the social alliances being formed while texts are discussed rather than ways in which students constructed textual ideas collaboratively. More recently, a study by Zhang et al. (2016) explored the differences between more and less proficient English discussion groups in bilingual and mainstream classrooms and the extent to which teacher talk and students'

home language backgrounds appeared to influence these differences. While analysis of the groups' discourse was central to the study, its focus was on comparing groups rather than exploring their joint construction of meaning.

Our goal is to more precisely conceptualize textual meaning making as a social practice by focusing on a way of interthinking that is specific to the work of constructing meaning from text. We call it *intercomprehending* and define it as the emergent, responsive work that readers undertake to make sense of a text while engaged in dialogue that builds and builds on a collaborative *ideational repertoire*, a range of textual ideas generated before, during, and after reading in order to construct and ponder the text's meaning(s). Just as the idea of linguistic repertoires—or regular ways of using language within a community (e.g., Fishman, 1972; Gumperz, 1964; Martinez, 2016)—has helped focus attention on how groups of people share resources for speaking and writing, the idea of ideational repertoires may help focus attention on how groups of people share resources for the making of meaning.

In practice, students express ideas mostly through linguistic means. Thus, we postulate that a text discussion among EBs may simultaneously involve both a shared ideational repertoire, as students draw on and respond to the ideas voiced by other students to construct and examine their own ideas, and a shared linguistic repertoire, as students build from each other's lexical, syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic knowledge to express ideas. For example, constructing and examining ideas might mean grappling with peer thinking, elaborating on or transforming peer ideas, or examining textual evidence to respond to or anticipate a peer's point. When students share their work with textual ideas aloud, they rely on their shared linguistic repertoire to do so during the languaging and translanguaging that takes place in text discussions. Intercomprehending does not necessarily need to be expressed aloud in order to be taking place; children are, after all, making sense of the text and of peer ideas whether or not they talk during a discussion. However, because it is only possible to document the dimensions of intercomprehending that are verbally expressed, we focus our analysis on these dimensions.

What, then, might intercomprehending during text discussion sound like? We would expect students' meaning making to be collaborative—not in the sense of everyone contributing to a single agreed-on meaning but as a tightly interconnected play of ideas that could just as easily involve vehement disagreement (cf. Aukerman & Chambers Schuldt, 2016a). We would also expect students' meaning making to draw on the text itself, both the words and the visual images (Sipe, 1998). Finally, we would expect students' meaning making to be emergent and cumulative, in the sense that students' unfolding textual ideas tend to be contingent on ideas already raised.

Our observations of children in text discussion settings over many years led us to consider the possibility that intercomprehending might be a vital, salient phenomenon in young children's meaning making, one that has largely remained unaddressed in empirical ways, as we found in our search of

the literature. We intended our study to rigorously explore whether and how young EB children are engaging in intercomprehending as they talk about text together. To be clear, we believe that intercomprehending can be characteristic of native-language text discussions as well; however, we chose to focus on EB children because we see it has having potentially special salience for readers constructing meaning of L2 texts, since tackling texts that are linguistically and culturally less familiar may be more generative if ideas are shared rather than pondered in isolation. By tracing verbally expressed dimensions of intercomprehending, our study aims to uncover the extent to which these students rely on a shared ideational repertoire during L2 text discussions.

Method

We conducted this study as part of a yearlong examination of reading comprehension in a second-grade Spanish-English bilingual classroom in California. The school was located in a high-poverty urban neighborhood, and the students were from Latino immigrant families, most with Mexican backgrounds. The data for this study came from a series of small-group discussions conducted in English by one of the researchers with five EBs from the class. Because we were specifically interested in how bilingual students made sense of L2 text by potentially pooling their ideational, as well as linguistic, resources, we chose to conduct discussions around English-language text. According to the classroom teacher, this was the first time the students had engaged in discussions at school about English-language texts; reading instruction in the classroom was conducted in Spanish.

The small-group teacher facilitating the discussions was an experienced former teacher and researcher who had previously visited the classroom regularly for a separate research project and was familiar to the children. She sought to organize the discussions dialogically by posing authentic questions (with no prespecified answers) and by encouraging students to elaborate (Nystrand, Gamoran, & Kachur, 1997). A dialogic format for discussing books was new to the students; their regular classroom revolved around highly teacher-centered instruction (Aukerman & Chambers Schuldt, 2015). Because collaborative meaning-making work via text discussion might more likely be found in a classroom where discussion takes place regularly, we felt it was best to select a classroom where we could see whether intercomprehending would occur among students new to such a structure.

The small-group discussions took place weekly outside of the classroom and focused on picture books in order to give students access to more multimodal support for their meaning making. These sessions took place between January and June and were held approximately once a week. The small-group teacher (a European American proficient in Spanish) spoke with the students mostly in English during the discussion groups, averaging one utterance in Spanish per discussion. This choice was made to provide students with additional

English-language learning opportunities as they engaged in discussion. Although students were aware of the small-group teacher's Spanish proficiency, they generally chose to speak in English as well, making an average of only ten or eleven utterances in Spanish per discussion.

During each discussion, the small-group teacher read the text aloud to the students; at times, students joined in and read aloud with the teacher. For most stories, multiple copies of the text were available, so students could more easily refer to it. The readings paused periodically (often before a page turn) as students discussed the text, generally either after the teacher posed an open-ended question (e.g., "What do you think could be going on here?") or after students expressed ideas or asked questions about the text.

The three boys and two girls in the group represented a heterogeneous mix. They varied in their Spanish reading proficiency; two were from the highest, two from the next highest, and one from the lowest reading groups (out of four reading groups). The classroom teacher selected them because they were, in her view, the strongest English speakers in the class, having received the highest scores (ranging from 49 percent to 78 percent) on the English-language Dynamic Indicators of Basic Early Literacy Skills (DIBELS), an assessment that mostly focuses on phonics and fluency skills at that grade level (Good & Kaminski, 2002). However, like their classmates, none scored at the proficient level on an English language arts measure used by the district, and their scores on the California English Language Development Test (CELDT), a test for English learners that includes more focus on vocabulary and comprehension, also hovered at "beginning" or "early intermediate" levels in reading (levels 1–2 on a five-point scale), which was on par with the scores for the rest of their classmates. Their listening and speaking test results showed considerably more variation (levels 1–4), again representing a range similar to the one demonstrated by their class as a whole. While we see these tests as imperfect and agree with criticism of their validity (Shelton, Altwerger, & Jordan, 2009; Stokes-Guinan & Goldenberg, 2010), the score ranges provide a rough indication of the varied nature of the group and of the fact that none assessed as particularly strong in English text comprehension skills.

Data Sources

The eleven discussions of picture books ranged from 21 to 40 minutes in length (with an average length of 33 minutes). We selected four complete discussions (all students present and no interruptions due to fire alarms, shifting meeting spaces, etc.) from points across the duration of the program to represent a rich array of student meaning making. The discussions we analyzed focused on one of the following texts:

- *Appelemando's Dreams*, by Patricia Polacco (1997), is about a boy whose magical daydreams bring color and excitement to his friends.
- *Me and My Cat?*, by Satoshi Kitamura (1999), traces the adventures of a boy who switches places with his cat after a witch casts a spell.

- *The Relatives Came*, by Cynthia Rylant (2004), is about a rural family whose relatives visit one summer for an extended period of time.
- *Piggybook*, by Anthony Browne (1990), tells the story of an overworked mother who leaves her sons and husband to take care of themselves, and they literally turn into pigs in her absence.

We videotaped and audio-recorded each discussion and transcribed the audio recordings and used the videos to confirm speakers' identities where needed.

Data Analysis

To understand whether and how students' comments related to each other, we established descriptive codes to characterize all student utterances (n=1348) in terms of how they related to peer ideas and/or to peers more generally. By *utterance* we mean an instance of an individual speaker's talk that is continuous, starting when a speaker begins to say something and typically ending when someone else begins to speak. (In our transcript, an utterance usually coincided with a student or teacher taking a turn at speaking; sometimes there were overlapping utterances, when another speaker began to speak before a student had entirely finished their utterance.) We established fourteen utterance-level codes describing different moves—in this case, ways students engaged with peer ideas. Except where noted, the coding terms are ones we developed specifically for this project; while we draw indirectly on Mercer's work, his categorizations for language are broader and "not devised to be used as the basis for a coding scheme" (2004, p. 146).

We coded each student utterance for just one of these moves, if present, except in infrequent cases where the utterance could be subdivided between sentences that constituted different moves. In such a case, we assigned different codes to the different sections of the utterance. We left uncoded student utterances that did not relate to sharing, identifying with, and rejecting ideas and questions about the text; such moves generally involved students reading aloud, making a comment unrelated to the text, or uttering an unfinished comment where an applicable code could not be determined. In order to understand the aspects of text students focused on and how they did so, we conducted a second data pass and coded the same corpus of student utterances for references to the text, distinguishing between different ways of doing so (e.g., whether images or words were references, whether the text was used as evidence to bolster a claim or was hypothesized about).

Although our analysis examined individual utterances, its main focus was on how these utterances aggregated into the group-level patterns. Because this study concerned itself with the phenomenon of how individuals make sense of text *together* (rather than, for example, seeking to capture range and variation in how different individuals might be engaging in the work of collaborative meaning making), we looked across individuals to identify generalizable patterns in their linguistic moves. Pooling information enabled us to see patterns

in the group's talk in ways that would have been less possible and less reliable had we focused on each student separately, where the number of moves made was too small to make strong claims. We conducted additional analysis to check whether the students were all engaging in the moves we documented; there was only one instance when this was not the case (we report that difference below).

Each transcript was coded by at least two readers, with disagreements resolved through discussion, and we entered all codes into Dedoose (Sociocultural Research Associates, 2015) for analysis, with incomplete or inaudible moves coded as "other." When we examined the frequency distribution of all our student codes from the first and second passes, we found that there was a clear numerical gap between "higher-frequency moves" and "lower-frequency moves"; higher-frequency moves ranged from 93 to 281 instances per code, whereas lower-frequency moves occurred fewer than 30 times per code. There was one medium-frequency move (affirmations that confirmed teacher restatements of student ideas); such affirmations occurred 67 times. Our analysis focuses on the higher-frequency moves students made, though we occasionally reference some of the other moves in relationship to these.
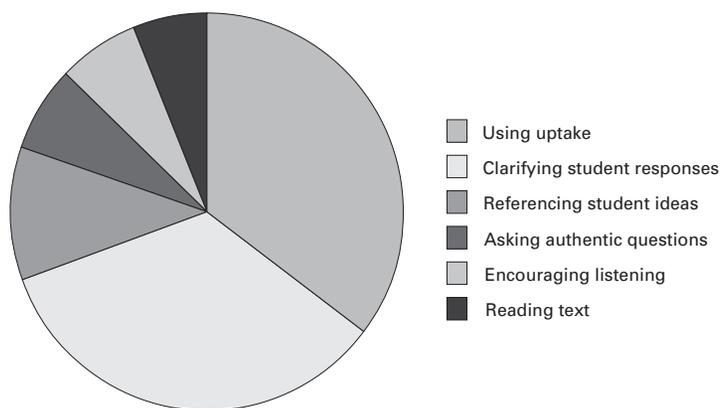
To contextualize student dialogue, we also coded each content-related teacher utterance and identified six high-frequency utterance-level moves (see figure 1). We found that the small-group teacher in this study regularly posed authentic questions (Nystrand et al., 1997) and that test questions looking for a specific answer (n=0) were not a part of her active repertoire. Most teacher utterances asked students to explain ideas they had shared; the highest-frequency move made by the teacher was *uptake*, or requesting elaboration (Collins, 1982; Nystrand et al., 1997). The only form of explicit guidance the small-group teacher regularly provided to students in terms of how to participate in discussions was frequent, explicit encouragement to listen to each other ("Reyna, listen. This is an idea you might be interested in"). She offered no guidance in terms of how to phrase comments or what kinds of ideas should be talked about. In sum, most teacher discourse involved probing, rearticulating, and referencing student ideas. Following Nystrand et al. (1997), we characterize these discussions as primarily dialogically organized.

Findings

We found that the EB students voiced textual understanding in ways that were highly contingent on previous peer utterances, signaling a high degree of intercomprehending. Specifically, we identified the following key findings related to how these EBs were intercomprehending:

- They directly engaged with peer textual ideas regularly, even without explicit instruction in how to do so, through building on, affiliating with, and challenging peer ideas.

FIGURE 1   *Teacher moves*

- Using uptake
- Clarifying student responses
- Referencing student ideas
- Asking authentic questions
- Encouraging listening
- Reading text

- This engagement went well beyond repeating things other students said. They frequently contributed unique but topically related content to the discussion.
- Even when they were elaborating on or revoicing their own previously uttered ideas, they were engaged with peer ideas.
- They regularly drew on the text, particularly the pictures, as they backed up claims and made hypotheses in response to peer ideas.

Table 1 indicates all high-frequency student moves in terms of whether and how existing ideas (from an individual student or peers) were discussed and elaborated. It reveals that students were not only regularly building on other students' moves, but also adding unique content as they did so. Affiliating with a peer idea and revoicing one's own idea were the only frequently occurring student moves that did not contribute new substance to the conversation, and these comprised only about one-third of high-frequency moves.

It is worth noting that students infrequently changed the subject. We found only twenty-eight instances (an average of seven per discussion) of new contributions, ideas not contingent on what another student had said; these did not rise to the level of being a high-frequency move. This suggests that conversations were highly coherent, with a relatively small number of topically new student ideas generating most of the succeeding talk, a finding consistent with other research on dialogic discussion (Nystrand et al., 1997).

Next we unpack how different higher-frequency moves functioned and offer examples of how these moves represent a synergy between the EBs' linguistic and ideational repertoires.

TABLE 1 *Student moves linked to peer and previously uttered ideas*

Nature of moves	Number of instances
Total moves explicitly relating to peer ideas	*422*
Build-contributes: Building on another student's utterance by contributing a related idea	188
Affiliations: Affiliating by expressing agreement with another student's idea	141
Build-alternatives: Proposing an idea that competes or conflicts with a peer's previously stated idea	93
Total moves explicitly relating to one's own, previously uttered ideas	*254*
Elaborations: Elaborating on an idea the student articulated in a previous utterance	151
Revoicing: Restating one's own idea that has previously been expressed	103

EBs Engaged with Peer Textual Ideas Regularly While Contributing Unique Content

— Building on Another Student's Utterance

Students engaged in sustained discussion of a particular topic, something Almasi et al. (2001) describe as central to effective small-group discussions. The most frequent move students made was to offer a comment that built on an idea another student had previously offered. That is, students contributed an idea substantively contingent on an idea raised by a peer previously but provided new information or a new perspective. We call these *build-contributes* to reflect the fact that a student was both contributing new information and building on a peer idea. Many times build-contributes allowed students to make use of a collaborative linguistic repertoire by extending the linguistic offering of another student, typically by borrowing and refining their language. Perhaps even more importantly, build-contributes were characterized by the ways students made use of a collaborative ideational repertoire by extending the meaning making of another student, typically by further developing an idea a peer had offered. For example, Noelia brought up a hypothesis about what was happening with the characters in *Piggybook*, and Reyna provided an explanation about why that might be happening.[2]

Noelia: They're turning to humans.
Teacher: Where?

(Noelia shows the teacher.)

Reyna: Uh-huh. They're turning into humans, look—because the mom left
them.

Linguistically, Reyna borrowed Noelia's phrasing and offered a potentially
clarifying refinement of Noelia's language, substituting "into humans" where
Noelia had originally said "to humans" before adding more language. Simul-
taneously, Reyna also borrowed conceptually, beginning with Noelia's voiced
idea but adding new information that provided a possible reason for the phe-
nomenon Noelia had described. Although Reyna began by repeating what
Noelia had said, she added substantive information.

Indeed, we found that when students built on each other's ideas, they typi-
cally went well beyond relying on the grammatical structure of the previous
student's comment to add a minor detail. When we checked how many build-
contributes would fit grammatically in the peer's previous utterance without
the use of a dependent clause containing a verb form, we found only ten
such instances. In the remaining 178 instances, students' build-contributes
added information that grammatically depended on the introduction of a new
verb ("left" in the example). In other words, students were doing considerably
more than simply adding isolated details to existing textual hypotheses. Their
comments were contingent on peer ideas, but they also extended those ideas
in new directions. We found that build-contributes were the most frequent
move for all but one of the students, and all the students used them regularly.

— Affiliating by Expressing Agreement with Another Student's Idea

Another way students frequently responded to each other's ideas was through
affiliation, or statements explicitly expressing agreement with another student.
All students routinely affiliated with others' ideas, and students demonstrated
a number of different ways to affiliate, even though none of them ever began
an utterance by saying, "I agree with . . . ," a sentence frame often suggested
as a scaffold to help students express agreement (e.g., Fisher, Rothenberg,
& Frey, 2008). Instead, students were likely to affiliate with a statement that
began with "Yeah" or by reiterating another student's point nearly word for
word. In this example, Josué cut off the teacher to express affiliation for Sam-
uel's point about the title character in *Appelemando's Dreams*:

Samuel: He's sleepwalking.

Teacher: And, I would like to hear—

Josué: Uh-huh, sleepwalking.

Josué borrowed linguistically from Samuel, appropriating the word "sleep-
walking." Even though the affiliation did not add substantive new content to
the discussion, his choice of words signaled ideational alignment with the way
Samuel was making sense of the text. There is evidence that students were

doing more than parroting a peer idea when they signaled ideational affiliation. Approximately one-third of the affiliations (n=36) occurred within the context of disagreements, suggesting that part of what students may have been doing is evaluating two different peer-posed ideas and actively selecting one of these with which to affiliate. For example, when Reyna disagreed with Samuel and Josué's idea that Appelemando was actually dreaming while asleep, Samuel reasserted it and then Josué reiterated Samuel's idea, expressing further affiliation.

> *Samuel:* Every time he's awake, he's not dreaming.
>
> *Josué:* He's awake. He's not dreaming.

After an outburst of overlapping talk, Samuel restated his idea that Appelemando was indeed dreaming while asleep, and Josué agreed. But Reyna disagreed vehemently.

> *Samuel:* He is dreaming.
>
> *Josué:* [He is dreaming.
>
> *Reyna:* He's not dreaming!][3]

When the teacher attempted to return to Noelia's original idea, Josué continued to signal his affiliation.

> *Teacher:* So let's hear Noelia's idea here, because I hear a lot of people talking about it. Noelia, what do you mean he can be dreaming if he's asleep or he's awake? (*teacher pauses*) That's so interesting.
>
> *Josué:* He's asleep.

In this example, Josué took up Noelia's original language, as restated by the teacher, to rephrase Samuel's idea. Linguistic borrowing and multiple phrasings of an idea were typical of the many affiliations that occurred in the context of disagreements.

— Proposing an Idea That Competes or Conflicts with a Peer's Previously Stated Idea

Instances when students proposed ideas that competed or conflicted with peer ideas we call *build-alternatives*. As other researchers have found in other contexts (e.g., Michaels, O'Connor, & Resnick, 2008; Sherry, 2014), we noticed that disagreement was an important way students situated their own thinking. Similar to build-contributes, build-alternatives draw on students' shared linguistic repertoires as well as their ideational repertoires, often consisting of borrowed language that contests the meaning making of another student.

Again, while we did not find a single instance of a student beginning an alternative by saying, "I disagree with . . . ," the students in this study had little difficulty expressing disagreement. Indeed, students displayed a range of

ways of expressing alternative perspectives. Sometimes they included a simple "no" to contradict the previously made point, sometimes they voiced objections that began with "but," and sometimes they simply made a point that contradicted a previous point without using special verbal markers to indicate that they were doing so. In a few instances the students even generated their own unique expressions, such as when Samuel disagreed with Reyna by stating, "Or the opposite thing. Every time he stands up like this he might be dreaming and every time he's walking, he's sleepwalking." In another instance of disagreement, Samuel put forward his alternative:

> *Teacher:* What were you going to say, Magaly?
>
> *Magaly:* The cat doesn't know that he is a cat.
>
> *Josué:* He—he's acting funny.
>
> *Teacher:* The cat doesn't know he's a cat?
>
> *Magaly:* Yes.
>
> *(short pause)*
>
> *Samuel:* (in a gentle tone) The cat does know that because he, he—he feels his body as this one and then the cat, and then the boy feels the body of the cat.

Samuel relied on Magaly's phrase "doesn't know that" and expressed it in the positive, asserting that the cat "*does* know that [he is a cat]." He then extended his meaning making and added more language, offering this notion that the cat knows he is a cat because of his ability to feel the different states of boy body and cat body. Contradicting a peer's point depended on analyzing that point as an ideational possibility for the text. Although Samuel's point directly contradicted Magaly's, the pause and exploratory nature of Samuel's response made the response appear less vehement. Such variation, in addition to varying gestures, expressions, and tones of voice, allowed students to express alternatives in gentler as well as more impassioned ways, suggesting nuance in how they positioned their ideas in contingent relation to those already expressed by others.

EBs Elaborated and Revoiced Their Own, Previously Uttered Ideas as a Means of Engaging with Peer Ideas

— Elaborating on an Idea the Student Articulated in a Previous Utterance

Students also provided *elaborations* on their own contributions. Roughly a third of these elaborations followed something a peer said, and they usually were a way for students to take back the floor when they wanted to say more about an idea they had already brought up. The rest of the time the teacher elicited the elaboration, generally by using uptake (Nystrand et al., 1997) to prompt students to expand on an idea. In the following exchange, during a conversation about *Appelemando's Dreams*, the teacher used uptake twice to draw out Reyna on a response that initially was rather cryptic.

> *Josué:* They're keeping a secret.
>
> *Reyna:* Oh! The dreams! The dreams!
>
> *Samuel:* The dreams.
>
> *Teacher:* The dreams. Tell us more, Reyna.
>
> *Reyna:* That, that—I think that the dream is the secret . . .
>
> *Teacher:* How can the dream be a secret?
>
> *Reyna:* Because they said all of them can dream. (inaudible) can have different dreams, and that's the secret.

Reyna provided two teacher-prompted elaborations on her idea. But it is important to note that while Reyna was offering elaboration on a contribution she had made, the contribution "Oh, The dreams! The dreams!" appeared contingent on the language and meaning contained in Josué's prior contribution; it was a build-contribute. Even when elaborating on her "own" idea, that initial "own" idea had already built on something a peer had said.

Even though students almost always elaborated on new contributions they made (n=26), there were relatively few new contributions. Thus, most elaborations instead followed up on a build-contribute (n=89) or a build-alternative (n=31) that the student had previously offered. And regardless of the kind of statement being elaborated on, elaborations were most likely teacher elicited, with one notable exception: when there was a disagreement on the table, typically signaled by a build-alternative, students often chose to elaborate on their own.

— Revoicing One's Own Idea

Another way students kept their own ideas on the table was through *revoicing* those ideas by either repeating or paraphrasing a previous statement. Only a handful of new contributions were revoiced (n=6); as with elaborations, revoicings were often related to build-alternatives (n=48) or build-contributes (n=37). The largest group of revoicings were of previously uttered build-alternatives; these revoicings appeared to function as ways of reasserting or emphasizing a point in the face of other possibilities being raised, most frequently in the context of a disagreement. For example, when Reyna stated that Appelemando had his eyes open in a picture and Josué disagreed, insisting the eyes were closed, Samuel joined in and both Reyna and Josué subsequently reiterated their positions without teacher prompting.

> *Samuel:* Closed. [They're closed.
>
> *Reyna:* They're open.]
>
> *Josué:* They're closed.

Most revoicings of build-alternatives were in direct response to comments from other students, particularly in the context of a disagreement, while teacher utterances were more likely to instigate a revoicing of build-contributes.

TABLE 2   *Student moves referencing text*

Moves that explicitly drew on the text	*227*
Textual evidence: Using textual evidence to support an idea	122
Textual hypothesizing: Putting forward a hypothesis explicitly referencing the text	107

EBs Regularly Drew on the Text

It is important to note that the intercomprehending we observed did *not* mean that the students were relying on each other in place of the text; rather, they were doing both simultaneously. Table 2 indicates the frequency of moves that explicitly drew on the text; most of these moves were co-identified in utterances that also were coded for one of the moves identified in table 1.

— Using Textual Evidence to Support an Idea

We found that as students discussed their own and their peers' ideas, they used the text in several ways. As has been documented in other studies of classroom discussion (e.g., Chinn, Anderson, & Waggoner, 2001; Keeffer, Zeitz, & Resnick, 2000; Zhang et al., 2013), the students drew on the text to support their ideas, most commonly by *presenting textual evidence* for their interpretations. For example, in a discussion of *Me and My Cat?,* after Magaly made a claim that seemed to indicate that the character who had been turned into a cat was unaware of the switch, Samuel offered a build-alternative that drew on textual evidence to refute her interpretation.

> *Teacher:* (to Magaly) Are you saying that this person doesn't know that he's a cat?
>
> *Samuel:* He does know. Because he—remember, look at this part. (flips through pages of book) Because, see, see, look. "When I woke up I felt a little better. Maybe it wasn't such bad thing to be a cat."[4]

We found that students presented the text as evidence in two ways. The first was by drawing on the written words in the text, as Samuel did. Textual evidence was provided in this form about a fifth of the time (n=24). But this was one move not carried out regularly by all the students; two students never made this particular move. And it is noteworthy that students drew on the written words to this extent even though we located only a single instance of a teacher explicitly asking for evidence from the words. All the students, though, did rely on evidence from the illustrations, and such moves were far more frequent (n=98) than were evidence statements based on the written words. This finding is in line with previous research indicating that drawing on images during text discussion is common and developmentally appropriate for second graders reading in their native language (Aukerman & Chambers Schuldt, 2016b). In one example, Noelia used an illustration to support her

claim that the characters in *The Relatives Came* were going to rather than coming from Virginia (a contested claim): "They were going back to Virginia . . . 'cause look it. (points in book) They're packing, they're going to their family then, you see? They're going."

The two students who used the most evidence from the written words also used the most evidence from the pictures, suggesting that these were complementary forms of textual evidence. But using pictorial means to support their claims appeared to be accessible to all students; even the two students who never used words from the text to bolster a claim still used, on average, pictorial evidence at least twice per session.

— Putting Forward a Hypothesis Explicitly Referencing the Text

Another move that all five students used regularly was *textual hypothesizing*, which involved drawing an explicit relationship between the students' hypothesized textual meaning and something depicted in the text. This differed from presenting textual evidence because students were commenting on what they saw in the text rather than using the text to support a claim. Reyna, for example, in discussing *Piggybook*, excitedly drew her peers' attention to the pictures, describing a change she noticed near the end of the story:

> *Reyna:* (gasps) Look. The moon is not like a pig anymore.
>
> *Samuel:* And look, look at—look at it.
>
> *Teacher:* Ooo.
>
> *Magaly:* I know what—'cause the mom is coming.
>
> *Samuel:* Look, he's getting grumpy.

In this case, Reyna's comment spurred her peers' joint attention to the images and provided impetus for further ideas: Samuel then drew attention to other aspects of the picture that were also different than in previous pictures, and Magaly put forward a hypothesis about the reason for these changes. Students' attention to the text provided a common reference point for others to understand the hypothesis being put forward. Again, when we looked at students' textual hypotheses, we found that the large majority (n=100) referenced images, whereas only a small percentage referenced words (n=7). Many statements that students made were implicit assertions that built on the words, or on the words as well as the pictures. But, for coding purposes, we elected to count only assertions where the text was explicitly referenced by the student (e.g., "But it says . . ."). Our finding that EBs drew heavily on pictures also indicates how accessible the images appeared to be for their meaning making about the text.

Stepping Back—Intercomprehending in Context

While each of the findings is important to understand in its own right, it is equally necessary to examine how children orchestrated intercomprehending

within an ongoing dialogue. One example of this was a discussion of *Appele-mando's Dreams.*

> *Teacher:* Noelia, what do you mean "he could be dreaming when he's awake or asleep"?
>
> *Noelia:* Because . . .
>
> *Teacher:* You have to speak really loud so Reyna over there can hear you, and Magaly too.
>
> *Noelia:* Because when he's sleep he can dream, and when he's awake—like this part, he can dream.
>
> *Teacher:* You think he's dreaming on this page?
>
> *Noelia:* Uh-huh.
>
> *Josué:* He's dreaming on two pages.

Noelia began by building on the idea voiced by another student that Appelemando was dreaming but did so in a way that extended it, offering the nuance that dreaming was possible when awake as well as when asleep. Even as she was building on a previously uttered idea from another student, she offered her own textual hypothesis about the image visible on a particular page of text; both the peer idea and the text figured into what she expressed. Josué then jumped in to expand on Noelia's idea, suggesting that the depiction of the dream was visible on two pages, not just on one. Noelia went on to revoice her point.

> *Noelia:* But he's dreaming like awake.
>
> *Josué:* Right.
>
> *Teacher:* He's dreaming awake.
>
> *Josué:* He's dreaming asleep.
>
> *(Noelia shakes her head no.)*
>
> *Josué:* Yes, he is.

In the context of Noelia's revoiced hypothesis, and the teacher's restatement of that hypothesis, Josué disagreed, offering an alternate interpretation of what was happening: Appelemando was indeed dreaming but while asleep, a point that was subsequently restated by Samuel after the teacher summarized the two different positions on the table.

> *Samuel:* He's sleeping and dreaming.
>
> *Teacher:* He's sleeping and dreaming?
>
> *Samuel:* Uh-huh.
>
> *Teacher:* But I heard Noelia have a different idea.
>
> *Samuel:* No, no, no. Every time he walks, he's dreaming, and when he's standing up straight like here, he's just sleeping. He's just sleeping.

(a five-second silence)

Teacher: So . . . Interesting.

Reyna: The boy cannot sleep when the eyes is open.

Samuel voiced his own position to align with Josué's and to contradict Noelia's point, which momentarily left the whole group silent, apparently pondering that response. But then he garnered a response from Reyna, who used evidence from the picture to introduce a point that both supported Noelia's point and contradicted the idea Samuel had voiced: Appelemando's open eyes were evidence that he could not be asleep. The open eyes in the picture were brought into the dialogue *by* Reyna but *because of* Samuel's point. The conversation proceeded with the teacher restating and taking stock of current positions:

Teacher: So, did you hear, Reyna? Did you hear Noelia's idea?

Reyna: Yeah.

Teacher: I think, Noelia, you said you think he's actually awake here.

(Noelia nods.)

Samuel: Yeah. No.

Teacher (to Noelia): But dreaming?

Josué: No.

Samuel: Yes, yes, yes.

With the group still disagreeing about whether Appelemando was awake or asleep, the discussion continued for another sixteen minutes. All the children were focused (at times heatedly) on making sense of the text, their ideas spinning off those they had just heard. This conversation, like others we observed, did not follow a linear progression, nor did it end with a sense of consensus around these contested meanings. But for each of these students, comprehension was ultimately a collaborative, emergent process of intercomprehending that involved a dynamic, synergistic reliance on these EBs' shared linguistic and ideational repertoires.

Discussion

Our analysis points to the need to think beyond the individual when conceptualizing linguistic and ideational repertoires of emergent bilinguals. Certainly, students brought their own ideas and language into the textual conversation, but the meanings built on the linguistic and ideational repertoires of those around them. While it is possible that some students were offering a textual idea that they had already before hearing from their peers, the text also appeared to assume new possibilities for students as they listened to what their peers had to say about it. The development of ideas during discussion

was collaborative—not in the sense that everyone agreed, but in the sense that textual ideas took root in the ideas of others. In a sense, each child's individual linguistic and ideational repertoire amplified the linguistic and ideational repertoire of the others. The group's collective linguistic and ideational repertoire was arguably greater than the sum of its parts.

We think it quite plausible to imagine that all children, not just EBs, may engage in collaborative meaning making that amplifies those resources when they are given opportunities to interpret text together in agentive and student-driven ways. At the same time, we see our findings as particularly relevant and important for teachers and researchers who work with EBs. First, if EBs are likely to encounter texts that are culturally and linguistically unfamiliar (e.g., Drucker, 2003), it is possible that they can particularly benefit from pooling their ideational resources to make sense of such texts. And second, given that EBs often face the perception that they are in need of remediation and less capable (Escamilla, 2001), if they are able to engage successfully with texts through collaborative meaning making and are recognized for their strengths as they do so, teachers can more easily avoid wrongly stigmatizing these students.

There are also several ways our study contributes to how the field might (re) conceptualize theories of meaning making, assessment of meaning making, and text discussion itself.

Toward a Theory of Meaning Making That Accounts for Intercomprehending

Our findings provide empirical evidence that treating reading comprehension as constituted primarily in a stable binary reader-text relationship, as some scholars have proposed (e.g., Rumelhart, 1980), needs to be rethought; within the context of the discussions we observed, we contend that such theories are inadequate. We theorize that the intercomprehending documented here occurred via interanimation of the reader, the text, and multiple other reader-interlocutors. We use the term *interanimation* to signal the ways in which these are not only interdependent but also breathe life into one another as readers make sense of text in the context of discussion. Where there is intercomprehending, student textual understandings evolve through dialogue with peers, as that dialogue occasions dynamic, contingent responsiveness. As the students draw each other's attention to different textual dimensions, their discourse "is able to reveal ever newer ways to mean" (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 346).

That said, it may be premature to develop a fully elaborated, empirically based theory of children's intercomprehending based on a relatively small number of discussion sessions. The current study, small in scope, cannot be taken to mean that all students, in all contexts, engage in intercomprehending work similarly. Further studies are needed in order to establish what kinds of pedagogical parameters might need to be in place for intercomprehending to become visible in classroom dialogue. We suspect, for example, that whole-class discussions might look somewhat different from small-group tex-

tual dialogue, that participation patterns could change if EB students were discussing English texts with monolingual English speakers, and that classrooms where initiation-response-evaluation patterns, in which teachers pose a question, students respond, and teachers evaluate the response (Cazden, 1988; Mehan, 1982), are predominant might offer fewer opportunities for students to draw on the ideational resources of their peer group. We also do not yet know whether our findings, which suggest that intercomprehending can take place extensively during discussions of L2 text, would be mirrored in discussions with monolingual readers or with EBs reading L1 texts. Finally, we wonder whether intercomprehending is something that might change or look different as children get older, as language proficiency changes, or even if the text genre is different. While we see our study as providing a meaningful contribution to the development of a robust theory around EB children's meaning making as a social practice, we acknowledge that there is more work to be done.

Rethinking Assessment with Intercomprehending in Mind

Our study adds to a growing body of research literature (e.g., Kong & Pearson, 2003; Martínez-Roldán, 2005) which indicates that EB students can participate competently and meaningfully in L2 text discussions. All five students in this group were able to make verbal contributions connected to the text and to make sense of each other's comments. Beyond simple participation, the nature of this student participation revealed close attention both to the text and to each other's ideas. To us, during each discussion the students appeared as competent, engaged, and thoughtful readers, quite in contrast to the trope commonly put forward about EB readers as struggling and in need of remediation (Escamilla, 2001). These EBs built meaning together in ways that likely were quite different from what they would have done with these same texts on their own.

And yet these students could easily be classified, via traditional individualized assessment measures (e.g., the CELDT), as lacking in their ability to construct meaning from English-language text, rendering invisible the competency we observed in them as textual meaning makers. Our study offers a concrete way for teachers to reframe their perspective on such students. By identifying students' intellectual work around text as fundamentally collaborative and co-constructed, and by documenting what students do with texts and each other's ideas *taken together*, teachers may be able to see and value student competencies they would otherwise miss by looking primarily at traditional assessment data.

Thus, we encourage teachers to consider documentation of group discussion as a potentially important form of assessment, one that they perhaps take even more seriously than individualized comprehension measures for their EBs. Our codes (e.g., build-contributes, affiliations, build-alternatives) provide a starting point for descriptive language teachers might use for that

documentation. If teachers are able to identify these kinds of moves and recognize the intellectual work they represent, they may be able to identify and build on individual students' strengths and preferred ways of engaging with their peers in richer ways than they would be able to do by simply attending to test scores.

We acknowledge that our study focused on just five children and that intercomprehending may appear differently or be harder to trace with other groups of children. The participating students did score somewhat higher than their classroom peers on the DIBELS test and thus might not represent the full range of English language proficiency within the classroom population, or certainly beyond this particular classroom. While our approach was appropriate for an exploratory study, future studies should examine more children as well as the questions of how different children might engage in the process of intercomprehending differently across time, linguistic context, and form of instruction. We hope such work will continue to develop the analytic tools for documentation we used here.

We also recognize that documentation of intercomprehending is not simple and could present new challenges for teachers. For example, children's ideational repertoires become visible as they speak, and not all children express their textual ideas verbally. While the students in this group varied in their assessed oral proficiency levels in English, they all contributed verbally to the discussion in English and appeared able to engage actively in intercomprehending. It remains an open question how one might document the intercomprehending potentially taking place for EBs who are at earlier stages of English language proficiency and just beginning to express themselves or make sense of peer talk in English, or for EBs who prefer not to share their ideas aloud. For such students, finding active ways of encouraging translanguaging practices that draw more on the home language might prove particularly fruitful, but further research is needed to develop and investigate models for doing so.

Implications for Conceptualizing Text Discussion

In the individualized view of meaning making, text discussion is merely a means to an end, a way to get students to do better on individualized comprehension assessments. And the evidence does increasingly point to its efficacy in achieving this end, for L2 readers as well as those reading in the home language (Kong & Pearson, 2003; Van den Branden, 2000). In light of our study, however, we propose that collaborative textual meaning making can and should also be seen as an end in itself. In addition to viewing reading discussions as groundwork for readers who later read on their own, what if we conceptualized such discussions as groundwork for supporting readers who think and make meaning together? What if we saw reading with other readers in mind as central to the work that both child and adult readers do?

If the goal is to move beyond an individualistic view of meaning making—a goal we believe could be generative particularly for EB populations—then

it may be particularly important to precipitate a shift in how teachers think about the purpose of the text discussions in their classrooms. Future research should investigate how to support beginning and practicing teachers in such a shift, as well as what specific classroom practices change if such a shift takes place. Could teacher learning about intercomprehending—seeing it, understanding it, and teaching with it as a goal in mind—enable teachers to engage differently with the intellectual work their students do together around text? Would children's participation patterns, and ultimately their intercomprehending itself, look different? Asking and answering such research questions requires a frame shift to a new pedagogical perspective that sees what children do with each other's textual ideas as vital, vibrant, and central to what it means to make sense of text. We hope subsequent research will continue to move the field in this direction.

Notes

1. We have argued that even meaning making under those circumstances is configured in internal dialogue with voices and possibilities from past and anticipated conversations. See Aukerman (2013).
2. All names are pseudonyms.
3. Bracketed text indicates two speakers' overlapping speech.
4. The text reads: "Maybe it wasn't such a bad thing to be a cat."

References

Almasi, J. F., O'Flahavan, J. F., & Arya, P. (2001). A comparative analysis of student and teacher development in more and less proficient discussions of literature. *Reading Research Quarterly, 36*(2), 96–120. doi:10.1598/RRQ.36.2.1

Anderson, R. C., Nguyen-Jahiel, K., McNurlen, B., Archodidou, A., Kim, S. Y., Reznitskaya, A., . . . Gilbert, L. (2001). The snowball phenomenon: Spread of ways of talking and ways of thinking across groups of children. *Cognition and Instruction, 19*(1), 1–46. doi:10.1207/S1532690XCI1901_1

Arreaga-Mayer, C., & Perdomo-Rivera, C. (1996). Ecobehavioral analysis of instruction for at-risk language minority students. *Elementary School Journal, 96*(3), 245–258. doi:10.1086/461826

Aukerman, M. (2007). When reading it wrong is getting it right: Shared evaluation pedagogy among struggling fifth-grade readers. *Research in the Teaching of English, 42,* 56–103.

Aukerman, M. (2013). Rereading comprehension pedagogies: Toward a dialogic teaching ethic that honors student sensemaking. *Dialogic Pedagogy Journal, 1*(1), A1–A31. doi:10.5195/dpj.2013.9

Aukerman, M., & Chambers Schuldt, L. (2015). Children's perceptions of their reading ability and epistemic roles in monologically and dialogically organized bilingual classrooms. *Journal of Literacy Research, 47*(1), 115–145. doi:10.1177/1086296X15586959

Aukerman, M., & Chambers Schuldt, L. (2016a). Closely reading "reading closely." *Language Arts, 93*(4), 286–299.

Aukerman, M., & Chambers Schuldt, L. (2016b). "The pictures can say more things": Change across time in young children's reference to images and words during text discussion. *Reading Research Quarterly, 51*(3), 267–287. doi:10.1002/rrq.138

Bakhtin, M. (1981). Discourse in the novel. In M. Holquist (Ed.), *The dialogic imagination* (pp. 259–492). Austin: University of Texas Press.

Bernhardt, E. (1991). *Reading development in a second language.* Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

Browne A. (1990). *Piggybook.* New York: Alfred A. Knopf.

Calderón, M., Hertz-Lazarowitz, R., & Slavin, R. (1998). Effects of bilingual cooperative integrated reading and composition on students making the transition from Spanish to English reading. *Elementary School Journal, 99*(2), 153–165. doi:10.1086/461920

Cazden, C. (1988). *Classroom discourse: The language of teaching and learning.* Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann.

Chinn, C., Anderson, R., & Waggoner, M. (2001). Patterns of discourse in two kinds of literature discussion. *Reading Research Quarterly, 36*(4), 378–411. doi:10.1598/RRQ.36.4.3

Collins, J. (1982). Discourse style, classroom interaction, and differential treatment. *Journal of Reading Behavior, 14*(4), 429–437. doi:10.1080/10862968209547468

Cook, V. (2002). Background to the L2 user. In V. Cook (Ed.), *Portraits of the L2 user* (pp. 1–28). Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.

Creese, A., & Blackledge, A. (2010). Translanguaging in the bilingual classroom: A pedagogy for learning and teaching? *Modern Language Journal, 94*(1), 103–115. doi:10.1111/j.1540-4781.2009.00986.x

Cummins, J. (1979). Linguistic interdependence and the educational development of bilingual children. *Review of Educational Research, 49*(2) 222–251. doi:10.3102/00346543049002222

Drucker, M. J. (2003). What reading teachers should know about ESL learners. *The Reading Teacher, 57*(1), 22–29. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org/stable/20205312

Dyson, A. (1993). *Social worlds of children learning to write in an urban primary school.* New York: Teachers College Press.

Dzaldov, B. S., & Peterson, S. (2005). Book leveling and readers. *The Reading Teacher, 59*(3), 222–229. doi:10.1598/RT.59.3.2

Escamilla, K. (2001, April). *Bilingual means two: Assessment issues, early literacy and Spanish speaking children.* Paper presented at the Reading Research Symposium for Second Language Learners, Washington, DC.

Escamilla, K. (2009). Review of English language learners: Developing literacy in second-language learners: Report of the national literacy panel on language-minority children and youth. *Journal of Literacy Research, 41*(4), 432–452. doi:10.1080/10862960903340165

Fisher, D., Rothenberg, C., & Frey, N. (2008). *Content-area conversations: How to plan discussion-based lessons for diverse language learners.* Alexandria, VA: ASCD.

Fishman, J. A. (1972). *Language in sociocultural change* (Vol. 6). Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press.

Freebody, P., Luke, A., & Gilbert, P. (1991). Reading positions and practices in the classroom. *Curriculum Inquiry, 21*(4), 435–457. doi:10.1080/03626784.1991.11075380

García, O. (2009). Education, multilingualism and translanguaging in the 21st century. In A. Mohanty, M. Panda, R. Phillipson, & T. Skutnabb-Kangas (Eds.), *Multilingual education for social justice: Globalising the local* (pp. 128–145). New Delhi: Orient Blackswan.

García, O. (2011). *Bilingual education in the 21st century: A global perspective.* West Sussex, UK: John Wiley.

García, O., & Kleifgen, J. A. (2010). *Educating emergent bilinguals: Policies, programs, and practices for English language learners.* New York: Teachers College Press.

García, O., Kleifgen, J. A., & Falchi, L. (2008). From English language learners to emergent bilinguals. In *Equity Matters: Research Review*, no. 1. New York: Campaign for Educational Equity, Teachers College, Columbia University. Retrieved from http://eric.ed.gov/?id=ED524002

García, O., & Leiva, C. (2014). Theorizing and enacting translanguaging for social justice. In A. Blackledge & A. Creese (Eds.), *Heteroglossia as practice and pedagogy* (pp. 199–216). New York: Springer.

García, O., Makar, C., Starcevic, M., & Terry, A. (2011). The translanguaging of Latino kindergarteners. In K. Potowski & J. Rothman (Eds.), *Bilingual youth: Spanish in English-speaking societies* (pp. 33–55). Philadelphia: John Benjamins. doi:10.1075/sibil.42.05gar

García, O., & Sylvan, C. E. (2011). Pedagogies and practices in multilingual classrooms: Singularities in pluralities. *Modern Language Journal*, *95*(3), 385–400. doi:10.1111/j.1540-4781.2011.01208.x

Glasswell, K., & Ford, M. (2011). Let's start leveling about leveling. *Language Arts*, *88*(3), 208–216. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org/stable/41804252

Good, R. H., & Kaminski, R. A. (2002). *Dynamic indicators of basic early literacy skills: Administration and scoring guide*. Eugene: University of Oregon.

Gumperz, J. J. (1964). Linguistic and social interaction in two communities. *American Anthropologist*, *66*(2), 137–153. doi:10.1525/aa.1964.66.suppl_3.02a00100

Gutierrez, K. D., Baquedano-López, P., Alvarez, H. H., & Chiu, M. M. (1999). Building a culture of collaboration through hybrid language practices. *Theory into Practice*, *38*(2), 87–93. doi:10.1080/00405849909543837

Gutierrez, K. D., Baquedano-Lopez, P., & Asato, J. (2000). "English for the children": The new literacy of the old world order, language policy and educational reform. *Bilingual Research Journal*, *24*(1–2), 87–112. doi:10.1080/15235882.2000.10162753

Iddings, A. C. D., Risko, V. J., & Rampulla, M. P. (2009). When you don't speak their language: Guiding English-language learners through conversations about text. *The Reading Teacher*, *63*(1), 52–61. doi:10.1598/RT.63.1.5

Jiménez, R. T., David, S., Fagan, K., Risko, V. J., Pacheco, M., Pray, L., & Gonzales, M. (2015). Using translation to drive conceptual development for students becoming literate in English as an additional language. *Research in the Teaching of English, 49*(3), 248–271.

Kamps, D., Abbott, M., Greenwood, C., Arreaga-Mayer, C., Wills, H., Longstaff, J., . . . Walton, C. (2007). Use of evidence-based, small-group reading instruction for English language learners in elementary grades: Secondary tier intervention. *Learning Disability Quarterly, 30*(3), 153–168. doi:10.2307/30035561

Keefer, M. W., Zeitz, C. M., & Resnick, L. B. (2000). Judging the quality of peer-led student dialogues. *Cognition and Instruction, 18*(1), 53–81. doi:10.1207/S1532690XCI1801_03

Kena, G., Hussar W., McFarland J., de Brey C., Musu-Gillette, L., Wang, X., . . . Dunlop Velez, E. (2016). *The condition of education 2016* (NCES 2016-144). Washington, DC: National Center for Education Statistics. Retrieved from http://nces.ed.gov/pubsearch

Kim, S. J. (2016). The role of peer relationships and interactions in preschool bilingual children's responses to picture books. *Journal of Early Childhood Literacy, 16*(3), 311–337. doi:10.1177/1468798415577874

Kitamura, S. (1999). *Me and my cat?* New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux.

Kong, A., & Fitch, E. (2002). Using book club to engage culturally and linguistically diverse learners in reading, writing, and talking about books. *The Reading Teacher*, *56*(4), 352–362. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org/stable/20205209

Kong, A., & Pearson, P. D. (2003). The road to participation: The construction of a literacy practice in a learning community of linguistically diverse learners. *Research in the Teaching of English*, *38*(1), 85–124. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org/stable/40171608

Kontovourki, S. (2012). Reading leveled books in assessment-saturated classrooms: A close examination of unmarked processes of assessment. *Reading Research Quarterly, 47*(2), 153–171. doi:10.1002/RRQ.014

Kress, G. (1997). *Before writing: Rethinking the paths to literacy.* London: Routledge.

Kwon, H. J., & Schallert, D. L. (2016). Understanding translanguaging practices through a biliteracy continua framework: Adult biliterates reading academic texts in their two languages. *Bilingual Research Journal, 39*(2), 138–151. doi:10.1080/15235882.2016.1167139

Makoni, S., & Pennycook, A. (Eds.). (2007). *Disinventing and reconstituting languages.* Bristol, UK: Multilingual Matters.

Martinez, D. C. (2016). Latino linguistic repertoires in an intensely-segregated black and Latina/o high school: Is this super-diversity? *International Journal of the Sociology of Language, 241*, 69–95. doi:10.1515/ijsl-2016-0023

Martínez-Roldán, C. M. (2005). The inquiry acts of bilingual children in literature discussions. *Language Arts, 83*(1), 22–32.

Mehan, H. (1982). The structure of classroom events and their consequences for student performance. In P. Gilmore & A. A. Glatthorn (Eds.), *Children in and out of school.* Washington, DC: Center for Applied Linguistics.

Mercer, N. (2000). *Words and minds: How we use language to think together.* New York: Routledge. doi:10.4324/9780203464984

Mercer, N. (2004). Sociocultural discourse analysis: Analysing classroom talk as a social mode of thinking. *Journal of Applied Linguistics, 1*(2), 137–168. doi:10.1558/japl.2004.1.2.137

Michaels, S., O'Connor, C., & Resnick, L. B. (2008). Deliberative discourse idealized and realized: Accountable talk in the classroom and in civic life. *Studies in Philosophy and Education, 27*(4), 283–297. doi:10.1007/s11217-007-9071-1

Neufeld, P., & Fitzgerald, J. (2001). Early English reading development: Latino English learners in the low reading group. *Research in the Teaching of English, 36*(1), 64–109. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org/stable/40171579

Nystrand, M., Gamoran, A., & Kachur, R. (1997). *Opening dialogue.* New York: Teachers College Press.

Pacheco, M. B., & Miller, M. E. (2016). Making meaning through translanguaging in the literacy classroom. *Reading Teacher, 69*(5), 533–537. doi:10.1002/trtr.1390

Pandya, J. Z. (2011). *Overtested: How high-stakes accountability fails English language learners.* New York: Teachers College Press.

Pantaleo, S. (2007). Interthinking: Young children using language to think collectively during interactive read-alouds. *Early Childhood Education Journal, 34*(6), 439–447. doi:10.1007/s10643-007-0154-y

Polacco, P. (1997). *Appelemando's dreams.* New York: PaperStar.

RAND Reading Study Group. (2002). *Reading for understanding: Toward a research and development program in reading comprehension.* Retrieved from https://www.rand.org/pubs/monograph_reports/MR1465.html

Rosenblatt, L. (1978). *The reader, the text, the poem: The transactional theory of the literary work.* Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press.

Rumelhart, D. E. (1980). Schemata: The building blocks of cognition. In R. J. Spiro, B. C. Bruce, & W. F. Brewer (Eds.), *Theoretical issues in reading comprehension* (pp. 3–26). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Rylant, C. (2004). *The relatives came.* New York: Aladdin.

Shelton, N. R., Altwerger, B., & Jordan, N. (2009). Does DIBELS put reading first? *Literacy Research and Instruction, 48*(2), 137–148. doi:10.1080/19388070802226311

Sherry, M. (2014). Indirect challenges and provocative paraphrases: Using cultural conflict-talk practices to promote students' dialogic participation in whole-class discussions. *Research in the Teaching of English, 49*(2), 141–167.

Sipe, L. R. (1998). How picture books work: A semiotically framed theory of text-picture relationships. *Children's Literature in Education, 29*(2), 97–108. doi: 10.1023/A:1022459009182

Sipe, L., & Brightman, A. (2009). Young children's interpretations of page breaks in contemporary picture storybooks. *Journal of Literacy Research, 41*(1), 68–103. doi:10.1080/10862960802695214

Smagorinsky, P. (2001). If meaning is constructed, what's it made from? *Review of Educational Research, 71*(1), 133–169. doi:10.3102/00346543071001133

Sociocultural Research Associates. (2015). Dedoose: Version 6.1.18. Los Angeles: Author.

Stokes-Guinan, K., & Goldenberg, C. (2010). Use with caution: What CELDT results can and cannot tell us. *CATESOL Journal, 22*(1), 189–202.

Valdés, G. (2003). *Expanding definitions of giftedness: The case of young interpreters from immigrant communities.* Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Van Den Branden, K. (2000). Does negotiation of meaning promote reading comprehension? A study of multilingual primary school classes. *Reading Research Quarterly, 35*(3), 426–443. doi:10.1598/RRQ.35.3.6

Vaughn, S., Mathes, P., Linan-Thompson, S., Cirino, P., Carlson, C., Pollard-Durodola, S., . . . Francis, D. (2006). Effectiveness of an English intervention for first-grade English language learners at risk for reading problems. *Elementary School Journal, 107*(2), 153–180. doi:10.1086/510653

Velasco, P., & García, O. (2014). Translanguaging and the writing of bilingual learners. *Bilingual Research Journal, 37*(1), 6–23. doi:10.1080/15235882.2014.893270

Vygotsky, L. S. (1978). *Mind in society.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Zhang, J., Anderson, R. C., & Nguyen-Jahiel, K. (2013). Language-rich discussions for English language learners. *International Journal of Educational Research, 58*, 44–60. doi:10.1086/510656

Zhang, J., Niu, C., Munawar, S., & Anderson, R. C. (2016). What makes a more proficient discussion group in English language learners' classrooms? Influence of teacher talk and student backgrounds. *Research in the Teaching of English, 51*(2), 183–208.