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English Language Learner Labels: Institutions and Identity

by

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English Language Learner Labels: Institutions and Identity

How does one conceptualize identity? It seems endlessly nuanced and simultaneously all too large of a topic. Identity theory began with George Herbert Mead in 1934. His book, *Mind, Self, and Society* (1934) is foundational to symbolic interactionism and identity theory. He begins with theories of the mind's construction: thinking about gestures, symbols, and language. Then Mead moves to the self, framing the self as an internal reference point for events, emotions, and sensations. Finally, Mead zooms out and shifts attention to society and how one's actions interact with others. Mead's main contribution was noticing how humans act in reaction to others, not in isolation as previously theorized (1934). His writings and theories have since been taken up, tested, specified, and transformed by social psychologists Sheldon Stryker and Peter J. Burke. As identity theory and structural symbolic interactionism developed, the central goal was to understand "how social structures affect self and how self affects social behaviors" (Stryker & Burke, 2000, p. 285). This work built upon Mead's observations of society with an additional focus on the internal processes which also impact social behaviors. Identity discourse has also been furthered by child psychologist Lev Vygotsky. In his work on *The Genesis of Higher Mental Functions* (Vygotsky, 1997), he describes the act of a child pointing to an object, the recognition of this gesture by others, then subsequently the understanding of the gesture by the child itself. Through this series of actions, Vygotsky argues that "thus we might say that through others we become ourselves" (Vygotsky, 1997, p. 105).

As identity theory has continued to develop, challenges surrounding the concept of multiple identities arose. Similarly, scholars theorized how different identities are positioned within a larger geopolitical configuration (Harré et al., 2009). How might one's multiple positions and relationships cause conflict in expectations and behaviors? For example, depending

on the salience of the ‘student’ identity in a college student versus the ‘friend’ identity of the same student in their social group, the behaviors and expectations would differ. Stryker and Burke (2000) proposed this phenomenon as an area for further research. Positioning theory explains multiple identities by investigating the constructs which facilitate these social actions. These constructs include language use and the stories which unfold in context (Harré et al., 2009).

Nine years later, Nigerian author Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie provided her perspective on multiple and socially-constructed identities in the TedTalk “The danger of a single story” (TED, 2009). She recalls the shock she felt as a child when she learned of the creativity and humor of her household help, a person that was only ever described as poor. She experienced the tensions of multiple socially-constructed identities again when she came to the United States for college and was asked by her roommate if she knew how to operate a stove. In both situations, she and her roommate were only ever told a single story of the “less fortunate” other party. The social role filled was that of one who needed help, without considering to ask if the helpless party agreed. Adichie explains, “tell people the same thing over and over again and that is what they become” (TED, 2009, 9:30). A danger Stryker and Burke (2000) did not consider is that multiple identities can be ignored altogether, popularizing the one which best fits another’s social structure. Flattening the multiple identities and experiences into a single story, a single stereotype, “robs people of dignity.”(TED, 2009, 13:55).

The tension between a single story and multiple identities persists in society today. One possible enactment of this tension is found in the social identity creation that occurs in the assigning of labels to the singular story of an individual, flattening their multiple identities and pushing the content of the singular narrative forward. Although this occurs in many groups, this

study is focused on multilingual students ascribed the label English language learner (ELL), or similar labels. Various labels have been used for these identities including limited English proficiency (LEP), English learner (EL), English language learner (ELL), emergent bilingual (EB), and English as a second language (ESL). These labels present a particular problem because, in other situations, the individual can take an active role in the acceptance or denial of a label; however due to limited proficiency in the dominant language, such negotiation is not always possible. Not all identities are created equal and the identities associated with this category of labels tend to result in a loss in social status instead of being beneficial to the individual (Link & Phelan, 2012).

This study focuses on the social aspect of identity creation for multilingual students who are designated as ELLs and how different powerful institutions use such identities to categorize language learners. Within this realm, three institutions ascribe labels and identities to multilingual students: linguistics, education, and the government. Unsurprisingly, these institutions are not in the same discourse communities, thus begging the question of whether they have created and favored different labels for multilingual students. Is there a uniform or widely recognized definition for the labels used? If not, this would create an unproductive mismatch of information with potentially detrimental impacts. By collecting data from each of the three institutions, my study can provide some clarity and uniformity. Through a comparative analysis of each institution, this study will be able to recognize and interpret the labels assigned to an increasing portion of the United States population. Establishing a clear summary of the terms and labels at hand will allow each institution (linguistics, education, and the government) to be able to recognize what labels are most frequent, why they are potentially harmful for identity creation, and possible alternatives.

Research questions

1. What labels are multilingual students given?
 - 1a. Which institutions use them?
2. What do these labels mean in their specific contexts?
 - 2a. What meanings do these labels have by nature of their semantics?
3. What aspects of identity are these labels for these learners evoking?

Literature Review

The current study is filling a gap in the research in regards to linguistics, identity, and labeling. Since the mid to late 1980s, there has been an increase in poststructuralist identity work in the field of applied linguistics (Norton, 2013). These studies have moved away from the hard-and-fast identity categories, such as motivated or unmotivated, to view identity as fluid and changing. This study follows Bonny Norton's (2013) definition of identity as,

multiple, changing, and a site of struggle, frequently negotiated in the context of inequitable relations of power. Identity signals the way a person understands his or her relationship to the world, how that relationship is constructed across time and space, and how the person understands possibilities for the future. (pp. 60-61)

This definition highlights inequitable relations of power among individuals as a central component of identity. Power, then, refers to “the socially constructed relations among individuals, institutions, and communities through which symbolic and material resources in a society are produced, distributed, and validated” (Norton, 2013, p.7). The role of power in identity construction is recognized in the present study throughout the analysis. The use of the labels in these institutions reinforces the power hierarchies on local and global scales and positions multilingual students as less than others (Harré et al., 2009).

Language is key to identity negotiation because it is the tool through which people construct their identities (Norton, 2013). Several other extralinguistic resources can also be used (clothing, body language, etc) but it is through language that people can position themselves in relation to those around them (Link & Phelan, 2012; Harré et al., 2009). Labels, then, are a subset of the language tools one has access to in identity creation. One could self-label as a sibling, employee, or sports fan in order to present and position themselves in a certain light. Labels can be used from an outside perspective to position the interlocutor in a certain light.

Language learning can bring unexpected challenges to identity creation (Norton, 2013). Especially at the lower proficiency levels, learners can feel as though they do not have the linguistic capabilities to construct an accurate identity. This lack of proficiency can then lead to a lack of agency in being ascribed certain labels and restricted social growth or opportunities with the target language (Norton, 2000). Identity, language, and labels are intricately intertwined and negotiated between the individual and their larger societal context.

Since these labels are not purely used in the institution of linguistics, literature from education and social psychology is also imperative to investigate. Gunderson (2021) revisits previous research regarding common labels used in Teaching English as a Second Language (TESOL) and the negative impacts of such labels. He argues that labels such as EL, ELL, EAL, etc. place a deficit value and misrepresent the diversity in the student population. He explores how these labels are present in both academic research and policymaking. The review work done by Gunderson (2021) is very similar to what I explore in my research.

Methods

After establishing the research questions, I determined that the institutions of linguistics, education, and the government had the most interaction and biggest impact in regard to such

labels. I chose to look at documents produced by each institution to gain insight into their work with these labels. Documents were selected from prominent databases in each institution. The applied linguistics documents were each selected from the Linguistics and Language Behavior Abstracts (LLBA) database; government documents were selected from the Oregon and California state legislature websites; and, the educational documents were selected from the Education Resources Information Center (ERIC) database. The data collected for this study were purposefully sampled; three documents were selected to represent each institution, each specifically discussing the labels used for multilingual students. To increase comparability across each institution, one document was a quantitative study, one was an ethnographic study, and the third was open to either. As for the government-selected documents, one is a quantitative report on students in Oregon, one is a proposal for legislative wording to change, and the other is a new law.

Educational Documents

The first educational document selected was *English Language Learner: A Term That Warrants Scrutiny* by Caroline Linse (2013). This article was published in the Journal of Educational Thought and will henceforth be referred to as ‘Education text one.’ The second, more quantitatively focused educational document is, “To Be or Not to Be EL: An Examination of the Impact of Classifying Students as English Learners” (Umansky, 2016). This study was published by the American Educational Research Association and will be referred to as ‘Education text two’. The third and final educational document follows an ethnographic approach. Miwa Aoki Takeuchi (2021) in, “Geopolitical Configuration of Identities and Learning: Othering through the Institutionalized Categorization of ‘English Language Learners’” uses video recordings in conjunction with interviews to determine the constraints and

affordances of the English Language Learner label. This work will furthermore be referenced as “Education text three.”

Government Documents

“Government text one” is the 2019-2020 Annual Report on English Learners in Oregon. Published in June of 2021 by the Oregon Department of Education, this document details demographics, participation in outside programs, academic outcomes, attendance, graduation, instructional programming, and state revenues and expenditures. The second government document was Senate Bill number 1560 on “Upgrading Immigration Terminology in Oregon State Laws”. This text will furthermore be referred to as “Government text two.” The final government document is California’s Senate Bill number 1174. From now on referred to as “Government text three,” this bill repealed California’s Proposition 227.

Linguistic Documents

Moving to the linguistic institution, the first article selected was “Re-becoming ESL: Multilingual University Students and a Deficit Identity” by Steve Marshall (2009). This study will now be referred to as “Linguistic text one.” Nelson Flores, Tatyana Klyen, and Kate Menken in “Looking Holistically in a Climate of Partiality: Identities of Students Labeled Long-Term English Language Learners' ' (2015) show how multilingual students assigned this label (LTELL) view themselves. This document is furthermore identified as “Linguistic text two.” Lastly, “Linguistic text three” will refer to “Beyond the English Learner Label: Recognizing the Richness of Bi/Multilingual Students Linguistic Repertoires” by Ramon Antonio Martinez (2018). This text mimics the socio-historical nature of Education text one.

Coding

The data was coded using an inductive method; finding and applying new codes to labels as they were discovered. Using the inductive method allowed for a wider variety of labels to be represented in the data set. Each of the aforementioned documents was coded using Atlas.ti software. This software is designed to aid in the coding and analysis of qualitative research. To code the data, the researcher highlighted and assigned a tag to each label present in the text. Each new label was assigned its own tag which was also its name. For example, the label “ELL” was assigned the tag “ELL.” In order to ensure accurate data, each document was read twice, and the search function in Atlas.ti was used to confirm the number of labels present in each document.

Titles, subtitles, captions, or text in parenthesis were excluded from the analysis. Labels with less than 5 instances throughout the entire data set were also excluded from the final analysis. Additionally, the labels “ELL/EL” were differentiated from the label “English language learner/English learner.” This distinction was made after coding Education texts 2 and 3 in which the quantitatively focused study (Education text two) primarily used ELL and the ethnographic study (Education text three) primarily used English language learners. Interested to see if there were any trends based on data collection methods, these terms were divided for the remainder of the coding process. After coding all of the data, Atlas.ti software was further utilized to compare and visually represent the data. The results of the coding and analysis can be found below.

Results

Altogether, there were a total of 59,502 words present in the data. This total provided the basis for further comparisons. Throughout the data, there were 1,068 instances of a label being used. There were a total of 18 different labels used throughout the 9 documents coded (see Table 1). In order to facilitate further analysis, the labels were grouped according to meaning. As

shown in Figure 1, a hierarchical coding frame was used to differentiate different level codes. The highest level codes were Lx labels, time-oriented labels, labels pertaining to immigration status, non-labels, and labels centering around English deficiency (Figure 1). For instance, the labels multilingual, bilingual, and emergent bilingual are grouped under the Lx code due to their focus on linguistic ability in more than one language. Of these groups, one category represents the labels given to students who do not receive English language services or non-labels. The inclusion of this category provides opportunities for further comparison.

Table 1

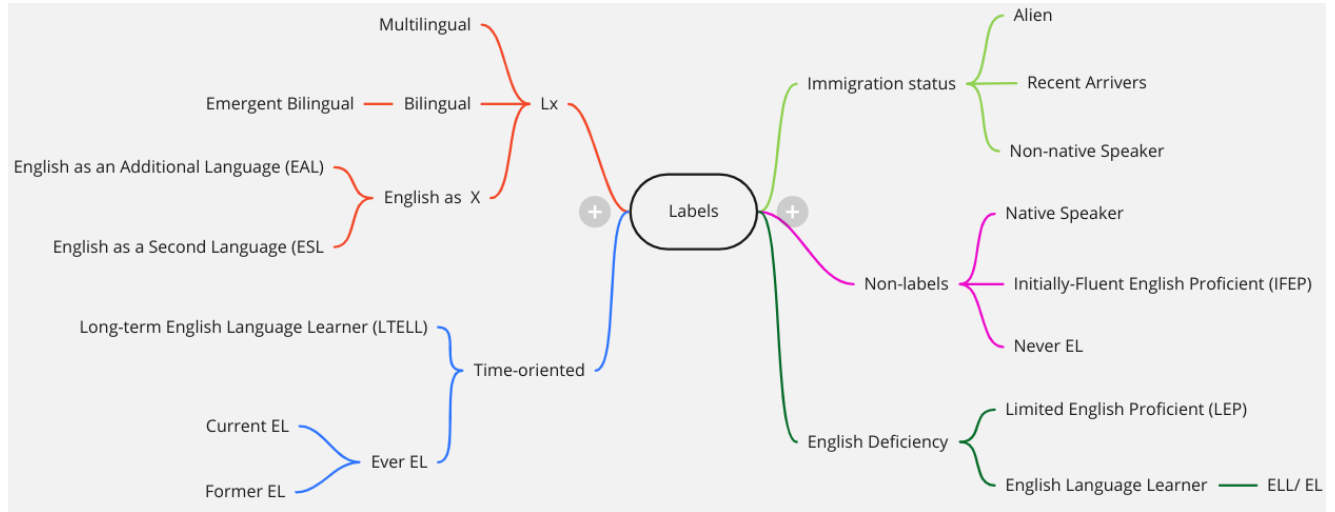
Summary of Labels Present

Alien	English Language Learner	Long Term English Language Learner
Bilingual	English as a Second Language	Multilingual
Current EL	Ever EL	Native Speaker
English as an Additional Language (EAL)	Former EL	Never EL
Emergent Bilingual	Initially Fluent English Proficient (IFEP)	Recent Arriver (RA)
ELL/EL	Limited English Proficient	Non-native Speaker

Note. Labels found in the data more than five times total.

Figure 1

Hierarchical Coding Frame



Note. Miro. (2011). Miro. RealtimeBoard. <http://www.miro.com>

Table 2 shows the results of the study, with each group of labels presented with its overall frequency, frequency in each institution, semantic meaning, and use in context. The discussion section details possible further interpretations of the results.

Table 2

Label Frequency by Institution

Education		Government		Linguistics		Overall Frequency
Label	Frequency	Label	Frequency	Label	Frequency	
Alien	27,163	Alien	711			3,718
Bilingual	5,432			Bilingual	328	838
		Current EL	86			483
English as an Additional Language (EAL)	3,880					8,500

Emergent Bilingual (EB)	5,432			Emergent Bilingual (EB)	1,443	2,975
English Language Learner (ELL)	76	English Language Learner (ELL)	381	English Language Learner (ELL)	541	141
				English as a Second Language (ESL)	328	888
		Ever EL	820			4,577
		Former EL	304			1,700
Initially Fluent English Proficient (IFEP)	411					901
Limited English Proficient (LEP)	2,469	Limited English Proficient (LEP)	10,669	Limited English Proficient (LEP)	5,412	3,718
				Long Term English Language Learner (LTELL)	323	888
Multilingual	3,880	Multilingual	5,334	Multilingual	424	991
Native Speaker	4,527	Native Speaker	1,524	Native Speaker	10,825	3,966
		Never EL	333			1,859
Recent Arriver (RA)	27,163	Recent Arriver (RA)	1,778			3,500
Non-native	4,527					9,917

Note. Frequency is defined as the average number of words between each occurrence of the label in the texts selected.

Article Review

In the following section, each text is thoroughly summarized. Texts are organized by the institution and mirror the sequence of the descriptions above. The main arguments of each text are described, as well as any of the findings in relation to labeling and identity. The summaries serve as the foundation upon which the remaining results and analysis are built.

Education Text One

This text begins by tracing the historical movements of language attitudes in the United States, starting with German settlers in the late 1800s through World War 2 and the English-only Movement to California's Proposition 227 (Linse, 2013). She notes the 1994 inception of the term "English Language Learner," its initial popularity causing it to remain in the United States educational system ever since. Linse argues the term continues the politics of the No Child Left Behind era and echoes anti-immigration sentiments. Furthermore, the text posits that this term is not as descriptively neutral as it claims to be and instead continues the deficit view of the previous Limited English Proficiency (LEP) label. Additionally, it is not representative of the student's linguistic diversity or capabilities, nor does it leave room for potential linguistic growth (Linse, 2013). In place of this term, Linse (2013) proposes terms that "celebrate multilingualism or at the very least acknowledge the linguistic gift that linguistically diverse learners possess" (p. 116). Some examples include Dual Language Learner (DLL) and Emergent Bilingual (EB). Linse (2013) concludes with a call for culturally responsive educators and politicians alike to honor and make visible the strengths of these multilingual students.

Education Text Two

In this text, Umansky uses the regression discontinuity model to determine the effect of the “EL” categorization in kindergarten on later academic success. Umansky (2016) was particularly interested in the niche group of kindergarten students who scored just above or just below the predetermined proficiency level. Any students in this school district who do not speak English at home are tested upon their arrival at kindergarten. The score they receive on this test determines whether or not the student will receive English language services, and subsequently whether or not they will be labeled as such. This study explores the paradox of the “ELL/EL” label: that being assigned the label opens the door for additional support and services at school *and* can be potentially stigmatizing with negative and limiting attributes. The regression model included factors such as instructional program type (English Immersion, Dual Immersion, Transitional bilingualism, and maintenance bilingualism), ethnicity, gender, and initial and subsequent test scores. Ultimately the study suggested that “there is a significant and growing negative effect of being classified as an EL...” (Umansky, 2016 p.726). The negative effect manifests in lower test scores in both mathematics and English language arts from Grades 2 through 10. Of course, the results of this study are not fully generalizable to the United States education system; outside culture and contexts also play a role in how the “ELL” label is helpful or harmful.

Education Text Three

This text is surprising because Takeuchi’s observational time was spent rooted in a mathematics unit in which students were given agency to collect data from their peers in order to present and suggest changes to the school recess policies and practices. Takeuchi focuses her ethnographic observations in the classroom on the multi-level identity work being enacted by

four multilingual students. Of the main participants, all four were multilingual, two were given the EL label and two were not. She noted how positional identities, figurative identities, and the geopolitical configuration of identities each played a role in the mathematics classroom and were used by both students and adults in the classroom (Takeuchi, 2021). Through analysis and comparison of four focal participants, Takeuchi uncovered how multilingual students given the “ELL” label were afforded lower levels of agency and participation by themselves, their peers, and their teachers (Takeuchi, 2021). In light of her findings, Takeuchi urges other researchers to investigate how to re-design the classroom to challenge the hegemony of English, understand the lasting impacts of microaggressions, and disrupt traditionally othered identities previously established by colonialism (Takeuchi, 2021, p. 107).

Government Text One

The text begins by defining key terms used throughout the document such as “Current, Former, Ever, or Never English language learners.” However, the Oregon Department of Education also prefaces its report by stating the labels created for and used throughout the report are not entirely accurate. The text recognizes how the EL label focuses on just the English abilities of multilingual students and does not accurately capture all of their assets. The Oregon Department of Education clearly states that they “acknowledge that their [the student’s] linguistic and cultural heritage matters” (Oregon Department of Education, 2021, p. 4)

All of the data used throughout the report is quantitative in nature. Topics include demographics, participation in selected programs, academic outcomes, attendance, graduation, instructional programming, and state revenues and expenditures. Due to the Covid-19 pandemic, not all of the data is present throughout the report. For example, attendance data is not available

due to the nature of hybrid and online schooling. This text is updated and republished yearly, the results for the 2020-2021 school year are not yet available to the public.

Government Text Two

Senate Bill 1560 was put forth by Senator Kayse Jama in hopes of updating existing legislation to refer to people using the term non-citizen in place of alien. Senator Jama represents Oregon's District 24 which is in East Portland. This document establishes the history of the term alien, beginning with President George Washington's use in the Naturalization act of 1790 up to President Biden's April 2021 order for United State immigration enforcement agencies to stop using the term. Senator Jama discusses why it is important for Oregon to change the "dehumanizing" term to something more appropriate. This bill was passed and is currently in effect.

Government Text Three

Senate Bill 1174 repeals Proposition 227 which was passed in California in 1998 and required that all multilingual students only have access to sheltered English-only immersion. Furthermore, Proposition 227 repealed all access to bilingual education and limited sheltered English instruction to a one-year program. Senate Bill 1174 overturns such limitations and allows for different options for English language instruction. This bill requires that school district and county officials elicit instructional feedback from the parents of multilingual students before formally implementing policy changes. Specialized terminology such as "English learner" and "native speaker" is defined for future use. This bill recognizes the benefits of multilingualism and allows for a linguistically diverse classroom. Senate Bill 1174 was passed and went into effect on July 1, 2017.

Linguistic Text One

This text represents a two-year mixed-methods study at a Canadian university. The data consists of semi-structured interviews, samples of student writing, and surveys. Marshall (2009) explores the concept of multiple identities in university students and how they develop. Specifically, the study focuses on how past identities may be re-enacted. Marshall investigates a transition point in these students' lives: away from home, to a new school; and away from the ESL label, to a new identity as a university student. Unfortunately, Marshall argues that in order for these multilingual students to have access to the 'university student' identity, they must first re-become ESL. In a pre-term survey, Marshall found that most of the multilingual students he worked with who spoke another language (88.9%), often used it at home (86.5%) (Marshall, 2009,). As discovered by follow-up interviews, many are in fact multilingual with English as their primary language. Through his findings, Marshall argues that the ESL label juxtaposes multiplicity and deficiency by failing to recognize the linguistic and cultural knowledge of the student (Marshall, 2009 p. 51). Ultimately he found that effective classroom pedagogy, highlighting the rich competencies of all students, can separate the remedial ESL identity from the identity of a multilingual university student.

Linguistic Text Two

In this text the authors argue that the LTELL label serves a white supremacist ideal that marginalizes the language practices of communities of color (Flores et al., 2015). The data for this study was pulled from a larger project researching the implementation of a biliteracy program in New York City high schools. The larger study was mixed methods, and the data used for this text were the semi-structured interviews and student-written artifacts specifically focusing on the student's self-perceived identities. In this school district, as with many others in the United States, a student would be assigned the LTELL label if they had received specialized

English language services for more than six years. Through their analysis, the authors found a mismatch between the student's fluid social identity and a fixed academic identity (Flores et al., 2015). For example, the student's bilingualism at home and among friends was seen as an added linguistic tool, but due to the idealized monolingual nature of the United States public school system, those skills translated into a perceived academic deficiency (Flores et al., 2015). When asked about the LTELL label, most of the multilingual students in the study did not know what it meant or even that it was something they were assigned (Flores et al., 2015). Further on, when asked what label they would assign themselves, one student simply said his name (Flores et al., 2015). The authors conclude by calling for a reconceptualization of the language practices in schools away from a monolingual 'norm' and towards a translanguaging pedagogy.

Linguistic Text Three

This text contrasts the current view of multilingual students in a monolingual environment and one option for a reconceptualization of such students. Martinez (2018) outlines the stereotypical misconceptions of multilingual students labeled "ELL" and counters the narrative with research on how bilingualism is known to operate around the world. For example, Martinez (2018) describes how code-switching is a very normal and useful linguistic skill to have, and how students who are bi/multilingual are not intellectually deficient despite the word gap myth. He notes the media's impact on the widespread use of the term "English language learner" and the role they play in sustaining the harmful misconceptions (Martinez, 2018). He explains how, "on a structural level, the 'English learner' category and the entire apparatus that we have created around it function together to funnel bi/multilingual students into particular pathways, often limiting their access to important opportunities to learn..." (Martinez, 2018, p.

521). He concludes by urging teachers and researchers to recognize the richness of multilingual students' competence and to treat them as capable readers and writers.

Label Analysis

English Language Learner, LEP

Frequency overall. Across the data set, the labels ELL, EL, English language learner, and English learner occurred 421 times. Any one of these terms was used once in every 141 words throughout the data set. This is by far the most commonly used label in the data, and presumably, in the institutions themselves. Limited English Proficient (LEP) is a term that used to be very popular in these discourse communities but has been losing popularity since the creation of ELL. Still, five of the nine texts used the term LEP. It can be found a total of 16 times throughout the data; this can also be understood as, of the five texts which use this term, LEP will be one in every 2,138 words.

Frequency by institution. The label ELL and its variants are very common across all of the institutions present; all but two of the documents contained these terms (Government text two, and Linguistic text one). Despite being present in almost every document, these terms were primarily used in the educational discourse. Educational texts one, two, and three used these terms a total of 353 times, as compared to 68 times total in the other two institutions combined. Distributed evenly this results in ELL arising one in every 77 words in the educational texts and once in every 475 words in linguistic and governmental texts. Looking at the data, it is clear that the label ELL is heavily used in education, and not as frequent in other institutions. It is second most frequent in linguistics, and lastly in government discourses. Although linguistics and education are separate institutions, the TESL organization is a large intersection in which this

term would be found in both texts. Governmental discourses rarely use the label ELL, occurring once in every 381 words.

LEP has a similar distribution to that of the label native speaker in that both are wide and shallow. The LEP label can be seen in five documents, with at least one from each institution. All of the educational texts used the term, along with Government text three and Linguistic text three. Despite its interdisciplinary usage, the term is not cited frequently within a singular document. The highest occurrence is found in Education text one, where the term appears once in every 580 words.

Semantic Meaning. The label English language learner originated in LaCelle-Peterson and Rivera's 1994 work on implications of assessment reform, where it is defined as "students whose first language is not English, and encompasses both students who are just beginning to learn English and those who have already developed considerable proficiency" (LaCelle-Peterson & Rivera, 1994, p. 55). This term was developed to shift attention away from the focus on lack of skills as Limited English proficient (LEP) does, to a more positive or neutral stance on what the student is learning. Since its inception, this term has been widely used across institutions, as noted by the data.

Overall, the English Language learner label fails to satisfy two major themes. First, it continues a deficiency of view of multilingual students. The emphasis lies on one small aspect of what the child is learning, and ignores the image of the whole child. This label becomes a metonymy for the entire student and does not adapt to reflect their growth or progress. Secondly, ELL fails to recognize how other students are also learning English. Taken literally this label should be applied to everyone in the United States, as languages (including English) shift and

change over time. In school, many are working on mastering academic English, while others are working on building their vocabulary.

LEP is a label that has recently been critiqued for its deficit focus. The phrase's beginning brings attention to a perceived lack of knowledge. The focus lies solely in the absence of linguistic abilities within the English Language, with no recognition of any potential learning or growth. Furthermore, this label is centered around the English language, not the individual, allowing space for stigma and stereotypes to be constructed. LEP fails to honor or acknowledge additional linguistic resources and abilities.

Use in context. Since its introduction in 1994, the term ELL has evoked slightly altered meanings. For example, Education text one notes how this term is used to support the English-only movement in California's Proposition 227. There, it is defined as "a child who does not speak English or whose native language is not English and who is not currently able to perform ordinary classroom work in English" (California Legislature, 1998, p.1). In practice, the label ELL is primarily concerned with academic English. As Linguistic text two notes, a monolingual English student with no academic language skills would not be labeled an ELL, however a student who is conversationally bilingual in Spanish and English must have academic literacy as well as basic competency in order to be considered proficient (Flores, Kleyn, & Menken, 2015).

Interestingly, Educational text three never actually labels multilingual students as ELL, instead the author emphasizes the individual by saying, "those who were institutionally classified as "ELLs" (Takeuchi, 2021, p. 88). Other ethnographic work follows this pattern. Linguistic text two places a similar importance on the student when it uses phrases such as "students labeled Long-Term English Language Learners (LTELL)" (Flores, Klyen & Menken, 2015, p. 113). By

contrast, Education text two almost entirely refers to the same multilingual students as ELs (Umansky, 2016).

The LEP label is used in the data both as an object and as a subject complement. For example, Government text three states that an English learner may also be described as “a pupil who is ‘limited English proficient’” (2016). Alternatively, Education text one describes the population of multilingual students by saying that they “have been identified as possessing limited English proficiency” (Linse, 2013, p. 113). The verb discrepancy between these two cases could potentially impact the student’s perception of the label and how that interacts with their identity. The use of the copular ‘be’ equates the student with the limited English skill, in turn presenting the student as having limited intelligence and portraying them in a negative light. Possessing limited English ability implies the possibility of gaining more English proficiency, this would subsequently allow the multilingual student to distance themselves from the evaluation and present a different identity.

Alien, RA

Frequency overall. The label alien arose a total of 16 times throughout the data. Between the two texts in which it was found, the label is employed once in every 330 words. Recent arrivers is used in two of the nine texts in the data, occurring only seven times between the two. This term is very rare, appearing one in every 2,921 words within the two texts.

Frequency by institution. Unsurprisingly, the label alien was primarily used in government texts. Fifteen of the 16 instances occurred in Government text two (Senator Jama’s call to replace the term in all Oregon state legislation). Within Government text two, alien is used once in every 42 words. One other instance was present in Education text one when Linse traced the history of immigration in the United States in conjunction with the term ELL (Linse, 2013).

The lack of distribution across other discourse communities at hand indicates that those institutions use other terms. For example, alien does not convey any information focusing on the language ability of the individual; this is where labels such as “ELL” or “multilingual” would be used instead.

Recent Arrivers is employed in both Education text three, and Government text one. In Education text 3, it appears only once, whereas in the Government text it is used six times.

Semantic meaning. Viewed in isolation, the term alien can evoke images of tiny green figures, flying spaceships, and crop circles. However, it carries an additional legal meaning similar to that of foreign-born or immigrant. This term was first used by President George Washington in the Naturalization Act of 1790, following a definition similar to ‘foreigner.’ The juxtaposition of the two definitions is quite striking; the overlap is found in that they both emphasize otherness. For example, if one was reacting to information that there is an alien invasion coming soon, it could evoke strong feelings of fear or worry. One’s emotions would then influence how to react to the situation, whether the reaction is aimed toward extraterrestrial beings or humans from a neighboring country. The fear and worry could cause the reaction to manifest as that of a hate crime.

The term recent arriver or RA is used in Government text one to “refer to students who were born outside of the U.S. and Puerto Rico, and who have been educated in the U.S. for fewer than three cumulative years” (Oregon Department of Education, 2021, p. 12). Here, recent arriver refers to the process of immigration, not anything related to language learning. Outside of this specific context, the term recent arriver holds a straightforward semantic meaning. This term could be applied to anybody newly arriving at the school, regardless of their language abilities. This term conflates language learning and immigration.

Use in context. Government text two suggests that legislation be updated to remove the term alien and replace it with non-citizen. Senator Jama argues that the label “weaponizes systems, agencies, and institutions to express bigotry and hatred without using overtly racist language” (Jama, 2022, p. 1). She posits that “we should embrace Oregon as a part of a nation of immigrants and remove the word “alien” to reflect the values of our state” (Jama, 2022, p. 2).

The label recent arriver places additional importance on a student’s immigration experience. In order to gain this label within an Oregon state school, one must meet certain criteria (be born outside of the country, and have been educated in the United States for less than three years). Government text one discusses how many RA children the state saw in the 2019-2020 school year, but fails to explain much further. For example, the Oregon Department of Education explains how “most recent arrivers (60.4 percent) were in the elementary grades, while 17.8 percent were in grades 6 -8 and 21 .9 percent were in high school” (2021, p. 13).

Multilingual, Bilingual, Emergent Bilingual (EB)

Frequency overall. In total, the Lx grouping of labels was invoked a total of 151 times. Of the documents they were found in, these labels occurred one in every 192 words.

Frequency by institution. The focus of these labels was concentrated in the linguistics institution, specifically Linguistic texts two and three. These terms were absent from Education text two, and Government texts two and three.

Semantic meaning. Multilingual, bilingual, and emergent bilingual present a much fuller image of the student compared to some of the other labels present. These terms recognize the linguistic ability of these children outside of the English language and include an

acknowledgment of the multicultural aspect of language learning. These labels do not emphasize deficiency, contrary to many other labels used. Through the use of the adjective, the term emergent bilingual highlights the student's positive trajectory of their bilingual ability, even though they may not be fully competent in both languages yet.

Use in context. This group of terms is most often used in the data as an adjective for the student rather than using the term to refer to the entire student. For example, Linguistic text one describes how “the processes of identity construction of multilingual university students such as Jeff are affected by a wide range of idiosyncratic and societal factors (self and society)” (Marshall, 2009, p. 45). A similar construction can be found in Linguistic text three where Martinez argues that “our success with bi/multilingual students hinges, to a very large degree, on our ability to perceive their many strengths and their tremendous potential” (Martinez, 2018, p. 516) Like the label itself, the author emphasizes strengths instead of deficits. Alternatively, Education text three equates ‘multilingual’ with the entirety of Daniel when saying, “the positioning of Daniel as a multilingual did not endure throughout the transforming recess unit” (Takeuchi, 2021, p. 98).

Native Speaker, Non-native Speaker

Frequency overall. The terms native and non-native speaker were much less common in the data. They were found in five documents, with either term occurring once every 1,505 words. When used, these labels were not frequent; their total count was less than 25. Of the duo, the label native speaker was more frequent. This supposed linguistic ideal was referenced 15 times, whereas the partner term was only used six times in the data. Furthermore, native speaker can be found in five of the nine documents analyzed here, whereas non-native speaker can only be found in one.

Frequency by institution. Interestingly, this grouping of labels seems to have a broad yet shallow dispersion across the data. The labels could be found in five of the nine documents, but at most, it was used in a single document six times. Both labels, native speaker and non-native speaker were used in Education text one the most. There is a higher concentration of usage in Education texts, but a higher frequency in the other institutions. For example, native speaker is used in one of the three education texts, but twice in both the government and linguistic texts. However, in the linguistic texts, the term is used once throughout the document, whereas the label is used six times in educational texts.

Semantic meaning. The labels at hand convey a unique stance regarding ‘in-group’ and ‘out-group’ positions for an entire language. The in-group or out-group positioning given early on is very static throughout the life of the individual. One could not change from being a non-native to a native speaker with enough experience, instead they would be described as having native-like fluency. Unlike other labels which emphasize potential or growth, these labels remain stagnant with native speaker being the ultimate goal. The image of a native speaker is beyond fluency to some ideal version of how the language is ‘supposed’ to operate. This person is up to date with all of the modern slang, yet can write and speak following all of the obscure rules of the language as well; a skill not many truly have. Achieving the proficiency of a native speaker is often the goal of a language class, yet there is little attention paid to what that speaker may look like. For English in the United States (and perhaps worldwide) that image may be a middle-class White man when in reality there is a variety of people who possess the same skill level.

Non-native on the other hand, is the label ascribed to anyone who falls short of this standard. This term, like that of ‘native,’ brings in a question of citizenship as well. The prefix

indicates the ‘out-group’ message, priming the interlocutor for someone who is different from themselves.

Use in context. Linguistic text one reaffirms the notion that “the target learner is still an idealized native speaker” (Marshall, 2009, p.42). This sentiment is echoed again in Education text one: “In the past, the aim for student learners was to speak like a native speaker with the proficiency exhibited by native speakers being considered the goal for language competency and proficiency” (Linse, 2013, p. 115). In the above examples, both use the label native speaker to position the learner as deficient. Such situations highlight how even a “neutral” label can still foster English-only sentiments and portray the ‘other’ in a negative light.

Linguistic text two describes a situation in which multilingual students assigned the LTELL label are perceived to not have a native language, and therefore also receive the non-native speaker label. The authors at hand explain how inadequate schooling can cause a lack of mastery of academic English, and if the student is not sufficiently literate in any other languages, the student is seen as not knowing any language ‘well enough.’ This series of events then leads the student to be labeled as a “dual nonnative speaker,” “languageless,” or “clinically disfluent” (Flores et al., 2015, p. 117). The authors further explain how the student may perceive themselves as a native speaker of English, but could be stripped of this privilege formally because of low academic language skill (Flores et al., 2015).

Current EL, Ever EL, Former EL, LTELL

Frequency overall. These labels represent a group of terms focused on the time spent being an English language learner. “Long-term English Language Learner” (LTELL) is often found in the school setting and applied to any student receiving services for over six years.

“Current, Former, and Ever EL” were terms created by Oregon state’s Department of Education

to fit their contextual needs. Due to their specific context and small scope, these terms are relatively infrequent across the data. There are two texts which use these labels, and between the two documents, they occur 238 times. This can also be understood as one in every 51 words.

Looking at the entire data set, these terms occur one in every 210 words.

Frequency by institution. Given the nature of these labels, their frequency by institution is limited. “Current, Ever, and Former EL” appear solely in Government text one, while LTELL is found only in Linguistic text two. “Current EL” is the most common in this family of labels, with over 100 instances in Government text one. In this text, it could be read once in every 62 words. By contrast, “Ever and Former EL” occur 13 and 53 times, respectively. This can also be represented as one in every 591, and 145 words. Linguistic text two specifically focuses on the identity evoked by the LTELL label, giving an explanation for its frequent use.

Semantic meaning. The labels at hand emphasize issues of time. Government text one as well as Linguistic text two concern themselves with the length of time that a multilingual student has been receiving English language services. To begin the report, the Oregon Department of Education defines its specific terms. “Current English Learners” are described as “multilingual students who were learning English in an ELD program during the 2019 -20 school year” (Oregon Department of Education, 2021, p.4). All students who were receiving English services at the time, whether they have been receiving them for one year or six years, would receive this label. “Former EL”, then, is applied to a student who no longer received English language services during the 2019-2020 school year. “Ever EL” is a combination of both “Current EL” and “Former EL” students. This would consist of any student who was receiving service at the time and any student who was at one point receiving services but has since tested out. The labels are divided so that the Department of Education can monitor growth over several school years.

The Long Term English Language Learner (LTELL) label is interesting semantically because it builds on the immensely popular English Language Learner label. The ELL label centralizes English as the most important subject that multilingual students are learning. However, due to a time limit set forth by the school district, some students are perceived as taking too long to learn this highly valued subject. This label adds an additional stigmatizing component by forcing multilingual students to comply with a strict time table, when in reality everyone learns a language at their own pace. Multilingual students could continue to be labeled as ELLs, but instead the government institutions decided to differentiate these groups based on time. No additional services are given to multilingual students with the LTELL label, which begs the question of its necessity.

Use in context. Government text one frequently employs each of the aforementioned labels when explicating the data from the 2019-2020 school year. For example, when describing the characteristics of the Current English Learners, the Oregon Department of Education wrote: “Although there were current English learners at every grade level, approximately two-thirds (65.7 percent) were in kindergarten through fifth grade” (2021, p. 10). “Former EL” and “Ever EL” can be found in similar constructions, typically used to make comparisons between different classes of learners.

Linguistic text two concerns itself with LTELL student self perceptions. In conducting their research the authors hoped to offer “a more complex understanding of the identities of students labeled LTELLs and the powerful ideologies that position them as deficient in current schooling practices” (Flores et al., 2015, p. 115). Through semi-structured interviews, the researchers asked the students how they felt about being labeled as LTELLs. The authors found that ultimately, students wanted to be viewed as individuals, and “therefore, it is important for

educators to see students labeled as LTELLs in the ways they see themselves” (Flores et. al, 2015, p. 129). Linguistic text two, although frequently employing the term, concluded that the label “has done more harm than good” (Flores et. al, 2015, p. 130).

Never EL, IFEP

Frequency overall. In conjunction, the labels “Never EL” and “Initially Fluent English Proficient (IFEP)” are present 98 times throughout the data. These terms have a narrow and deep distribution, appearing in only two texts, but each with over 30 repetitions within the text.

“IFEP” occurs once in every 148 words, while “Never EL” occurs once in every 240 words.

Frequency by institution. The label “Never EL” falls into the category of labels serving a specific purpose for the Oregon Department of Education. Due to this niche, it is only found in Government text one, along with “Current, Former and Ever EL.” “IFEP” fills a similar role for Education text two, and is not found in any other educational texts.

Semantic meaning. Functionally, these labels serve as a sort of non-label. “Never EL” indicates that the student has not received any extra English language support from the school. “IFEP” students are considered “Initially Fluent English Proficient” and, similarly, do not receive any outside services. Just as some labels carry the gift of support and the burden of stigma, these non-labels are free of both. Mainstream monolingual English speakers would likely never encounter such terms and have no need to.

Use in context. The “Never EL” label was used throughout Government text two as a baseline for comparison with the other EL label groups. For example, a higher percentage of both current and former English learners were eligible for reduced priced meals than were the never English learner counterparts. Throughout the text the label is syntactically separate whereas the other three labels (“Current, Former and Ever EL”) are more frequently in a list

together. This can be seen when discussing participation in the Talented and Gifted Program (TAG). The data is presented as two separate entities.

According to figure 13, 7.6 percent of never English learners (36,264 students) were eligible for TAG programs in 2019-20. While 6.0 percent of former English learners were eligible (3,035 students) and 3.2 percent of ever English learners were eligible (3,275 students), less than 1 percent of current English learners were eligible for TAG programs in 2019-20 (240 students).

The “IFEP” label functions very similarly. It often serves as a point of comparison, as seen here, “In two-language classrooms, EL classification, compared with IFEP classification...” (Umansky, 2016, p.717). Unlike “Never EL,” “IFEP” is often placed directly next to EL in the text. It is common to see the two labels hyphenated as in, “EL-IFEP cut score” (Umansky, 2016, p. 724). The statistical analysis in Education text two is completed for both EL and IFEP” students, so the use is similar in that context as well.

EAL, ESL

Frequency overall. The labels English as an Additional Language (EAL) and English as a Second Language (ESL) were not very common in the data set. They were used a total of 73 times of the almost 60,000 words analyzed. Taking all of the data into account, ESL or EAL occur once in every 815 words. By contrast, the ELL was used once in every 141 words throughout the data. Another consideration is that these terms can not be found in every document of the data. Surprisingly, these labels are only found in two documents of the nine total. Given the widespread use of ESL when discussing teaching second languages, this was an unexpected finding in the data. Within the two texts at hand, these labels appear one in every 199 words.

Frequency by institution. The texts which include these labels are Education text one and Linguistics text 1. The term EAL is found only in Education text one and is used seven times throughout the text. This term is highly infrequent, occurring one in every 663 words. ESL, on the other hand, is much more frequent. This term appeared only in Linguistic text one, but it was more common with 66 uses. Overall, ESL can be read one in every 150 words of Education text one.

Semantic meaning. These two labels are very similar when it comes to semantic meaning. Taken fully, they read English as an additional language, and English as a second language. The structure of the phrase is identical, with the only change coming from whether English is viewed as the second in a chronology of acquired languages, or an additional language to a mixed repertoire. Furthermore, this label deals directly with the languages themselves instead of with the people trying to learn such languages. For this reason, EAL and ESL would better function as labels for classes rather than individuals.

Use in context. Interestingly, both EAL and ESL are used to refer to people in the data. Despite the semantics of the terms, the data shows that they are still used as labels assigned to multilingual students. For example, Education text one discusses how EAL is the term most frequently used in Great Britain and Ireland. Linse praises the term for how it recognizes the existence of other languages interacting with the learning of English (2013). Education text one even goes so far as to describe this term as “probably the most inclusive and culturally responsive term that could be used...” (Linse, 2013, p. 117).

ESL is used in a similar manner in Linguistic text one. There, the focus is on how multilingual students transitioning from high school to college must re-become ESL (Marshall, 2009). The author notes how it can be difficult for students to find their identity in college after

high school. Marshall describes how “they [the students] have left behind the difficult years doing ESL and *being* ESL” (Marshall, 2009, p. 45). This perspective highlights how the assignment of the label ESL triggers two experiences for a student. The first experience is that of ‘doing ESL;’ this most often comes in the form of taking an additional English language development class. The second experience of ‘being ESL’ recognizes the added stigma and identity work that comes with being assigned this label. Marshall continues to use the term ESL throughout the text, referring to “ESL classes,” students having to “overcome ESL,” and ultimately, “re-becoming ESL” (Marshall, 2009, p. 42).

Discussion

After presenting the results, it is now imperative to revisit the research questions previously established.

What labels are multilingual students given? Which institutions use them?

Multilingual students are given a wide variety of labels. The data analyzed here yielded over 15 different labels, each with varying definitions and semantics. Overall, Education texts one, two and three use a wider variety and more labels than either of the other institutions. Table 1 summarizes the variety of labels found while Table 2 details the frequency of each label by institution. See the results section for an in-depth analysis of questions one and two.

What do these labels mean in their specific contexts? What meanings do these labels have by nature of their semantics?

Overall trends present in the data include the conflation of language ability with citizenship, the use of a label as synecdoche, labels reflecting a deficit view, and the difference

between static and dynamic labels. Labels such as alien, non-native and recent arriver place unwarranted importance on the citizenship status of the student and fail to recognize any linguistic strengths. The English Language Learner label takes one aspect of a multilingual student's identity (the fact that they are learning English), and expands it so that now the entire student is represented and referred to only as their level of English. Other labels such as Limited English Proficient (LEP) focus on the multilingual student's assumed lack of knowledge and present a deficit view of multilingual students which can get carried over into other aspects of their lives. The data also highlighted the difference between labels such as native or non-native speaker, and that of emergent bilingual. Native speaker (or non-native speaker) is a static label in that it does not change, and will be applicable throughout an individual's life. Emergent bilingual is a label that will eventually transition to bilingual or multilingual, and presents a positive trajectory of language learning.

What aspects of identity are these labels for these learners evoking?

The final research question presents a challenge due to the intrinsic nature of identity. The interpretation of identity impacts done here is based on the literature using the labels, not the views of the multilingual students to whom they are applied. Many of the texts analyzed above interviewed students to gain their perspective on these labels, but additional interviews were outside of the scope of this study. The impacts of such labels can be implied due to their frequency and semantics, however further research must be done to corroborate the findings here.

Potential Identity Impacts

Language, and the specific linguistic tool of a label, is key to identity construction (Norton, 1997). Additionally, identity creation and negotiation does not exist in a vacuum; local and global influences must also be accounted for (Harré et al., 2009; Norton, 2006; Vygotsky, 1997). The labels presented above represent a subset of possible language tools which are creating an identity for multilingual students. These identities are co-constructed and can be maintained by the group holding power; most often in the United States this group is the White monolingual majority (Link & Phelan, 2012). The subsequent analysis is done in acknowledgment of the greater geopolitical configuration of the United States and recognizes the limited identity negotiation power of the minority communities which these labels impact.

One function of the language in identity creation is using labels as synecdoche. This literary device presents an image such that one part is made to represent the whole (Merriam-Webster, n.d). For example, the phrase “all hands on deck” uses one body part to represent the entire body. This trend is also present in the labels at hand. By referring to a student as a “English Language Learner,” their entire persona is now their English linguistic ability. This label fails to recognize that multilingual students are also learning math, science, and history as well as the fact that they are fluent in at least one language, albeit not English.

The label as synecdoche also seems to be omnipresent. It is used in all three institutions at a fairly high frequency. That would suggest that this label follows the individual throughout their day, and is not contained to just the specialized English support classes. Carrying the label also means carrying the associated stigma (Link & Phelan, 2012). The stigma of these labels varies by context but given that the primary function of the ELL label is to separate students, the associated stigma is likely to have a similar function. The physical in-group and out-group

separation of students with and without the ELL label perpetuates the idea that people who are not monolingual English speakers are somehow less than their monolingual counterparts. The label, stigma, and “us” versus “them” components of the ELL label depend on a power hierarchy which removes the ability for multilingual students to actively negotiate their identity. (Link & Phelan, 2012).

A few of the labels analyzed do not function as synecdoche, and in turn would have different impacts on the identity of the label holder. Such labels include static labels and dynamic labels. A static label, such as native or non-native speaker, does not change throughout a student’s life (Shuck, 2006). The impacts of this label on a multilingual student’s identity could be very negative. For example, English language classes are often striving for the multilingual students to function like native speakers. This unrealistic goal may cause students to develop negative self affect, which in turn can impact motivation and participation. Furthermore, a multilingual student’s identity may suffer because in the United States, the term native speaker is often only referring to native speakers of English. Educators and government officials may fail to recognize that everyone is a native speaker of a language; this naivety could potentially cause a multilingual student to develop a negative self image. In this scenario, a multilingual student’s home language and culture could be entirely discounted, possibly leaving them with the negative label of non-native speaker for the remainder of their life.

Dynamic labels on the other hand, as can be seen in the label emergent bilingual, present an image of a multilingual student that is growing and learning. This positively framed label could then have positive impacts on identity. A multilingual student may feel validated and proud when they hear that they are learning new skills and developing as a bilingual individual. Dynamic labels also encourage the adults in a multilingual student’s life to perceive them in a

positive manner, while also leaving space for mistakes to be normalized. By framing the student's skills as emerging, there is more flexibility for what the process and end goal may look like. Static labels, on the other hand, do not leave room for any deviation, and narrowly confine multilingual students to one way of operating.

Limitations

The results presented and analyzed above operate within limitations. For example, the purposeful sampling of the texts ensured relevant yet narrow results. The texts selected are not representative of the entire institution because texts were only selected if they were topically centered around labeling and identity. Furthermore, the implications of such labels on the identity of the label holder can only be speculated. It was beyond the scope of this study to conduct outside interviews with multilingual students to gain deeper insight into the impact of such labels.

Conclusion

The research presented here filled a gap in the literature regarding the labels used in the institutions of Education, Linguistics, and the Government. A thorough analysis of the documents produced by each institution revealed the most common labels and their meaning in context. Further interpretation based on labeling theory indicated how these labels may impact student identities.

Although the findings here help to move our understanding forward, the results could be corroborated further with interviews or surveys with members of each institution. Additionally, it was beyond the scope of this research, but there may be a pattern regarding data collection methods (quantitative versus qualitative) and the types of labels used.

Ultimately, after reviewing the data, it is clear that the best label to use is no label at all. The benefits of faster or easier communication are outweighed by the potential negative stigmas associated with the widespread use of these labels. Realistically, labels will continue to be used throughout these three institutions and beyond. Based on the potential identity impacts, if a label must be used I would suggest that the institutions at hand transition to the term “multilingual.” This term does not fall into the synecdoche category, it accounts for other potential linguistic repertoires, and it frames the students’ identity in a positive light.

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Appendix A

Data Notes

Total labels used in all documents:

1. Alien-16
2. Bilingual-71
3. Current EL-123
4. EAL-7
5. Emergent bilingual-20
6. ELL-335
7. English learner/English language learner-86
8. ESL-67
9. Ever EL-13
10. Former EL-35
11. IFEP-66
12. LEP-16
13. LTELL-67
14. Multilingual-60
15. Native Speaker-15
16. Never EL-32
17. RA-17
18. Non-native -6

Total words per document:

ED 1-4,643

ED 2-9,767

ED 3- 12,753

GOV 1-7,694

GOV 2-635

GOV 3-2,340

LING 1-9,940

LING 2-6,992

LING 3-4,718

GRAND TOTAL OF WORDS: 59,502**Labels per document:**

	ED 1	ED 2	ED 3	GOV 1	GOV 2	GOV 3	LING 1	LING 2	LING 3
alien	1				15				
bilingual			5					15	51
Current EL				123					
EAL	7								
EB (Emergent Bilingual)	4		1					10	5
ELL	14	283	23	6				9	
English language learner	20	1	12	11		11		1	30
ESL							66		
Ever EL				13					
Former EL				35					
IFEP		66							
LEP	8	2	1			1			4
LTELL								67	
multilingual			7	2			29	1	21
Native speaker	6			2		5	1	1	
Never EL				32					
Recent			1	6					

Arrivers									
non-native	6								