

Socializing Missionary Ideologies through Narrative

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This paper investigates the linguistic and interactional processes through which missionary students are socialized into ideologies of language learning and missionary work. Moreover, the paper illustrates how novices adapt those ideologies for their own purposes. I treat language socialization as an interactional process and achievement that involves both novice and expert as agents. Combining ethnography and discourse analysis, I focus on how the interactive nature of storytelling contributes to the socialization of language ideologies in a classroom for future missionaries. In so doing, I aim to illuminate the value of focusing on the activity of co-constructing narrative as a unit of analysis in language socialization research.

I discuss 1) the ways in which speakers' narrative portrayals of themselves, their coparticipants, and absent characters are consequential to the process of language socialization; 2) how speakers use written texts in interpreting and assessing stories, thus demonstrating how the socializing influence of written texts can be revealed by talk-in-interaction; 3) how the professor implicitly socializes novices into particular ideologies by assessing, recasting, or building her own second-stories onto the students' narratives; and 4) how novices in the missionary classroom actively employ new ideologies to reconcile lived experience with an ideal and unfolding view of self.

1. Background

Language socialization research aims to understand the role of language in the reproduction and transformation of social order through social practices involving novice and expert members of social groups (Ochs & Schieffelin, 1984; Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986; Ochs, 1988; Garret & Baquedano-Lopez, 2002; Kulick & Schieffelin, 2003). I focus specifically on socialization into missionary ideologies about language learning and missionary work as it occurs through class discussion in one missionary classroom.

Kathryn Woolard (1998) defines language ideologies as “representations, whether explicit or implicit, that construe the intersection of language and human beings in a social

world” (p. 3).¹ Research on language ideologies has enabled a deeper understanding of how language ideologies are implicated in language shift and maintenance, changes in linguistic structure, nationalist movements, and a variety of forms of social domination (Silverstein, 1985; Blommaert & Verschueren, 1998; Hill, 1998; Irvine, 1998; Kulick, 1998; Silverstein, 1998a; Woolard, 1998; Jaffe, 1999; Kroskrity, 2000; Phillips, 2000; Schieffelin, 2000).

Ideas about language and language use are never neutral, for the people who hold them are inextricably involved in larger political economies (Hill & Hill, 1980; Woolard, 1985; Irvine & Gal, 2000; Bonner, 2001). Language ideologies are situated within particular sociohistorical settings (Bourdieu, 1991; Errington, 2001). Within and across communities (and even individuals), language ideologies are multiple and contested (Hill, 1998). Moreover, as Irvine (1998) points out, language ideologies are dynamic, changing over time.

People are, at best, partially aware of the language ideologies that they hold and reproduce (Kroskrity, 2003). As a result, ideologies must be elucidated by analysis at several levels (Silverstein, 1998b; Philips, 2000).

The social activity of co-constructing narrative² is a valuable unit of analysis for research on socialization and ideologies. Narrative activity sheds light on cognitive processing as it is occurring (Bruner, 1991; Ochs, 2003). Furthermore, micro-analysis of the interactive nature of conversational narrative (Goodwin, 1984) illuminates the roles of each participant, be they novice or expert, in the social construction of self and the world (Miller et al., 1990; Ochs & Taylor, 1992a, 1992b). Here I aim to show how the shaping of meaning through narrative activity is a powerful resource in socialization into professional ideologies.

2. Data and Methodology

The data for this project include video recordings of a course entitled “Language and Culture Learning,” a part of the Intercultural Studies Program at an evangelical Christian university in Southern California. The course is usually taken by students who are interested in future missionary work. Although the seven students in the course were not professional missionaries, a few of them had participated in short-term mission projects and were also heavily involved in on-campus programs aimed at raising awareness about missions.

The professor (Prof M) taught a missionary language learning method developed by Tom and Elizabeth Brewster called “Language Acquisition Made Practical” or LAMP (Brewster & Brewster, 1997; Brewster & Brewster, 1976). Each student chose a target language and then spent 3-4 weekends in a home where that language was used as the home language. Host family members served as language helpers. The students were responsible for eliciting and memorizing seven short segments of the target language. In

¹ Some, especially those influenced by the Marxian tradition, have treated “ideology” as false consciousness, distortion or illusion. In this paper, the term is not meant to connote any such truth or value judgment.

² Following Labov (1972) and others, I take a narrative to be any sequence of at least two clauses that are temporally ordered.

addition, the students were encouraged to attend church with the host family to practice with speakers of the language.

Analyses in this paper are based on ethnographic observation of all eight class sessions as well as transcripts of video-recorded classroom interaction. The video corpus for this study includes 21 hours of video.

3. Language Learning *Is* Ministry

In the classroom, one of the main themes discussed in conjunction with the LAMP method was the idea that language learning is itself a form of missionary activity. Through language learning activities, missionary learners can engage with local community members as well as demonstrate an interest in the people and their language. The textbook authors present this ideology in opposition to other missionary views in which language learning is viewed as simply *preparation* for missionary work.

There is a popular mentality that suggests that missionaries should learn a language in order to have a ministry, that is, in order *to be able* to communicate with the local people. We would like to suggest that the language learning process itself *is* communication—effective communication. (Brewster & Brewster, 1997, p. 223, italics in original)

[Missiologist, Charles Kraft] continued, “Indeed, if we do no more than engage in the process of language learning we will have communicated more of the essentials of the gospel than if we devote ourselves to any other task I can think of.” (Brewster & Brewster, 1997, p. 223)

By way of introducing the students to the LAMP method and philosophy, Prof M instructed them to read and answer reflection questions about the article “Language Learning *Is* Communication—*Is* Ministry.” The article was written by the authors of the LAMP method (Brewster & Brewster, 1976) and included in one of the course textbooks (Brewster & Brewster, 1997, pp. 223-226).

The above excerpts are taken from this article. At the third class session, she initiated a discussion of the written text, presenting the LAMP ideology as “fact.”

(1) The fact: language learning is ministry

11. Prof M and um in this article uh they-
12. um they are challenging us to **the fact**
13. that we can be doing ministry while we’re doing language learning
14. um whe:re the:re
15. how does this work that you can be involved in ministry,
16. when you’re doing language learning.

By referring to the authors’ assertion as fact (line 12), Prof M imbues the textbook authors and their ideology of language learning with authority. She frames “the fact” as in contrast to the view that language learning is simply preparation for missionary work. Moreover, by asking “how does this work?” (lines 15-16), she compels the students to interact with the text at a level that presupposes the truth of the ideology. They are not invited to discuss whether the equation between language learning and missionary work is

a valid one, but rather to display an understanding of how the two are connected. Each of the students is given a turn to respond. One of the students' responses is provided in example 2.

(2) Language learning = building relationships = ministry

140. Cathy I was just going to say what she said
 141. just that- that-
 142. we're actually doing ministry
 143. when you're learning the language
 144. because you're **spending time with people**
 145. and you're building relationships with them

Cathy's answer to the professor's display question echoes not only her classmate's words but also the words of the textbook (see the excerpt below), demonstrating the influence of the written text on this discussion.

Spending time with people, caring about them, being available to serve them, and maybe most important, showing an appreciation for their ways and their language is a very effective communication strategy... We would suggest that the impact of [Jesus'] message was due not only to what he said, but also to what he did. (Brewster & Brewster, 1997, p. 224)

4. New Ideologies for Reconciling Past Experiences

4.1. Narrative Activity and the Socialization Process

Elinor Ochs and Lisa Capps (2001) explain that, in everyday life, people narrate stories fundamentally in order to make sense out of life experiences. Searching for both logic and authenticity, they seize upon narration as a sense-making process. The following story is in part an answer to the professor's display question and in part Cathy's resolution of a long-standing problem. In the telling of the narrative, we may observe the microgenesis (Wertsch, 1985, 1991) of Cathy's adoption of the LAMP ideology.³

(3) I've had a hard time...

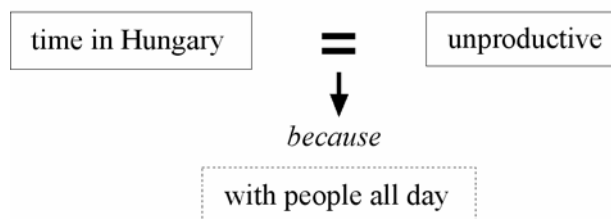
165. Cathy I found it real interesting
 166. the paragraph right after
 167. (0.6)
 168. "Learner Perspectives" on the first page
 169. Prof M mhmm
 170. and um-
 171. Cathy like I feel like that that paragraph
 172. like described like me in Hungary really well
 173. and I've had a hard time like,
 174. sometimes feeling like we did anything like really productive?

³ Ethnographic observation of the whole course reveals that this particular ideology (the link between language learning and ministry) becomes a part of the students' worldview and discourse. There is no evidence, however, that it was incorporated into their actual practice, as the students were not observed in ministry activities.

175. Prof M [((*nods*))
 176. Cathy [and ‘cause some
 177. like most of our days we didn’t really have a specific agenda?
 178. but by the end of the day,
 179. ((*pitch rises*))
 180. w(h)e we(h)re li(h)ke
 181. well we didn’t get anything done today
 182. what did we do all day?
 183. ‘cause we were with people all day.
 184. Prof M [mhmm
 185. [((*nods*))
 186. Cathy or they were at our house from,
 187. (.)
 188. the time we woke up till the time we went to bed.
 189. you know.
 190. Prof M [mhmm
 191. Cathy and um
 192. (.)
 193. they were often trying to learn English
 194. some of us focusing on Hungarian,
 195. they also had fun teaching us the (?)
 196. Prof M [mhmm
 197. [((*nods*))
 198. Cathy so it’s kind of a both way thing?

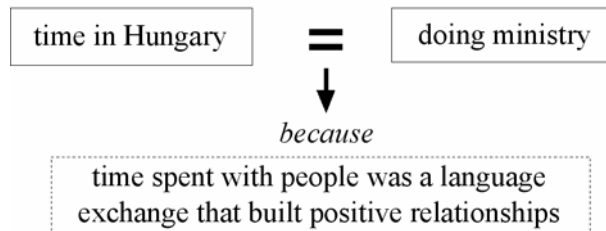
Cathy lays out her central problem in lines 173-4 where she depicts herself in the present as a person with a problem: “I’ve had a hard time sometimes feeling like we did anything productive.” Since her visit to Hungary where she and her husband participated in a short-term missionary project, she has questioned whether their activities were productive. She makes the problematic nature of her personal assessment explicit in the phrase “a hard time.” Moreover, the use of the present perfect, “I’ve had...,” implies that the problem is neither new nor fully resolved at the time of telling. In lines 180-2, she depicts her past self as having the same problem. In this way, her narrative creates continuity between past and present. The words that she animates in lines 181-2 were a response to the problematic events that had occurred, namely *being* with people all day instead of *doing* missionary activities. By using “cause” in line 183, she makes explicit this link between the problematic events and her negative response. The figure below details the perspective that Cathy outlines in her narrative.

(4) Cathy’s old perspective



There is another side to this story that Cathy presents in the talk that follows. In parallel with her negative casting of events, Cathy details the language learning activity that was occurring. The Hungarians who came to their home were trying to learn English, and the Americans were trying to learn Hungarian. She reports that this exchange was “fun” for the Hungarians. The positive affect attributed to the Hungarians stands in sharp contrast to the negative assessment that Cathy attributes to herself in lines 173 and 181-2. The important thing here is that the assigned reading (specifically the paragraph she cites) and the perspective that it contains offer her a new way to evaluate her past experience in Hungary. Whereas she has lived with a negative perception of her effectiveness as a missionary, this new ideology affords her the opportunity to see her time spent with the people as effective rather than wasted.

(5) Cathy’s emerging perspective



Cathy’s story provides significant evidence for uptake of the language ideology that equates language learning with missionary activity. Moreover, we are able to see why the ideology presented in the article is so attractive to her: It allows her to make positive sense out of her own life experience; it enables her to replace a negative assessment of her time in Hungary and herself as a missionary.

4.2. *Written Text as a Resource for Socialization*

The influence of the written text is observable in Cathy’s abstract to her personal narrative, for she explicitly cites a specific paragraph that made an impact on her. In lines 171-2, Cathy links the assigned reading to her own experience in Hungary. According to Cathy, the paragraph was both interesting and reflective of her experience in Hungary. The paragraph that she mentions is reproduced below.

If language learning were viewed as communication and as ministry, what would be the perspectives and the activities of new missionaries? Picture in your mind Learners who spend their days available to, and involved with, the local people, learning from them and highly esteeming what the people know. These Learners are willing to project themselves as needy, and dependent on the people. They are in no hurry about doing their own thing. Rather, they are at ease in spending their days in relationships with the people. They have a plan for their learning each day, and they know how to go about it, but their personal agenda can always be set aside when needs or opportunities arise. They have a strategy of learning and serving and sharing that allows them to spend virtually all of their time in meaningful relationships. (Brewster & Brewster, 1997, p. 223)

It is interesting to note that the paragraph Cathy refers to in her narrative differs from her experience in Hungary on two important counts: First, her story indicates that she did not actually have a plan for learning each day (line 177). Second, the perspective that

Cathy had in Hungary was in direct opposition to the ideal learner perspective detailed by the Brewsters in the article.

(6) Similarity and difference between Cathy's narrative and textbook ideal

	Cathy in Hungary	Brewsters' Ideal Learners
Same activities	"We were with people all day...Or they were at our house from the time we woke up to the time we went to bed."	"Picture in your mind Learners who spend their days available to, and involved with, the local people..."
Different Learner Perspectives	"We were like, 'We didn't get anything done today. What did we do all day?'"	"They are in no hurry about doing their own thing. Rather, they are at ease in spending their days in relationships with the people."

Clearly, there is a disjuncture between Cathy's abstract of the story ("That paragraph described me in Hungary really well.") and the content of the story reproduced in the table above. Although she links the written text to her past experience, the Brewsters' paragraph actually provides and describes Cathy's new perspective, not her old one. Consequently, she gives strong evidence for the influence of this written text in her *evolving* ideology of missionary work. On another level, her narrative reveals how people use written texts as they reconcile their own experience with ideals represented in language ideologies. In Cathy's talk, we observe the dialogic overtones that Bakhtin (1986) saw in all language: Her thoughts and words are not completely her own, nor are they exactly those of the Brewsters. In fact, individuals take ideological texts in part, transforming and reinterpreting them as they incorporate new ideas into their own developing worldview.

5. Responses to Narratives as Influential Factors in Socialization

5.1. Assessments

As Goodwin and Goodwin (1992) point out, "the activity of performing assessments constitutes one of the key places where participants negotiate and display to each other a congruent view of the events that they encounter in their phenomenal world" (p. 182). Responding to a story with an assessment,⁴ an expert displays how particular people, actions, or results are to be viewed.

(7) Prof M's response to Cathy's narrative

198. Cathy so it's kind of a both way thing?
199. Prof M uh-huh

⁴ As narratives themselves often contain assessments and evaluations, assessments offered in response to a story could be considered "second assessments." This is the case in example 7 where Prof M's assessment "and that's a good credibility builder right?" builds on Cathy's assessment "so it's kind of a both way thing."

200. and that's a-
 201. a good credibility builder
 202. right?
 203. Cathy [*((nods))*]
 204. [mhmm mhmm]
 205. Prof M as you uh- hang out and,
 206. and work on uh-
 207. work on these things.
 208. uh- together.
 209. (1.0)
 210. okay um

Prof M responds to Cathy's story in lines 200-1 with a positive evaluation of the language learning exchange. Prof M's evaluation builds on Cathy's narrative by reframing the language learning exchange as "hanging out and working on these things together." What is more, Prof M's assessment is dramatically more positive than Cathy's: Exchanging languages is not just a "both way thing" but "a good credibility builder"—something that is very important for missionary work.⁵ Her tag question formation (line 202) encourages Cathy in her process of forsaking her negative evaluation of the past and embracing the new perspective offered by the LAMP ideology. In this way, Prof M joins Cathy (and even pushes her further) in her attempt to resolve her long-standing dilemma by applying the new perspective afforded by the assigned reading.

Prof M's response to Cathy's narrative is not just for Cathy alone. She significantly increases the amplitude of her voice beginning in line 200, dramatically changing the interaction. The increased amplitude marks the other students as addressees. Up to that point, they had been simply ratified overhearers of the interchange between Cathy and Prof M. The assessment, in the way Prof M performs it, constitutes an attempt to influence the ideologies of *all* of the students, not just Cathy.

5.2. *Recasting Narrative for Ideological Ends*

In addition to assessments and evaluations of stories, individuals can attempt to socialize their interlocutors by paraphrasing a story in a way that highlights a certain viewpoint. Reframing a narrative becomes a powerful way to make certain aspects of the conversation salient. In addition, paraphrasing allows a speaker to present a point as though it were part of the previous storyteller's talk. Masking the authorship (Goffman, 1981) in this way enables the speaker to depict their interlocutor as aligning with a position that he or she might not have intended.

The following example shows just such a case. A few minutes later in the discussion of "Language Learning *Is* Communication—*Is* Ministry," Prof M makes an impassioned statement to her students that even if they are in a formal language course somewhere, they should be careful "to not overlook the community." She states that mixing with people and using new words and phrases in the target language will make evangelization easier. Establishing relationships with people *through* language learning activities is the way that language learning becomes a form of missionary work. It is while she is making this point that Cathy interrupts her with a very brief narrative about her experience in

⁵ In the textbook article, the Brewsters mention the importance of establishing credibility by taking the role of a learner.

Hungary. In Prof M's response to Cathy's narrative, we can see the socializing potential of recasting narrative.

(8) What you're saying is...

426. Prof M and so you know:,
 427. make some friends at the ba↑kery.
 428. a:nd u:se what you're,
 429. learning and find some suitable lines,
 430. and uh- you know,
 431. something that's pa:rt of your routi::ne
 432. Cathy I had to [learn to use a taxi.
 433. Prof M [uh
 434. how to use [what?
 435. Cathy [how to use a taxi,
 436. Prof M Uh-huh
 437. Cathy and to s- to say it in Hungarian,
 438. 'cause if I spoke English then they ripped me off.
 439. Prof M Uh huh.
 440. okay.
 441. so you found that very helpful,
 442. Cathy [mhhh
 443. Prof M [and uh- I don't know in taxi drivers
 444. whether you can make any kind of lasting relationships but,
 445. yes,
 446. you're saying find something practical
 447. that benefits y- benefits you::
 448. but also look beyond into developing,
 449. relationships.

Cathy's narrative (lines 432-8) is somewhat relevant to Prof M's ongoing talk in that she was using the target language with native speakers in routine transactions. From the professor's point of view, however, Cathy is missing a crucial point: establishing lasting relationships (see lines 443-4). Prof. M downgrades her observation of this problem in line 444 with *but* and expresses agreement with Cathy in line 445. These moves position her and Cathy "on the same side." Beginning with "you're saying" in line 446, she paraphrases Cathy's story in a way that is more consistent with the line of argument that she was developing in previous talk than with the actual content of Cathy's narrative.⁶ Prof M makes sure that the story that goes "on record" is one that involves not only using the target language in routine situations, but developing relationships—for relationships make "ministry" possible. This point is made clear in the following excerpt of the article that the classroom participants were discussing during the recording.

- (9) Over 30 people came to know Christ as a result of the involvement ministry that these new language learners were able to develop those [first] three months. Many of these were either members of the families with whom we were living, or were on a route of regular listeners. In both cases, *as a result*

⁶ Listening to the tape, I had difficulty telling whether line 448 is a continuation of 447 or a new intonation unit/thought group. The structure of lines 443-4 indicate that Prof M is treating Cathy's story as having been about developing relationships.

of the personal relationships that they had developed [italics added] , they were able to follow up and disciple the new believers. (Brewster & Brewster 1997, p. 226)

In paraphrasing Cathy's story, Prof M appropriates Cathy's narrative for her own ideological ends. Recasting the story so as to include relationship-building, she reframes Cathy's story in terms of the LAMP ideology of missionary work. By shaping her comments as a paraphrase of Cathy's talk, she depicts Cathy as aligning with her position, even as a co-advocate of the LAMP ideology.

5.3. *Second Stories*

In response to a story, co-participants often launch into a narrative of their own. These second stories (Sacks, 1992) may have a variety of functions in conversation. For instance, speakers may design them to show proof that they have understood the first story. Second stories can also serve to indicate to others the proper way to think, feel, and act in a certain situation.

On the last day of the course, the class participants were reflecting on their learning experiences. During the conversation, Cathy expressed her satisfaction in learning the LAMP method. She shared, however, that producing her target language in public was intimidating for her as a learner of Hungarian and as a student in the class. Exemplifying her anxiety, she told the following narrative about her recent experience at a Hungarian church service.

(10) Cathy: Pressure to produce the target language

1. Cathy so if we go somewhere else to learn a language like-
2. we know the method.
3. like I'm intimidated of having to produce what I've learned as far as the language?
4. Prof M [mhmm]
5. Cathy [that's what's intimidating to me in this class.
6. Prof M mhmm
7. Cathy because,
8. I find that even-
9. like in the midst of conversation I know a lot more Hungarian than I realize,
10. but like even in class last week,
11. the pastor asked us in the middle of the service-
12. how our Hungarian lessons are going and if we could say something to the church.
13. and I was like
14. I forgot everythi(h)ng at tha(h)t very se(h)cond.
15. you know,
16. what I said was like terrible as far as like how to say it you know,
17. so (.) um,
18. I think what I- I feel like- because I don't have very much experience,
19. you know when I feel that pressure (it's) difficult but-

20. I know that,
 21. you know I can take the book and I can,
 22. I can apply it to any other language that I want to [learn in the future,
 23. Prof M [mhmm
 24. and=
 25. Cathy =and living there
 26. and,
 27. Prof M [and you] probably should have- be able to introduce yourself
 28. Cathy [and it'll work we:ll]
 29. Prof M and say something in a public place if you needed to you know.
 30. in many situations.

Interestingly, despite the intimidation and pressure that she senses, Cathy ends her story by affirming her confidence in the method (lines 19-22): she feels that she can apply the method to any target language. In one sense, Cathy's talk in lines 19-22 evidences the success that Prof M achieved in the class meetings. Nonetheless, the professor does not respond to Cathy's statement of faith in the method. Competing with Cathy for the floor, she focuses instead on one aspect of Cathy's narrative that is problematic from her perspective of missionary language learning. In lines 27-30, Prof M calls attention to the importance of being ready at all times to introduce oneself and publicly say a bit in the target language. Her own story immediately follows and illustrates this point. The story centers on Dr. Tom Brewster who with his wife developed the LAMP method and co-authored the textbooks used in this course.

(11) Prof M: Always be ready

31. Prof M um,
 32. the Brewsters.
 33. um- he um- he used to be he- when he was alive he lived in a wheelchair,
 34. and they went to uh- Kenya,
 35. and lived in a local hotel.
 36. where all the- everybody- I mean it was not a hotel missionaries stayed or foreigners.
 37. but it's a local hotel.
 38. you know very low low (fee)- low pay and so forth,
 39. and all other- Africans were staying in that hotel.
 40. and he and his wife then would go out with the students
 41. that they had staying in that hotel,
 42. and practice the language every day.
 43. and they had only been there I think four da:ys,
 44. and Sunday came up and he went to church,
 45. and he was able to speak in chu:rch using lines he had been exposed to-
 46. he knew what people were asking about,
 47. [because you know.
 48. Calvin [Wow
 49. Prof M he was able to- to say if people were a-
 50. I mean different people were asking him the same ↑kind of questions.

- 51. and so he just put toge:ther before he went to church
 something he could ↑say.
- 52. and they were so amazed,
- 53. they couldn't believe he'd only known Swahili-
- 54. (only been) in Swahili for four or five days.
- 55. Cathy You [used to do this over interterm, right.

Spotting trouble in Cathy's narrative, the professor uses a second narrative to communicate the importance of always being prepared to speak in the target language. Prof M's account builds on Cathy's in that it also places a missionary language learner in a church service having the opportunity (perhaps even necessity) to speak publicly in the target language (lines 44-5). The force of Prof M's second story is in the implicit contrasts between Dr. Brewster and Cathy (the protagonist of the first story). Dr. Brewster actively engaged with local people and practiced Swahili everyday. He anticipated the importance of preparing a little speech, whereas Cathy was caught off-guard by the Hungarian pastor's request. In terms of their performances, Dr. Brewster amazed everyone in contrast to Cathy, who "forgot everything" and produced "terrible" Hungarian. The difference between Dr. Brewster's public performance of Swahili and Cathy's attempt at Hungarian was compounded by the fact that Dr. Brewster only worked on Swahili for four days while Cathy had eight weeks *in addition* to her previous stay in Hungary.

In this instance, there is no evidence that Prof M's second story influenced Cathy's beliefs about language learning. To the contrary, although the professor is not quite finished with her narrative in line 55, Cathy abruptly changes the topic, returning to the topic that had preceded this whole exchange. It is almost as if Cathy sequentially deletes the professor's attempt to socialize her. Prof M's narrative is not lost on everyone, however. While she tells her story, two of the six students keep their eyes and bodies oriented toward Prof M. In fact, one of the students, Calvin, physically leans in toward Prof M as her story progresses. Moreover, at the climax of her narrative (lines 45-6), Calvin interjects his appreciation of Dr. Brewster's accomplishment with "Wow" (line 48).

6. Conclusion

In this paper, I have attempted to show the complexity and richness involved in socializing language ideologies. Storytelling is an important site for language socialization, for it is *in* the collaborative telling that both novices and experts actively negotiate ways of viewing themselves and the world, specifically the role of language learning in missionary work and what it takes to be a good missionary language learner. We have seen how an ideology's potential for making sense out of lived experience correlates with its attractiveness. Furthermore, this analysis reveals not only *that* written texts can be crucial resources in promoting a particular ideology, but *how* texts are used by novices and experts and how textual influence can be revealed by talk-in-interaction.

In addition, the collaborative nature of narrative allows individuals to influence their coparticipants' emerging ideologies as they assess and recast novices' narratives or tell second stories of their own. It seems that the strategies outlined above may spread beyond Prof M's classroom. Many seminars and discussions, whether in church Bible study groups or secular university classrooms, are organized around written texts, requiring "students" to interact with and respond to written texts in the form of multi-party conversation. Of course, these settings vary with respect to the "teacher's" participation;

however, it is by no means uncommon for student contributions to group discussion to be followed by some type of evaluation by the teacher. This practice has been codified by Mehan (1979) as the Initiation-Response-Evaluation mode of class discussion and discussed at length in the field of education. I suggest that in their reactions to the narratives told by novices, experts display how members of a particular community should think and act in their social world. As such, analysis of narrative activity reveals the intricate dynamics of socialization into language ideologies.

Transcription Symbols (adaptation of Jefferson 1985)

[]	overlap boundaries
(0.2)	length of silence in tenths of second
(.)	micropause
.	falling intonation
?	rising intonation
↑	marked rise in pitch
,	continuing intonation
::	lengthening
<u>word</u>	increased amplitude or stress
°	markedly soft or quiet
> <	rushed speech
< >	markedly slowed speech
hh	hearable aspiration or laughter
(())	transcriber's description of events
(word)	indicates transcriber's uncertainty
=	single, continuous utterance or break between speakers with no discernable pause

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