

Learning Talk: A Study of the Interactional
Organisation of the L2 Classroom from a
CA Institutional Discourse Perspective

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Abstract

This thesis presents the L2 classroom as a complex, fluid, dynamic and variable interactional environment. The main aim of the study is to develop a description of the interactional organisation of the L2 classroom, using a Conversation Analysis (CA) institutional discourse methodology. This entails not only a description of the overall interactional architecture of the L2 classroom, but also the development of a practical methodology for the description, analysis, evaluation and exploration of the micro-interaction.

It is argued that the dominant DA paradigm is unable to portray the complex, fluid, dynamic and variable nature of L2 classroom interaction, and that a perspective which involves context variation is necessary. It is therefore proposed that L2 classroom interaction can operate within a number of 'L2 classroom contexts'. Within each context a particular pedagogical focus combines with a particular overall organisation of the interaction which is appropriate to that focus. Some common L2 classroom contexts are characterised, and the organisation of turn-taking and repair within each context is explored. There is discussion of how L2 classroom contexts are created and shifted and how tension between contexts may be manifested.

The interactional architecture of the L2 classroom is portrayed as an example of the rational design of institutional interaction, balancing invariant underlying institutional characteristics (homogeneity) with extreme flexibility and variability (heterogeneity). A tri-dimensional view of context is introduced in order to explicate how one can simultaneously analyse on both the micro and macro levels in this discourse setting. A practical CA framework and

methodology is developed, which involves locating an extract within the interactional architecture and then linking the pedagogical purposes introduced by the teacher to the patterns of interaction produced by the learners. The argument is illustrated by transcripts from the large and varied database of L2 lessons assembled for the study. Moreover, the methodology is exemplified through the numerous analyses of transcripts.

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Dedication

*This thesis is dedicated to Joanna, Alexandra and Francesca,
with love.*

Motto

Considering the Snail by Thom Gunn

The snail pushes through a green
night, for the grass is heavy
with water and meets over
the bright path he makes, where rain
has darkened the earth's dark. He
moves in a wood of desire,

pale antlers barely stirring
as he hunts. I cannot tell
what power is at work, drenched there
with purpose, knowing nothing.

What is a snail's fury? All
I think is that if later

I parted the blades above
the tunnel and saw the thin
trail of broken white across
litter, I would never have
imagined the slow passion
to that deliberate progress.

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Paul Seedhouse 30.9.96

Author's Declaration

I declare that this thesis represents my own work. To the best of my knowledge all concepts and written texts which are not my own have been attributed to their originators. This thesis contains material which has already appeared or is to appear in the following works:

Seedhouse, P. (1992). *Towards a Framework for the Analysis of Communication in the Language Classroom*. Unpublished MSc dissertation. University of Aston.

Seedhouse, P. (1994). 'Linking Pedagogical Purposes to Linguistic Patterns of Interaction: The Analysis of Communication in the Language Classroom'. *IRAL* 32/4: 303-320.

Seedhouse, P. (1995a). 'L2 Classroom Transcripts: Data in Search of a Methodology?'. *TESL-EJ*, 1 (4), A-1.

Seedhouse, P. (1995b). *English Teaching in Norway: Data from the Classroom*. York: University of York.

Seedhouse, P. (1996). 'Classroom Interaction: Possibilities and Impossibilities'. *ELT Journal* 50/1: 16-24.

Seedhouse, P. (forthcoming) 'Combining Form and Meaning: Clues from the Classroom'. To appear in *ELT Journal*.

Seedhouse, P. (forthcoming) 'The Relationship between Context and the Organisation of Repair in the L2 Classroom'. To appear in *IRAL*.

Paul Seedhouse. 30.9.96

Conventions

vital bold type is used to emphasise particularly important points in the argument.

episode bold italic type is used for initial mentions of technical terms peculiar to this thesis which are listed in the 'definitions' section.

context italic type marks sub-headings within a section.

"Where?" quotation marks indicate the beginning and end of quotes from written texts cited.

'role-play' inverted commas are used to foreground a term and/or to mark my distance from a term.

Transcription System

This study contains extracts from two main databases (see section 4.1). The two databases are generally transcribed in the same way, but there are some slight differences, so they are described separately.

Database 1) Norwegian Data

The system of transcription is a slightly adapted version of Van Lier's (The Classroom and the Language Learner, Longman, 1988). It is important to note that:

- a) linguistic errors made by speakers have **not** been corrected. All spoken utterances have been transcribed verbatim wherever possible and no attempt has been made to turn the discourse into 'sentences'.
- b) the normal written uses of punctuation (full stops, question marks etc.) are **not** followed in this system.
- c) many passages are marked unintelligible. The lessons were recorded under normal classroom conditions, which meant that background noise was inevitable. At some

points, 4 different groups were being recorded simultaneously using recording walkmans.

Transcription Conventions

T:	:	teacher
L:	:	unidentified learner
L1: L2: etc,	:	identified learner
LL:	:	several or all learners simultaneously
/yes/yah/ok/	:	overlapping or simultaneous utterances by more than one learner
=	:	a) turn continues below, at the next identical symbol b) if inserted at the end of one speaker's turn and at the beginning of the next speaker's adjacent turn, it indicates that is no gap at all between the two turns

.....	:	pause; three periods indicate one second
(9 sec)	:	longer silence with length given in seconds
?	:	rising intonation, not necessarily a question
!	:	strong emphasis with falling intonation
OK. now. well.	:	a period unseparated from the preceding word indicates falling (final) intonation
so, the next thing	:	a comma indicates low-rising intonation, suggesting continuation
e:r the:::	:	one or more colons indicate lengthening of the preceding sound
((unintelligible 5 sec))	:	a stretch of unintelligible speech with length given in seconds
yesterday Peter went	:	capitals are used only for proper nouns, not to indicate beginnings of sentences

- ja* ((tr: yes)) : foreign words are italicised, and are immediately followed by an English translation.
- [gibee] : in the case of inaccurate pronunciation of an English word, an approximation of the sound is given in square brackets
- (T shows picture) : editor's comments
- [: the point at which an ongoing utterance is joined by another is marked by a single left-hand bracket

Database 2) Published and unpublished extracts from lesson transcripts.

This database consists of a large number of extracts from many different sources. The transcripts were therefore originally prepared by many different people using a variety of systems. When quoted in this thesis, these transcripts have often been slightly altered in the interests of homogeneity. For example, 'L' is used to denote learner, whereas 'S' or a learner's name may have been used in the original.

The conventions used for database 2) extracts is the same as for database 1) with the following exceptions:

a) the normal written uses of punctuation (full stops, question marks, commas etc.) **are** followed if that was the case in the original transcript.

b) capitals **are** used to indicate the beginnings of sentences if that was the case in the original transcript.

1 Introduction

This thesis presents the L2 classroom as a dynamic, complex, fluid and variable interactional environment. The main aim of the study is to develop a description of the interactional organisation of the L2 classroom, using a Conversation Analysis (CA) institutional discourse methodology. This involves the development of a framework for locating individual instances of L2 classroom interaction within the overall interactional architecture of the L2 classroom, as well as the development of a practical methodology for the description, analysis, evaluation and exploration of the micro-interaction. The thesis is particularly concerned with developing a perspective which is able to portray variation in context, and attempts to characterise different contexts as closely as possible on the basis of their interactional organisation. The study is concerned with explicating only those periods of an L2 lesson in which the L2 is spoken by both teacher and learners.

First of all it is necessary to consider the research gap: why would a framework and methodology for the description, analysis, evaluation and exploration of L2 classroom interaction be desirable? Five main reasons are presented.

Reason 1. Communication is important as a basis, vehicle and goal of L2 teaching

Recent approaches to L2 teaching have presented communication in the classroom as one of the most essential concepts in language teaching. As Kumaravadivelu (1993: 12) suggests:

“Curriculum planners are preoccupied with communicative syllabus design. Materials producers have flooded the market with books carrying the label communicative. Testing experts have come out with batteries of communicative performance tests. Teachers invariably describe themselves as communicative teachers. Thus, theorists and practitioners alike almost unanimously emphasise communication of one kind or another.”

At the same time, though, the assumption appears to have been made that communication is a straightforward and uniform concept which is easily definable and identifiable. In fact, none of the most prominent texts of the Communicative Approach (Littlewood 1981; Brumfit and Johnson 1979; Widdowson 1978) provide a definition or characterisation of ‘communication’. However, investigation of the psychological literature on communication shows that it is a complex and elusive phenomenon, and that there are many different varieties, levels and definitions of communication. The L2 teaching world has tended to equate communication with “the exchange of ideas, information etc between two or more persons.” (Richards et al. 1985: 48). However, “there is no consensus as to its definition.” (Harré and Lamb 1983: 102) and there are many possible alternative definitions of communication. According to Mortensen (1972: 14), over ninety-five definitions have appeared in print, including, for example: “communication is the mechanism by which power is exerted.” (Aubrey Fisher 1978: 7); “the establishment of a social unit from individuals by the use of language or signs.” (Aubrey Fisher 1978: 8); “communication is a name for the overall system of relationships people develop between each other and with

the community and habitat in which they live.” (Harre and Lamb 1983: 104). Identifying communication is also problematic, since there is a general consensus (Hannemann and McEwen 1975; Watzlawick et al. 1980; Ellis and Beattie 1986; Mortensen 1972) that **it is impossible not to communicate**: “Activity or inactivity, words or silence all have message value: they influence others and these others, in turn, cannot not respond to these communications and are thus themselves communicating.” (Watzlawick et al. 1980: 23). This means that communication takes place whether or not it is “intentional, conscious or successful.” (ibid). Communication of some kind is therefore always taking place in the L2 classroom whatever we do there - even if we stand on our heads wiggling our toes at the students.

We are therefore in the paradoxical situation of having adopted communication as a major basis, vehicle and goal of what we do in the L2 classroom whilst we have no adequate conceptual or practical framework or methodology for describing, analysing or evaluating the communication which takes place there: “We still do not have any detailed knowledge about the structure of interaction and communication in the foreign language classroom.” (Krumm 1981). It might be objected at this point that this emphasis on communication could be another passing fad in L2 teaching. However, the global picture at the moment is that English (in particular) is increasingly being used by learners throughout the world as a *lingua franca*, as an international means of communication, rather than a linguistic system to be studied in abstraction for its own intrinsic merit, or as a window into British or American culture. The likelihood appears to be, therefore, that communication will remain a vital concept in L2 teaching.

Reason 2. The learning takes place via the interaction

At the same time, interest in language teaching has shifted away from the consideration of teaching methods in isolation towards a focus on classroom interaction as the most vital element in the instructed second language learning process:

“Bluntly, classroom interaction is important because interaction is the sine qua non of classroom pedagogy. interaction is the process whereby lessons are ‘accomplished’, to use Mehan’s very apt term..... We are not talking about interaction in terms of ‘communication practice’ for example, but in terms of pedagogy itself, in the most general sense that all classroom pedagogy proceeds, necessarily, via a process of interaction, and can only proceed in this way..... The above arguments point to the conclusion that successful pedagogy, in any subject, necessarily involves the successful management of classroom interaction.” (Allwright 1984a: 159)

Because we do not have an adequate conceptual or practical framework or methodology for describing and analysing the interaction which takes place in the L2 classroom we are not able to make the L2 learning and teaching processes transparent or demonstrate how L2 learning takes place through the interaction. If and when we are able to describe, analyse and evaluate the different kinds of interaction which occur in the L2 classroom, it may then be possible to relate these to second language acquisition processes: “One of the key questions has become ‘What kinds of interaction promote L2 learning?’.” (Ellis 1992: 37).

Reason 3. We have little knowledge of what actually goes on in L2 classrooms

We currently have little and piecemeal knowledge of what actually goes on in L2 classrooms:

“We actually know remarkably little about typical practice in language learning, and there is a great need for additional comparative studies.” (Brumfit and Mitchell 1989b: 12)

“Our ignorance of what actually happens in classrooms is spectacular.” (Stubbs 1983a: 91)

Now part of the problem here is that we have been lacking in a large database of L2 lessons (see section 4.2) which research could use to increase our knowledge and understanding of L2 classroom processes. However, it is also a problem that we do not have a comprehensive framework and methodology for the description, analysis, evaluation and exploration of L2 lessons. As there is no generally agreed framework, classroom studies cannot be compared (Chaudron 1988:28). An additional problem is that research instruments and approaches which might work in L1 classrooms tend not to work so well in L2 classrooms because of the nature of L2 classroom interaction. As Willis (1992: 162) puts it: “.. language is used for two purposes; it serves both as the subject matter of the lesson, and as the medium of instruction. It is precisely this dual role that makes language lessons difficult to describe.” L2 classrooms, then, have an added layer of complexity by comparison with L1 classrooms. Moreover, there is bewildering diversity in L2 teaching, with different languages being taught for different purposes in monolingual and multilingual groups. This combination of complexity and diversity makes the L2 classroom a particularly difficult discourse setting to research: as Van Lier (1988a:14) puts it: “ Researchers have tended to avoid (the L2 classroom) as a particularly ‘messy’ source of data, and walked around it in the hope that, eventually, its walls would come tumbling down.” This study, however, adopts the position that there is method to the messiness (as, from the CA perspective, there always is in naturally occurring interaction) and that it is possible to describe the organisation of the interaction in this discourse setting.

Reason 4. There is currently no valid basis for the evaluation of L2 classroom interaction

This brings us on to the delicate question of evaluation. It might be argued that any attempt to describe an interactional system should be as objective and disinterested as possible, and that evaluation is essentially a subjective matter which is to be avoided. However, I will argue that the L2 classroom is something of a special case, and that evaluation of the interaction is in a sense unavoidable. It is argued later in this study (section 5.2) that, whatever kind of interaction is taking place in the L2 classroom, teachers are always evaluating the L2 utterances which learners produce. It is further argued that this is part of the essential characteristics of L2 classroom interaction and that evaluation of discourse is after all what the L2 classroom is about : “Everyone involved in language teaching and learning will readily agree that evaluation and feedback are central to the process and progress of language learning.” (Van Lier 1988a: 32). It is not only teachers who evaluate L2 classroom interaction. Observers (typically engaged in teacher-training) and writers and analysts who deal with the L2 classroom also want to evaluate the interaction and link it to learning processes. So if a system for the description and analysis of L2 classroom discourse is to be of any practical use, then it must be capable of being used to evaluate L2 classroom discourse.

Because we do not have a methodology or framework for describing and analysing L2 classroom interaction, however, we do not have a basis for evaluating the interaction: “Evaluating a lesson is a difficult task, since there are no universally accepted criteria to judge the quality of a lesson or teacher.” (Van Lier 1988a:41). Since there is no agreed basis for evaluating interaction, it is often conducted in an ad hoc way, with different writers sometimes disputing the value of a particular text. Now the CA methodology used in this

study (section 5.5) tries to ensure that the interaction is evaluated from the same point of view and using the same criteria as the teacher teaching the lesson. This cuts through the problems of subjectivity and the observer's perspective with respect to evaluation: the evaluatory evidence springs from the interaction itself, rather than being based on the observer's pedagogical proclivities.

Reason 5. There is no technical language for the description of L2 classroom interaction

It has frequently been noted that L2 teaching is lacking in technical language for the description of what actually takes place in the classroom:

“No technical language exists to designate the teaching behavior in second language learning settings.” (Fanselow 1977:18).

“Research in classrooms has been limited by not having an agreed-upon set of activity types..., so little comparison was possible among studies.... Moreover, while the pedagogical literature on language abounds with various proposals for communicative language activities, it appears to have avoided a concise taxonomy of types.” (Chaudron 1988:187)

An associated problem is that while we have an ‘argot’ of activity types, it frequently turns out in practice that teachers use the identical term to mean different things. This is well illustrated by Mitchell (1988), who found that Scottish secondary school teachers of French tended to view the activity type of ‘role play’ in two different ways:

“While everyone agreed that children should have appropriate language at their disposal when embarking on a role play activity, disagreement began when teachers started to describe the procedure for the activity itself. Broadly speaking they fell into two groups: those who saw the point of role play being to give pupils an opportunity for improvisation and for creative FL use, and those who saw it as a dramatic production complete with pre-scripted ‘lines’ to be reproduced.....On the basis of these reports, it was difficult to attach any clear

single function to role play activities in the Communicative Approach.”
(Mitchell 1988:26-27)

I would suggest at this point that Breen's (1989) conception of the three phases of a classroom task is relevant here. Breen proposes a temporal structure of task-as-workplan (before classroom implementation), task-in-process (what actually happens in the classroom) and task outcomes (the product of the classroom activity). The basic problem is that L2 teaching has been primarily concerned up to the present with *the task-as-workplan*. The evidence for this is the huge variety of resource books which have been published over recent years, which catalogue an ever-increasing number and diversity of tasks-as-workplans. What we have very little evidence of is how these are translated into tasks-in-process: what kind of interaction do they actually produce in the classroom? What I am suggesting, then, is that L2 teaching will never be able to have a technical language or taxonomy of activity types by examining tasks-as-workplans: this will only be possible through analysis of classroom interaction, which would be able to reveal the nature of the task-in-process. It may be, then, that the teaching process (as well as the learning process) can only be accurately described through the description of L2 classroom interaction.

This section has presented five reasons why the development of a framework and methodology for the description, analysis, evaluation and exploration of L2 classroom interaction would be desirable. It is not suggested that the present study could even begin to fill such a huge research gap: rather, the present study should be seen as a preliminary step towards such a goal. Chapters 2 to 10 adopt a process orientation to research. That is, the main aim of developing a framework and methodology for the description, analysis, evaluation and exploration of L2 classroom interaction is approached through the process

of developing the main argument. In chapter 11 the framework and methodology are presented as findings, as a 'product' of the process research.

2 Research Literature: A Critical Review of DA-based Approaches to L2 Classroom Interaction

2.1 DA Approaches

According to Levinson (1983:286) there are two major approaches to the study of naturally occurring interaction: discourse analysis (DA) and conversation analysis (CA). This chapter argues that the overwhelming majority of previous approaches to L2 classroom interaction have implicitly or explicitly adopted what is fundamentally a DA approach. The chapter reviews the DA approach critically, but this is not in an attempt to discredit it or suggest that it is worthless: any current attempt at analysis of L2 classroom interaction is very much built on the foundations of what has been achieved through the DA approach. Nevertheless, the limitations of the DA approach need to be made explicit if we are to build a more satisfactory model of analysis.

DA uses principles and methodology typical of linguistics to analyse classroom discourse in structural-functional linguistic terms (Chaudron 1988:14). For example, “Could I borrow your pencil?” could be mapped as ‘request’. Once sequences of speech acts or moves have been plotted, a set of rules can be written which show how the units fit together to form coherent discourse. Then, hierarchical systems which depict the overall organisation of classroom discourse can be developed. The two outstanding studies of (L1) classroom interaction which take this DA approach are Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) and Mehan

(1979). Probably their most significant finding as far as the teaching profession is concerned is their identification of the three-part sequence typical of classroom interaction, which Edwards and Westgate (1994:124) call the 'essential' teaching exchange. This sequence is known as **Teacher Initiation, Learner Response and Teacher Follow-Up or Feedback (IRF)** in the British school, and **Teacher Initiation, Learner Response and Teacher Evaluation (IRE)** in the American school. I will refer to it as the **IRF/IRE cycle** in this study.

The DA system of analysing classroom interaction has proved highly appealing to the language teaching profession, to the extent that the vast majority of studies of classroom interaction have been based more or less explicitly on the DA approach. There are notable exceptions to this, including Allwright (1980) within a broad CA tradition, Peck (1988) with a pedagogical approach, and Van Lier (1988a) within the ethnographic tradition. Now the DA approach has been subject to considerable criticism on a theoretical level, most notably by Levinson (1983:289), who suggests that there are strong reasons to believe that such models are fundamentally inappropriate to the subject matter, and thus irremediably inadequate. The following is a simplified summary of Levinson's discussion of the main problems inherent in a DA approach (Levinson 1983:287-294):

- a) a single utterance can perform multiple speech acts at a time.

- b) responses can be addressed not only to the illocutionary force of utterances, but also to their perlocutionary force: perlocutions are in principle unlimited in kind and number.

- c) it is impossible to specify in advance what kinds of behavioural units will carry out interactional acts: laughter and silence can function as responses, for example.

- d) there is no straightforward correlation between form and function.
- e) sequential context and extra-linguistic context can play a role in determining utterance function.
- f) in contrast to syntax, it is not possible to specify a set of rules which show how the units fit together to form coherent discourse: cases of impossible or ill-formed discourses are hard, if not impossible to find.
- g) the textual analyses produced by a DA approach are quite superficial and disappointing, involving an intuitive mapping of unmotivated categories onto a restricted range of data.

It may be argued that such theoretical problems do not mean that the DA approach is fundamentally unsuitable in practical terms to the analysis of L2 classroom interaction, given that the DA approach has proved popular with the L2 teaching profession. I would therefore like to analyse extracts from L2 lessons in an attempt to reveal the fundamental practical limitations of the DA approach. A focus on the IRF/IRE cycle (and on other pedagogic moves) appears attractive at first, in that all an analyst need do is identify them within the interaction, and the discourse analysis is virtually complete. The following two extracts both demonstrate teacher-led IRF/IRE sequences

Extract 1

- 1 T: After they have put up their tent, what did the boys do?
- 2 L: They cooking food.
- 3 T: No, not they cooking food, pay attention.

- 4 L: They cook their meal.
5 T: Right, they cook their meal over an open fire.

(Tsui 1995: 52)

The focus in this context is on the accurate production of a string of linguistic forms by the learners. So although no-one would have any problem in understanding the learner's first utterance, it is not accepted by the teacher, and the interaction continues until the correct forms are produced. The **I**nitiation slot of the IRF/IRE cycle is prompting the learner to produce a specific sequence of linguistic forms; the **R**esponse slot is the learner's attempt to produce that sequence; the **F**ollow-up slot is, in line 3, negative evaluation and prompt for the repeated attempt at the production of a specific sequence of linguistic forms; in line 5 it is positive evaluation plus repetition of the correct sequence of forms. The type of repair used is **exposed correction** (Jefferson 1987) in which correction becomes the interactional business: the flow of the interaction is put on hold while the trouble is corrected.

Extract 2

- 1 T: Vin, have you ever been to the movies? What's your favorite movie?
2 L: Big.
3 T: Big, OK, that's a good movie, that was about a little boy inside a big man, wasn't it?
4 L: Yeah, boy get surprise all the time.
5 T: Yes, he was surprised, wasn't he? Usually little boys don't do the things that men do, do they?
6 L: No, little boy no drink.
7 T: That's right, little boys don't drink.

(Johnson 1995: 23)

Taking first of all a conventional DA approach, this extract can also be analysed quite straightforwardly. What we have is a sequence of consecutive IRF/IRE cycles which can be coded as follows: Line 1: **I**nitiation; Line 2: **R**eplay; Line 3: **F**ollow-Up and **I**nitiation; Line 4: **R**eplay; Line 5: **F**ollow-Up and **I**nitiation; Line 6: **R**eplay; Line 7: **F**ollow-Up. The

analysis is simple and complete and we can confirm that this is therefore traditional, lockstep classroom interaction of the type often criticised by the communicative approach (Nunan 1987; Dinsmore 1985) because it is teacher-dominated and different to 'genuine' interaction. Using the DA approach, then, there are no fundamental differences between extract 1 and extract 2.

I will now reanalyse extract 2 using a CA methodology and suggest that in fact this is a very complex, fluid and dynamic piece of interaction indeed, and that there are huge differences between extracts 1 and 2. If we analyse turn-taking and topic at the same time, we can see that the learner in extract 2 is able to develop a topic and is allowed interactional space. In line 1 T introduces the carrier topic (films) and constrains L's turn in line 2, which is a minimum response appropriate to the turn. In line 3 T shifts the topic slightly from the carrier topic (films) to the sub-topic of the specific film 'Big' nominated by L. In doing so T validates and approves L's sub-topic by calling it a good movie. T constrains L's next turn by making a general statement summarising the plot of the movie ("that was about a little boy inside a big man") together with a tag question. This allocates L a turn, constrains the topic of L's turn (the plot of the film 'Big') and simultaneously provides the other students in the class (who may presumably not know the film) with sufficient information to be able to follow the evolving dialogue. The tag question effectively requires L to confirm the accuracy of T's summary of the film's plot, but also allows L the interactional space (if L wishes) to develop the sub-topic. L does confirm T's summary of the sub-topic and then chooses to contribute new information which develops the sub-topic (the film's plot), namely in line 4 ("boy get surprise all the time"). This utterance is linguistically incorrect, although the propositional content is clear. Since L is introducing 'new' information, L is effectively developing the sub-topic, to which T could respond in his/her next turn.

At this point T could choose to 1) correct the learner's utterance 2) continue to develop the sub-topic 3) decline to adopt L's sub-topic and change the course of the interaction: T has superior interactional rights and is not obliged to adopt the direction in which L is pushing the interaction. T effectively chooses to combine choices 1) and 2) in the first sentence of line 5: "Yes, he was surprised, wasn't he?" There is positive evaluation of the propositional content of the learner utterance followed by an expansion of the learner utterance into a correct sequence of linguistic forms. The type of repair used is embedded correction, that is, a repair done in the context of a conversational move, which in this case is a move of agreement and confirmation:

"That is, the utterances are not occupied by the doing of correcting, but by whatever talk is in progress ... What we have, then, is embedded correction as a by-the-way occurrence in some ongoing course of talk." (Jefferson 1987: 95)

This form of correction and expansion is highly reminiscent of adult-child conversation, (See, for example, adult-child conversation transcripts in Peccei (1994: 83), Painter (1989: 38), Wells Lindfor (1987: 114) and the technique being used by the teacher here is often termed 'scaffolding' (Johnson 1995: 75).

In the second sentence of line 5, T then accepts L's invitation to develop the sub-topic, and T's statement "usually little boys don't do the things that men do" also simultaneously provides the other students in the class with an explanation as to why the boy was surprised all the time, thus enabling them to continue to follow the evolving dialogue. The tag question (line 5) again allocates L a turn and effectively allots him the interactional space to continue to develop the sub-topic should he wish to do so. L uses 'no' in line 6 to agree with the negative tag-question and chooses to develop the sub-topic by providing an

example from the film to illustrate T's previous generalised statement with: "little boy no drink". Again his utterance is linguistically incorrect, although the propositional content is clear. Since L is again introducing 'new' information, L effectively invites T to respond to this elaboration of the sub-topic in T's next turn. T's response in line 7 is similar to line 5 in that T performs a move of agreement, simultaneously corrects L's utterance (using embedded correction) and displays a correct version for the other students.

What is clear from the analysis of the above extract is that, although it could at first sight be mistaken for a rigid, plodding lockstep IRF/IRE cycle sequence in which everything is pre-planned and predictable, the interaction is in fact dynamic, fluid and locally managed on a turn-by-turn basis to a considerable extent. There is some degree of pre-planning in that the teacher has an overall idea of what is to be achieved in the interaction and in that it is the teacher who introduces the carrier topic of films and has overall control of the speech exchange system. However, the question in line 1 is an open or referential one - the teacher does not know how L will respond - and L is able to nominate and develop a sub-topic. I would now like to demonstrate that the teacher is balancing multiple and sometimes conflicting demands. As Edmondson (1985: 162) puts it: "... the complexity of the classroom is such that several things may be going on publicly through talk at the same time." The teacher is orienting to five separate (though related) concerns simultaneously:

- 1) the teacher's purpose (Johnson 1995:23) "... was to allow the students to share their ideas and possibly generate some new vocabulary words within the context of the discussion." This implies that the teacher needs to control the overall topic whilst allowing the learners some interactional space to develop their own sub-topics. The teacher has to orient, then, to an overall pedagogical plan.

- 2) The teacher also has to respond to the ideas and personal meanings which the learner chooses to share, and does so successfully in that he/she develops the sub-topic introduced by the learner. So in lines 5 and 7 the teacher responds to the learner utterance with a conversational move of agreement which validates the propositional content of the utterance as well as the introduction of the sub-topic.
- 3) The teacher also responds to linguistic incorrectness in the individual learner's utterances and conducts embedded repair on them. The linguistic repair is performed in a mitigated and non-face-threatening way because it is prefaced by a move of agreement and approval and because this type of embedded correction can be treated as a by-the-way matter.
- 4) The teacher must also orient to the other learners in the class. One problem faced by teachers is that individual learners often produce responses which are inaudible or incomprehensible to the other students in the class. So in lines 5 and 7 the teacher is simultaneously displaying approved versions of learner utterances so that the other learners are able to follow the propositional content of the interaction and are also able to receive correctly formed linguistic input.
- 5) One of the most difficult feats in L2 teaching is to maintain a simultaneous dual focus on both form and meaning. Examination of classroom transcripts often shows that focusing on the correctness of linguistic forms leads to 'meaningless' discourse, whereas focusing on meaning leads to accepting incorrect forms, which may in turn lead to fossilised errors. I explore this issue in section 10.3 (as well as in Seedhouse, forthcoming), but at present I would merely like to argue that the teacher in the above extract is skilfully managing to maintain a simultaneous dual focus on both form and meaning. There is a focus on form in that the teacher upgrades and expands the learner's utterances on a linguistic level, which means that the learners have a

linguistically correct utterance which can function as both model and input. The focus is simultaneously also on meaning in that the learner is able to contribute 'new' information concerning his/her personal experiences.

Now the above CA analysis does not dispute that extract 2 consists of IRF/IRE cycles: the DA analysis is certainly right to point this out. However, the point which is missed in the DA approach is that **the IRF/IRE cycle performs different interactional work according to the context in which it is operating.** To illustrate this point I will contrast the interactional work the IRF/IRE cycle is doing in extract 2 with extract 1.

We saw in extract 1 that the **Initiation** slot of the IRF/IRE cycle is prompting the learner to produce a specific sequence of linguistic forms; the **Response** slot is the learner's attempt to produce that sequence; the **Follow-up** slot is, in line 3, negative evaluation and prompt for the repeated attempt at the production of a specific sequence of linguistic forms; in line 5 it is positive evaluation plus repetition of the correct sequence of forms.

By contrast, the recurrent patterns in extract 2 are quite different: the **Initiation** slot is prompting the learner to speak about his/her own experience: the learner is **not** expected to produce a specific sequence of linguistic forms. The **Response** slot is the learner's attempt to express his/her personal meaning or experience, and the linguistic forms used are incorrect in two of the slots. In the **Follow-up** slot, the incorrect linguistic forms produced by the learner are **not** negatively evaluated by the teacher, but they are repaired in an indirect way in lines 5 and 7. There is positive evaluation of the propositional content of the learner utterance followed by an expansion of the learner utterance into a correct sequence of linguistic forms i.e. embedded correction is used.

Many studies of L1 and L2 classroom interaction (Nunan 1987; Dinsmore 1985) imply that it is the IRF/IRE cycle which is primarily responsible for 'traditional' patterns of interaction. However, the analysis of extract 2 shows that **the interaction is not necessarily completely closed** with the IRF/IRE cycle, which can perform different interactional work in different contexts. A variable approach to contexts and to the organisation of interaction within those contexts (the organisation of repair, turn-taking, adjacency pairs and preference organisation) has been shown to be necessary for a valid and adequate description of L2 classroom interaction. A focus on superficially isolable, identifiable and quantifiable features such as the IRF/IRE cycle, display questions etc. will inevitably result in monolithic and acontextual overgeneralisations. From the analysis of extracts 1 and 2 we may conclude the following:

- 1) the identification of the IRF/IRE cycle (or any other quasi-syntactic DA category) in isolation does not elucidate the real nature, interest and orientation of the interaction.
- 2) the DA approach is inherently acontextual and is unable to portray the different contexts and the different focuses of the interaction. The discussion reveals the need for a variable conception of context, which is discussed further in sections 3.3 and 3.4.
- 3) A basic problem with the DA approach is that it portrays teachers as making one pedagogic move on one level at a time. I try to show in my analysis of extract 2 that teachers may be simultaneously orienting to multiple separate pedagogical concerns and that classroom interaction may be operating simultaneously on multiple levels (Edmondson 1985: 162).

4) The focus and context of the interaction may switch with great fluidity, as I hope to show in my textual analyses. Halliday (1985:xxxiv) suggests that “The context of spoken language is in a constant state of flux, and the language has to be mobile and alert..... The complexity of spoken language is more like that of a dance; it is not static and dense but mobile and intricate.” I have tried to show that DA cannot portray the flow of the interaction because it is essentially a static approach which portrays interaction as consisting of fixed and unidimensional coordinates on a conceptual map.

5) Since the DA approach was developed for L1 classrooms and transferred for use in L2 classrooms, it has difficulty in portraying the extra dimension which distinguishes L2 classroom interaction from L1 classroom interaction, namely that language is not only the vehicle but also the goal of the interaction. As Willis (1992: 162) puts it: “.. language is used for two purposes; it serves both as the subject matter of the lesson, and as the medium of instruction. It is precisely this dual role that makes language lessons difficult to describe.” Some coding schemes have tried to adapt the DA approach to the L2 classroom. In order to try to make the DA approach cope with these two different levels of language use, Willis (1992:163) proposes coding on either an inner or an outer level: “The ‘Outer’ structure is a mechanism for controlling and stimulating utterances in the ‘Inner’ structure which gives formal practice in the foreign language.” However, this still implies that an utterance is either being used on one level or another, whereas I have tried to show in my analysis of extract 2 that utterances often operate on both levels simultaneously.

6) The DA approach massively oversimplifies the interaction in extract 2 and, I would argue that it has in general to do so in order to make the DA system work. The micro-

interaction has to be coded as a single instructional sequence (Mehan 1979) or as a single move (Sinclair and Coulthard 1975) in order that the micro-interaction can be fitted into the hierarchy. In contrast to DA, the CA analysis of extract 2 was better able to capture the dynamic, fluid, complex interplay and dialectic between the different levels on which the L2 classroom operates and hence portray the complexity of the teacher's interactional work. Because the focus in DA is on fitting the micro-interaction into a system, whereas the focus in CA is on portraying the participants' interactional concerns, DA tends to conceal the complexity of the interaction, whereas CA tends to reveal it. This point is well expressed by Green and Wallat (1981b: 193):

“...the accomplished fact of constructing maps of instruction conversation lends itself to misrepresenting the actual state of complexity as something clear-cut, static, regular and harmonious with its elements held poised in some perfect pattern of functional relationships and easily available for participants to read.”

2.2 Coding Systems

By far the most common method of describing classroom interaction to date has been through the development of coding systems or quantification schemes. Long (1983) states that there are over 200 instruments for describing the classroom behaviours of teachers and students, and that:

“There are now at least twenty such systems for coding teacher and student behavior in second language classrooms, whether verbal interaction is classified as discrete linguistic/pedagogic events or treated as interrelated units of discourse.” (1983: 5)

“Both the source and range of variables incorporated in second language systems tend to reflect those found by others in instruments for use in content

classrooms. Thus, many second language systems record verbal interaction only, with an emphasis on the teacher's public use of language to control the topic of classroom conversation. They tend to analyze his or her behavior in terms of its pedagogic function and to give considerable prominence to its affective characteristics." (Long 1983: 9)

Since 1983 several new coding schemes have been developed specifically for the L2 classroom. All coding schemes for L2 classroom interaction are implicitly based on a DA paradigm. Edwards and Westgate (1994:61) note that classroom coding schemes embody a set of assumptions, notably:

".. the common assumption that those features of the interaction of teacher and taught which are relevant to the researcher's purposes are evident 'beneath' or 'within' the words exchanged. Utterances can therefore be adequately categorised as they occur in terms of their broadly defined functions. The resulting record then extends beyond who talked, how much, and to whom, to a listing of what was 'done' through what was said."

The basis of the DA approach is that an interactant is making one move on one level at a time. The basis of classroom coding schemes is also that participants are making one move on one level at a time. The move the teacher is making can be specified and coded as a pedagogic move, for example 'initiates' or 'replies'. This 'one pedagogic move on one level at a time' coding approach is the basis of the following coding systems developed especially for the L2 classroom: The COLT instrument (Froehlich, Spada and Allen 1985), TALOS (Ullman and Geva 1984), FLINT (Moskowitz 1976). A full list of observation instruments is given in Chaudron (1988:18). Now some of the above coding systems involve coding on different dimensions of analysis, such as content, type of activity, skill focus and language used (see Chaudron 1988:22 for a summary). But the assumption is still that in each of these separate coding dimensions the teacher is making one pedagogical move at a time and the coder has to make a choice as to which slot the pedagogical move should be coded into.

However, I attempted to show in my analysis of extract 2 (line 5) that the same single teacher utterance is simultaneously making the four separate moves of agreement, confirmation, correction and displaying an approved version of the learner utterance for the benefit of other learners. Coding systems (for both L1 and L2 classrooms) have been subject to considerable criticism by sociolinguists, and the following is a summary of the main criticisms:

- 1) “Since the classroom talk is generally not recorded but ‘coded’ by the observer on the spot in real time, the actual language used by teachers and pupils is irretrievably lost.” Stubbs (1983a: 92).
- 2) “The functions of language are not captured....” (Mehan 1979: 10), the communicative value of remarks may be missed, and coding systems “... fail to reflect accurately the multiple, simultaneous functions that language serves in the classroom.” (Mehan 1979: 14).
- 3) The relationship of behaviour to context is lost (Mehan 1979: 10).
- 4) “When frequencies are merely tabulated, the overall organisation of classroom events is lost.” (Mehan 1979: 13).
- 5) “...such behavior as is recorded is interpreted from the observer’s perspective rather than that of the participants in the interaction.” (Long 1983: 12).
- 6) “...the systems themselves are no less subjective than the impressionistic comments they were designed to replace. Observational instruments are, in fact, no more (or less) than theoretical claims about second language learning and teaching. Their authors hypothesize that the behaviors recorded by their categories are variables affecting the success of classroom language learning. Very little has been done to test those hypotheses.” (Long 1983: 10).

- 7) “ Interaction analysis systems are usually concerned only with overt, observable behaviour. They do not take directly into account the differing intentions that may lie behind such behaviour.” (Delamont and Hamilton 1976: 8).
- 8) “... failure to address the complexity of classroom interaction.” (Van Lier 1988a: 45).
- 9) “Both the source and range of variables incorporated in second language systems tend to reflect those found by others in instruments for use in content classrooms..... it is surprising that so much borrowing should have taken place when one considers that second language classrooms differ from most others in that language is both the vehicle and object of instruction. If for no other reason, one might have expected more second language systems to reflect different levels of language use.....” (Long 1983: 9).
- 10) There are also criticisms of L2 coding schemes from a quantitative viewpoint. Chaudron (1988:23) shows that the units of analysis chosen by the many different L2 classroom observation schemes do not coincide and concludes that we must ask “ serious questions about the general validity of such schemes: when researchers who investigate the same basic dimensions do not agree on the categories of analysis, not only are the results not comparable, but at least one, if not all, are probably not employing a valid set of observational categories.” Chaudron (1988:28) shows that no L2 classroom observation instrument has yet been able to attain a satisfactory level of reliability by means of quantitative verification techniques: “The L2 research discussed here does not go far enough to establish confidence in the use of entire instruments, nor even in the individual categories used in observation.”

To the above criticisms this study would add three of its own:

- 11) Coding systems do not portray the connection between pedagogical purposes and linguistic patterns of interaction, which (I will argue in section 5.2) is an essential characteristic of the L2 classroom.
- 12) Coding systems are inherently acontextual and evaluate all varieties of L2 classroom interaction from a single perspective and according to a single set of criteria, even though this is an implicit phenomenon and is rarely explicitly stated. Perhaps the most sophisticated instrument for the observation of L2 classrooms, the COLT instrument, does imply that it uses a single criterion: "... an observation instrument designed to capture differences in the communicative orientation of L2 interaction in a variety of settings." (Froehlich, Spada and Allen 1985: 27). Communicative orientation, then, is the sole evaluatory criterion used, and COLT does not have any mechanism for showing that a procedural introduction to an information-gap activity should be viewed or evaluated in a different way to the information-gap activity which follows it. COLT includes 21 different categories for different kinds of student activities and is able to distinguish different types of L2 classroom interaction (Ellis 1994: 576). However, it views all types of interaction from one monolithic, acontextual perspective, namely its communicative orientation. There is no mechanism for indicating that the different kinds of interaction would need to be viewed and evaluated differently.
- 13) Since coding schemes are based on the 'one move on one level at a time' principle, oversimplification of the the interaction results. As we have seen in the analyses of extracts 1 and 2, correction can perform different interactional work in different contexts. Chaudron (1988: 146-148) lists 31 different types of corrective reactions which a teacher can make. And yet there is only one coding category termed 'correct' for teaching acts in the COLT system, which results in homogenisation as well as

oversimplification. Drew (1981) makes a similar criticism of coding schemes with respect to adults' correction of children's mistakes, pointing out that coding is unable to capture much of the interactional and sequential work which a turn can be designed to achieve.

This study does not wish to suggest that coding or quantification schemes are of no value; on the contrary, there are a great number of coding schemes which are effective in catering for the purposes for which they have been developed, e.g., facilitating observation, teacher training, isolating specific behaviour, capturing differences in the communicative orientation of L2 interaction. This study would merely like to suggest that, for the reasons given above, they cannot constitute the basis of a methodology for the description, analysis and evaluation of L2 classroom interaction.

I would like to make clear that I am not suggesting that the DA approach is wrong and worthless, for it has in fact been successful in many ways and has proved popular with the language teaching profession. DA and CA approaches can to some extent be combined to explore a text in greater depth. However, it was suggested in the analysis of extract 2 that, by virtue of language being the object as well as the vehicle of instruction, L2 teachers are doing very complex interactional work compared with 'content' teachers and compared with professionals in other institutional settings. Unfortunately, the DA methodology and coding schemes which have been predominantly employed to represent their work tends to portray them as plodding from one monotonous IRF cycle to the next and as working on a single level. So I feel that the DA approach we have predominantly used up till now to portray what we do in the classroom has not done justice to the complexity of the interactional work we are engaged in, and that it has therefore not done sufficient justice to our profession. As

Van Lier (1982:1) puts it: “most past and present systems and models for the description and analysis of classroom interaction are inadequate, since they do not lead to a significant improvement in our understanding of what actually goes on in classrooms.” Chapters 3 to 12 of this study suggest that, by contrast to DA and coding schemes, CA enables one to get under the surface of the interaction and explore the complex, fluid, dynamic and multi-layered nature of L2 classroom interaction. What exactly is it about CA methodology which makes it better suited to the portrayal of L2 classroom interaction? I feel that the difference resides in CA’s ability to explore and connect the different levels on which we operate in interaction. This is based on three fundamental ideas described by Heritage (1995: 398):

“First, in doing some current action, speakers normally project and require the relevance of a ‘next’ or range of possible ‘next’ actions to be done by a subsequent speaker. Second, in constructing a turn at talk, speakers normally address themselves to preceding talk and, most commonly, the immediately preceding talk. Speakers design their talk in ways that exploit this basic positioning, thereby exposing the fundamental role of this sequential contextuality in their utterance. Third, by the production of next actions, speakers show an understanding of a prior action and do so at a multiplicity of levels..... CA starts from the presumption that all three of these features... are the products of a common set of socially shared and structured procedures. CA analyses are thus simultaneously analyses of action, context management and intersubjectivity because all three of these features are simultaneously, if tacitly, the objects of the actors’ actions.”

So whereas DA tends to fix, homogenise and simplify the interaction, CA tends to reveal its complexity, fluidity and dynamism. The rest of this thesis may be seen, on one level, as an attempt to prove this point through a process exposition.

3 Research Literature: Other Approaches to L2

Classroom Interaction

3.1 The Communicative Approach to L2 Classroom Interaction

Although one might have expected the communicative approach to have adopted a complex and sophisticated perspective on communication in the L2 classroom, this chapter argues that in fact the communicative approach has, surprisingly, tended to adopt a monolithic, static and invariant perspective on interaction. I would first like to examine the elements which constitute the communicative position on L2 classroom interaction and then discuss (in section 3.2) ‘communicative’ analyses of L2 classroom interaction.

In the 1980s a communicative ‘orthodoxy’ developed which saw much ‘traditional’ L2 classroom communication as undesirable by comparison with ‘genuine’ or ‘natural’ communication. Nunan (1987: 137), for example, examined five exemplary communicative language lessons and found that “when the patterns of interaction were examined more closely, they resembled traditional patterns of classroom interaction rather than genuine interaction.” Nunan (1987: 141) sums up the results of the research so far:

“... there is a growing body of classroom-based research which supports the conclusion drawn here, that there are comparatively few opportunities for genuine communicative language use in second-language classrooms. Thus Long and Sato report: ‘ESL teachers continue to emphasis form over meaning, accuracy over communication’ (1983: 283). The reader is also referred to Brock

1986; Dinsmore 1985; Long and Crookes 1986; and Pica and Long 1986. A disconfirming study is yet to be documented.”

Kumaravadivelu (1993: 12) confirms that this ‘orthodoxy’ is still prevalent in the 1990s: “Research studies.... show that even teachers who are committed to communicative language teaching can fail to create opportunities for genuine interaction in the language classroom.”. The main assumptions of this ‘orthodoxy’ can be summarised as follows:

- 1) There is such a thing as ‘genuine’ or ‘natural’ communication (Nunan 1987: 137) (Kumaravadivelu 1993: 12) (Kramersch 1981: 8).
- 2) It is possible for L2 teachers to replicate ‘genuine’ or ‘natural’ communication in the classroom, but most teachers fail to do so (Nunan 1987: 144) (Kumaravadivelu 1993: 12)(Kramersch 1981: 18) (Legutke and Thomas 1991: 8).
- 3) Most teachers instead produce interaction which features display questions and examples of the IRF cycle, which are typical of traditional classroom interaction, and which rarely occur in ‘genuine interaction’ (Nunan 1987: 141) (Nunan 1988: 139) (Dinsmore 1985: 226-227) (Long and Sato 1983: 284).
- 4) Teachers could be trained to replicate ‘genuine’ or ‘natural’ communication in the classroom (Nunan 1987: 144) (Kumaravadivelu 1993: 18).

I will now examine each element of this ‘orthodoxy’ and attempt to reveal the problems inherent in the underlying assumptions.

Assumption 1) There is such a thing as 'genuine' or 'natural' communication.

The terms 'genuine' and 'natural' communication, as used by the communicative 'orthodoxy', are not precise sociolinguistic terms. Many writers use the terms 'genuine' or 'natural' without attempting to define or characterise them. Nunan, however, does provide a characterisation of 'genuine' communication. He suggests (1987: 137) that

“... genuine communication is characterised by the uneven distribution of information, the negotiation of meaning (through, for example, clarification requests and confirmation checks), topic nomination and negotiation by more than one speaker, and the right of interlocutors to decide whether to contribute to an interaction or not. In other words, in genuine communication, decisions about who says what to whom and when are up for grabs.”

Although Nunan does not actually say that he is characterising free conversation, the above is a short characterisation of free conversation within the paradigm of the CA approach. In CA terms, his last sentence clearly implies 100% local allocational means, which can only mean conversation rather than any other speech exchange system, all of which use greater pre-allocation. (Sacks et al. 1974: 729)(Drew and Heritage 1992b: 19). Other authors reinforce that what is actually meant by genuine or natural discourse is in fact conversation: Kramsch (1981: 17) explicitly equates 'natural discourse' with conversation, whilst Ellis (1992: 38) equates 'naturalistic' discourse with conversation:

“It is common to emphasise the differences that exist between pedagogic and naturalistic discourse. A good example of this is to be found in work on turn-taking. In ordinary conversations in English turn-taking is characterised by self-regulated competition and initiative (Sacks et al. 1974), whereas in classroom discourse there is frequently a rigid allocation of turns.”

The communicative ‘orthodoxy’, then, equates ‘genuine’ or ‘natural’ communication with conversation, which is a precise sociolinguistic term (as well as a lay term). Since the rest of this section depends on sociolinguistic rather than pedagogical analysis, I will use only the sociolinguistic term ‘conversation’ from now on. The clear implication in the communicative ‘orthodoxy’ is that it is possible for conversation to be produced within the setting of an L2 classroom lesson, and indeed this looks perfectly reasonable at first sight. However, current sociolinguistic theory sees conversation as a “... kind of benchmark against which other more formal or ‘institutional’ types of interaction are recognized and experienced. Explicit within this perspective is the view that other ‘institutional’ forms of interaction will show systematic variations and restrictions on activities and their design relative to ordinary conversation.” (Drew and Heritage 1992b: 19). Conversation, then, is clearly differentiated from the numerous varieties of institutional discourse. If we rephrase the implication in sociolinguistic terms, then, it begins to look unreasonable: the clear implication in the communicative ‘orthodoxy’ is that it is possible for conversation (a non-institutional form of discourse) to be produced within the setting of an L2 classroom lesson (within an institutional form of discourse).

Assumption 2) It is possible for L2 teachers to replicate conversation in the classroom, but most teachers fail to do so.

I will argue that it is, in theory, not possible for L2 teachers to replicate conversation (in its precise sociolinguistic sense) in the L2 classroom as part of a lesson. Warren’s (1993) PhD thesis ‘Towards a Description of the Features of Naturalness in Conversation’ is based on a corpus of 40 recordings of free conversation (totalling 25,000 words) in natural settings

without the knowledge of the conversationalists. Warren develops a precise and consensual definition of conversation which distinguishes conversation from other discourse types:

“A speech event *outside of an institutionalised setting* involving at least two participants who share responsibility for the progress and outcome of an impromptu and unmarked verbal encounter consisting of more than a ritualised exchange.” (my italics)(1993: 8)

For L2 classroom interaction to be equivalent to free conversation, the following features of naturalness in conversation (paraphrasing Warren) would have to be met: the setting must not be an institutional one; turn-taking and participation rights in conversation must be unrestricted; responsibility for managing and monitoring the progress of the discourse must be shared by all participants (see also Edwards and Westgate 1994:116). Conversations are open-ended and participants jointly negotiate the topic. The only way, therefore, in which an L2 lesson could become identical to conversation would be for the learners to regard the teacher as a fellow-conversationalist of equal status rather than as a teacher, for the teacher not to direct the discourse in any way at all, and for the setting to be non-institutional: no institutional purposes could shape the discourse, in other words. The stated purpose of L2 institutions is to teach the L2 to foreigners. As soon as the teacher instructs the learners to ‘have a conversation in the L2’ , the institutional purpose will be invoked, and the interaction could not be conversation as defined here. To replicate conversation, the L2 lesson would therefore have to cease to be an L2 lesson in any understood sense of the term and become a conversation which did not have any underlying pedagogical purpose, which was not about the L2 or even, in many situations, in the L2. Van Lier underlines the point that the communicative approach would in effect like L2 classrooms to stop being L2 classrooms:

“It used to be common, and perhaps still is in many people’s opinion, to regard all talk that occurred in classrooms as artificial, contrived and unauthentic, and all talk that occurred outside classrooms as natural, authentic and spontaneous. Early communicative approaches recommended, therefore, that the classroom should, as much as possible, attempt to recreate bits and pieces of the ‘outside world’ in order to be authentic and allow for communication to occur. This is equivalent to saying that the classroom has to be as un-classroomlike as possible. Increasingly, classroom research tells us that this is not so....: the classroom is in principle and in potential just as communicative or uncommunicative as any other speech setting, no more, no less. Nor does ‘the real world’ stop at the classroom door: the classroom is part of the real world, just as much as the airport, the interviewing room, the chemical laboratory, the beach, and so on.”(Van Lier 1988b: 267)

It is not suggested that it is impossible for conversation to take place in the physical setting of an L2 classroom, but rather that it cannot occur as part of an L2 lesson. In the vast majority of L2 classrooms around the world, the learners share the same L1. The only conceivable way in which conversation could occur in these monolingual L2 classrooms would be for the learners to converse in their L1. In multilingual ELT classrooms, which are frequently found in the UK and the USA, it would be quite natural for learners to use English (their L2) to have a conversation. In order for it to be a conversation, however, the teacher would not be able to suggest the topic of the discourse or direct it in any way. Such a conversation might just as well take place in the coffee bar as in the L2 classroom. It is therefore impossible, in theory, for L2 teachers to produce conversation in the classroom as part of a lesson. I will attempt to demonstrate that this is also impossible in practice during the discussion of assumption 4).

Assumption 3) Most teachers instead produce interaction which features display questions and examples of the IRF/IRE cycle, which are typical of traditional classroom interaction, and which are rarely found in conversation.

Both Nunan (1987: 137) and Dinsmore (1985: 226) give the presence of the IRF/IRE cycle as **their initial reason** for asserting that there was little ‘genuine’ communication in the L2 classrooms which they observed. Dinsmore claims that the prevalence of the IRF cycle and the unequal power distribution “hardly seems compatible with a ‘communicative’ language teaching methodology.” (1985: 227). Nunan writes (1987: 137) that:

“On the surface, the lessons appeared to conform to the sorts of communicative principles advocated in the literature. However, when the patterns of interaction were examined more closely, they resembled traditional patterns of classroom interaction rather than genuine interaction. Thus, the most commonly occurring pattern of interaction was identical with the basic exchange structure Teacher Initiation, Learner Response, Teacher Follow up.”

I made the point in the analysis of extract 2 that interaction featuring the IRF/IRE cycle can be dynamic, fluid and offer the learner some interactional space, but that the DA methodology cannot reveal this. Now the problem is that a focus on identifying IRF/IRE cycles tends to be self-fulfilling and to blind analysts to other aspects of the interaction. Dinsmore (1985:226) actually decided to search for this exchange structure before examining his data: “... I had predicted that the basic exchange structure..... would not be so prevalent in the adult EFL classes I observed.” This obsession with the IRF/IRE cycle is taken to its logical conclusion by Piper (1986:195), who attempts to find the IRF/IRE cycle within one individual learner!

“When applied to these CALL [Computer Assisted Language Learning] learners, these categories [the IRF cycles] revealed that their discourse often resembled that of teacher and pupil but where both teacher and pupil were one and the same person. The learners were both directing and evaluating their own performance in such a way that the classic IRF structure occurred within one individual.”

My objection that looking for single structures can blind analysts to the fluidity of the interaction is demonstrated by the following extract :

Extract 3

- 1 LL: Paul what's this?
2 T: It's a flood you had a flood
3 L1: What's a flood?
4 T: *Inundacion* ((tr: flood))
5 L1: Uh uh
6 T: OK?
7 L2: And why?
8 T: Ah well how many people did you have?
9 L1: In the field?
 [
10 L2: In the dyke?
11 T: In the dyke
12 LL: 100
13 T: 100 not not enough
14 LL: Ah ha

(Seedhouse 1994:309)

If one wanted to find the IRF/IRE cycle here one could locate a Teacher Initiation in line 8, a Learner Response in line 12 and Teacher Follow-Up in line 13. However, this would be to seriously misrepresent the interaction. The whole exchange is initiated and dominated by the students, since they introduce each topic. The teacher's question in line 8 is not so much an initiation as a request for information so that he can give an answer to the student's question. The interactional evidence in this extract is therefore that the learners, not the teacher, dominate the interaction. The intervention of the teacher and ostensible presence of the IRF/IRE cycle does not necessarily lead to a reversion to traditional classroom patterns.

I would now like to suggest that there is something fundamentally wrong in the communicative approach's assumption that, because the IRF/IRE cycle is normally noticeably absent from adult-adult conversation, it is therefore unnatural and should not occur in the L2 classroom either. It is important to note that the IRF/IRE cycle is very noticeably present in a particular discourse setting outside the classroom, namely in the home in parent-child interaction. Examples of the IRF/IRE cycle are to be found in **virtually every published collection of transcripts of parent-child conversation**. The interactional structure cannot be differentiated from that which takes place in the L2 classroom, for example:

(Mother and Kevin look at pictures)

Mother: And what are those?
Kevin: Shells.
Mother: Shells, yes.
 You've got some shells, haven't you?
 What's that?
Kevin: Milk.

(Harris and Coltheart 1986: 50)

Further transcripts containing examples of the IRF/IRE cycle in adult-child conversation outside the classroom can be found in Painter (1989: 38), Nelson (1983: 15), Wells Lindfors (1987: 114), Wells and Montgomery (1981: 211), Maclure and French (1981: 211), Langford (1985:8-10). It appears that critics of the IRF/IRE cycle in L2 learning contexts have failed to notice the significant role it plays in L1 learning in a home environment. Ellis (1992: 37) reports that:

“Much of the [L2 acquisition] research which has taken place has been motivated by the assumption that classroom L2 acquisition will be most successful if the environmental conditions which are to be found in naturalistic

acquisition prevail. According to this view, all that is needed to create an acquisition-rich environment is to stop interfering in the learning process and to *create opportunities for learners to engage in interactions of the kind experienced by children acquiring their L1 ...*”(my italics).

Given the prominence of the IRF/IRE cycle in parent-child interaction, one might therefore have expected communicative theorists to be actively promoting the use of the IRF/IRE cycle rather than attempting to banish it. A CA institutional discourse approach (as outlined in section 5.1 of this study) would attempt to account for the fact that the IRF/IRE cycle is prevalent in the classroom and parent-child interaction but rare in conversation in the following way: in the classroom and parent-child interaction the core goal is learning or education, and the IRF/IRE cycle is an interactional feature which is well suited to this core goal. The business of learning is accomplished through the interactional feature. Drew and Heritage (1992b: 41) explain the point in these terms:

“Classroom instruction can ... consist of a recursive chain or progression of such three-part sequences [the IRF/IRE cycle]. This distinctive sequential pattern is characteristic of talk in classrooms because it is associated with the core activity in that setting, namely instruction. We here underscore an important point: the three-part sequence is characteristic of the setting (classroom) only because it is generated out of the management of the activity (instruction) which is the institutionalized and recurrent activity in the setting. Thus, where the same activity is performed in other and possibly noninstitutionalized settings, as when parents instruct their children in the home, there also may be found similar three-part sequence structures. The sequence structure is the instrument through which the activity is accomplished on any given occasion.”

Display questions have come in for the same type of criticism from the communicative approach as the IRF/IRE cycle. Nunan (1988: 139) states that one of the characteristics of ‘genuine’ communication is the use of referential questions, and that one of the reasons the

patterns of interaction in the lessons he observed are non-communicative is that the questions are almost exclusively of the display type. Nunan's (1987: 142) conclusion was that "increasing the use of referential questions over display questions is likely to stimulate a greater quantity of genuine classroom interaction." Research within a communicative paradigm by Long and Sato (1983), Pica and Long (1986), Brock (1986) and Kramsch (1985) also suggests that an increased use of referential rather than display questions is likely to be create more genuine interaction and therefore be more beneficial to second language acquisition:

"Six teachers were found to ask significantly more display than referential questions during ESL instruction..... From the evidence here... ESL teachers continue to emphasize form over meaning, accuracy over communication. This is illustrated, for example, by the preference for display over referential questions, and results in classroom NS-NNS conversation which differs greatly from its counterpart outside.... Indeed, on this evidence, NS-NNS conversation during SL instruction is a greatly distorted version of its equivalent in the real world." (Long and Sato 1983: 283-4)

"Keep the number of display questions to a minimum. The more genuine the requests for information, the more natural the discourse." (Kramsch 1985: 178)

As was the case with the IRF/IRE cycle, there are many problems with this communicative analysis of display questions. The same arguments which were used above concerning the IRF/IRE cycle apply equally to the use of display questions. As with the IRF/IRE cycle, display questions "are also very common in adult-child talk in the pre-school years." (Maclure and French 1981: 211). Display questions are very common in **virtually every collection of transcripts of parent-child conversation**, for example:

(Mother and Hal (aged 19 months) are reading)

Mother: What's this Hal?

Hal: Bunny

Mother: Yes; bunny's sleeping.

(Painter 1989: 38)

The concept of the display question itself is problematic. Banbrook and Skehan (1989) reveal difficulties in defining what a question is in discourse and show that there are numerous problems associated with the identification of display questions and the clarity with which questions can be assigned to display or referential categories. They conclude "that the term 'display question', when applied to the present data, turns out to be a bit of a blanket term and is less useful than expected in depicting the kind of teacher-student interaction which results." (1990:146). Van Lier (1988a: 222-223) challenges the usefulness in interactional terms of the distinction between a display question and a referential question:

"I suggest that, by and large, what gives such question series their instructional, typically L2 classroom character is not so much that they are display rather than referential, but that they are made with the aim of eliciting language from the learners..... In both cases the function of the question remains the same: to provide input, and to elicit verbal responses. What distinguishes instructional questions from conversational (non-instructional) ones is therefore not their referential or display nature, but rather their eliciting function.... Although the linguistic form of the response may vary somewhat for different kinds of elicitation the nature of the activity remains essentially the same: a verbal stimulus elicits a verbal response. To assume therefore that the display question is a major culprit of didactic (i.e. unnatural) discourse is simplistic..... we do not know yet if classroom-specific interaction is irrelevant to language development. It has a very long and venerable tradition, and before we reject it and replace it with alternative recommendations, we must make sure of its actual and presumed function. The display-versus-referential distinction, seemingly so basic, may turn out to be irrelevant when more basic interactional issues are considered."

Edwards and Westgate (1994:48) provide a broader perspective on teacher's questions in general by aligning the classroom with other institutional settings in which professionals ask questions. They point out that "the 'expert' will 'control knowledge' by asking the

questions, evaluating and shaping the answers in the light of what he or she needs to get the other to say..”

From an institutional discourse perspective, then, both the IRF/IRE cycle and display questions are interactional features which are appropriate to the core goals of education and learning, whether at home, learning an L1, or in the L2 classroom, learning an L2. The IRF/IRE cycle and display questions seem not to be interactional features which are specific to a particular culture or age: they appear to be universal phenomena in education and learning contexts. The following quotation is from a fourth century Buddhist scripture (Conze 1959 : 164) and shows an example of the IRF/IRE cycle combined with a display question in a learning context which is identical in interactional terms to examples found in twentieth century classrooms :

“The Lord asked Subhuti: What do you think, was there any dharma which awoke the Tathagata, when he was with the Tathagata Dipankara to the utmost, right, and perfect enlightenment?
Subhuti replied: As I understand the meaning of the Lord’s teaching, this was not due to any dharma.
The Lord said: So it is, Subhuti, so it is.”

The point which this section of the analysis would like to make, then, is that individual interactional features have to be understood in the interactional (or institutional) environment in which they occur. It is suggested that the communicative approach’s attempt to isolate single features which can distinguish genuine from non-genuine interaction was doomed to failure. Van Lier (1988a: 223) says he has “consistently warned against studies which isolate superficially identifiable features for quantitative treatment.”

Assumption 4) Teachers could be trained to replicate conversation in the L2 classroom.

I argued in the discussion of assumption 2) that it is in theory impossible for L2 teachers to replicate conversation in the L2 classroom as part of a lesson. It follows that it is not possible to train teachers to do so. However, I would now like to examine a classroom extract in which the teacher has succeeded in replicating interaction which is ostensibly as close to conversation as possible. I will then attempt to demonstrate that it is not in fact conversation (if we are to use precise sociolinguistic terms) but L2 classroom discourse. The teacher does not take part in the interaction, in which teenage girl learners (in a state secondary school in rural Malaysia) are discussing fashion photographs in a group.

Extract 4

- 1 L1: I like this fashion because I can wear it for sleep not to go anywhere.
- 2 L2: Ooh!
- 3 L3: I like this fashion.
- 4 L2: I like this.
- 5 L4: Why?
- 6 L5: I like this.
- 7 L2: Because .. because..
- 8 L1: The girl..
- 9 L4: This is good this fashion.
- 10 L2: This is a beautiful skirt.
- 11 L1: Beautiful, but when I done it .. I put it long long but ..
- 12 L4: This one better than that one. Who like this one?
- 13 L1: Aah, I like this.

(Warren 1985: 223)

The interaction seems highly 'communicative' and the interaction corresponds neatly (on the surface) to Nunan's characterisation of 'genuine communication' or conversation (see the discussion of assumption 1). The point is, however, that the linguistic forms and patterns the learners produced were directly related to the pedagogical purposes which the teacher

introduced, even though the teacher did not participate in the interaction. Warren states clearly what his pedagogical purposes were with these learners. A collection of women's fashion photographs was selected in order to engage the interest of the students, who were left alone with a tape recorder. The writer devised the activity "to stimulate natural discourse in the classroom." (1985: 45) and "...the only instruction was that the students should look at the photographs and that anything they might say had to be in English." (p. 47). Warren hoped that the exercise "... might lead to the voicing of likes and dislikes." (p. 45). We can clearly see the link between the teacher's pedagogical purposes and the linguistic forms and patterns of interaction produced by the learners: the learners speak only in English, discuss the photographs and express likes and dislikes. The learners are orienting to the teacher's pedagogical agenda even in his absence. Occasionally the way in which the participants are orienting to external constraints and the teacher's agenda becomes visible in the linguistic forms which the learners choose. For example, in the above extract the teacher hopes that the exercise might lead to the voicing of likes and dislikes. The first 6 utterances of the above extract contain 4 utterances which begin with "I like this", which is more reminiscent of 'free practice' work in the L2 classroom than of free conversation.

My point is, then, that whatever methods the teacher is using - and even if the teacher claims to be relinquishing control of the classroom interaction - the linguistic forms and patterns of interaction which the learners produce will inevitably be linked in some way to the pedagogical purposes which the teacher introduces into the L2 classroom environment (see section 5.2). So although the above extract appears superficially to resemble characterisations of conversation, when it is seen in context (together with background information) it is a clear example of institutional interaction. As soon as the teacher gives the learners any instructions (even if the instruction is to 'have a conversation in the L2'),

the resultant interaction will be institutional and not conversation. There is apparently an inherent paradox in the communicative 'orthodoxy' : communicative theorists would like to see teachers introducing the pedagogical purpose of replicating 'genuine discourse' or conversation. However, as soon as the teacher has introduced any pedagogical purpose at all, s/he has ensured that what will occur will be institutional discourse rather than conversation. We might go so far as to propose that a paradoxical 'institutional' aim of communicative language teaching is to produce non-institutional discourse in an institutional setting.

The above analysis has revealed the fundamental problems and paradoxes inherent in any approach which compares typical L2 classroom discourse unfavourably with conversation or any other variety of discourse. Classroom communication is a sociolinguistic variety or institutional discourse type like any other, and has not been regarded as inferior or less 'real' by sociolinguists: rather the opposite. When Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) wanted to gather data to build a model for discourse analysis, they chose to record classroom communication, and one of the reasons which they give is quite revealing: "We also wanted a situation where all participants were genuinely trying to communicate" (Sinclair and Coulthard 1975:6). Hymes (1972a: Introduction) wrote that "Studying language in the classroom is not really 'applied' linguistics; it is really basic research. Progress in understanding language in the classroom is progress in linguistic theory." There is simply no basis or mechanism in sociolinguistics for evaluating one variety of discourse as better, more 'genuine' or more 'natural' than another; the concept is a purely pedagogical one. A basic problem with the communicative 'orthodoxy' was the belief that it was possible to use terms derived from pedagogy ('genuine' and 'natural') to describe a sociolinguistic phenomenon such as discourse.

3.2 The Communicative Approach to the Analysis of L2 Classroom Transcripts

The previous section argued that the communicative approach to L2 classroom interaction was based on a single, monolithic and acontextual perspective and evaluatory criterion, namely the determination of whether the interaction is ‘communicative’ or ‘genuine’ or not. I propose to examine two influential communicative studies of L2 classroom interaction (Nunan 1987 and 1988 and Kuramavadivelu 1993) in order to reveal the problems inherent in analysing interaction from a static and invariant perspective.

Nunan (1987: 137) begins his study by providing a characterisation of ‘genuine’ communication (reproduced on page 50, 143 of this study). It is against this characterisation of ‘genuine’ communication, a single and invariant criterion, that Nunan compares his recorded classroom interaction data and finds them wanting:

“... there is a growing body of classroom-based research which supports the conclusion drawn here, that there are comparatively few opportunities for genuine communicative language use in second-language classrooms.” (1987: 141)

Nunan (1987: 137) presents the presence of the IRF/IRE cycle as **his initial reason** for asserting that there was little ‘genuine’ communication in the language classrooms observed. Nunan then examines a transcript of a teacher introducing the class to the information-gap activity which comes later in the lesson:

Extract 5

T: today, er, we’re going to um, we’re going to do something where, we, er, listen to a

conversation and we also talk about the subject of the conversation er, in fact, we're not going to listen to one conversation, how many conversations are we going to listen to?

L: three

T: how do you know?

L: because, er, you will need, er, three tapes and three points

T: three?

L: points

T: what?

L: power points

T: power points, if I need three power points and three tape recorders, you correctly assume that I'm going to give you three conversations, and that's true, and all the conversation will be different, but they will all be on the same...?

LL: subject, subject

T: the same...?

L: subject, subject

T: right, they will all be on the same subject

(Nunan 1988: 139)

Nunan's main point is that "The teacher is firmly in control of who says what when ... the exchanges are essentially non-communicative, despite the best intentions of the teacher."

(Nunan 1988: 140). However, as Nunan says (1988: 139), "... the teacher is introducing the class to the information-gap activity." We are in what I will later call a **procedural context**: the teacher's pedagogical purposes at this moment are to give procedural information as well as to set the scene for the main activity. The teacher's pedagogical purposes at this moment are **not** to produce 'genuine' communication: that may come in the subsequent information gap. I am suggesting, then, that it is unfair to evaluate the extract as if it had been the teacher's intention to produce 'genuine' communication. In extract 4 above it is the teacher's stated intention to produce 'genuine' communication, and in such cases Nunan's evaluatory criterion would be perfectly applicable.

The CA methodology which will be outlined in section 5.5 would suggest that the analyst should analyse and evaluate the extract according to participants' own orientations, i.e. by

matching the teacher's pedagogical purposes to the resultant patterns of interaction. In the above procedural context the teacher is asking display questions instead of transmitting procedural information in a monologue in order to involve and interest the learners in the activity and maximise motivation. He/she is maximising the potential for interaction in that particular stage of the lesson. It is not legitimate to compare the above transcript with information-gaps or free conversation, but it would be legitimate to compare it with other transcripts of procedural contexts. Compared with other such transcripts of procedural contexts in which the teacher just lectures in a monologue (see, for example, extract 16 below), the above transcript appears to be maximally 'communicative' and interactive **for the context it is operating in**. The learners appear to validate the interaction by contributing energetically, there is a match between the teacher's pedagogical purposes and the resultant patterns of interaction, and the extract should in fact be evaluated very positively in its own terms. This analysis shows that it is easy for analysts using acontextual approaches to impose their own, extraneous concerns onto the interaction; however, the CA methodology outlined below should help ensure that the analysis focuses on the **participants'** concerns. It is essential, in order for fair evaluation to take place, that the teacher's pedagogical purposes should be related to the linguistic forms and patterns of interaction which the learners produce.

To further demonstrate the problems inherent in attempting to evaluate different varieties of classroom interaction according to the same criteria, I would now like to examine another communicative study: a published example of the comparison and evaluation of two L2 lesson transcripts. I will suggest that the comparison and evaluation is unfair because the fact that the teachers' pedagogical purposes are different in the two extracts has not been taken into account. Kumaravadivelu (1993) examines L2 lesson transcripts of two different

teachers. T1 was trained in Kumaravadivelu's 'macrostrategies' whereas T2 was not. Kumaravadivelu states that his analysis of the two transcripts revealed that T1's lesson interaction was "remarkably more communicative than" (1993:18) T2's lesson. Kumaravadivelu claims that the relative success of T1's lesson and the relative failure of T2's lesson "can be attributed to the use and non-use of the macrostrategies framework." (1993:18). However, T1's lesson was a "speaking" lesson, the purpose of which was ".. to develop conversational skills." (1993:15). T2's lesson was a "grammar" lesson: "The purpose of the grammar course was to develop functional abilities in the use of selected grammatical structures." (1993:15). Kumaravadivelu notes critically that T2 "... starts with a long period of explanation and instruction." (1993: 17).

The point I would like to make here is this: the fact that T1's lesson and T2's lesson produce different types of interaction can simply be attributed to the fact that T1's pedagogical purposes in the speaking lesson are necessarily different to T2's pedagogical purposes in the grammar lesson. One normally expects a 'speaking' lesson to be 'communicative' and to feature a lot of speaking by the learners, but one does not normally have the same expectation of a 'grammar' lesson. It is, I suggest, unfair and invalid to evaluate the two transcripts according to the same criteria. However, if one uses an invariant and acontextual approach, one is bound to analyse and evaluate all varieties of interaction according to the same criteria simply because there is no way of distinguishing between them.

Now a number of similarities are evident between the DA approach and the communicative approach:

- a) both approaches are inherently acontextual

- b) both approaches tend to conceal the complexity of the interactional work which L2 teachers do
- c) both approaches consider the interaction from an analyst's perspective rather than from the participants' perspective
- d) the IRF/IRE cycle is also a common thread in that it is a core element in the DA approach and it is used by communicative approaches as evidence for the genuineness or non-genuineness of interaction.

Finally, I would like to stress that I am in no way implying that the communicative approach to classroom interaction is valueless. On the contrary, it has contributed enormously to opening up the L2 classroom as a research arena and to establishing communication as a basis for L2 teaching. However, in order to justify the need for a contextual and variable CA approach to L2 classroom interaction, it is first necessary to demonstrate the problems inherent in acontextual approaches. It is also necessary to be clear that the fact that L2 teaching is currently operating within a 'communicative' paradigm does not mean that L2 teaching is based on a sound and sophisticated view of communication.

3.3 Variable Approaches to L2 Classroom Interaction

So far the literature reviewed has been characterised by an invariant and acontextual perspective on communication. This 'bucket' approach (Drew and Heritage 1992b) to context and interaction has recently been challenged by five writers researching into L2 classrooms. Each of the writers proposes that L2 classroom interaction is best understood

as divisible into several distinct varieties. This may be seen as the beginnings of a paradigm shift away from an invariant, 'bucket' approach towards a variable and contextual perspective on L2 classroom interaction.

Van Lier (1982 and 1988a) is concerned, to a far greater extent than the previous L2 classroom studies reviewed, with establishing a variable and contextual approach:

“Research into second-language classrooms is to date, though there are a few exceptions, still very much conducted with the aim of finding cause-effect relationships between certain actions and their outcomes. This aim leads to a concern with strong correlations, levels of significance, definability and control of variables, and all the other requirements of scientific method. The price that is paid for scientific control is an inevitable neglect of the social context of the interaction between teachers and learners. Without this social context it is difficult to see how classroom interaction can be understood and what cause-effect relationships, if they can ever be conclusively established, really mean. At the risk of oversimplification, research can be divided into a type which wants to obtain proof and a type which wants to understand. So far, research into second-language classrooms overwhelmingly leans towards the former type of research, and this creates an imbalance because of the limitations inherent in it.” (1988:xiv)

“Classroom research is research in a contextually defined setting, and in this respect it can be compared to research in courtrooms, doctors' consultation rooms, family dining rooms, and so on. All such research shares some basic features, one of which is that considerations of context and purposeful interaction are central.” (1988:1)

Van Lier takes an ethnographic approach (in Van Lier 1982 and 1988a), but in many ways it is an approach which is compatible with a CA approach. Van Lier (1988a:55) notes, for example, that ethnography is guided by the emic and the holistic principles, and this is quite compatible with the present study, which aims to a) represent the interaction from the point of view of the participants b) relate its findings about the L2 classroom to other studies on the L2 classroom. Van Lier uses a hybrid conception of ethnography, employing a variety of methods of data gathering and analysis. Although he does not claim to be using a CA

methodology, he nonetheless adopts much of the terminology of CA in chapters 5-7 of Van Lier (1988a). Another typical CA practice which Van Lier adopts is that of publishing transcripts of the data which he discusses, thus allowing the reader to verify the validity of the analysis. This appears to be atypical of ethnography, which has in general tended to conduct long-term observation of a setting without making raw data available to the reader. By adopting the standard CA practice Van Lier has overcome some of the criticisms CA has made of ethnographic methodology (Atkinson and Drew 1979). The two main aims of the present study are rather different to Van Lier's: this study attempts to describe the interactional organisation of the L2 classroom and to develop a methodology for the description, analysis and exploration of the interaction. Moreover, it seeks to portray the interactional features of the L2 classroom as deriving from rational organization around a dominant goal. However, the overall goal of this study is similar to Van Lier's: an understanding of what goes on in L2 classrooms (Van Lier 1988a:14). Van Lier asserts that different varieties of interaction occur in the L2 classroom, and that these are a result of a different focus on activity or topic:

“At different times during L2 classroom interaction a differential emphasis on activity-orientation and on topic-orientation can be in evidence. These two types of orientation are neither mutually dependent nor mutually exclusive, though they interrelate and interact in complex ways to provide organizational structure. We can therefore not divide the lesson up into topics and tasks as distinct units, rather every sequence must be examined for its relative focus on topic and activity, in terms of ‘more’ or ‘less’. This combined orientation yields four interaction types.”

Van Lier (1988a, p. 156) identifies four different types of L2 classroom interaction as follows, supporting his description with authentic examples:

Interaction type 1. Less topic-orientation, less activity-orientation.

Gloss: 'Talk about anything you want in any way you want to, observing the usual social rules.'

Examples: small talk, general conversation over a cup of coffee, etc.

Interaction type 2. More topic-orientation, less activity-orientation.

Gloss: 'There is some information that needs to be transmitted, or some issue that needs to be sorted out.'

Examples: announcements, instructions, explanations, lectures.

Interaction type 3. More topic-orientation, more activity-orientation.

Gloss: 'Some information needs to be transmitted, and this transmission needs to proceed along specific lines, following certain rules.'

Examples: elicitation (teacher-learner 'recitation'), interviews, reports, summaries, discussions, debates, jokes, stories.

Interaction type 4. Less topic-orientation, more activity-orientation.

Gloss: 'Things of a certain kind must be said following specific rules. Follow the rules and you'll be all right.'

Examples: repetition and substitution drills, pair work, role taking, games."

Although Van Lier is probably the best known proponent of a variable and contextual approach to L2 classroom interaction, four other writers have identified different varieties of communication within the L2 classroom:

Ellis (1984) identifies five different types of L2 classroom interaction :

- 1) *Interaction with medium-centred goals*: "Goals where the teacher's primary target is the teaching of the TL." (p. 102)
- 2) *Interaction with message-centred goals*: "Goals where the teacher's primary target is the teaching of some subject content that is part of the school curriculum." (p. 102)
- 3) *Interaction with activity-centred goals*: "Goals where the teacher's primary target is to achieve specific pupil behaviours that result in some non-verbal product." (p. 102)
- 4) *Interaction involving framework goals*: "An efficient teacher is normally thought of as one who can get the pupils to respond instantly (and probably silently) to the organisational requirements of the lesson. Organisational language is only a 'framework' for achieving the pedagogic goals." (p. 126)
- 5) *Interaction involving social goals*: "Classrooms are places where people socialise as well as learn. In classrooms where all the learners share their mother tongue or a lingua franca, socialising is unlikely to take place in the TL. But in classrooms where there is no common language in which all the pupils are fluent, the TL may be used for purely social matters." (p. 126)

Tsui (1987:345) identifies three different types of L2 classroom interaction :

1) *Negotiating*: "...in exchanges where the value of the utterance depends on here-and-now interpretation of the hearer and the negotiation between the speaker and the hearer, the interaction is 'negotiating'."

2) *Non-negotiating: matching*: "... those in which the student's response is matched against what the teacher considers to be appropriate can be labelled 'matching' exchanges."

3) *Non-negotiating: direct-verbal*: "... those which solicit verbal production from the student can be labelled 'direct-verbal' exchanges."

Abdesslem (1993) identifies four frames in L2 classroom discourse:

Frame 1) *Saying the linguistic form of the Foreign Language*: "both teachers and students focus on form. They talk about linguistic rules and/or make sure that particular rules are followed".

Frame 2) *Talking in the Foreign Language*: "the focus on form is not very pronounced and the messages exchanged tend to be transparent and easy to retrieve."

Frame 3) *Transacting in the Foreign Language*: " a message oriented discourse ."

Frame 4) *Interacting in the Foreign Language*: "discourse is person-oriented."

Hasan (1988:136) identifies five types of interaction in and beyond the EFL classroom:

Type 1) *Formal Interview*

Type 2) *Formal Classroom Interaction*

Type 3) *Informal Classroom Interaction*

Type 4) *Informal Classroom Discussion*

Type 5) *Informal Conversation*

Johnson (1995) also takes a variable view of the patterns of interaction in L2 classrooms.

Whilst she does not attempt to identify discrete varieties, she examines in detail the differences between different classroom extracts in order to illustrate the ways in which teachers use language to control patterns of communication. For example, excerpt 2.1 (Johnson 1995:18) is labelled 'Structure versus meaning' whereas excerpt 2.2 (Johnson 1995:23) is labelled 'Meaning versus structure', with the discussion exploring the different

pedagogical focuses and the different patterns of interaction. Johnson also explicitly links differences in teachers' pedagogical purposes to resultant differences in patterns of interaction (1995: 27): "... differences in teachers' pedagogical purpose may lead to differences in how they use language to control the patterns of communication which may in turn influence how students use language during second language instruction."

Current approaches to L2 interaction, then, tend to be moving away from the 'bucket' notion of context and communication, which this study suggests is implicit in the DA and the communicative approaches, in favour of a variable and dynamic view of context and communication. There appears to be a reasonable level of consensus at present that different varieties of communication do occur in the L2 classroom. However, we do need to make a number of observations.

Five different writers have looked at the same type of data - L2 classroom interaction - and have produced five different descriptive systems. This is not to suggest that there are no points of convergence - there clearly are many similarities. However, if we focus on the differences, we find that the names of the varieties are different in every case, the glosses are different, and the writers do not even agree on how many varieties there are. This situation is reminiscent of that described by Chaudron in relation to coding schemes. Chaudron (1988:23) shows that the units of analysis chosen by the many different L2 classroom observation schemes do not coincide and concludes that we must ask "serious questions about the general validity of such schemes: when researchers who investigate the same basic dimensions do not agree on the categories of analysis, not only are the results not comparable, but at least one, if not all, are probably not employing a valid set of observational categories." This study is therefore aware of the huge problems involved in

attempting a description of the different varieties of L2 classroom interaction. Nonetheless, for the imperative reasons discussed in section 6.7, this study also attempts to describe the different varieties of L2 classroom interaction (in chapters 6-8).

Questions of research database and methodology are clearly relevant here, in that if different types of data and different methodologies are used as the basis for creation of the descriptive framework, one may begin to understand why the descriptions vary. It is therefore necessary at this point to examine the databases and methodologies employed by the above-mentioned writers.

Van Lier (1982: 133) states that his study is based on 9 lessons recorded in Great Britain and the USA with Venezuelan, Dutch and Mexican learners, with the data augmented sporadically from other sources. He uses an ethnographic methodology in general, and discusses in detail (1988a chapter 6) how topic and activity combine to form his four interaction types. The interaction types emerge from a combination of the logical possibilities for combining topic and activity orientations, which “arbitrarily but usefully yields four spaces of differential orientation, or four interaction types.” (Van Lier 1982:336). So Van Lier does **not** claim that the types emerged from the data through the use of an ethnographic methodology, and is not particularly concerned as to the reliability of his delineation of types (1988a:156):

“...before proceeding, it must be emphasized that these are not four watertight types: one cannot construct discrete units out of two intersecting continua. However, the lack of clear borderlines does not detract from the usefulness of the four interaction types if it can be shown. ... that they imply distinct organizational and interactional patterns in the classroom.”

Ellis (1984:101) gives no indication as to the size or nature of his database other than that it involves “a number of discourse samples” and that the study “draws extensively on the case studies of three classroom learners” (1984: 15). He uses an eclectic discourse analysis methodology and, like Van Lier, is relaxed about the reliability of his delineation, seeing it as a means to the end of exploration:

“The approach that will be adopted for investigating the different types of interaction found in language classrooms is an exploratory one. No attempt will be made to quantify measures of language development and interactive opportunities in order to ‘do something correlational’. Instead, a number of discourse samples involving different kinds of learner will be inspected in order to suggest in what way their communicative efforts might contribute to development. The chosen means for analysing the different interactions is discourse analysis. However, no attempt will be made to follow any particular theory of discourse or to utilise any specific descriptive framework. Politzer (1980) has argued that for pedagogical purposes discourse analysis needs to be ‘motivational’ rather than ‘structural’ and that this requires a higher level of speculation than most discourse analysts encompass. In line with this view, the descriptions offered are eclectic, drawing on techniques from different approaches according to whatever seems best suited to throw light on the developmental process itself.”

Tsui (1987: 337) states that her study is exemplified by “lessons observed at both primary and secondary levels in Hong Kong.” without specifying the size of the database. Her descriptive system is firmly grounded in the Birmingham DA school (1987:346). Although she discusses the three interaction types at length, it is not made explicit how the types emerged from the data.

Abdesslem’s (1993) system is based on data (8 lessons) obtained in Tunisian secondary schools. The methodology used appears to be an attempt to blend DA and CA approaches (1993:224):

“The model for the analysis of FL lesson discourse presented in this paper draws on the work of Sinclair and Coulthard (1975), ... and the ethnomethodologists. It adopts notions like speech acts and moves, but in addition, introduces the notion of ‘frame’.”

Again, it is not made explicit exactly how the types emerged from the data, although we learn that:

“The model discovered is a result of a series of attempts carried out by the author to discern the regularities in English lesson discourses in Tunisian secondary schools. The model draws on previous models, but derives its strength and validity from the ethnomethodological (sic) approach of consulting participants (insiders).” (1993: 227)

Hasan (1988:95ff) states that his corpus consists of 5 recordings of interaction lasting 35 minutes each, comprising audio and video data which were then transcribed. Arabic speaking Algerian postgraduate students at a British university were recorded together with some native speakers. The five different interaction types emerged from a rating exercise. Hasan (1988:104) asked experienced teachers to rate video extracts of interaction using a seven point scale from ‘very informal’ to ‘very formal’ and from ‘very interactive’ to ‘not interactive’. He describes his methodology as a “discourse analysis approach which takes both quantitative and qualitative procedures into consideration.”(1988:53).

Now we may draw certain conclusions from the points above.

- a) Apart from Hasan, none of the writers explain explicitly how they derived their interaction types from the data. Van Lier explains how he derived his interaction types, but this was not directly from the data.

- b) None of the writers attempt to verify the reliability of their delineation of interaction types: Van Lier and Ellis imply that they are relaxed about reliability, since their goal is exploration by means of the interaction types. However, Hasan's procedure for the derivation of interaction types may also have constituted a quantitative reliability check or a form of triangulation.
- c) Only three of the six writers (if we include Johnson) state explicitly what the exact size and nature of their database was.

From these conclusions we can draw certain further conclusions relevant to this study, since it also attempts to describe varieties of interaction.

- a) It would be good procedure for this study to explain as explicitly as possible how it derived its interaction types from the data. This would firstly enable comparisons to be made with other studies and secondly it would enable readers of the study to check the procedures against some of the source database, especially against Appendix One. This issue is therefore addressed in section 4.3.
- b) Two of the top writers on the L2 classroom are relaxed about reliability, since their goal is exploration by means of the interaction types and since they are working within a qualitative paradigm to which the concept of reliability is less applicable. The goal of the present study is also exploration of the interaction by means of the concept of interaction types (see section 6.7). This study also operates within a qualitative, emic paradigm to which the concept of reliability is less applicable (see also section 6.7).

c) It would be a good idea for this study to make explicit the size and nature of the database on which it is founded. This would enable comparisons to be made with other studies. An explicit statement of the nature of the database (age, nationality, proficiency level of the learners) would be particularly useful in determining the external validity of the present study. For example, Abdesselem's study is based solely on data from Tunisian secondary schools. This is not a criticism: his aim was to reveal regularities in the discourse of English lessons in Tunisian secondary schools. However, when the reader has this information concerning the database, s/he can form a judgement as to its external validity and generalisability. As (Van Lier (1988a: 5) puts it: "One of the problems with L2 classroom research is that there is such a tremendous variety of L2 classrooms.". Moreover, the reader is then in a better position to consider why it is that this set of interactional types emerged from these data. There may actually be very little that is contradictory in the descriptions of varieties of interaction given by the five writers above; it may be that different methodologies and different data sources will tend to reveal different interaction types. However, the point is that it is useful to provide other researchers with the maximum amount of information concerning one's database and methodology. Database issues are discussed in chapter 4.

3.4 A Dynamic and Variable View of Context

A dynamic and variable approach to context is typical of contemporary sociolinguistics (Heritage 1984b; Streeck 1984) and of the ethnography of communication (Saville-Troike 1989; Gumperz and Hymes 1986). In the ethnography of communication the prime focus is on the social context and the communicative act. As Stern (1983: 220) puts it, there is "an

attempt to regard the interpersonal social act as the primary event and the speech forms as secondary.” Furthermore, there is an attempt to show that language cannot be separated from social use and context, to demonstrate how language and social context co-vary and to characterise context. For example, Blom and Gumperz (1986) show how speakers in a Norwegian village shift dialects as social context shifts. Tyler (1986) shows that the use of kinship terms can vary according to context and he demonstrates the necessity and possibility of taking context formally into account. The CA methodology of this thesis, then, is compatible with the broad framework of the ethnography of communication.

Although, as we saw in the previous section, five writers have implicitly adopted a dynamic and variable view of context by identifying different varieties of communication in the L2 classroom, none of the writers have brought the concept of ‘context’ to bear. However, research by Judith Green and associates in the USA (Green and Wallat 1981a and 1981b; Green and Harker 1982; Green 1983a; Green 1983b; Green and Harker 1988; Green, Weade and Graham 1988) has shown that the concept of variable context is applicable to L1 classrooms. As far as I am able to tell, no L2 classroom studies have so far introduced the concept of variable context into the discussion. I will now examine Green’s research into the identification of contexts in L1 classrooms, and consider its relevance to the description of interaction in L2 classrooms. Green suggests that the classroom is “a differentiated communication environment with shifting requirements and obligations for participation.” (Green 1983a: 182) and that contexts shift within lessons.

“Recent work on classrooms as communicative and social environments has shown that classrooms are neither undifferentiated communicative environments nor undifferentiated social environments. Each classroom consists of differentiated forms of social organization each with particular demands for communication and specific definition of (when is group). As we and others

have argued, these organizations, defined as contexts in the present study, are socially active entities constructed by students and teachers as they engage in social interactions of the classroom to achieve specific instructional goals. Context, defined in this manner, does not equate with lesson, e.g., if it is 9:15 a.m. Wednesday, it must be spelling pretest. Recent research has shown that contexts shift for the participants within as well as across the boundaries of lessons (Green 1977; Green and Wallat 1979).”
(Green and Wallat 1981b: 176)

Green further suggests that contexts are actively constructed by participants: “The contexts of the interaction are constructed by people as they engage in face-to-face interaction. Contexts viewed from this perspective are not given in the physical setting (e.g., rug area, reading circle) but are constructed by the participants’ actions as part of the interactions.” (Green, 1983a: 175). Green and Wallat specify how different ‘contexts’ within a lesson may be identified, as follows:

- 1) by identifying contextualisation cues. These can be prosodic features such as change of voice level, changes in intonation and stress, shifts in body position, direction of eye gaze;
- 2) post hoc analysis using Green and Wallat’s descriptive coding procedures can reveal shifts in focus;
- 3) observation of the onset of a new physical orientation, theme, or instructional content.
(Green and Wallat 1981b: 176)

Once a change in ‘context’ has been identified, the nature of the ‘context’ can then be determined. Green and Wallat’s (1981b) procedure is as follows:

- 1) Examine the teacher’s statements for a declaration of the nature of the ‘context’.
- 2) Consider the teacher’s actions and movements.
- 3) Consider the learners’ actions.
- 4) Define the ‘context’ e.g., group singing.
- 5) Check the validity of this definition with the teacher.
- 6) Triangulation through observing the same ‘context’ occurring in another setting.

We noted above (section 3.3) that there is a reasonable consensus and ample evidence that different varieties of communication occur in L2 classrooms. However, we saw that the five writers used different terms to denote the different varieties: types of interaction (Hasan), interaction types (Van Lier), frames (Abdeselem), types of interaction (Tsui), interactions (Ellis). There would be advantages to using the term *L2 classroom context* to denote those varieties or types of interaction which occur in L2 classrooms. Using the term 'context' would enable the research to be connected with the body of sociolinguistic work on context which exists (including Green's), whilst including 'L2 classroom' in the term both narrows the scope and indicates that we are dealing with an institutional discourse variety. In section 6.8 there will be a presentation of the broader perspective on 'context' adopted in this study, and it should merely be noted here that the adoption of the term 'context' in this study will facilitate the development of this broader perspective.

The argument so far in the review of the literature may be summarised as follows: DA, coding schemes and communicative approaches have been characterised as invariant and acontextual in their perspective on interaction in the L2 classroom. Some recent approaches, however, have adopted a more variable and contextual approach to communication, which has led to several published descriptions of different varieties of L2 classroom interaction. Since the term 'context' is used with reference to L1 classrooms and since the notion of 'context' facilitates sociolinguistic perspectives on the interaction, the term *L2 classroom context* will be used in this study to denote interactional varieties in the L2 classroom discourse setting.

4 Database Issues

4.1 The Database

In this section a description of the database underlying the present study is provided. There then follows a discussion of issues relating to databases in general. The database on which this study relies is made up of 4 distinct databases.

Database 1) Norwegian data.

In September 1994 I made audio and video recordings of complete lessons by seven different teachers in Norwegian schools. The institutions covered were at primary, secondary and tertiary levels. The recordings were transcribed and the transcripts published as Seedhouse 1995b. The transcripts are also available in Appendix One of this study. There were seven complete lessons, although two were double lessons and one consisted of a parallel lesson taught to two different groups, so it could be argued that there were ten complete lessons. The majority of studies of the L2 classroom have been accompanied not by data of complete lessons, but by lesson fragments, often for reasons of space. However, it was felt that the 'structure' of the lesson could only properly be accounted for if whole lesson data were available. This database is referred to in this study as the 'Norwegian data'.

Database 2) Published and unpublished extracts from lesson transcripts.

This is an ad-hoc photocopied collection of extracts from lesson transcripts. Some of these come from published sources such as articles in journals and books on the L2 classroom; some come from unpublished sources such as Masters or PhD theses. The data total approximately 300 lessons or fragments of lessons (of hugely varying length) from 11 different countries and represent the teaching of 6 different L2s. There is a large variety in terms of the type of institution, type of class, level of learners' proficiency in L2, culture, country of origin and age of learners covered in this database. The majority of these extracts are not accompanied by audio or video material. However, the British Council (1985) data are accompanied by video data and Warren's (1985) data is accompanied by audio data. The majority of extracts analysed in this study come from this database.

Database 3) Antony Peck's video data

Kindly made available to me by Antony Peck, this is a collection of video recordings of whole L2 lessons, totalling 16 lessons. 4 different European countries are represented. Transcripts have not been made of these lessons with the exception of the short fragments which appear in this study.

Database 4) Paul Seedhouse's video data

This database consists of two whole lessons: one a French lesson in a British further education college and the other an EFL lesson in a British university with a multi-lingual

class. Transcripts have not been made of these lessons with the exception of the short fragments which appear in this study.

4.2 Database Issues

“In general, classroom research has not addressed this issue of how one could justify one’s sampling base and there is an urgent need for guidelines to enable the robustness of reported studies to be assessed.” (Banbrook and Skehan 1989: 147).

In this section I address issues relating to databases supporting L2 classroom research in general and consider the adequacy of the database on which this study is founded. If one operated inside a quantitative paradigm (which this study does not), then one would consider that the external validity of research would be related in some way to the size of the database. To establish the adequacy of the present study, one might relate the size of the current database with those of other, similar studies. A logical starting point for the discussion, therefore, is to consider what previous researchers have considered an adequate size of sample for their classroom research. It is essential in each case, however, to relate the size and nature of the database to the researcher’s stated research aims. One of the best-known studies of L1 classroom interaction, Mehan’s book-length study ‘Learning Lessons’ (1979) has as its goal the location of “.. the organizing machinery of classroom lessons in the interaction.” (1979: 23). The goal, then, is fairly similar to that of this study, except that it deals with L1 rather than L2 classrooms. Mehan’s study is based on a corpus of nine lessons involving the same teacher, who was actually an academic specialising in classroom discourse (Courtney Cazden) on a sabbatical placement in a school rather than an ‘ordinary’ teacher. Mehan uses an ethnographic methodology, although he describes the

classroom interaction using a classic DA system. The size and lack of variety in the database would initially suggest that the study could not have external validity and that the amount and variety of data was totally insufficient for the stated goal. However, we will return to this point later.

Also investigating L1 classroom interaction, McHoul (1978) describes in a journal article the organisation of turn-taking in formal classrooms on the basis of an unspecified number of audiorecorded lessons in England and Australia (1978: 184). He describes the organisation of repair in L1 classrooms on the basis of an unspecified number of video transcriptions of geography lessons in Australian high schools (1990: 351). McHoul uses a CA methodology.

The aim of Johnson (1995) in a book length study is to “enable teachers to recognize how the patterns of communication are established and maintained in second language classrooms” (1995: 3) and to develop a framework for understanding communication in second language classrooms. The goal, then, is reasonably similar to that of this study. Although Johnson includes numerous extracts from L2 classroom transcripts in her book, she does not make explicit the size or nature of her database. She does not specify exactly which methodology she is using, although the book is based on a model of communication for L1 classrooms created by Barnes (1990).

Van Lier’s (1982) PhD thesis and book (1988a) are based on 9 lessons recorded in Great Britain and the USA with Venezuelan, Dutch and Mexican learners, with data added to sporadically from other sources. Van Lier states that his overall aim is an understanding of what goes on in L2 classrooms (1988a:14), and this aim is not dissimilar to that of the

present study. He uses an ethnographic methodology, although he uses the terminology of CA in chapters 5-7 of 1988a.

Mitchell's (1986) PhD thesis is based on 2 sets of audiorecorded French lessons from Scottish secondary schools. The first set consists of 13 lessons (1986:129) and the second set consists of a selection from an unspecified number of lessons. The aim of the study was to investigate the capacity of foreign language teachers to make the L2 the sole or main means of communicating with pupils. I was not able to find an explicit statement concerning methodology.

Hasan (1988:95) states that the corpus for his PhD thesis consists of 5 recordings of interaction lasting 35 minutes each, comprising audio and video data which were then transcribed. 15 Arabic speaking Algerian postgraduate students at a British university were recorded together with four native speakers. The aim of the research was to investigate the discourse variability exhibited by classroom participants (1988:2). Hasan (1988:53) describes his methodology as a "discourse analysis approach which takes both quantitative and qualitative procedures into consideration."

Abdesslem's (1987) PhD thesis is based on 8 English lessons obtained in Tunisian secondary schools. The aim is to discern the regularities in English lesson discourses in Tunisian secondary schools. (1993: 227). The methodology used appears to be an attempt to blend DA and CA approaches (1993:224):

"The model for the analysis of FL lesson discourse presented in this paper draws on the work of Sinclair and Coulthard (1977), Edmondson (1981), and the

ethnomethodologists. It adopts notions like speech acts and moves, but in addition, introduces the notion of 'frame'."

As far as journal articles concerning L2 classrooms are concerned, Long and Sato (1983), Pica and Doughty (1988) and Nunan (1987) have all published studies which draw general conclusions concerning the L2 classroom. Long and Sato (1983:273) and Pica and Doughty (1988:47) base their research on six ESL classrooms, whilst Nunan (1987:137) bases his article on five EFL lessons.

It seems, then, that a total of between five and ten lessons has generally been considered a reasonable database from which recent classroom research into communication in both L1 and L2 classrooms has been able to generalise and draw conclusions. Indeed, some prominent recent studies have not stipulated the exact size of their underlying database. By comparison, then, the current study is founded on a very large database.

There are factors other than the mere size of the database which I also feel should be addressed, however. As Van Lier (1988a: 5) points out, "One of the problems with L2 classroom research is that there is such a tremendous variety of L2 classrooms." The nature and variety of the database would also be of interest to researchers, and to L2 teachers in particular in determining the generality of the findings. Elsewhere (Seedhouse 1995a) I argue that, because of the diversity of L2 classrooms, one should not only specify the database in terms of number of lessons or fragments of lessons, but also in terms of the following factors, in order that the diversity of the database (and the relevance of the research to the reader's own situation) might be assessed:

L1 of the learners

multilingual or monolingual classes

culture

country of origin

age of learners

type of institution

level of learners' proficiency in L2

The variety and nature of the data is an issue which (so far as I can tell) has only been discussed by Van Lier in recent studies. According to Van Lier (1982:138) :

“It does not really matter whether five or ten or fifteen hours of classroom activity are scrutinized, so long as matters of homogeneity and heterogeneity are taken into proper account and balanced off against each other”.

Van Lier (1982:139) characterises his own database in terms of setting, participants and content with respect to homogeneity and heterogeneity, and suggests that a certain level of both is desirable. He criticises Mehan's (1979) database for its lack of heterogeneity (1982:140): “It is too narrow in the sense that generalized statements about lesson structure and classroom norms are made on the basis of it, and... it is particularly hard to establish which regularities are due to this or that particular person doing things in this or that way generally, or to characteristic properties of this type of discourse.” The relevant information concerning the homogeneity and heterogeneity of the database underlying this study is detailed below.

Database 1) Norwegian data.

L1 of the learners	Norwegian
multilingual or monolingual classes	monolingual
culture	Western European
country of origin	Norway
age of learners	8-19
type of institution	primary school, lower secondary school and upper secondary school
level of learners' proficiency in L2	beginners to advanced

Database 2) Published and unpublished extracts from lesson transcripts.

It has not proved possible to provide accurate information for all of the extracts, since the source material often is not specific enough.

L1 of the learners	many
multilingual or monolingual classes	both
culture	many
country of origin	11 different countries in Europe, North and South America, Africa and Australia

age of learners	young children to aged adults
type of institution	state schools, private language schools, universities
level of learners' proficiency in L2	beginners to advanced

Database 3) Antony Peck's video data

L1 of the learners	French, German, Danish, Spanish
multilingual or monolingual classes	monolingual
culture	Western European
country of origin	France, Germany, Denmark, Spain
age of learners	young children to adults
type of institution	state schools, private language schools
level of learners' proficiency in L2	beginners to advanced

Database 4) Paul Seedhouse's video data

L1 of the learners	English and a variety of European and Asian languages
multilingual or monolingual classes	both
culture	Western and Asian

country of origin	England and a variety of European and Asian countries
age of learners	adult
type of institution	university and further education college
level of learners' proficiency in L2	beginners to upper intermediate

So the database underlying the current study has both homeogeneity and heterogeneity in Van Lier's terms. For example, database one is homogeneous in that all classes are in monolingual Norwegian schools. This enables one to draw some tentative conclusions concerning English teaching in Norway. On the other hand, database one is heterogeneous in that all three different levels of school are represented, enabling one to draw some tentative conclusions about how English teaching differs at the three different school levels in Norway.

Having compared the database underlying this study with those underlying similar studies, the following conclusions could be drawn, if one were operating within a quantitative paradigm. The size of the current database is specified in relatively explicit terms and is in general much larger than those on which similar studies have been based. The nature and variety of the current database is also specified in relatively explicit terms and in general this database is more varied than those on which similar studies have been based.

However, the above discussion assumed that the studies cited were operating within a quantitative paradigm, whereas in fact they were operating within a qualitative paradigm, in which there is no assumption that having more data is necessarily better than having less data, the most important issue being the quality of the analysis. We should also consider, within a qualitative paradigm, not only how the data relate to the research aim, but also how they relate to the specific methodology chosen. For example, Mehan (1979) was criticised above for lacking in external validity because the study was based only on the lessons of one teacher (who was not an 'ordinary' teacher) in one institution. However, this criticism may be irrelevant if we take into account the methodology (ethnography) employed. In their review of Mehan (1979), Edwards and Westgate (1994:173) point out that "This distinguished book is based on a year's field-work in a Californian elementary school." The essence of ethnography is the long-term study of individual 'cultures'. The in-depth portrayal of a single classroom culture is therefore considered more valuable than the analysis of single lessons from many different classroom settings. So Mehan's study has to be evaluated in its own terms on its merits as an ethnographic study rather than using the criteria typical of other methodologies. Having said this, I am, like Van Lier, personally not convinced of the validity of Mehan's extrapolating from that single (and possibly atypical) classroom and claiming to describe ".. the organizing machinery of classroom lessons in the interaction". (Mehan 1979: 23).

The following points, therefore, have emerged from the preceding discussion: the adequacy of databases in terms of their size and variety should be evaluated in relation to the aims of the research and in relation to the methodology used. Since the methodology used in this study is CA, I will now consider the CA attitude to databases and consider the adequacy of the current database from a CA perspective. We noted in section 3.3 that only one of the

five writers who described different varieties of L2 classroom interaction had *made explicit* how these varieties emerged from the data. We further noted that it would be best to make the process explicit so that other researchers, examining the same data, could test the validity of the process. So in the following discussion there will be a (simplified) description of the process of CA research in general combined with a description of how the characterisation of L2 classroom contexts was carried out in the present study. This should make the process as explicit as possible.

4.3 The Stages of CA Research

In the first stages of CA research, data are recorded, and repeated viewing and listening, together with transcription, reveal hitherto unnoticed interactional phenomena (Psathas 1995:45-53):

“Thus the phenomena that are discovered are the result of a process of repeated listening/viewings and transcriptions. Numerous instances of similar phenomena, or singular instances of structurally complex and transparently significant phenomena, may be collected. When collections of numerous instances are made, the possibility for the study of varieties and variations is also made possible. In more recent work, when there is a focus on interaction within particular institutional or organizational settings, then the collection may be of numerous and varied types of interaction in the settings, for example, calls to the police and subsequent handling of them, radio transmissions between computer-operating airport dispatchers, news interviews, and so on.” (Psathas 1995:46)

In the present study, therefore, an examination of transcripts of video and audio recordings of L2 lessons revealed significant differences in the interactional patterns across lessons and within lessons, which led to the hypothesis that L2 lessons are differentiated in terms of the

interaction. This in turn led to the hypothesis that there might be differentiated varieties of communication and that it might be possible to characterise these varieties in some way. So, having identified interactional environments in which there appeared to be a focus on form and accuracy (for example), the second stage of the research involved making a search through the data for other similar environments. The common interactional and pedagogical characteristics of those environments were then analysed. This is in line with CA practice: when a phenomenon or an interactional organisation has been uncovered, a collection of cases is then vital in confirming the robustness of the analysis, and in facilitating further analysis:

“The recurrence and systematic basis of sequential patterns or organisations can only be demonstrated and tested through collections of cases of the phenomena under investigation ... That is, having identified a potential phenomenon in conversation, one proceeds by searching through data to identify the same or related pattern elsewhere - the purpose being that the discovery of a systematic pattern or organisation rests on it not being a uniquely occurring, singular instance, but finding instead that the same (sequential and turn design) properties are found repeatedly in the same constellation of circumstances. Thus through collections of instances of the phenomenon one can describe the general properties of the pattern: one can begin also to account inductively for the interactional basis for the conversational organisation one has found.” (Drew 1994b:17)

“...in analysing the collection of instances of the phenomenon, special attention is paid to evidence that the phenomenon is interactionally salient to participants. From such evidence, and from observations about recurrent features of instances in the collection, the aim is to analyse what are the interactional contingencies which systematically generate the observable pattern which represents the phenomenon.” (Drew 1994b:27)

Once a particular interactional phenomenon is discovered, identified, and analyzed, it may be relevant to examine additional materials, that is, already collected, recorded, and/or transcribed interactions, to find further instances and to accumulate a collection... Such collections can then be examined carefully to discover archetypical patterns and variations. (Psathas1995: 52)

Now once the varieties of communication (i.e. L2 classroom contexts) had been identified, the same process was repeated to ascertain the organisation of the interaction within each context. By searching through the data using the CA process described it was possible to ascertain that there were certain common organisations of pedagogical focus, turn-taking and repair in relation to each L2 classroom context. Now the final stage of CA research is to explicate the 'machinery' which produces the interaction. In this case the goal was to describe the interactional organisation of the L2 classroom and to demonstrate how and why the phenomenon under investigation is produced by the machinery. This is the most abstract stage and is rather difficult to describe. Psathas finds it necessary to use an analogy to chess:

"An instance of something is an occurrence. One instance is sufficient to attract attention and analytic interest. The instance is, after all, an event whose features and structure can be examined to discover how it is organized. Whether it does or does not occur again is irrelevant for the task of showing how this single occurrence is organized, what the machinery of its production is. That this particular social action occurred is evidence that the machinery for its production is culturally available, involves members' competencies, and is therefore possibly reproducible. Its recurrence, however, is not proof of the adequacy of an analysis, because the analytic task is to provide a wholly adequate analysis of just how this instance is organized." (Psathas 1995:50)

"The mechanisms that produce a phenomenon may be a set of a priori methods that members use. In this respect, these methods would be found in each and every instance of the production of that particular phenomenon. The analysis of the 'machinery of turn-taking' in conversation shows that this machinery organizes the sequential order of turns at talk, recurrently and over many instances. But its structure, as a mechanism, is not based on empirical frequencies. By analogy, it may be compared to the 'rules of chess', where the rules are not based on the frequency with which persons engage particular rules in their play. Rather, each game, if it is chess, is organized by a set of rules that allow the game to be chess rather than some other game. This is the machinery for the production of actions that are 'playing the game of chess' and, presumably, that structure could be discerned by examining one instance of the play of the game." (Psathas 1995:51)

How, then, was the description of the interactional architecture of the L2 classroom (given in section 5.2) derived from the data? Two principles were followed: firstly the 'rational

design' principle which suggests that analysts understand the interaction as being rationally derived from the core institutional goal (Levinson 1992). The second principle employed was what might be termed a 'homogeneity and heterogeneity' principle. It was clear that there existed varieties of L2 classroom interaction which were different in terms of pedagogical focus and interactional organisation. However, all instances were similar in that they were recognisable as L2 classroom institutional interaction: the intermediate properties were manifest in them (see section 5.2). So all instances of interaction appeared to display both homogeneity and heterogeneity. By combining these two principles I was able to suggest how the intermediate properties derived rationally from the core goal (see section 5.2) and how they accounted for the homogeneity in all examples of L2 classroom interaction. The heterogeneity was accounted for by the concept of L2 classroom contexts, along with the tri-dimensional view of context which also explicates how homogeneity and heterogeneity are related in L2 classroom interaction. However, this portrayal of the interactional organisation had to be tested against the data, and here a varied database proved very useful. As there were examples of lessons in the database (Warren 1985) in which the pedagogical aim was to produce interaction which was as unclassroomlike and as 'naturalistic' as possible, I had the ideal data on which to test the robustness of my description - if it worked with that data, then it would presumably work with anything. The results of this verification are reported in section 7.4.

Now this study has followed the sequence involved in CA research outlined above. I found the database adequate in that it offered enough examples of interactional sequences in terms of quantity and variety for me to be able to sketch the underlying institutional organisation of the interaction i.e. to accomplish the main aim. I would like to exemplify the advantages of having a database for CA analysis which is large and varied. In section 8.8 I discuss an

interesting phenomenon in which the use of 'no' by teachers in the 'evaluation' slot in IRF/IRE sequences in form and accuracy contexts appears to be strongly dispreferred. This relevant absence of 'no' was first pointed out to me by Drew (personal communication), but my first reaction was that it was probably due to an individual teacher's personal style. However, on searching through the database I found to my surprise that, not only were the words 'no' and 'wrong' absent in the 'evaluation' slot in IRF/IRE sequences in form and accuracy contexts, but teachers appeared often to be performing interactional work to specifically avoid saying 'no' or 'wrong' or to mitigate its use in some way. Now it was the fact that I found that many different teachers in different institutions in different countries teaching different L2s were conducting the same interactional work that convinced me that this was a phenomenon worth investigating and requiring explanation. Having a large and varied collection was essential in determining the robustness of the phenomenon and also in determining, from analysis of a variety of individual instances, how the phenomenon could be related to the pedagogical focus and interactional organisation of that individual L2 classroom context. So, whilst it is true, as Drew (1994b:16) points out, that "...statistical approaches to coding, sampling and testing are generally not appropriate to the analytic perspective and objectives of CA.", it is nonetheless useful to have a large and varied database when investigating the L2 classroom.

It would also be useful, however, to consider what have been the deficiencies and limitations of the database for the current research. I have located several varieties of L2 classroom interaction which appeared provisionally to be distinct L2 classroom contexts. However, the problem was that I was unable to locate more than one or two instances in each case. Because there were so few instances of this interactional environment to investigate, I was unable to complete the second stage of CA research outlined above, and therefore felt

unable to make a robust characterisation of the L2 classroom context, its pedagogical focus or its interactional organisation. So even though I found the database large and varied enough to be able to draw robust conclusions about the organisation of the interaction in the L2 classroom as a whole, I would also be very happy to have a much larger and much more varied database to explore. I find personally that the greater the number and the greater the diversity of the individual instances I am able to look at, the greater my understanding becomes of the machinery which has produced them.

4.4 Presentation of Data

Edwards and Westgate (1994:80) suggest that classroom researchers should publish in full in appendix form the data on which their analyses are made. This would enable other researchers to check whether the extracts analysed in the main body of the work are representative and would allow analyses to be challenged. They conclude that “Where the issue is not even recognised, there must be scepticism about whether the evidence quoted is not merely a convenient rather than a representative sample of the whole body of data collected.” This study, therefore, publishes in Appendix One the complete transcripts of database 1); video and audio tapes are also available. References are given in the bibliography to database 2) extracts, where quoted, and databases 3) and 4) are available in video format.

Transcripts are the medium used to provide illustrative data for this study. Transcripts are the obvious medium since: a) they can easily be integrated into publications, and transcripts are currently to be found as an integral part of many articles; b) there are already many published and unpublished examples of L2 lesson transcripts which could form part of a

database; c) transcripts are easy to read, compare, copy and distribute; d) CA uses transcripts as a major source of evidence. However, the following problems need to be addressed: a) there are a number of competing systems of transcription, and there is not yet one universally used system for L2 classrooms; b) according to Van Lier (1988a: 241-2) “A transcription is never finished” and “A transcription of a lesson can never be entirely accurate”. Ideally, then the database would include video and audio recordings as well as transcripts of the lessons, in order that the accuracy of the transcripts might be verified, and in order that kinesic and prosodic aspects might be investigated by other researchers. In the case of database 1), then, video and audio recordings are available. The transcription system adopted in this study is that of Van Lier (1988a) with slight adaptations. This was developed by Van Lier specifically for the L2 classroom, and since his system is well thought out and forms the basis of his well-known (1988a) study, it is appropriate for this study. The transcription system is detailed in the conventions section and Appendix One of this study, and the whole of database 1) is transcribed using this system. The lesson extracts which form database 2) have sometimes been slightly adapted so as to fit into the transcription system used in this study in the interests of homogeneity, although major alterations have been avoided wherever possible.

5 A Sketch of the Interactional Architecture of the L2 Classroom

5.1 CA Institutional Discourse Methodology

This section does not attempt a detailed exposition of CA methodology in general terms for the following reasons. Firstly, there are already several excellent introductory accounts (Levinson 1983; Drew 1994a; Heritage 1995). Secondly, CA methodology is discussed at several points as the argument develops in the course of the study (in particular in sections 4.3 and 6.7). One can see the whole study as an attempt at a process exposition of CA institutional discourse methodology in relation to L2 classroom interaction. Thirdly, CA methodology is always discussed through analysis of transcripts, and that is precisely what occurs throughout this study in the analysis of extracts. This thesis, then, assumes that readers have a basic understanding of CA methodology.

Although I have stressed that this section will not give a detailed account of CA methodology in general, it is nevertheless important to outline at this point the CA approach to institutional discourse, given that this study claims to be using a CA institutional discourse perspective. In particular, this section will attempt to establish why CA methodology is particularly suited to the study of L2 classroom interaction. Although the origins of CA were in the exposition of the structure of free conversation, CA has been interested from a very early stage in the analysis of interaction in institutional settings. Drew

and Heritage (1992a) is a major collection of studies of institutional discourse from a CA perspective, covering 11 different institutional settings. Although there have as yet been no large-scale CA studies of the L2 classroom, McHoul has conducted CA studies of turn-taking in formal L1 classrooms (1978) and of the organization of repair in formal L1 classrooms (1990). There is some discussion of these studies in chapters 7 and 8 respectively. Heritage (1996: 2) suggests that there are two kinds of conversation analysis going on today. The first is concerned with interaction per se and conversation in particular. The second is concerned with institutional discourse and “the management of social institutions in interaction.” Heritage proposes that although these two approaches overlap in various ways, they are distinct in focus. CA methodology is best understood as a set of methodological precepts which can be applied to the analysis of any variety of naturally occurring interaction. Those precepts which are most relevant to the discussion are presented below.

1) A focus on the structural organisation of interaction. A basic assumption of CA is that interaction is structurally organized. A central goal of CA is to uncover those mechanisms of interactional organisation to which participants orient during interaction. However, “the categories of analysis should be those that participants themselves can be shown to utilize in making sense of interaction: unmotivated theoretical constructs and unsubstantiated intuitions are all to be avoided.” (Levinson 1983: 295). It is not sufficient, then, to claim that an interactional feature or mechanism exists: it is necessary to produce evidence in the data that participants actually orient to that feature or mechanism in the interaction. This emphasis on rigorous empirical proof acts as a safeguard against analysts imposing their external preconceptions concerning the organisation of the interaction onto the data. This is particularly important with respect to L2 classroom interaction. Because

we are language teachers, we will intuitively tend to favour descriptions of the interaction based on linguistics and/or pedagogy. This, I believe, is why DA-based approaches and concepts like the ‘pedagogical move’ have proved so popular with the language teaching profession. However, as I have argued in chapters 1 and 2, approaches based on linguistics and pedagogy are unable to portray the complexity and fluidity of the interaction or to depict the interactional organisation of the L2 classroom. The strength of the CA approach is that it forces us to abandon our pedagogical intuitions and preconceptions, to consider the social or communicative act as primary, and to uncover evidence for any claims as to participants’ orientations from the interactional data. In effect, CA methodology acts as an estrangement device, forcing us to view the interaction, as far as is possible, in purely interactional terms.

2) **A dynamic view of context.** Whereas static and monolithic approaches to discourse regard institutional context as something given and located in the background, CA adopts a dynamic view of context, “showing that the participants build the context of their talk in and through their talk.” (Heritage 1996: 4). So rather than, for example, taking the typical DA approach of characterising the IRF/IRE cycle as typical of the classroom, CA takes the opposite approach, considering what it is about the IRF/IRE cycle that invokes an institutional context. If we take the social or communicative act as primary and the linguistic manifestations as secondary, we see that the primary communicative act is to educate, laying simultaneous claim to superior knowledge and an asymmetrical relationship between the educator and the educated. This is why we can see the IRF/IRE cycle being used by parents at home with their children (see section 3.1). This is also why, if we start to use the IRF/IRE cycle in a conversation with an adult of equal status, our partner will tend to become annoyed, because the cycle is invoking a context in which we are claiming superior

knowledge and superior status. So the problem with the DA approach is that drawing a straight line from an interactional feature to an institutional context does not help elucidate the organisation of the interaction and does not provide a functional explanation for why that particular feature invokes that particular context.

We will see in section 5.6 and chapters 6-8 of this thesis that it is vital to be able to characterise 'context' with some precision in order to describe the interactional organisation of the L2 classroom, and that a variable approach to context is essential. CA offers an empirical and sophisticated approach to the characterisation of context. A basic assumption of CA is that contributions to interaction are 'context-shaped' and 'context-renewing'. Contributions are context-shaped in that they cannot be adequately understood except by reference to the sequential environment in which they occur and in which the participants design them to occur. Contributions are context-renewing in that they inevitably form part of the sequential environment in which a next contribution will occur. As Heritage (1984b: 242) puts it: "the context of a next action is repeatedly renewed with every current action." and is transformable at any moment. As should become clear through the analysis of extracts in this thesis, it is vital to have a methodology which is able to portray the fluidity of L2 classroom interaction in terms of how the context can shift from one turn to the next. This point is made in particular with respect to extract 155 in section 11.4. If, then, it is essential to be able to characterise contexts in the L2 classroom with some precision, what is it about CA methodology which enables this? According to Schegloff (1987: 221), much CA work "can be seen as an extended effort to elaborate just what a context is and what its explication or description might entail." CA proposes that "sequences of actions are a major part of what we mean by context" (Heritage 1996: 2) and that "modes of interactional organisation might themselves be treated as contexts" (Schegloff 1987: 221). Evidence for

the characterisation of a context has to derive primarily from the interactional data rather than from a description of the physical setting, the participants or the pedagogical activity in progress. What this might mean in practical terms is that we cannot characterise a current context in the L2 classroom in terms of a ‘drill’ or a ‘role-play’ or any other blanket term. As was pointed out in the introduction, different teachers can mean different things when they use such terms. Furthermore, research reports frequent mismatches and gaps between teacher intention and learner interpretation of the lesson (Kumaravadivelu 1991; Nunan 1994). A CA approach allows an empirical, technical specification of a context in the L2 classroom in terms of sequential environments and in terms of organisation of the interaction. The characterisation of the context is supported by and indeed derived from interactional evidence in the data concerning the orientation of the participants. As will be demonstrated in chapter 10, CA analyses of a context are possible even when all kinds of instances of mismatch and miscommunication are occurring between the participants. Moreover, CA analyses can portray why and how the instances of mismatch and miscommunication are occurring.

3) **Goal orientation and rational organisation** (this section applies only to institutional discourse). In contrast to conversation, participants in institutional interaction orient to some “core goal, task or identity (or set of them) conventionally associated with the institution in question.” (Drew and Heritage 1992b: 22). CA institutional discourse methodology attempts to relate not only the overall organisation of the interaction but also individual interactional devices to the core institutional goal. CA attempts, then, to understand the organisation of the interaction as being **rationally** derived from the core institutional goal. Levinson (1992: 71) sees the structural elements of institutional discourse as

“...rationally and functionally adapted to the point or goal of the activity in question, that is the function or functions that members of the society see the activity as having. By taking this perspective it seems that in most cases apparently ad hoc and elaborate arrangements and constraints of very various sorts can be seen to follow from a few basic principles, in particular rational organization around a dominant goal.”

Now this thesis suggests that it is rewarding to consider the goal orientations of any interactional feature in the L2 classroom, to locate that feature within the interactional architecture as a whole and ultimately to relate the feature back to the core goal of the L2 classroom (see section 5.2). Such a focus enables us to put aside our pedagogical predispositions and view the interaction in purely interactional terms. This contrasts sharply with tendencies within the Communicative Approach to view typical L2 classroom interaction as ‘inauthentic’ or ‘not genuine’ and as being a distorted and deficient poor relation of ‘real-world’ discourse which is in need of remedial surgery.

“... when we analyse classroom discourse it becomes clear that the very presence and participation of the teacher distorts the interaction to such an extent that it no longer provides even the basic raw materials from which a learner can construct his competence.” (Gremmo, Holec and Riley 1978:63)

“Indeed, on this evidence (Long and Sato’s classroom study), NS-NNS conversation during SL instruction is a greatly distorted version of its equivalent in the real world. Further research is needed to determine, as one suspects, this difference is important, and if so, how the interactional structure of classroom NS-NNS conversation can be changed.” (Long and Sato 1983: 284)

This study, however, disputes the communicative view of L2 classroom interaction and attempts to portray the interactional architecture of the L2 classroom as rational, in Levinson’s terms, in that it is functionally oriented to and derived from the core goal. There is an overall attempt in this thesis not only to describe interactional devices, but also to explain why those elements are as they are and why they must be that way as part of a rational overall design . It is not sufficient, then, in CA methodology to merely describe or

model interactional devices. One should also try to “provide functional explanations, or expositions of rational design, for the existence of the device in question” (Levinson 1983: 319). One should ask what problems an interactional organisation solves and which problems it raises. By the end of the thesis it should be clear that this approach has considerable advantages with respect to the characterisation of L2 classroom contexts (see section 5.6 and chapter 6). It means that each context can be portrayed in terms of its interactional advantages and disadvantages (which problems it solves and which problems it raises) without reference to pedagogical fashion or predisposition.

A related methodological precept is that one should “search for the *raison d’être* of a particular conversational organization, and the implications that the existence of one device has for the necessity for others.” (Levinson 1983: 322). This acts as an antidote to the tendencies of language teachers to consider particular interactional devices in isolation and label them desirable or undesirable for pedagogical reasons and without considering the **interactional** consequences of such devices or how that particular device relates to the interactional organisation of the L2 classroom as a whole. For example, we will see in section 8.9 that current pedagogy considers the direct and overt negative evaluation of learner errors to be highly undesirable. However, it is argued that this choice creates serious new problems on the interactional level and may be counter-productive.

4) **Portrayal of multiplexity.** We saw in the discussion of extract 2 in section 2.1 that a single utterance can simultaneously be operating on multiple different levels in the L2 classroom, and that the fact of language being the goal as well as the vehicle of interaction creates an extra level of complexity. Now CA methodology has a basic focus on sequential organisation and thus has no problem in portraying the way in which “a single utterance can

be the locus of a number of quite different overlapping constraints - it can thus perform, and can be carefully designed to perform, a number of quite different functions at once.” (Levinson 1983: 311). Furthermore, the extra level of complexity is simply another interactional feature to which participants orient and can be treated in a similar way to any other feature. This has considerable global advantages. In the past the L2 classroom has often been avoided as a setting for interactional research because of the problem caused by this added level of complexity and by its ‘unique’ characteristics. The CA approach, however, allows the L2 classroom to be treated as an institutional discourse setting like any other; all institutional varieties of discourse have their idiosyncracies. This in turn means that L2 classroom interaction can be located within a broader interactional and theoretical framework, rather than being the ‘odd one out’ yet again.

5) **A focus on choices.** CA places an “emphasis on the interactional and inferential consequences of the choice between alternative utterances.” (Levinson 1983: 287). An interactant has the possibility, in any sequential environment, of selecting between different social and communicative acts, which can in turn be realised on a linguistic level in different ways. So one needs to consider why a participant produced exactly that utterance at that point and what consequences it had for the interaction. This is a major methodological resource in the analysis of extracts in this thesis and enables the participants’ orientations to be traced through lengthy sequences. It will be shown in chapter eight that this methodological principle is particularly useful in connection with repair in the L2 classroom, which tends to bear a heavier load than repair in other settings because of the extra problem of learner’s linguistic errors. Using CA methodology it is possible to trace the interactional consequences of choosing particular repair techniques in particular sequential environments.

Finally, it may ostensibly appear paradoxical that this study is trying to use a methodology (CA) to try to develop a methodology for the description, analysis, evaluation and exploration of L2 classroom interaction. However, this is not as paradoxical as it might seem. CA methodology is always concerned with making explicit the interactional orientations and concerns of participants. Now clearly the participants' concerns will inevitably vary in each institutional setting, and so CA methodology will evolve in a slightly different way in each institutional setting in order to portray the participants' different concerns and orientations. For example, Drew (1992c:472) explicates a device for producing inconsistency in, and damaging implications for, a witness's evidence during cross-examination in a courtroom trial. Clearly these participants' interactional concerns are unique to this institutional setting. Although Drew is using a CA methodology, he is in effect simultaneously developing a sub-variety of CA methodology appropriate to the analysis of cross-examination in courtroom settings: he is selecting for analysis a device which is unique to that institutional setting and explicating the interactional work unique to that setting which the device accomplishes. In exactly the same way, this study will be using an overall CA methodology whilst in effect simultaneously developing a sub-variety of CA methodology appropriate to the analysis of interaction in L2 classrooms. This study will select for analysis those concerns and competences which are unique to the L2 classroom and attempt to explicate how the interaction is accomplished in the institutional setting and what the machinery is which produces the interaction. So when this study gives the development of a methodology for the description, analysis, evaluation and exploration of L2 classroom interaction as one of its aims, it is merely a sub-variety of CA methodology appropriate to the analysis of interaction in L2 classrooms that is meant.

5.2 A Sketch of the Interactional Architecture of the L2 Classroom

The logical first step towards describing the interactional architecture of L2 classroom interaction is to identify the core goal.

The core goal of L2 classroom interaction is that the teacher will teach the learners the L2.

From this core goal a number of consequences issue both rationally and inevitably which affect the way in which L2 classroom interaction is accomplished. I will propose that there are three interactional properties which derive directly from the core goal, and that these properties in turn necessarily shape the micro-interaction. The three properties follow in rational sequence from each other:

- 1) language is both the vehicle and object of instruction.**
- 2) the linguistic forms and patterns of interaction which the learners produce in the L2 will inevitably be linked in some way to the pedagogical purposes which the teacher introduces.**
- 3) the linguistic forms and patterns of interaction which the learners produce are subject to evaluation by the teacher in some way.**

I will call these three properties *intermediate properties*. They are intermediate properties in that they mediate between the core institutional goal (at the broadest view of context) and the actual micro-discourse produced in the L2 classroom (at the narrowest view of context).

I will try to explain in section 6.8 that this architecture should not be seen in terms of a hierarchy (as in the DA approach) but in terms of a tri-dimensional view of context which depends on how narrow or how broad one's perspective on context is at any given time. These three intermediate properties require some comment.

Property One: language is "... both the vehicle and object of instruction." (Long 1983: 9). This property springs rationally and inevitably from the core goal. The core goal dictates that the L2 is the object, goal and focus of instruction. It must be taught, and it can only be taught through the medium or vehicle of language (whether an L1, L2 or a mixture of the two). Therefore language has a dual role in the L2 classroom in that it is both the vehicle and object, both the process and product of the instruction. In other forms of classroom education (history, engineering) language is only the vehicle of the teaching. Now this is not to suggest that all of the teaching in L2 classrooms is conducted in the L2: the data clearly show this not to be the case. However, this thesis is concerned with explicating only those periods of an L2 lesson in which the L2 is spoken by both teacher and learners.

Property Two: the linguistic forms and patterns of interaction which the learners produce in the L2 will inevitably be linked in some way to the pedagogical purposes which the teacher introduces (Seedhouse 1994). Now it was suggested that property one derives rationally from the core goal. In the same way, property two derives rationally from property one. The L2 teacher introduces pedagogical purposes in order to initiate the learning process: any teacher in any kind of lesson does so. In the L2 lesson, however (and as a direct consequence of property one) the teacher expects the learners to produce specific linguistic forms and patterns of interaction in response to the pedagogical purposes s/he

introduces. In the following extract the teacher's pedagogical purpose is apparently to get the learners (via L2 prompts) to produce a specific sequence of linguistic forms.

Extract 6

- 1 T: What did I dream? Can you remember?
- 2 L1: You turned into a toothbrush
- 3 T: Can I have a full sentence, Hugo?
- 4 L1: That you turned into a toothbrush
- 5 T: OK. You?
- 6 L2: You turned into a toothbrush.
- 7 T: You?
- 8 L2: You turned into a toothbrush.
- 9 L3: You dreamed.
- 10 T: You dreamt.
- 11 L3: You dreamt.
- 12 T: Everyone
- 13 LL: Dreamt
- 14 T: OK. I dreamt that I turned into a toothbrush.

(Ellis 1984: 105)

This extract demonstrates the very tight connections which can occur between the teacher's pedagogical purposes and the linguistic forms and patterns of interaction which the learners produce. In line 2, L1 produces an answer (using a conversational elliptical form) which would be perfectly acceptable in conversation. However, this is not the target pattern of interaction which the teacher's pedagogical purposes are aiming to produce, and the teacher does not accept the answer. Similarly, in line 9, L3 produces a perfectly acceptable past simple form, but this particular linguistic form is not the one targeted by the teacher's pedagogical purposes, and the teacher corrects it in line 10.

One might protest at this point that the above examples are typical of old-fashioned 'uncommunicative' teaching, and that in modern 'communicative' teaching the teacher fades into the background as a facilitator, does not impose any pedagogical purposes or control

the interaction. I would like to counter this objection by reiterating the claim (made in the analysis of extract 4 in section 3.1) that the linguistic forms and patterns of interaction which the learners produce will inevitably be linked in some way to the pedagogical purposes which the teacher introduces into the L2 classroom environment. To emphasise this point I would like to examine an extract from a 'communicative' lesson, in which the teacher is physically entirely absent from the interaction. Malaysian young learners were given an unfinished story and asked to speculate as to how the story would continue.

Extract 7

- L1: he saw what happened.. He saw what happened in the house
L2: he tell the villagers that he a saw a old man.
L3: maybe he didn't because the he can't find the door handle isn't it.
L4: =why, why he ran
L3: =maybe, maybe, maybe the thief don't know he's in there because it's very dark is it and=
L1: =but=
L3: maybe only lightning
L1: lightning only can maybe every time the lightning came maybe the thief didn't notice anything or not. maybe only=
L2: =maybe Nazri kicked the ((unint))
L3: only Nazri maybe or maybe a [secrantus] or like that.
L2: I think maybe Nazri kicked the table.
L4: =Nazri ran .. can't open the door
L3: =I don't think so because just because .. the little you know
L4: because he didn't find the door handle. Why he can go out from the house and the villagers.
L5: The robbers must have stolen Nazri then.

(Warren 1985: 234)

The interaction seems highly 'communicative': in fact the interaction corresponds neatly (on the surface) to Nunan's characterisation of 'genuine communication' (see page 50, 143). The learners are clearly managing the speech exchange system themselves and expressing themselves freely. The point is, however, that the linguistic forms and patterns the learners produced were directly related to the pedagogical purposes which the teacher introduced,

even though the teacher did not participate in the interaction. Warren states clearly what his pedagogical purposes were with these learners: were given an unfinished story and asked to speculate as to how the story would continue. The students were left alone with a tape recorder. The writer devised the activity “to activate natural discourse in the classroom.” (1985: 45) and “...the only condition imposed on the students was that the medium for all that might be said had to be English.” (p. 46). He hoped that the exercise “... would encourage the students to speculate.” (p. 45). We can clearly see the link between the teacher’s pedagogical purposes and the linguistic forms and patterns of interaction produced by the learners: the learners speak only in English and speculate about the end of the story. The discourse is natural when compared with extract 11 in section 6.1, for example. Warren (1985:67) evaluates the interaction produced here very positively.

My point is, then, that whatever methods the teacher is using - and even if the teacher claims to be relinquishing control of the classroom interaction - the linguistic forms and patterns of interaction which the learners produce will inevitably be linked in some way to the pedagogical purposes which the teacher introduces into the L2 classroom environment. Indeed, if the teacher does not introduce any pedagogical purposes, the speech event which takes place cannot be considered an L2 lesson. I do not wish to suggest that it is the sole prerogative of the teacher to introduce pedagogical purposes: learners may reinterpret or reject the teacher’s pedagogical purposes, and may introduce purposes of their own, as will be seen in the analysis of extract 155 in section 11.4. Current process-syllabus and learner-centred approaches stress the importance of allowing learners to be involved in the selection of materials, methodology and other components of the curriculum. Whoever introduces the pedagogical purposes and however they are introduced, the point is always the same at this level of analysis: pedagogical purposes are introduced and the learners produce

linguistic forms and patterns of interaction which relate in some way to those pedagogical purposes.

Now another possible objection to the universality of property two is that what learners say does not always seem to relate directly to the teacher's pedagogical purposes: sometimes learners reinterpret or reject those pedagogical purposes. However, the claim being made in this study is that the linguistic forms and patterns of interaction which the learners produce in the L2 will inevitably be linked **in some way** to the pedagogical purposes which the teacher introduces. The claim is not that learners always do what the teachers tell them: the data show this clearly not to be the case. The claim is that there will always be some kind of connection, and that even rejection by the learners of a set of pedagogical purposes may be accounted for. In order to illustrate this point, I would now like to examine what appears at first to be a case of extreme deviance and rejection of the teacher's pedagogical purposes. At first sight, then, the extract appears to disconfirm the claim that the linguistic forms and patterns of interaction which the learners produce in the L2 will inevitably be linked in some way to the pedagogical purposes which the teacher introduces. The Norwegian data (lesson 4 groupwork 1) shows a deviant case in which learners go at times considerably off task, swearing and generally messing about and using the L1. The task was to discuss paintings.

Extract 8

L1: fuck off!

L2: fuck off man! sucking ((unintelligible 1 sec))

L3: ((unintelligible 1 sec))

L1: I just hope that not (Teacher's name) is going to hear this.

L2: (Teacher's name) are you gonna hear it? I don't think so. *du, kommer (Teacher's name) til aa hoere kassetten?*((tr: hey, is (Teacher's name) going to hear the tape?))

L: ((unintelligible 1 sec))

L2: shit!

L3: oops!

LL: (laugh)
L1: sorry sorry sorry. I'm sorry!
L2: (laugh) we didn't say anything.
L1: it was Knut-ivar!
L2: it was it was Kenneth!
L3: me?
L2: no it was Tone!....., no names allowed on this tape please.
L3: biip=
L2: =remain silent!
L1: my name is biip=
L3: =biip.
LL: (laugh)
L2: we have to work now.
L3: fyeah.
L2: they can write we can talk (4 sec)
L3: you write!
L2: hello papa....., I don't wanna look at that motherfucker ey (laugh).
LL: biip.

(Norwegian data: 445)

Now this behaviour can be partly explained by the immaturity of a group of adolescent boys combined with the presence of recording equipment. However, if we examine the interaction which takes place in the two other parallel groups (Norwegian data Lesson 4 groupwork 2 and 3) then we notice that, although they are attempting the task set, they are not producing the 'rich' discussion which the teacher was hoping for. Norwegian data lessons 1 and 2 clearly demonstrate by contrast that 'rich' discussion in the L2 is possible. So we should go back to and examine the pedagogical purposes which the teacher introduced, and seek an explanation there.

The students were aged between 13 and 14. The task (Norwegian data: 75) was to discuss in the L2 a picture or painting they had chosen, and decide how to present the picture to the class. In other words, the 14 year old learners were expected to discuss paintings in the L2 without any preparation in terms of technical art vocabulary in the L2 (I assume that the learners would probably have lacked the technical art vocabulary to discuss paintings in their

L1: I certainly do). On examining the groupwork transcripts (Norwegian data pp. 76-99) we begin to understand why the discussions fail to take off, by contrast to Norwegian data lessons one and two. So we can now reinterpret the behaviour of the 'deviant' group. To some extent they found the highbrow nature of the task and the technical artistic vocabulary it called for too demanding and uninteresting. By their fluent swearing they are laying claim to a command of a different register of English and also asserting their 'street credibility' or membership of a different English culture or sub-culture: both the culture and the register proposed by the teacher were rejected by the learners in favour of a culture and register of their own choosing. So although at first this extract appeared to disconfirm the universality of intermediate property two, the analysis of the deviant case in fact strengthens the claim that the linguistic forms and patterns of interaction which the learners produce in the L2 will inevitably be linked **in some way** to the pedagogical purposes which the teacher introduces. There has been strong recent interest in applied linguistics in explicating the reasons why learners do not learn what teachers teach (Nunan 1994). It is suggested that the form of analysis developed in this thesis offers a means of exploration in this area.

Property Three: the linguistic forms and patterns of interaction which the learners produce are subject to evaluation by the teacher in some way:

“Everyone involved in language teaching and learning will readily agree that evaluation and feedback are central to the process and progress of language learning”. (Van Lier 1988a: 32).

This property does **not** imply that all learner utterances in the L2 are followed by a direct and overt verbalised evaluation by the teacher, as the data show this clearly not to be the case. It means that all learner utterances are potentially subject to evaluation by the teacher.

This third property derives rationally from the second property: since the teacher expects the learners to produce specific linguistic forms and patterns of interaction as a result of the pedagogical purposes s/he has introduced, it follows that the teacher will need to be able to evaluate the learners' utterances in the L2 in order to match the reality to the expectation. In classrooms in which history or geography are being taught, learners' work is subject to evaluation in the same way, but in those classrooms the linguistic forms and patterns of interaction which the learners produce are only a vehicle, not the aim or the focus of the lesson, and they are not subject to evaluation as such: it is the propositional content which they carry that is evaluated.

Sometimes the teacher does not express any observable evaluation of learner utterances during the lesson. This does not mean, however, that learner utterances were not subject to evaluation by the teacher. For example, the deviant case of Norwegian data lesson four groupwork one has just been discussed. The transcripts and video showed that this group were not taking the task too seriously. The teacher did not express any evaluation of the learners' discourse whatsoever during the lesson. *However, the teacher informed me (six months later) that she had reprimanded that group of learners during a subsequent lesson for their poor performance. She further informed me that some groups which I had not recorded had had very interesting discussions. So learner utterances are invariably subject to teacher evaluation, although the evaluation is not always directly or overtly expressed. An L2 teacher may even avoid any explicit evaluation during lessons altogether, and then give learners an end of year grade or report for oral performance.*

This study proposes that these intermediate properties may be universal, i.e., they may apply to all L2 classrooms and they may be inescapable in that they are a rational consequence of

the core institutional goal and the nature of the activity. This would explain how L2 classroom interaction seems able to adopt virtually any speech exchange system and still remain identifiably L2 classroom interaction. For example, in the transcripts of 'real-world target speech community' interaction, (see section 7.4 below) the teacher attempts to replicate the speech exchange system of conversation, comes close to doing so in most measurable ways, and yet it is still clear that the interaction is L2 classroom interaction and not conversation because the three intermediate properties are still manifest in the interaction.

5.3 The L2 Teacher as Discourse Analyst

Now an interesting point which emerges from the discussion of intermediate properties two and three is that the teacher is acting as a discourse analyst on a turn-by-turn basis. The teacher links the pedagogical purposes introduced to the linguistic forms and patterns which the learners produce and analyses and evaluates them. Then the teacher introduces new pedagogical purposes on the basis of his/her analysis and evaluation. Now from a CA perspective there is nothing unusual or revolutionary in suggesting that teachers are discourse analysts. A basic finding of CA is that ordinary conversationalists are working as discourse analysts on a turn-by-turn basis and constantly displaying their analyses of their conversational partners' utterances in their own next turns (Levinson 1983: 321). The same finding applies equally to institutional settings, where we find that professionals perform analyses which are often peculiar to the institutional business. Drew (1992c) for example shows that part of an opposing counsel's work during cross-examination in courtroom trials involves analysing a witness's answers and exposing errors or inconsistencies in their evidence. These analyses are often displayed by means of a technique which juxtaposes and

contrasts items of discrepant information. Now it is suggested that the discourse analysis which the L2 teacher performs, as outlined above, is the essence of the L2 teacher's interactional work. This applies in both extracts 9 and 10 in section 5.6, which are as dissimilar as possible. Even though the teacher is physically absent in extract 4 in section 3.1, the learners are still producing linguistic forms and patterns of interaction which relate to the pedagogical purposes which the teacher introduced, and the teacher still conducts an analysis and evaluation of the learners' interaction. After listening to the tapes of the interaction which he recorded, Warren (1985:68) writes evaluations of the interaction: "Throughout the tape the students employ many discourse skills and the variety of language used is very wide indeed."

5.4 A Methodology for the Description, Analysis, Evaluation and Exploration of L2 Classroom Interaction

Now the interesting thing about the description of the interactional architecture of the L2 classroom so far is that it provides the analyst with a 'ready-made' analytical procedure. The classroom teacher matches the linguistic forms and patterns of interaction which the learner produces back to the pedagogical purposes which he/she originally introduced and performs an analysis and evaluation on that basis. The analyst can do exactly the same thing :

Having first located the extract within the framework, the analyst can match the teacher's pedagogical purposes to the linguistic forms and patterns of interaction which the learner produces, and then analyse and evaluate the interaction on the basis of the match (or mismatch).

This matching methodology has the advantage of demonstrably orienting the analysis to the participants' concerns rather than to the analyst's concerns, as often happens (see section 3.2). The idea that an analytical procedure or methodology can emerge from the structure of L2 classroom interaction is a familiar one in CA. When Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson examined the structure of free conversation, they discovered that the adjacency pair emerged from the structure of conversation as an analytical tool:

“The display of (conversationalists') understandings in the talk of subsequent turns affords both a resource for the analysis of prior turns and a proof procedure for professional analyses of prior turns - resources intrinsic to the data themselves.” (Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson 1974: 729).

Indeed, assuming that Levinson is correct with respect to the rational design of institutional discourses, it is inevitable that speakers in all institutional settings will display their analyses of the interaction, and that these analyses will be available to the outside analyst via the transcripts. It is not proposed to provide an example of the methodology in use at this point as the study contains many examples of description, analysis and exploration using this methodology: see, however, sections 11.3 and 11.4.

The matching methodology is also the basis of evaluation. Essentially, if there is a match between the pedagogical purposes and the linguistic forms and patterns of interaction, then the interaction can be evaluated positively. If there is a serious mismatch, as with the 'deviant cases' in section 10.2, then the interaction is evaluated negatively. Again, there are many examples of evaluation in this study. As far as evaluation is concerned, then, the methodology tries to ensure that the interaction is evaluated from the same point of view and using the same criteria as the teacher teaching the lesson. This cuts through the problems of subjectivity and the observer's perspective with respect to evaluation in that

the evaluatory evidence springs from the interaction itself, rather than being based on the observer's pedagogical proclivities.

5.5 The Concept of L2 Classroom Contexts

All institutions conduct their institutional business by means of a number of interactional varieties which are suited to the institutional goal. A court case, for example, is divided into the swearing-in of jurors, a statement of the case, direct and cross-examinations, the passing of sentence, etc. (Levinson 1992: 71). In the L2 classroom the core business of teaching the learners an L2 is also conducted via a number of interactional varieties which all relate directly to the institutional business. As we saw in section 3.4, this study calls these interactional varieties *L2 classroom contexts*. It is important to consider what exactly is meant by a context here, since there have been complaints that context has become a kind of conceptual garbage can (Clark 1992: 61). The particular concept of context which is used in this section relates specifically to the architecture of the L2 classroom as described so far. It has already been asserted that pedagogical purposes are inevitably linked to patterns of interaction in the L2 classroom. It is suggested that L2 classroom contexts should be understood not only as institutional interactional varieties. They should also be seen as the 'interfaces' between pedagogy and interaction and thus as the environments through which the institutional business is accomplished. In the typical contexts which occur in the L2 classroom (which will be exemplified below) a particular pedagogical focus combines with a particular organisation of the interaction. So, for example, when examining extracts 1 and 2 we found that each extract had a particular pedagogical focus which combined with a particular organisation of repair: the particular pedagogical focus was appropriate to the

particular organisation of repair and vice-versa. The different L2 classroom contexts need to be understood, then, as **different combinations of pedagogical focus and interactional organisation**. It should also be stressed that the concept of L2 classroom contexts is not a static and invariant one in which a single L2 classroom context covers a whole lesson: "... the CA perspective embodies a dynamic approach in which 'context' is treated as both the project and product of the participants' own actions and therefore as inherently locally produced and transformable at any moment." (Drew and Heritage 1992b: 19). Contexts can shift with great rapidity and fluidity during an L2 lesson and can be generated by learners as well as by the teacher: see the analysis of extract 155 in section 11.4 for an illustration. Now in order to illustrate the concept of the L2 classroom context as a combination of pedagogical focus and interactional organisation I will examine two differing classroom extracts:

Extract 9

- 1 T: What did I dream? Can you remember?
- 2 L1: You turned into a toothbrush
- 3 T: Can I have a full sentence, Hugo?
- 4 L1: That you turned into a toothbrush
- 5 T: OK. You?
- 6 L2: You turned into a toothbrush.
- 7 T: You?
- 8 L2: You turned into a toothbrush.
- 9 L3: You dreamed.
- 10 T: You dreamt.
- 11 L3: You dreamt.
- 12 T: Everyone
- 13 LL: Dreamt
- 14 T: OK. I dreamt that I turned into a toothbrush.

(Ellis 1984: 105)

In this already familiar extract the focus is on linguistic form and the teacher expects the learners to produce a precise string of linguistic forms. As was mentioned in section 5.2, the

teacher rejects answers which would be perfectly acceptable in conversation. Now in a particular L2 classroom context, a particular pedagogical focus combines with a particular organisation of the interaction. The pedagogical focus here is exclusively on the production of target linguistic forms, and the interaction is organised in a way which is appropriate to the pedagogical focus. The turn-taking system is centrally controlled by the teacher, and the teacher allocates turns to the learners. The turn-taking needs to be rigid and tightly controlled because the pedagogical focus is rigid and narrowly focused. Similarly, the organisation of repair is tightly focused on the aim of producing a specific string of linguistic forms. There are actually a variety of repair trajectories used: there is other-initiation of self-repair in lines 3, 5 and 7, other-initiated other-repair in line 10 and self-initiated self-repair in line 14. However, the point is that the repair is not organised to repair breakdowns in communication or to establish meaning (the learner's meaning is quite clear in line 2): the repair is tightly and rigidly organised to facilitate the production of a specific string of linguistic forms.

Now in the extract below we can see a radically different pedagogical focus combined with a radically different overall organisation of the interaction, and the claim is that this constitutes a different L2 classroom context.

Extract 10

- 1 T: Could you tell me something about marriage in Algeria?
- 2 Who is married here?
- 3 L1: Azo, only Azo.
- 4 T: Alright, your opinion about that.
- 5 L2: He will marry.
- 6 T: Oh, he is engaged, engaged. Tell me something about the
- 7 institution of marriage in Algeria. Tell me something
- 8 about it.
- 9 L3: There are several institutions.

- 10 T: You don't have marriage in Algeria. What do you have
11 then?
12 L4: Only women and men.
13 T: Yes, that's what marriage is.
14 L1: The marriage in Algeria isn't like the marriage in
15 England.
16 T: What do you mean?
17 S: For get marriage you must pay two thousand.
18 L5: Yes more expensive than here.
19 T: Why do you have to pay money?
20 L6: No. It's our religion.
21 L7: Not religion but our tradition.
22 L8: No, religion, religion. In religion we must pay women,
23 but not high price, but tradition.
24 L5: Between women, women does not like to married to
25 a low money because it is not, it is ...
26 T: Oh, dowry, oh dear.

(Hasan 1988: 258-9)

In this extract the pedagogical focus is clearly not on linguistic form and accuracy, since the teacher does not attempt to repair the linguistic errors which occur at all. The focus is rather on the expression of personal meaning. In pedagogical terms we could say that the focus is on fluency rather than accuracy, on meaning rather than form. The learners are able to express information which is new to the teacher, as evidenced by the three 'oh's which the teacher utters: these function as markers of a change of information state (Heritage 1984a). Now this major shift in pedagogical focus (by comparison with extract 9) necessitates a shift in interactional organisation. Because the learners require interactional space to express personal meanings, the organisation of the interaction will have to become less narrow and rigid. So although the extract starts off with the teacher allocating turns to the learners and constraining their turns, the turn-taking system then evolves, so that in lines 20-25 the learners are able to nominate themselves to take turns. The speech exchange system evolves so that L6, L7 and L8 disagree directly with each other, displacing the teacher from her central position in the interaction. Similarly, the organisation of repair needs to be

appropriate to the pedagogical focus: it needs to be meaning-oriented whereas the repair in extract 9 was form-oriented. So when the teacher initiates repair in this context in lines 16 and 19, it is a clarification of the message or meaning which s/he is aiming at. The teacher does not attempt to repair the linguistic errors here. The teacher is not repairing in order to obtain a linguistically correct string of linguistic forms from the learner. The form of repair initiation is identical to clarification requests found in free conversation. Moreover, it is not only the teacher who conducts repair in this extract. We can also see the learners correcting each others' statements (other-initiated other-repair) in lines 21 and 22: the repair is focused on establishing the factual accuracy of statements. Now clearly the pedagogical focus in each extract is different and the interactional organisation of each extract is different. The interactional organisation in each case is appropriate to the pedagogical focus and vice-versa. This is why I have characterised the L2 classroom context as a **combination of a particular pedagogical focus and a particular organisation of the interaction**. This is simply what is meant when it is claimed that extracts 9 and 10 are examples of different L2 classroom contexts. Now this is not to suggest that all instances of interaction within a particular L2 classroom context will appear to be almost identical. As is suggested in section 5.2, there is a constant tension between homogeneity and heterogeneity in L2 classroom interaction, and an L2 classroom context needs to be understood as an **overall combination** of a particular pedagogical focus and a particular organisation of the interaction. One would not, for example, expect all courtroom cross-examinations to evolve in an identical way: one would expect a certain degree of homogeneity and a certain degree of heterogeneity, and this is also the case within an L2 classroom context. The data show large variations within L2 classroom contexts in terms of specific pedagogical purposes and in terms of specific patterns of interaction. As will be shown in chapters 10 and 11, there are many grey and confused areas, and much of the data are not as easy to analyse as the two

extracts above. Nevertheless, the analyses which follow will suggest that the general concept of the L2 classroom context enables L2 classroom interaction to be described, analysed, evaluated and explored in a coherent way.

This chapter has provided a broad overall sketch of the interactional architecture of the L2 classroom. One goal of this thesis is to portray L2 classroom interaction as rationally and coherently organised in Levinson's (1992: 93) terms:

“It seems, then, that the various levels of organisation within an activity cohere, and can be seen to derive as rational means from overall ends and organizational conditions.”

The remaining chapters of this thesis examine many specific examples of L2 classroom interaction and attempt to demonstrate how and where they are located within the overall architecture sketched above.

6 Characterisation of some L2 Classroom Contexts

In the database the same L2 classroom contexts can be seen to recur whatever the country, the L2 taught, the type of institution or culture, the age or level of the students. I will now characterise some of the most commonly occurring contexts. This is intended to be an **illustrative** list, not a comprehensive one, and to be a simplified preliminary characterisation of some straightforward and ‘archetypal’ L2 classroom contexts in order to develop the argument. The individual L2 classroom contexts are explored in greater detail in chapters 7 and 8, together with a description of how turn-taking and repair are organised in each L2 classroom context. Cases of ambiguity and uncertainty concerning the delineation of L2 classroom contexts are discussed in chapter 10: here the emphasis is on the clarity of the concept.

6.1 Form and Accuracy Context

The focus is on linguistic form and accuracy: personal or ‘real-world’ meanings do not enter into the picture. Typically, the teacher’s pedagogical purposes will aim at the production of a specific string of linguistic forms by the learners, and the learners produce utterances for the teacher to evaluate. Presentation and practice are normally involved: the learners will learn from the teacher how to manipulate linguistic forms accurately. The focus on linguistic form in preference to personal meanings is graphically illustrated in the following extract:

in the final line, the learner appears to get tired of producing utterances which are not personally meaningful.

Extract 11

- T: Do you make your bed every morning
(nods)
- L: Yes, I make my bed every morning
- T: (shakes his head)
- L: No, I don't make my bed every morning
- T: Does your father make your bed every morning
- L: Yes, my father makes my bed every morning
- T: Does your little brother make your bed every morning
(demonstrates a small brother)
- L: Yes, my little brother makes my bed every morning
- T: (shakes his head vigorously)
- L: No, my little brother doesn't make my bed every morning
- L: I have no little brother

(Bolte and Herrlitz 1986: 206)

Here we can see that the teacher directs speakership and that the interaction follows a rigid lockstep sequence of teacher prompt and learner production of a specific string of linguistic forms.

6.2 'Classroom as Speech Community' Context

The purpose of this L2 classroom context is to maximise the opportunities for interaction presented by the classroom environment and the classroom speech community itself. Participants talk about their immediate classroom speech community and their immediate environment, personal relationships, feelings and meanings, as well as about the classroom

activities they are engaging in. The focus is on the expression of personal meaning rather than on linguistic forms, on fluency rather than on accuracy. The background to this L2 classroom context is that over the last few decades there have been calls for the communication potential of the L2 classroom itself to be realised (Breen 1985; Allwright 1984a):

“We have failed to consider the communication potential of the L2 classroom itself, and the authentic resources for interaction it has to offer.” (Van Lier 1988a:30)

The following extract illustrates the nature of interaction in this context, which contrasts sharply with extract 11: two learners have just given talks on their respective countries (Germany and France) and are now discussing issues relating to their countries.

Extract 12

- 1 L6: At first you said you had a lot of problems in France about the Russian
2 immigrants, and I think it's the same problem now in West Germany with
3 the integration of East German people in the west part of Germany.
4 L2: Yes, but I think it's quite different because ..er.. It's the same race. I mean
5 ..er.. East and West Germany was the same country before so you are near, and
6 in France it's with Arabian people and we don't have the same culture.
7 L6: But..er.. With nearly 40 years difference also mean the last 40 years are so
8 different and..er..
9 L2: Yes
10 L6: In both countries that I think it's nearly the same. It's not the same but
11 L2: [Yes, because
12 religion is a big problem and ..er.. I think that between East and West Germany
13 it's the same religion and in France we don't have.. We have Catholic religion
14 and Arabian people is musulman religion
15 L6: Most of the East German people have no religion
16 L2: Yes, yes in fact and er the last big problem was with chador. I don't know how
17 we call it in English. It is the thing the woman put on her head? (Looks at T)
18 T: In fact it isn't English 'cos it's Arabic, it's the chador. We use the same
19 because it's from the Arabic
20 L2: And er 3 or 4 months ago we had a big problem because some girls want to go
21 to school with this chador

- 22 L6: Or work
23 L2: yes, and the principal of the school don't want that this girl come at school
24 L6: well, I think that it's normal when you go in another country you must accept
25 the rules of this country
26 T: Mm. We had the same thing, a curious thing, the same thing happened here and
27 the girls in the school wanted to wear the chador
28 L6: uhu
29 T: and we came to a peculiarly British compromise that, yes, they could wear it
30 but only if it was in the school colour
31 L2: and the other problem is that er a lot of Arabian people are living in the same
32 place so they, their integration is very hard. They can't be integrated. They are
33 together.
34 L6: they are together

(Mathers 1990: 123)

We can see a major difference in pedagogical focus and organisation of the interaction by comparison with extract 11. In this context the focus is clearly not on linguistic form and accuracy, since the teacher is not aiming at the production of a specific string of linguistic forms by the learners, and the teacher does not attempt to repair linguistic errors at all. In spite of the presence of the teacher, the learners are able to nominate and develop topics themselves: the teacher actually takes up in line 26 a topic introduced by L2. The learners require interactional space in this context to express personal meanings, and we can see that the learners are able to manage the speech exchange system themselves. L2 and L6 address each other directly, using T as a 'resource' in line 17. When T self-nominates in lines 26-30, the flow of the interaction is not stopped. In line 31, L2 continues with his/her own previous topic. As far as turn-taking is concerned, we see that the learners are able to take turns without reference to the teacher. In line 31, L2 does not take up the sub-topic of the chador in Britain which the teacher has introduced, but resumes his/her own sub-topic, skip-connecting back to his/her own contribution in line 11.

6.3 Task-Oriented Context

There are many different definitions of 'task' in applied linguistics: see, for example, the discussion in Nunan 1989a (5-10). The definition of task in this context follows Willis (1990: 127): "By a task I mean an activity which involves the use of language but in which the focus is on the outcome of the activity rather than on the language used to achieve that outcome."

The teacher introduces pedagogical purposes by allocating tasks to the learners and then generally withdraws, allowing the learners to manage the interaction themselves. It appears to be typical in this context, therefore, that the teacher does not play any part in the interaction, although learners do sometimes ask the teacher for help when having difficulty with the task. By contrast with the two previous contexts, there is no focus on personal meanings or on linguistic forms. The learners must communicate with each other in order to accomplish a task, and the focus is on the accomplishment of the task rather than on the language used. In the following extract the learners are engaged in a computer simulation in which they have to make sense of screen data and reach decisions about what to do next.

Extract 13

- L1: It's gone up now the population? Have now 250. Why? 10 persons more?
L2: Yeah. Yeah.
L1: Only 3. No more?
L2: No, 10, 10.
L1: 10, it's 14?
L2: No, no, we have have after 250.
L1: Before we have 259.

(Seedhouse 1994: 314)

The actual language used may seem impoverished, esoteric and meaningless when read in a transcript in isolation, but this is irrelevant to the accomplishment of the interaction in this context: the focus is on whether the learners are able to use language as a means to accomplish the task.

6.4 'Real-World Target Speech Community' Context

The purpose of this L2 classroom context is to enable the learners to converge with their real-world target speech community. In this context it is the teacher's explicit pedagogical aim to replicate real-world interaction of some kind. It could be the institutional interaction between air-traffic controllers and pilot which is aimed at, for example, in a 'languages for specific purposes' course. Alternatively, it could be a replication of free conversation which is aimed at, as is the case in the data from Warren (1985) which are discussed throughout this study. It appears to be typical in this context that the teacher does not play any part in the interaction. The following extract is from Warren (1985), and Warren is trying to replicate conversation. The teacher is physically absent from the interaction, in which Malaysian teenage boy learners are watching a video of an American wrestling match, having been left alone with a tape recorder. The writer devised the activity "to activate natural discourse in the classroom." (p. 45) and "...the only instruction given was that if they spoke while watching the video it had to be in English." (p. 49). Warren hoped that the exercise "... might lead to the voicing of ... reactions to an ongoing event." (p. 45). The teacher was clearly successful in fostering this aim.

Extract 14

L1: See the fellow .. bloody fool, eh

L2: That fella put .. bastard! That fella putting sand, lah.
 L3: Not sand, this is not sand
 L2: Dangerous powder
 []
 L1: Some powder
 L4: Yes, powder
 L1: Poison powder .. see

(Warren 1985: 259)

6.5 Text-Based Context

In this L2 classroom context the basic pedagogical purpose is for the learners to become familiar with an L2 text (by means of reading or listening) and the rationale is that by doing so the learners will acquire elements of the L2. Frequently learners are required to demonstrate their familiarity with the text by means, for example, of answering questions about the text or translation. A wide range of activities are associated with this focus on a text, and the ensuing interaction may be organised in many different ways. In the extract below the teacher nominates a learner to read a section of the text (focusing on the learner's pronunciation of the text) and then translate it into Norwegian (focusing on the learner's understanding of the meaning of the text).

Extract 15

T: yes? (looks in register) (8 sec) will you start reading to me please Karin?
 L4: Captain Cook. Captain James Cook was one of the world's greatest explorers..., on August the twentysixth seventeensixtyeight he sailed from England to find the unknown continent of Australia. he and his crew had stores for eighteen months.
 T: yes. can you translate it please
 L4: (cough) *Captain Cook var ein av verdas stoerste oppdagelsesreisande ..., og i august tjuessjette soettensekstiaatte reiste han fra England for aa finne ukjente kontinenter. han og mannskapet hadde...,...*, (cough) ((tr: Captain Cook was one of the world's greatest explorers..., on August the twentysixth seventeensixtyeight sailing from England to find unknown continent he and his crew had...,...))

T: *lager* ((tr: stores))

LA: *lager for atten maaneder* ((tr: stores for eighteen months))

(Norwegian data: 487)

6.6 Procedural Context

In all transcripts in my database, this context invariably occurs at the beginning of the lesson; in addition it can occur before each 'sub-activity' at later stages of the lesson. The teacher's purpose is to transmit procedural information to the students concerning the classroom activities which are to be accomplished in the lesson. This context is different to the other L2 classroom contexts in that it is a preparatory or subsidiary context whose purpose is to establish a 'main' context (see section 9.1). The procedural context is generally delivered in a monologue, as in the following example:

Extract 16

T: I'd like you to discuss the following statements. and then you read them, I don't read them those for you. if there are words you're not sure of..., in these statements you can ask me. but the (cough) statements and you can pick out the statements you want to to..., start with. you don't have to do it in in the way in the way (cough) I have written it. so if you find out that one of them eh you'd like to discuss more thoroughly you just pick out the the statement that you think is most or is easier to discuss. maybe there will be so much disagreement that you will only be able to discuss two or three of them. that's what I hope. so if you just start now forming the groups..., should I help you to do that? (T divides LL into groups).

(Norwegian data: 369)

6.7 Questions of Reliability with Respect to the Characterisation of L2 Classroom Contexts.

The interest of this study is in developing a description of the interactional organisation of the L2 classroom. This involves a description of the interactional architecture of the L2 classroom and the development of a methodology for the description, analysis, evaluation and exploration of L2 classroom transcripts. There are two reasons why the concept of L2 classroom contexts is included in this study. Firstly, it is a vital component of the overall interactional architecture of the L2 classroom. Secondly, the concept of contexts is vital to the methodology: it is argued that it is not viable to view all varieties of L2 classroom interaction from the same invariant perspective and the textual analyses clearly demonstrate that participants orient to different L2 classroom contexts at different times. This variable and dynamic view of social context is also characteristic of the ethnography of communication: see section 3.4. However, this study views L2 classroom contexts merely as a means to achieving the two goals detailed above. My argument is not that L2 classroom contexts are entities cast in stone and that as soon as you have identified which context the participants are operating in then you have coded it, explained it and finished the analysis. My viewpoint is quite the opposite. I believe that by identifying the L2 classroom context of an extract you have said very little about it. The concept of L2 classroom contexts is intended merely as a point of reference and as a gateway to the analysis and exploration of an L2 classroom text. The identification of the L2 classroom context in which the interaction is operating simply means that the analyst is then able to approach that extract from the same perspective as the participants. It cannot be overemphasised that the reason that L2 classroom contexts are included in this study is that they are demonstrably elements of the interactional organisation of the L2 classroom to which participants orient. They are **not**

intended as a glorified coding scheme. Heritage (1996: 10) expresses a similar point in the following way:

“Overall structural organization, in short, is not a procrustean bed to fit data into, rather it is something we’re looking for and looking at because the parties orient to it in organizing their talk.”

This study does not suggest that it has characterised all of the L2 classroom contexts which occur, nor does it claim to have made a full and reliable description of those contexts. I have myself found, when analysing transcripts, that it is sometimes difficult to identify and characterise the context of a particular extract, and to mark clearly the boundaries between different episodes and different contexts. As I will show in chapter 10, even the classroom participants themselves sometimes have difficulty in establishing which context *they are* operating in. The flow of interaction in the L2 classroom is just too complex to be captured neatly and unambiguously in any descriptive framework (this is not to imply, however, that it is impossible to produce a better framework than the one I propose here).

For the reasons given in the introduction it is vital to be able to describe, analyse and explore L2 classroom discourse and for the reasons given in chapters 2 and 3 it is vital to adopt a dynamic and variable approach to the interaction. Now since (as I have argued) the concept of contexts is vital to the analysis of L2 classroom interaction, and since there is broad agreement as to the existence of varieties of L2 classroom interaction (see section 3.3), we should not balk at characterising the L2 classroom contexts simply because it seems impossible to delineate and characterise fluid, complex, variable phenomena like L2 classroom contexts in precise, reliable, quantifiable, verifiable terms. To back away from describing L2 contexts on these grounds would be to retreat from what Drew (1994b:8)

calls a key objective of CA's methodology: "to identify those recurrent sequential patterns or structures which emerge from co-participants' mutual orientation to the contingencies which arise in their interactions with one another."

This study merely provides a preliminary sketch of regularities in L2 classroom contexts in terms of pedagogical focus and overall organisation of the interaction. For reasons discussed below, it would be unwise to attempt to be too dogmatic or precise about the nature, delineation, definition or characterisation of particular L2 classroom contexts. It would be preferable to see them as a means to the end of describing, analysing and exploring L2 classroom interaction. As we saw in section 3.3, both Van Lier and Ellis were relaxed about the reliability of their delineations of interaction types because they saw them as a means to the end of exploration.

According to Yarrow and Waxler, *American psychologists who spent many years in developing instruments for observing adult-child interaction, the difficulties in forming units to describe any type of behaviour (let alone L2 classroom interaction) are formidable:*

"Observing behavior is remarkably difficult if one demands the same standards of good measurement that are required of other scientific tools." (Yarrow and Waxler 1979:37)

"Behavior is continuous. Identification of its parts is difficult for the reason that an act or sequence of acts in a stream of behavior has (simultaneously) different defining characteristics or properties. The particular properties in terms of which one chooses to view behavior impose their organization or system of units. There is not, therefore, a unique system of units for the continuing behavior." (Yarrow and Waxler 1979:39)

Now anyone wishing to observe and describe behaviour in the L2 classroom has to deal with the added complexity of language being the goal as well as the vehicle of the interaction. Chaudron (1988:23) shows that the units of analysis chosen by the many different L2 classroom observation schemes do not coincide and concludes that we must ask “serious questions about the general validity of such schemes: when researchers who investigate the same basic dimensions do not agree on the categories of analysis, not only are the results not comparable, but at least one, if not all, are probably not employing a valid set of observational categories.” The present study would therefore be presumptuous if it were to claim that its delineation of L2 classroom contexts were completely reliable. As Chaudron (1988:28) shows, no L2 classroom observation instrument has yet been able to attain a satisfactory level of reliability by means of quantitative verification techniques: “The L2 research discussed here does not go far enough to establish confidence in the use of entire instruments, nor even in the individual categories used in observation.”

However, this potential lack of reliability is not seen as a major problem for the present study for two reasons. The methodology used in this study is CA, which is essentially a qualitative, emic (Pike 1967) form of analysis:

“The central focus of CA is to describe the conversational practices that are the conditions of intelligible, coordinated action in the social world. These practices can only be approached from an ‘emic’ perspective’: they are explicated interpretively and “from within”. Quantitative studies have not, so far, matched the kinds of compelling evidence for the features and uses of conversational practices that have emerged from the ‘case by case’ analysis of singular exhibits of interactional conduct. It does not, at the present time, appear likely that they will do so in the future. For quantitative studies inexorably draw the analyst into an ‘external’ view of the data of interaction, draining away the conduct-evidenced local intelligibility of particular situated actions which is the ultimate source of security that the object under investigation is not a theoretical or statistical artifact.” (Heritage 1995: 406)

CA, then, tends not to engage in the verification of validity and reliability typical of quantitative, etic approaches. The main arguments for CA's deferring with respect to quantitative, statistical treatment of data are detailed in Schegloff 1993 and Heritage 1995. I would like to explore their arguments only insofar as they relate to the present study. Firstly there is, according to Schegloff, a fundamental problem in that we are not yet able to provide analytically defensible notions of the demoninator, numerator and domain with respect to talk in interaction (1993:103). As Schegloff puts it:

“We need to know what the phenomena are, how they are organized, and how they are related to each other as a precondition for cogently bringing methods of quantitative analysis to bear on them.” (1993:114)

Now the present study should be seen as merely a preliminary sketch of the phenomena, their organisation and their relations with respect to L2 classroom interaction. The description has in no way reached a stage at which quantitative analysis could be brought to bear. The second major problem seems to be “the reflexive, context-constituting character of conversational actions.” (Heritage 1995:402). Ultimately, there can never be two absolutely identical contexts in any kind of human interaction. The entire perspective of CA is that participants construct context as they interact. Context is not something given or static or pre-arranged: “CA works with a dynamic conception of social context which is treated as both the project and product of the participants' own actions and therefore as inherently locally produced and transformable at any moment.” (Heritage 1995:407). So trying to delineate, characterise and quantify L2 classroom contexts too closely when in fact every individual occurrence in the classroom is locally generated and unique would be inherently paradoxical and self-defeating. A broad perspective on context is introduced in the following section.

To Heritage's and Schegloff's arguments concerning reliability and CA, I would like to add a point of my own. One of the key findings of this study is that homogeneity and heterogeneity must be balanced in one's methodology with respect to institutional discourse. An approach which seeks to quantify and establish reliability will necessarily have to focus exclusively on establishing homogeneity as a precursor to testing, and this destroys the heterogeneity and the holistic perspective on the interactional environment. This may sound rather abstract, so I would like to examine an example of how this works. In the discussion of extracts 1 and 2 (section 2.1) we saw that both examples manifested a sequence of IRF/IRE cycles. The CA analysis showed that extract 2 was a very complex and fluid instance of interaction and that the interactional environment was fundamentally dissimilar to extract 1. In other words, the CA analysis portrayed both the homogeneity and the heterogeneity of the extracts and presented a holistic view of their interactional environments. In establishing reliability and quantifying, however, one necessarily has to focus on specific individual, isolable interactional features, for example IRF/IRE cycles, teacher moves, display questions, wait times etc. These features are then abstracted from the unique interactional environment in which they occur and counted and compared with the same feature's occurrence in other unique interactional environments. So we could establish with a high level of reliability that extract 1 and extract 2 both manifested a sequence of IRF/IRE cycles. We could therefore conclude that DA analysis has a high level of reliability whereas CA, to which the principles of reliability do not apply in the same way, is unreliable. But we would then have missed the point that by establishing a superficial reliability we have destroyed not only the heterogeneity of the extracts but also their interactional environments and that we have performed a very superficial discourse analysis which is also misleading as it portrays only the homogeneity of the extracts. So it is argued that the concepts of reliability and quantification are not at the moment applicable to a CA

approach. One might then object that the present study should therefore contain no use of quantification, whereas it clearly does so in describing regularities in the interaction.

Schegloff counters this objection in the following way:

“Informal quantification is the product of a quite different - but nonetheless methodological - orientation to empirical materials. Terminology such as ‘occasionally’ or ‘massively’ reports an experience or grasp of frequency, not a count; an account of an investigator’s sense of frequency over the range of a research experience, not in a specifically bounded body of data; a characterization of distribution fully though tacitly informed by the analytic import of what is being characterized.” (Schegloff 1993:119)

6.8 A Tri-Dimensional View of Context

The view of context presented in this study has so far been simplified and has focused almost exclusively on the L2 classroom context. The main problem inherent in the study of context is described by Mortensen (1972: 290):

“The claim that communication must be placed in a particular physical, social and cultural context creates a potential obstacle to our study. Simply stated, the question is whether one can even expect to study context when the characteristics of each communicative setting are themselves unique - not only unique but ever-changing.”

In order to overcome this obstacle it is essential to develop a perspective on context which is simultaneously able to portray the heterogeneity (or unique nature) of the interaction as well as its homogeneity (or institutional sameness). It is therefore necessary, at this stage of the argument, to sketch a fuller and more complex picture of the role of ‘context’ in the L2 classroom. This fuller picture could best be termed a *tri-dimensional view of context*, since

it involves three perspectives on context represented in decreasing circles (see figure 1 on the following page).

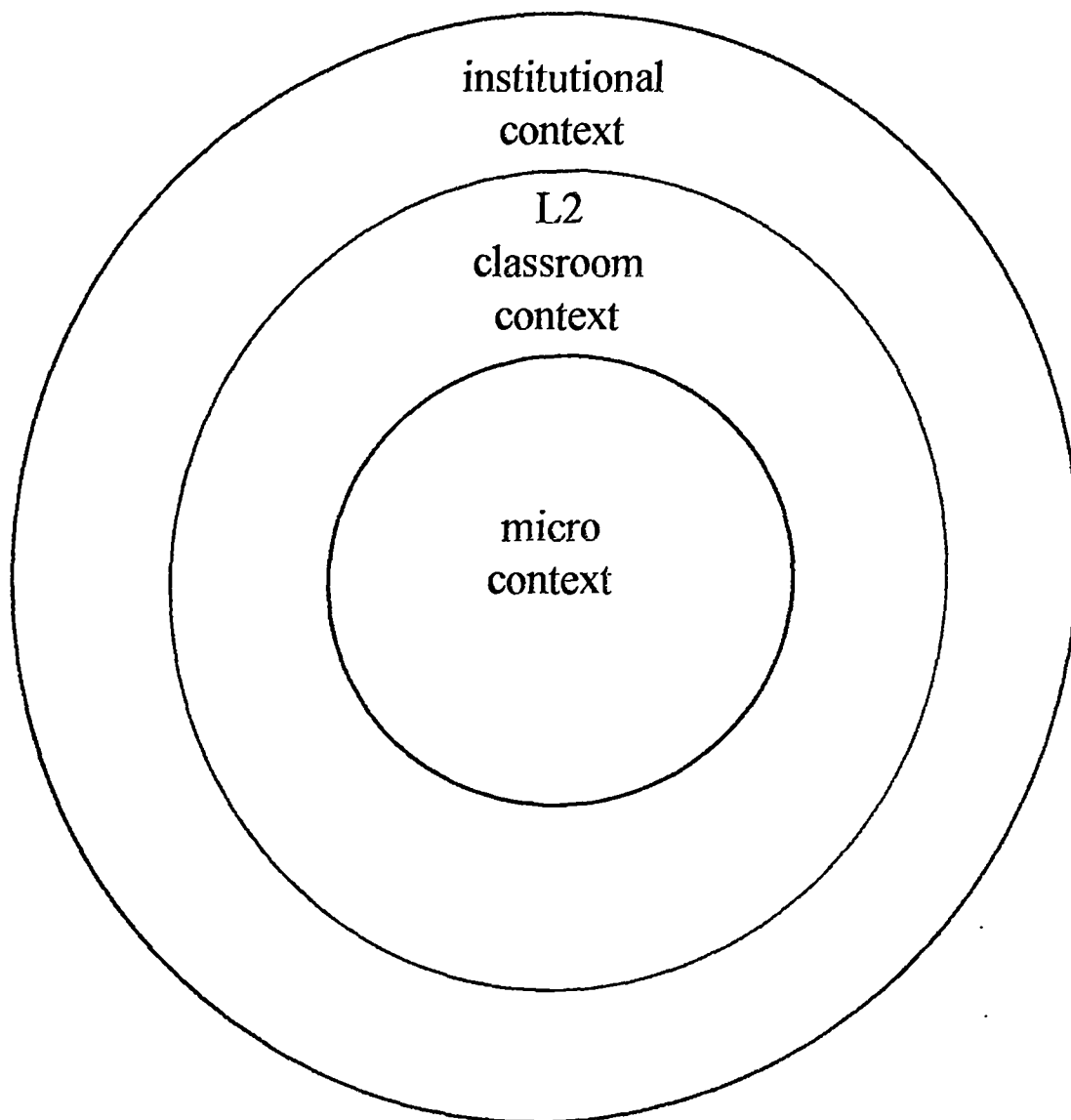


Figure 1

A tri-dimensional view of context

From the broadest perspective we can see what Levinson 1992 and Heritage 1984b term the institutional context i.e. that of an L2 classroom. When the perspective starts to narrow we can identify the particular L2 classroom context which is currently in operation. As we focus closely and narrowly on the micro-interaction it is clear that there is nothing static or monolithic about this: it is unique. The local context is “something endogenously generated within the talk of the participants and, indeed, something created in and through that talk.” (Heritage 1984b). So there is always a tension between a description of an extract of L2 classroom interaction as a unique occurrence, locally produced by the participants, between a description of it as an instance of interaction within a particular L2 classroom context and between a description of it as an example of institutional L2 classroom discourse. To put it another way, there is always a tension between a description of an extract of L2 classroom interaction as something homogeneous or similar to other instances, and as something heterogeneous or different to other instances. I will try to show how this tri-dimensional view of context fits into the overall interactional architecture of L2 classroom interaction as presented in section 5.2 and how it explicates the tension between homogeneity and heterogeneity in our view of any individual instance of L2 classroom interaction.

From the broadest perspective we have the **institutional context** of the L2 classroom. In any individual instance of L2 classroom interaction the three intermediate properties of L2 classroom interaction will be manifest (to a more or less overt degree). At this level of context we view the interaction as an example of L2 classroom discourse and the emphasis is on homogeneity.

As the perspective narrows we focus on the **L2 classroom context** (as portrayed in this study), and each of the L2 classroom contexts described has its own peculiar pedagogical

focus and interactional organisation in terms of turn-taking and repair. At this level of context we view the interaction as an example of communication within a particular L2 classroom context. There is a balance between an emphasis on homogeneity (in that the interaction is representative of a particular L2 classroom context) and heterogeneity (in that the interaction represents a differentiated sub-variety of L2 classroom interaction).

As we focus closely on the micro-interaction it is clear that there is nothing static or monolithic about this: the **micro-context** created by the participants is unique. At this level of context we view the interaction as a singular occurrence and the emphasis is on heterogeneity.

Since this may sound rather abstract, I would now like to examine a classroom extract and show how all three levels of context are simultaneously manifested in the extract:

Extract 17

- 1 T: What did I dream? Can you remember?
- 2 L1: You turned into a toothbrush
- 3 T: Can I have a full sentence, Hugo?
- 4 L1: That you turned into a toothbrush
- 5 T: OK. You?
- 6 L2: You turned into a toothbrush.
- 7 T: You?
- 8 L2: You turned into a toothbrush.
- 9 L3: You dreamed.
- 10 T: You dreamt.
- 11 L3: You dreamt.
- 12 T: Everyone
- 13 LL: Dreamt
- 14 T: OK. I dreamt that I turned into a toothbrush.

(Ellis 1984: 105)

Institutional context

At this institutional level of context we view the interaction as an example of L2 classroom discourse. Any instance of L2 classroom interaction will display to a more or less overt degree the three intermediate properties of L2 classroom interaction. I will now try to show how these intermediate properties are manifest in this extract.

The first property is that language is both the vehicle and object of instruction. So we can see T both managing the interaction in the target language (vehicle) and treating learner responses as texts to be corrected (object).

The second property is that the linguistic forms and patterns of interaction which the learners produce in the L2 will inevitably be linked in some way to the pedagogical purposes which the teacher introduces. This extract demonstrates the very tight connections which can occur between the teacher's pedagogical purposes and the linguistic forms and patterns of interaction which the learners produce. In line 2, L1 produces an answer which would be perfectly acceptable in conversation. However, this is not the target pattern of interaction which the teacher's pedagogical purposes are aiming to produce, and the teacher does not accept the answer. Similarly, in line 9, L3 produces a perfectly acceptable past simple form, but this particular linguistic form is not the one targeted by the teacher's pedagogical purposes, and the teacher corrects it in line 10.

The third property is that the linguistic forms and patterns of interaction which the learners produce are subject to evaluation by the teacher in some way. Here the evaluation is implicit

as indirect negative evaluation which is understood in the multiple attempts at repair initiation by the teacher.

At this level of context we view the interaction as an example of L2 classroom discourse and the emphasis is on homogeneity.

L2 classroom context

At this level of context we view the interaction as an example of communication within a particular L2 classroom context. Each L2 classroom context has its own peculiar pedagogical focus and an interactional framework in terms of the organisation of turn-taking and repair which is appropriate to that pedagogical focus. The interaction in the above extract is typical of a form and accuracy context. In a form and accuracy context the pedagogical focus is on the production of strings of correct linguistic forms by the students and personal meanings tend to be disregarded. *The organisation of repair follows the pedagogical focus* in that the teacher will initiate repair if the linguistic forms produced by the learner are not identical to those targeted by the teacher: we can see evidence of this in lines 3 and 10. The organisation of turn-taking is again appropriate to the pedagogical focus. Since the teacher needs to prompt the learners to produce specific strings of linguistic forms, it follows that the teacher will allocate turns to the learners and constrain the content of those turns, which implies a rigid, lockstep approach with use of the IRF/IRE cycle. So the pedagogical focus and organisation of the interaction is typical of the form and accuracy context.

At this level of context we view the interaction as an example of communication within a particular L2 classroom context. There is a balance between an emphasis on homogeneity (in that the interaction is representative of a particular L2 classroom context) and heterogeneity (in that the interaction represents a differentiated sub-variety of L2 classroom interaction).

Micro-context

At this level of context we view the interaction as a singular occurrence. Although the extract is clearly typical of both the L2 classroom and of a form and accuracy context the extract is nonetheless unique on a micro-level: even a teacher giving the same prompts would never receive exactly the same replies from the learners. At this level of context the emphasis is on heterogeneity.

So the argument is that in order to appreciate fully the complex workings of context in the L2 classroom one needs to adopt a tri-dimensional approach. All three levels are present and manifest at all times and when one broadens or narrows one's perspective, one will tend to focus on a different level of context. In the above extract, the three levels are fairly overtly discernible, but the degree of 'visibility' of the levels of context varies considerably: see, for example, the analysis of extract 4 in section 3.1 for an example of 'cloaking' of the institutional level of context.

The institutional context is depicted in this study through the description of the overall interactional architecture of the L2 classroom. The micro-context is explored by means of the analyses of L2 classroom extracts. L2 classroom contexts are described in detail in

chapters 6-8. This study tends to focus more on L2 classroom contexts than on the other levels of context. This is not because this study believes that they are the most important per se. Rather, it is because the concept of L2 classroom contexts is seen as the key to both the description of the interactional organisation of the L2 classroom and to the methodology for the analysis of extracts.

My argument, then, is that these three levels of context are embodied in the L2 classroom interaction: they are not seen as something external to the interaction or lurking in the background. As I hope to have shown in the analysis of the previous extract, “The definition of the situation is not separate and anterior; it inhabits the talk.” (Schegloff 1993:114). Now the ability to analyse simultaneously on three levels of context which all relate directly to each other (as is possible using a CA methodology) provides a tool to cut through the thorny theoretical problem of how to link the micro and macro levels of social organisation. The problem which qualitative studies have traditionally faced is that of demonstrating the external validity of their findings: the micro is described and analysed, so how can a link be made to the macro or how can the findings be generalised? Now CA methodology offers a way through this dilemma. An aim of CA is to uncover the macro-structure of the interaction whilst analysing the micro-interaction, or rather to analyse the micro and macro simultaneously. Schegloff (1987) suggests that the way in which CA can link the micro and macro levels is by treating organisations of the interaction as contexts themselves:

“Rather than treating the detailed course of conversation and interaction as micro-level phenomena, which invite connection to macro levels of analysis through intervening contexts vernacularly characterized ... modes of interactional organization might themselves be treated as contexts.” (Schegloff 1987: 221)

The tri-dimensional perspective on context proposed here does not treat the macro level as something distinct from the micro-interaction and which requires linking by means of some device: the micro level, the level of interactional organisation and the macro level can all be analysed simultaneously in the micro-interaction. This tri-dimensional view of context also explicates how it is that instances of institutional interaction display homogeneity and heterogeneity at the same time. The level of context which one focuses on determines the level of homogeneity or heterogeneity which one discovers.

7 The Organisation of Turn-Taking in L2 Classroom

Contexts

Chapter six presented a basic characterisation of some L2 classroom contexts. The contexts are created in the course of talk by the participants, and so are evident in the organisation and properties of the interaction which constitutes them. This chapter looks at how turn-taking is organised in each L2 classroom context and attempts to demonstrate how the speech-exchange system is appropriate to the pedagogical focus and vice-versa. We will see that a rigid and static concept of speech-exchange system as a set of rules is not appropriate to L2 classroom interaction. It is necessary to conceive of the speech exchange system in each context as something variable, flexible and fluid. It should be seen as a general or overall system of organisation. Often the discussion will need to involve the organisation of topic as well as turn-taking. The main argument of this chapter, then, is that each L2 classroom context has its own broad organisation of turn-taking which is fitted to the pedagogical focus of the context.

7.1 Turn-Taking in Form and Accuracy Contexts

As we saw in section 6.1, the pedagogical focus in this context is on linguistic form: personal meanings do not normally enter into the picture. The teacher wishes to impart information about linguistic form to the students, and the students produce utterances in order that the teacher can assess whether they have absorbed that information. Typically

presentation and practice are involved: the learners will learn from the teacher how to manipulate linguistic forms accurately. The teacher expects that learners will produce precise strings of linguistic form and precise patterns of interaction which will correspond to the pedagogical purposes which he/she introduces. Clearly with this pedagogical focus it is essential for the teacher to have control of the turn-taking system : if learners decide to nominate themselves to speak on a topic of their choice to a person of their choice in the classroom, then the pedagogical focus will be disrupted and the L2 classroom context will be transformed. Now this does sometimes happen, and we will examine the consequences in extract 155. However, the point for the moment is that the teacher needs to have control of the turn-taking system because of the pedagogical focus in this L2 classroom context.

The following interaction is from a Norwegian primary school.

Extract 18

- 1 T: Now I want everybody to listen to me and when I say you are going to say
2 after me you are going to say what I say..
3 T: I've got a lamp a lamp say after me I've got a lamp
4 LL: I've got a lamp
5 T: I've got a glass a glass say after me I've got a glass
6 LL: I've got a glass
7 T: I've got a vase a vase say after me I've got a vase
8 LL: I've got a vase

(Break in the interactional sequence)

- 9 T: ye:s very good....., and listen to me again. and look at what I've written.
10 I've got a hammer, just listen now have you got a hammer?
11 L: yes
12 T: raise your hand up. John?
13 L13: yes
14 T: I've=
15 L13: =I've got a hammer.
16 T: you've got a hammer and then you answer, yes I....., yes I have. I've got
17 a belt. have you got a belt Vegard?
18 L14: no

- 19 T: you are going to answer only with yes.
20 L: yes=
21 LL: = I have
22 T: I have. fine. I've got a trumpet. have you got a trumpet Anne?
23 L15: yes I have
24 T: I've got a radio. have you got a radio e:r e:r Alvin?
25 L16: yes I have.

(break in interactional sequence)

- 26 T: fine. I've got a hammer. what have you got Tchessa?
27 L6: I have got a [hammer]
28 T: can everybody say I've got.
29 LL: (whole class) I've got.
30 T: fine. I've got a belt. what have you got?....., Kjersti?
31 L7: hmm I've got a telephone

(Norwegian data: 467-8)

The focus is clearly on form and accuracy, in that the accurate production of the modelled sentences is what is required from the students. This is evident in lines 26-31. In line 27, L6 produces an uncontracted form ("I have got") which is linguistically correct and appropriate. The teacher is targeting the contracted form ("I've got") and initiates repair in line 28. Interestingly, the learner is not given the chance to repair. T has the whole class repeat the contracted form in line 29. This appears to ensure that all students are aware that the contracted form is to be produced, and we can see in line 31 that L7 is able to produce the contracted form successfully.

The teacher makes the nature of the speech exchange system explicit in lines 10-12. In this extract only the teacher is able to direct speakership and the interaction follows a rigid lockstep sequence. We can see in lines 18-19 that real-world meaning does not enter into the interaction. It is evident from the video that L14 does not have a belt and therefore answers "no" when asked if he has a belt. However, the teacher requires him (in line 19) to answer "yes" in order to produce the targeted string of linguistic forms. In line 14 we also

see that the aim is to practise a very specific string of linguistic forms: T insists on the form “yes I have”, where “yes” on its own would be perfectly appropriate.

What we can also observe in the above extract is that the term ‘topic’ is hardly applicable to form and accuracy contexts. The focus is on the production of linguistic form, but the forms do not carry topic, content or information in the same way as in free conversation. This is why Kasper (1986b) terms this type of interaction ‘language-centred’ as opposed to ‘content-centred’. This type of extreme form-focused or accuracy-focused classroom activity has been subject to extensive attack for decades now. The main criticisms are that there is a lack of correspondence between the forms practised and any kind of real-world meaning. There is no scope for fluency development in such a rigid lockstep approach and the discourse is ‘unnatural’ in that such sequences do not normally occur outside the classroom.

Extract 19

- 1 T: Now L1 ... what is this? (T holds up a pen)
- 2 L: This is a pen.
- 3 T: What are these? (T holds up two pens)
- 4 L: This are a pen.
- 5 T: These are..
- 6 L: Are pens.
- 7 T: What is this? (T holds up a ruler)
- 8 L: This is a ruler.
- 9 T: What are these? (T holds up two rulers)
- 10 L: This is a .. are .. this are a rulers.
- 11 T: These are rulers. What are these?
- 12 L: This are a rulers.
- 13 T: Not ‘a’. These are..
- 14 L: Rulers
- 15 T: Rulers
- 16 L: Rulers

(Ellis 1984: 103)

In the above extract the teacher has introduced elements of 'real-world' meaning by making reference to realia. Ellis (1984: 104) points out that the task of processing plural sentences is beyond the learner at this stage of her development. Nevertheless, we can clearly see that the teacher requires the learner to produce specific strings of linguistic forms in a similar way as the previous extract.

In the extract below, a teacher in Hong Kong is teaching a first lesson to a group of Chinese mother tongue beginners:

Extract 20

- 1 T: OK, now remember my name, my name's John Fry. OK .. My name's John Fry.
- 2 Can you say that? My name's you say that.
- 3 LL: My name's.
- 4 T: My name's
- 5 LL: My name's
- 6 T: Name's
- 7 LL: Name's
- 8 T: Name is. Name's.
- 9 L: Name's
- 10 T: My name's
- 11 LL: My name's
- 12 T: Ok, er, hello my name's John Fry
- 13 L1: My name's John Fry
- 14 T: Oh!
- 15 L1: My name's Ping. Ping.
- 16 T: Ping. Yes... hello, hello.
- 17 L1: Hello my name's ... my name's Ping.

(British Council 1985: 15)

In this lesson the teacher is going one step further along the path to 'real-world' meaning by allowing absolute beginners the opportunity to contribute 'new' and 'real-world' information to the interaction i.e. their names. In spite of this, however, the interaction in the last three extracts is fundamentally the same: the teacher requires the learner to produce specific strings of linguistic forms. There is central control of the turn-taking system by the

teacher, who allocates turns until the learners have produced the required string of forms. So we can see a structural similarity in the extracts which points to a systematic organisation.

The discussion in this paragraph is based on ‘informal quantification’ (see section 6.7 and Schegloff 1993) or my sense of frequency based on my experience of the database as a whole. We have already seen in this study that ‘traditional’ classroom interaction is said to contain many examples of the IRF/IRE cycle, and the data show these to be prevalent in form and accuracy contexts. There are grounds, however, for believing that the term **Initiation Reply and Evaluation (IRE)** in particular (as used, for example, in Johnson 1995) does not portray the data very accurately. In the three above extracts, for example, the evaluation move is completely absent. When the learner response is correct there is no overtly verbalised positive evaluation; the teacher simply proceeds to the next initiation. When the learner response is incorrect (or if it just does not correspond to the targeted string of forms), the teacher initiates repair but there is no overtly expressed negative evaluation. So the archetypal sequence in form and accuracy contexts generally appears to be an adjacency pair. The first part of the pair can be called **teacher prompt**: the teacher introduces a pedagogical purpose which requires the production of a precise string of linguistic forms by the learner nominated. The second part of the adjacency pair can be called **learner production**. In the case of a learner production which coincides with the string targeted by the teacher, there may be (but often is not) positive evaluation by the teacher of the learner production.

Extract 21

1 T: I've got a trumpet. have you got a trumpet Anne?

- 2 L15: yes I have
3 T: I've got a radio. have you got a radio e:r e:r Alvin?
4 L16: yes I have.

(Norwegian data: 153)

In the above extract there is no verbally expressed positive evaluation of the learner utterance in line 2. A lack of repair work appears to be understood as signifying that the learner has produced the targeted string of linguistic forms.

In the case of a learner production which does not coincide with the string targeted by the teacher, the teacher will normally initiate repair in order to obtain the targeted string. There may or may not be negative evaluation by the teacher of the learner production, but section 8.8 suggests that the production of direct and overt negative evaluation is strongly dispreferred.

Extract 22

- 1 T: What are these? (T holds up two pens)
2 L: This are a pen.
3 T: These are..
4 L: Are pens.
5 T: What is this? (T holds up a ruler)

(Ellis 1984: 103)

In the above extract we can see T (in line 3) initiating repair of L's utterance without negative evaluation. L produces the target string in line 4. T does not produce a positive evaluation in line 5, but merely continues with the next 'teacher prompt'. The 'evaluation' is therefore generally implicit in the data and is not manifested as a move on its own. The understanding is that if the teacher moves on to the next adjacency pair after the learner

production, then a positive evaluation is understood, whereas if the teacher initiates repair subsequent to the learner production, then a negative evaluation is understood. After this interactional route has been completed, the teacher will normally start another adjacency pair with a teacher prompt. It is therefore tentatively suggested that this ‘teacher prompt - learner production’ adjacency pair description may portray the L2 classroom data in form and accuracy contexts more accurately than the term ‘Initiation Reply Evaluation’ in that the evaluation move is decidedly optional in the database of the current study.

When, in form and accuracy contexts in the data, there is centralised attention, with the teacher leading whole class interaction, then the interaction will tend to be ‘formal’ in the way described by McHoul (1978) and by Drew and Heritage (1992b: 27):

“turn taking is strongly constrained within quite sharply defined procedures. Departures from these procedures systematically attract overt sanctions. The pattern of turn taking in these settings is uniform and exhibits overwhelming compliance with these procedures.”

However, a focus on form and accuracy can also be maintained in group work and pair work from which the teacher is absent, as we can see in the extract below.

(Pairwork commences: the following is a recording of a single pair)

Extract 23

- 1 L21: I've got a radio. have you got a radio?
- 2 L22: yes.
- 3 L21: what?
- 4 L22: I have. I've got a book. have you got a book?
- 5 L21: yes I have.
- 6 L11: I've got a hammer. have you got a hammer?
- 7 L21: yes I have. (2 sec)

(Norwegian data: 469)

Now when the pairwork commences the teacher is not taking part in the interaction, and yet we can see that there is a degree of constraint imposed on the interaction by the teacher. The teacher has allocated the adjacency pairs which the learners should use in the interaction (question and answer) and has allocated the precise linguistic forms to be used, with only the name of the object to be transformed. Lines 2-4 are very revealing: L22 answers “yes”, which would, in normal conversation, be an appropriate answer. However, L21 initiates repair, since the target string of linguistic forms “yes I have” has not been reached. L21 is in effect substituting for the teacher and assuming the teacher’s role. We can see the ‘teacher prompt’ and ‘learner production’ adjacency pairs being used but with a learner producing the ‘teacher prompt’.

This brings us on to the complex relationship between spatial configuration of participants and degree of pre-allocation and hence (according to McHoul 1978) formality. McHoul specifically equates feelings of formality with the degree of pre-allocation (1978: 183) and suggests that “A commonsense observation would be that formal (as opposed to casual, conversational) talk can be accomplished through the spatial arrangement of the participants to that talk. In particular the configuration of and relative distances between participants might be thought of as significant.” (1978: 183)

“Configurations in which the participants arrange themselves in a circle are probably those in which the participation rights of all the members are defined as equal. In configurations where one or several members are spatially differentiated from the others, so that the pattern approaches a triangular, semi-circular or parallelogrammatic form, participation rights in the interaction are no longer equal. An extreme form of the non-circular configuration would be a lecture in which there is one member at the apex of a triangle, facing all the other members arranged in rows parallel to the base of the triangle. Here the member at the apex typically has the right (and obligation) of sustained speech.

Those who are arranged parallel to the triangle's base typically have the right only to listen." (McHoul 1978: 184)

Now this suggestion may be valid for the L1 classrooms which McHoul examined, but the situation in the L2 classroom may be more complex, in that it seems that the pedagogical purposes which the teacher introduces influence the degree of pre-allocation and formality of the interaction just as much as (and possibly more than) the spatial configuration. In extracts 67 and 70 we see the spatial configuration change from whole-class to pairwork, and we should therefore expect the degree of pre-allocation and formality to decrease. However, as I have already said, this does not happen; it is the pedagogical purposes which the teacher introduces and the form and accuracy context thus created which inhibit this.

We have seen that interaction within the form and accuracy context shares distinctive features, i.e. there is a particular pedagogical focus on linguistic forms, and a requirement for learners to produce them with accuracy. There is also a particular formal overall organisation of the interaction which is appropriate to this pedagogical focus which generally involves a 'teacher-prompt' and 'learner production' adjacency pair with optional repair or evaluation follow-up moves. However, this does not mean that all interaction in this context is similar; on the contrary, we have seen variability and heterogeneity within the context.

7.2 Turn-Taking in 'Classroom as Speech Community' Contexts

As we saw in section 6.2, the pedagogical focus in this L2 classroom context is on maximising the opportunities for interaction presented by the classroom environment and the classroom speech community itself. Participants talk about their immediate classroom

speech community and their immediate environment, personal relationships, feelings and meanings, and the activities they are engaging in. The focus is on the expression of personal meaning rather than on linguistic forms, on promoting fluency rather than accuracy. This context is often contrasted with the form and accuracy context; Kasper (1986b), for example, contrasts language-centred and content-centred interaction.

This major shift in pedagogical focus (by comparison with form and accuracy contexts) necessitates a shift in interactional organisation. Because the learners require interactional space to express personal meanings and develop topics, the organisation of the interaction will necessarily become less narrow and rigid. A frequent criticism of the form and accuracy context is that it does not allow learners to develop interactional skills in the L2:

“In a situation of rigid turn control learners will not be able to explore the ways in which speaker change is effected through turn taking in the target language, which means that they will not be practising vital skills involved in interacting in the target language.” (Van Lier 1988a: 106)

Often ‘classroom as speech community’ contexts are conducted through pair or group work. Since the teacher is not present, the learners may manage the interaction themselves to a greater extent.

In the extract below, T has asked the learners to bring personal belongings to the class and the pedagogical purposes introduced are for the learners to describe their personal possessions and their significance to them.

Extract 24

1 L1: OK. As you see this is a music box, and my mother made it. It's ...

- 2 L2: Oh, your mother made it.
 3 L1: Yes, my mother made it. The thing is that when, this is the first thing she did
 4 like this, with painting and everthing, so nobody, nobody thought that it was
 5 going to come out like this. That's the point. That's why this is special because
 6 it took her about three weeks to, to make it, and er she, she put a really special
 7 interest in that, and tried to, to make it the best that, er she could.
 8 L3: Well, this, er this is a record that for me is really very important. Because I've
 9 always liked poetry and one day while I was travelling in Cana .. By Canada,
 10 I saw this record but I, I didn't know that it was written in French and I bought
 11 it. And ah=
 12 L2: =Did you understand?
 13 L3: Of course I, I didn't understand any... anything. But and ah with this record I
 14 made up my mind and I decided to, em to take up a course in French and now
 15 I, I understand almost all the poetry and, er all of them are really pretty because
 16 some of them are, er written by Baudelaire and, er the, er really good, really
 17 good and the voice of this man is excellent, is something really incredible. So
 18 for me is, em well, em ... a treasure.
 19 L4: Well, my turn.

(British Council 1985, Volume 4: 52)

So we can see that the learners manage the interaction locally to a great extent. Now the teacher has in fact given the nature of the speech exchange system as a monologue, in that the instructions were to “talk about your things now in the same way I did about mine” (British Council 1985, Volume 4: 51) (which was a monologue). However, the teacher has also made clear that the learners can organise the turn-taking locally: “whoever wants to can start” (British Council 1985, Volume 4: 51). In fact, the learners do manage the speech-exchange system locally to some extent in that L2 interrupts L1's turn (line 2) and L3's turn (line 12) with utterances which relate to the content of their previous turns. In line 19 we can see L4 explicitly managing the turn-taking system. The learners express personal meanings, and the linguistic errors (as in lines 6 and 18) are ignored. The exception is line 9 in which L3 conducts self-initiated self-repair. She actually conducts repair on a correct form and replaces it with an incorrect one. We can also see that it makes sense in this L2 classroom context to talk of the ‘topic’ of the interaction, in contrast to form and accuracy contexts. This is evident in the details of the interaction. For example, the discourse marker

'oh' often occurs in a 'classroom as speech community' context as a marker of change of information state (Heritage 1984a), since new information is being exchanged, and it occurs in line 2 of this extract.

Now although 'classroom as speech community' contexts are often conducted in small groups of learners, they can also be created and maintained in the presence of the teacher.

In the extract below, two learners have just given talks on their respective countries (Germany and France) and are now discussing issues relating to their countries.

Extract 25

- 1 L6: At first you said you had a lot of problems in France about the Russian
2 immigrants, and I think it's the same problem now in West Germany with
3 the integration of East German people in the west part of Germany.
4 L2: Yes, but I think it's quite different because ..er.. It's the same race. I mean
5 ..er.. East and West Germany was the same country before so you are near, and
6 in France it's with Arabian people and we don't have the same culture.
7 L6: But..er.. With nearly 40 years difference also mean the last 40 years are so
8 different and..er..
9 L2: Yes
10 L6: In both countries that I think it's nearly the same. It's not the same but
11 L2: Yes, because
12 religion is a big problem and ..er.. I think that between East and West Germany
13 it's the same religion and in France we don't have.. We have Catholic religion
14 and Arabian people is musulman religion
15 L6: Most of the East German people have no religion
16 L2: Yes, yes in fact and er the last big problem was with chador. I don't know how
17 we call it in English. It is the thing the woman put on her head? (Looks at T)
18 T: In fact it isn't English 'cos it's Arabic, it's the chador. We use the same
19 because it's from the Arabic
20 L2: And er 3 or 4 months ago we had a big problem because some girls want to go
21 to school with this chador
22 L6: or work
23 L2: Yes, and the principal of the school don't want that this girl come at school
24 L6: Well, I think that it's normal when you go in another country you must accept
25 the rules of this country
26 T: Mm. We had the same thing, a curious thing, the same thing happened here and
27 the girls in the school wanted to wear the chador
28 L6: Uhu

- 29 T: And we came to a peculiarly British compromise that, yes, they could wear it
30 but only if it was in the school colour
31 L2: And the other problem is that er a lot of Arabian people are living in the same
32 place so they, their integration is very hard. They can't be integrated. They are
33 together.
34 L6: They have their own areas

(Mathers 1990: 123)

Now in this extract the teacher had previously introduced a carrier topic, namely the learners' countries. However, in the above extract, the two learners are able to introduce sub-topics of their own choice. So in line 1, L6 introduces the sub-topic of immigrants, which is taken up by L2 and shifts quite naturally in a stepwise movement to religion in line 11 and to the sub-sub topic of the chador in line 16. The teacher then takes up in line 26 the topic nominated by the learners and makes a topical contribution. The teacher has not thereby taken control of the topic, however, because we see L2 regaining control of the topic in line 31. L2 skip-connects back to the topic which he/she was developing in line 4, i.e. the argument that France has bigger problems with integration than does Germany. So in spite of the presence of the teacher, the learners are able to nominate and negotiate topics themselves. As far as turn-taking is concerned, we see that the learners are able to take turns without reference to the teacher: in lines 1-17 the teacher is effectively cut out of the speech exchange system as the learners address each other directly. In line 17, L2 nominates the teacher and constrains the teacher's turn, using a form of self-initiated other-repair which is in effect using the teacher as an interactional resource. In line 20, L2 continues with his/her own topic. In line 26, T nominates herself to take a turn, but as this is to make an on-topic contribution, it does not alter the speech exchange system, and the two learners continue to address each other. However, the interaction does not continue like this indefinitely - there are after all other learners in the class, and so the teacher alters the speech exchange system whilst remaining within the carrier topic:

Extract 26

- 1 L2: Lyons and Paris. And after we have some small cities but it's not so important
2 as in these 3 cities.
3 T: I'm curious on this point as to how L1 and L5 view this because in Japan you
4 have a fairly homogeneous population, don't you? How do you see this
5 problem that we've got in Europe all mixing up together?

(Mathers 1990: 125)

Now we have looked at two extracts in which this context has been maintained by learners having a degree of control over the turn-taking system. However, as we will see in the extract below, it is possible for the teacher to have fairly firm control over the turn-taking system and still maintain a 'classroom as speech community' context, albeit this does seem to require some complex interactional work on the part of the teacher.

Extract 27

- 1 T: Vin, have you ever been to the movies? What's your favorite movie?
2 L1: Big.
3 T: Big, OK, that's a good movie, that was about a little boy inside a big man,
4 wasn't it?
5 L1: Yeah, boy get surprise all the time.
6 T: Yes, he was surprised, wasn't he? Usually little boys don't do the things that
7 men do, do they?
8 L1: No, little boy no drink.
9 T: That's right, little boys don't drink.
10 L2: Kung Fu
11 T: Kung Fu? You like the movie Kung Fu?
12 L2: Yeah ... fight.
13 T: That was about a great fighter? . A man who knows how to fight with his hands.
14 L2: I fight ... my hand.
15 T: Do you know karate?
16 L2: I know karate.
17 T: Watch out guys. Wang knows karate.
18 L3: A scary movie ... nightmare, yeah.
19 T: Scary movies? Nightmare on Elm street? You liked that one? You guys like
20 scary movies?
21 L3: You know, you know, you do up there ... they have a theater? It near school.
22 T: There's a theater near school? There is?
23 L3: Yeah, I watch the Hero is and (where).
24 T: You watched the Hero and the ... where, and the where?

25 L3: Weirdo.
 26 T: And the weirdo Hero and the Weirdo ... I've never heard of that movie ...
 27 Is it scary?
 28 L3: Yeah, scary ... You like?
 29 T: Tan? Did you want to say something? Is there a movie that you like?
 30 L4: Scary movie.
 31 T: You like scary movies? I think everyone likes scary movies.
 32 L3: Oh, you like?
 33 T: No, I don't like them, but, I can only watch a couple, I get nightmares, I'm a
 34 baby.
 35 L3: I know, I know, when you saw them, you scared when you sleep and then you
 36 scared they coming and they beat you up.
 37 T: That's right, that's right ... Sometimes I get scared after watching a scary movie
 38 ... I have nightmares

(Johnson 1995: 23)

The interaction here might appear at first sight to exhibit a high degree of formality, in that we can see a teacher-led IRF/IRE cycle pattern at the beginning of the extract. However, if we analyse turn-taking and topic at the same time, we can see that the learners are able to develop a topic and constrain the teacher's turns in an active and creative way. In other words, the learner is allowed interactional space. In line 1, T introduces the carrier topic (films) and constrains the learner's turn in line 2, which is a minimum response appropriate to the turn. In line 3, T develops the topic, narrowing the focus from the carrier topic (films) to the specific film 'Big'. In doing so T validates and approves L1's sub-topic by calling it a good movie. T constrains L1's next turn by making a general statement summarising the plot of the movie ("that was about a little boy inside a big man") together with a tag question. This allocates L1 a turn, constrains the topic of L1's turn (the plot of the film 'Big') and simultaneously provides the other students in the class (who may presumably not know the film) with sufficient information to be able to follow the evolving dialogue. The tag question effectively requires L1 to confirm the accuracy of T's summary of the film's plot, but also allows L the interactional space (if L1 wishes) to develop the sub-topic. L1 does confirm T's summary of the sub-topic and then chooses to contribute new information

concerning the sub-topic (the film's plot), namely in line 5 "boy get surprise all the time". This utterance is linguistically incorrect, although the propositional content is clear. Since the learner is introducing 'new' information, s/he is effectively opening up a new sub-topic, to which the teacher could respond in the teacher's next turn. At this point T could choose to 1) correct the learner's utterance; 2) continue to develop the sub-topic; 3) decline to adopt L1's sub-topic and change the course of the interaction, as the teacher has superior interactional rights and is not obliged to adopt the direction in which the learner is pushing the interaction.

The teacher effectively chooses to combine choices 1) and 2) in the first sentence of line 6. There is positive evaluation of the propositional content of the learner utterance followed by an expansion of the learner utterance into a correct sequence of linguistic forms using embedded correction. Then in the second sentence of line 6, the teacher accepts the learner's invitation to develop the sub-topic, and the teacher's statement "usually little boys don't do the things that men do, do they" also simultaneously provides the other students in the class with an explanation as to why the boy was surprised all the time, thus enabling them to continue to follow the evolving dialogue. The tag question again allocates L1 a turn and effectively allots him the interactional space to continue to develop the sub-topic should he wish to do so. L1 uses 'no' in line 8 to agree with the negative tag-question and chooses to develop the sub-topic by providing an example from the film to illustrate the teacher's previous generalised statement: "little boy no drink". Again his utterance is linguistically incorrect, although the propositional content is clear. Since the learner is again introducing 'new' information, the learner effectively invites the teacher to respond to this elaboration of the sub-topic in the teacher's next turn. The teacher's response in line 9 is similar to line

6 in that the teacher performs a move of agreement, simultaneously corrects the learner's utterance and displays a correct version for the other students.

With L2 and L3 we see a similar interactional pattern to that established with L1. In line 10, L2 is able to nominate his favourite film. T's questions in line 11 effectively require L2 to confirm T's understanding of L2's utterance, but also allows L2 the interactional space (if L2 wishes) to develop the sub-topic. L2 duly confirms and then develops the sub-topic by suggesting (in a very minimal way) that his interest in the movie is in the fights. In line 13, then, T performs an expansion of the learner utterance into a correct sequence of linguistic forms and also simultaneously provides the other students in the class with information about the film, thus enabling them to continue to follow the evolving dialogue. The question again allocates L2 a turn and effectively allots him the interactional space to continue to develop the sub-topic should he wish to do so. L2 does develop the sub-topic in line 14, in fact switching in a stepwise movement from a film about fighting to his own ability to fight. In line 15, T takes up L2's new sub-topic. T's question allocates L2 another turn, validates the new sub-topic and simultaneously offers L2 a linguistic 'scaffold' to base his answer on, and in line 16 we see that L2's utterance is linguistically correct, in contrast to his two previous utterances. T's comment in line 17 draws a conclusion concerning the interaction with L2 and this may be a closing implicative move which opens up the floor to other participants. Line 17 simultaneously provides the other students in the class with information about the interaction, thus enabling them to follow. From a humanistic point of view the comment also demonstrates engagement with the learner's interests and tends to give the learner status within the class.

In line 18, L3 is able to nominate his favourite type of film and also minimally suggest the title of his favourite film ('Nightmare on Elm Street'). T's questions in line 19 effectively require L3 to confirm T's understanding of L3's utterance, but also allows L3 the interactional space (if L3 wishes) to develop the sub-topic. Line 19 also performs an expansion of the learner utterance "nightmare" into the full title, which provides the other students in the class with information about the film. T also asks the learners as a whole ("you guys") whether they like this type of film, thus promoting the learners' engagement with the dialogue. The questions in line 19 again allocate L3 a turn and effectively allot him the interactional space to continue to develop the sub-topic should he wish to do so. L3 does develop the sub-topic in line 21 in fact switching in a stepwise movement from horror films to the cinema where he saw a horror film. In line 22, T takes up L3's new sub-topic, simultaneously corrects the learner's utterance (using embedded repair) and displays a correct version for the other students. The questions in line 22 again allocate L3 a turn and effectively allot him the interactional space to continue to develop the sub-topic should he wish. In line 23, L3 does so, this time combining his two previous sub-topics by specifying the horror film which he saw at the cinema mentioned. Since the learner's pronunciation is unclear in 23, the teacher undertakes repair. In line 26, T displays the title of the film and asks a question which allocates L2 a turn and the opportunity to develop the sub-topic of the specific film. In line 29, T allocates L4 a turn and constrains L4's turn on the topic of films he likes. As L4 nominates scary films in line 30, T performs the familiar move of performing an expansion of the learner utterance. The question form allows L4 the interactional space to develop the sub-topic. However, T also makes a more general statement in line 31 ("I think everyone likes scary movies") which does not constrain a next turn in any way. Because the next turn is not constrained, it constitutes the ideal interactional environment for a learner to self-select. So we see in line 32 the first example

of a learner making an initiating move in this extract. L3 in effect reverses the speech exchange system: whereas previously T was asking learners what films they were interested in, L3 asks the same question to T. When T answers, L3 performs, in line 35, the same type of move that T had previously made, in that L3 agrees with T's statement, takes up the sub-topic and expands on it. So although the interaction has generally been teacher-led, it is nonetheless possible for learners to alter the speech exchange system creatively.

What is clear from the analysis of the above extract is that, although it could at first sight be mistaken for a lockstep IRF/IRE cycle sequence, the interaction is in fact locally managed on a turn-by-turn basis to a considerable extent. There is some degree of constraint in that the teacher has an overall idea of what is to be achieved in the interaction and it is the teacher who introduces the carrier topic of films and has overall control of the speech exchange system. However, the question in line 1 is a referential one: the teacher does not know how the learner will respond.

We have seen that a 'classroom as speech community' context can be maintained a) in the absence of the teacher; b) in the presence of the teacher, but with the learners managing the turn-taking; c) with the teacher being in overall control of the turn-taking. The pedagogical focus is on the learner expression of some kind of personal meaning and new information. Although the speech-exchange system is variable, the crucial point is that the learners must be allocated sufficient interactional space within it be able to develop a topic and to contribute new information concerning their immediate classroom speech community and their immediate environment, personal relationships, feelings and meanings, and the activities they are engaging in.

7.3 Turn-Taking in Task-Oriented Contexts

We saw in section 6.3 that the teacher introduces pedagogical purposes in this context by allocating tasks to the learners and then generally withdraws, allowing the learners to manage the interaction themselves. It appears to be typical in this context, therefore, that the teacher does not play any part in the interaction, although learners do sometimes ask the teacher for help when having difficulty with the task. By contrast with the two previous contexts, there is no focus on personal meanings or on linguistic forms. The learners must communicate with each other in order to accomplish a task, and the focus is on the accomplishment of the task rather than on the language used. In effect, as we will see, it is the task which constrains the nature of the speech exchange system which the learners use.

I would now like to look at the interaction produced by tasks in Warren (1985). I will quote Warren's explanation of how a particular task was to be accomplished, so that it is clear how the nature of the task constrains the resultant speech exchange system.

“The ‘Maps’ task below was based on the ‘information gap’ principle and was carried out by pairs of students separated from each other by a screen. Before the students attempted the activity the teacher demonstrated what was required of them. The idea was that both students had a map of the same island but one of the maps had certain features missing from it. A key illustrating the missing features was given to each student so that they knew what these features were. In the case of the student with the completed map the key enabled him/her to know what was missing from the other map and in the case of the other participant it showed how the missing features were to be represented on his/her map. The student with the completed map had to tell the other student where missing features had to be drawn. Once the activity had been completed using map 1 the roles were reversed using another map. Throughout the activity the teacher was present to ensure that the students did not abuse the presence of the screen. The idea behind having a screen to separate the participants was that they would then be forced to communicate verbally in order to complete the task.” (Warren 1985: 56)

The following extract is typical of the interaction which resulted from this task.

Extract 28

- 1 L1: The road from the town to the Kampong Kelantan... the coconut=
2 L2: =Again, again.
3 L1: The road is from the town to Kampong Kelantan (7.5 sec) the town is in the
4 Jason Bay.
5 L2: Again. The town, where is the town?
6 L1: The town is on the Jason Bay.
7 L2: The, road?
8 L1: The road is from the town to Kampong Kelantan (11.0 sec) OK?
9 L2: OK
10 L1: The mountain is behind the beach and the Jason Bay (8.1 sec) The river is from
11 the jungle to the Desaru (9.7 sec) The mou- the volcano is above the Kampong
12 Kelantan (7.2 sec) The coconut tree is along the beach.

(Warren 1985: 271)

The progress of the interaction is jointly constructed here. In line 1, L1 provides one item of information to L2 and then proceeds with the second item of information without checking whether L2 has noted the first piece of information (the two learners cannot see each other). Because L2 has not finished noting the first piece of information, L2 initiates repetition. In line 2 we see that L2 is able to alter the course of the interaction through a repetition request which requires L1 to backtrack. In line 7, L2 asks where the road is. In line 8, L1 supplies the information, waits for 11.0 seconds and then makes a confirmation check (“OK?”) to L2 to ascertain whether L2 has completed that sub-section of the task. L1 appears to be orienting his utterances to L2's difficulty in completing the task in that L1 uses an identical sentence structure each time and in that L1 leaves pauses between different items of information. We can see these pauses in lines 3, 10, 11 and 12, and they vary from 7.2 seconds to 9.7 seconds in length. Repetition requests are focused on information necessary for the task in lines 2, 5 and 7. In line 8 the confirmation check is focused on establishing whether a particular sub-section of the task has been accomplished or not. We

can see in the above extract that the task, in effect, tends to constrain the types of turn: the nature of the task pushes L1 to make statements to which L2 will provide feedback, clarification or repetition requests or repair initiation. The speech-exchange system is thus constrained to some degree. However, the two learners are also to some extent actively developing a speech exchange system which is appropriate to the task and which excludes elements which are superfluous to the accomplishment of the task.

I will now examine another instance of interaction within a task-based context from Warren (1985) in order to further illustrate how the nature of the task seems to constrain the turn-taking system. 'Blocks' is another task based on the 'information gap' principle. In this activity the students were in pairs separated by a screen and in front of each student were five wooden building bricks of differing shapes and colours. The teacher arranged the bricks of one of the students into a certain pattern and it was then the task of that student to explain to his/her partner how to arrange the other set of bricks so that they were laid out according to the pattern. A time limit of sixty seconds was imposed after which the teacher arranged the other student's bricks into another pattern and the activity was carried out once more (Warren 1985: 57).

Extract 29

- 1 L1: Ready?
- 2 L2: Ready
- 3 L1: Er the blue oblong above the red oblong - eh! the yellow oblong.
- 4 L2: Alright. Faster, faster.
- 5 L1: The red cylinder beside the blue oblong.
- 6 L2: Left or right?
- 7 L1: Right.
- 8 L2: Right! .. OK.
- 9 L1: The the red cube was =
- 10 L2: =The red cube
- 11 L1: The red cube was behind the blue oblong.

- 12 L2: Blue oblong, blue oblong. Yeah.
13 L1: And the red cube was behind the red oblong.

(Warren 1985: 275)

In this extract we can see the learners' orientation to the time limit set for completion of the task (1 minute), in that L2 says "faster, faster" in line 4. When we compare this extract with the previous one, we can see that these learners have developed a variant of the speech exchange system apparently in orientation to the speed limit. In this extract we see L2 telling L1 when he has finished a particular stage (lines 4, 8 and 12) and this enables L1 to commence giving the next item of information as soon as L2 has finished noting the previous one. This procedure clearly minimises gap, as we can see when we compare this with the previous extract. In lines 8, 10 and 12, L2 appears to repeat what L1 has said in order to confirm his understanding of L1's utterance, to display the stage that L2 is at in the process of noting the information, and to delay L1 in order that he should not begin the next item of information until prompted to do so. In this sense L2's repetition is functioning in a similar way to a filler in normal conversation (McHoul 1978). This is particularly evident in line 12, in which L2 repeats L1's utterance twice before giving confirmation of completion. On the one hand, the learners are creatively engaged in developing speech exchange systems which are appropriate to the accomplishment of the task. On the other hand, we can see that the nature of the task constrains the speech exchange system which the learners create.

What kind of interaction is produced by tasks? Warren is very critical of the discourse produced by the tasks he administers:

"This activity created a situation in which the student with a completed map was forced to speak to the other student in order to relay the required information. The students were, on the whole, successful in performing the task. However,

the variety of the language produced and the extent to which it placed demands on the students' knowledge of the target language makes this activity very dubious in terms of teaching natural discourse and the associated skills. At times no interaction between the participants took place and throughout all of the recordings the language was extremely predictable. Given the logistics of setting up such an activity in the classroom the amount of language produced was disappointing". (Warren 1985: 65)

In extract 29 we can see the tendency to minimising and contracting linguistic forms. L1 produces utterances from which the verb 'be' is missing, with the exception of line 11, where it is used in an inappropriate tense. This is an example of what Duff (1986: 167) calls "topic comment constructions without syntacticized verbal elements" which are quite common in task-based interaction. It should also be noted that omission of copulas is a feature of pidgins and creoles (Graddol, Leith and Swann 1996: 220). There is a tendency to minimise the volume of language used (Duff 1986) i.e. to produce only that which is necessary to accomplish the task, but not any superfluous language. So whereas in form and accuracy contexts we often have the expectation of producing full and grammatically complete sentences, what we find in practice in task-based interaction is a tendency to produce very inexplicit and hence obscure (to the outsider) linguistic forms, which can be understood only in relation to the task which the learners are engaged in. Interactants in a task seem to produce utterances at the lowest level of explicitness necessary to the successful completion of the task, which is perfectly proper, since the focus is on the completion of the task. To L2 teachers who are concerned to see learners display their ability to produce well-formed sentences, however, the actual language produced in task-based interaction may therefore seem impoverished, esoteric and meaningless when read in a transcript in isolation. In the following extract, for example, the learners are engaged in a computer simulation in which they have to make sense of screen data and reach decisions about what to do next.

Extract 30

- L1: It's gone up now the population? Have now 250. Why? 10 persons more?
L2: Yeah. Yeah.
L1: Only 3. No more?
L2: No, 10, 10.
L1: 10, it's 14?
L2: No, no, we have have after 250.
L1: Before we have 259.

(Seedhouse 1994: 314)

In the extract below, learners are required to complete and label a geometric figure.

Extract 31

- L1: What?
L2: Stop.
L3: Dot?
L4: Dot?
L5: Point?
L6: Dot?
LL: Point point, yeah.
L1: Point?
L5: Small point.
L3: Dot.

(Lynch 1989: 124)

The interaction produced by tasks often seems very unimpressive when read in a transcript. It is perhaps surprising, then, that task-based approaches actually praise task-based interaction as being particularly conducive to second language acquisition. As we have seen, tasks tend to generate clarification requests, confirmation checks, comprehension checks and self-repetitions, which are characteristic of modified interaction. According to Long (1985) and associates, modified interaction must be necessary for language acquisition. This relationship has been summarized as follows:

1. Interactional modification makes input comprehensible.
2. Comprehensible input promotes acquisition.

Therefore,

3. Interactional modification promotes acquisition.

There has been considerable criticism of the above interaction hypothesis (summarised in Ellis 1994: 278), much of it targeting the reasoning cited above, and the current consensus appears to be that the hypothesis is unproven and unprovable. There is no doubt that tasks, as we have seen, are successful in generating modified interaction. This may or may not be beneficial to second language acquisition. However, from the point of view of this thesis, what tasks actually produce is task-based interaction. This type of interaction needs to be considered as a whole, rather than extracting quantifiable aspects of the interaction for counting. Like all the varieties of L2 classroom interaction reviewed in this thesis, task-based interaction has its inherent advantages and disadvantages. So this study suggests that it is preferable to analyse the interaction actually produced by tasks rather than praise task-based interaction on a purely theoretical level. For example, Prabhu (1987) extols in a book-length study the virtues of task-based teaching as opposed to structural teaching. Turning to the “transcripts of project lessons” (1987: 123-137) one might therefore expect to find transcripts of impressive task-based interaction. In actual fact, one finds no examples of task-based interaction at all, but rather transcripts of “pre-task stages of a lesson” which contain exclusively teacher-led question and answer sequences!

We have seen above that there are potential problems associated with the discourse produced by tasks. Two other potential problems with task-based activities which appear in the data are associated with the lack of teacher supervision. This is not to say that learners

are always unsupervised, but in a large class the teacher must circulate between groups or pairs. The problems are that students can produce linguistic errors which go uncorrected and that students can go off task, including speaking in the L1. In the extract below we can see Norwegian learners in a task-based context going considerably off task, producing errors in the L2 and using the L1. The task was to discuss paintings.

Extract 32

- L1: *skal vi synge en sang? vi synger den derre Fader Jakob!* ((tr: shall we sing a song? let's sing "Frère Jacques"!))
L2: *hae?* ((tr: what?))
L1: *Fader Jakob* ((tr: Frère Jacques))
L3: no!
L2: on English, I can't sing that song in English.
L2: yes.
L2: no.
L1: you can!
L3: how it starts?
L1: are you sleeping, are you sleeping, brother John, brother John.
L2: we are supposed to work not sing.
L1: e:r....., morningbells are ringing morningbells are ringing ding dang dong ding dang dong.
L2: we are supposed to work not=
L1: =yeah I just got to show how=
L2: =not sing=
L1: =how good I am to sing=
L3: =you are not good at singing.
L1: I know.
L3: you are *elendig* ((tr: awful)) terrible

(Norwegian data: 450)

So in this context the pedagogical focus is appropriate to the turn-taking system in that both emphasise the completion of the task. The pedagogical focus is on "the outcome of the activity" and the speech exchange system is constrained by the task and oriented to the successful completion of the task. It is difficult to talk of 'topic' in this context: the focus is really on the task.

7.4 Turn-taking in 'Real-World Target Speech Community' Contexts

As we saw in section 6.4, the purpose of this L2 classroom context is to enable the learners to converge with their real-world target speech community and it is the teacher's explicit aim here to replicate real-world interaction of some kind. In this section I will examine an interesting piece of research (Warren 1985). The following discussion is based on Warren (1985 pp. 45-50, 66-71 and 223-271) and refers only to the part of the data which he terms 'discourse activities'. The purpose of Warren's research is to "discern whether activities based on the principles of discourse could produce spoken discourse similar to that found outside the classroom." (Warren 1985: 43) and he designed the 'discourse activities' "in the belief that they represented a variety of stimuli to activate natural discourse in the classroom." (Warren 1985: 45). By natural discourse, Warren means conversation. His aim, then, is specifically to replicate conversation within the classroom. He records the interaction and then performs quantitative and qualitative analysis, the goal of which is to determine whether natural discourse (conversation) has been created or not. Data are compared on a quantitative level with turn-taking and topic drift in conversation, and then with ten features of naturalness in conversation. Warren's conclusion is that the discourse activities produce discourse which is similar to conversation, particularly when compared with other classroom activities.

The interesting point here is that Warren is trying to determine whether it is possible to replicate conversation in the L2 classroom; the unusual institutional aim in Warren's L2 lessons was to produce non-institutional discourse. By examining the speech exchange systems evident in the transcripts of the interaction using a CA methodology we should be

able to determine its similarities and differences with conversation. According to Sacks (1995, Volume II: 41-42) turn transition can be effected in conversation in three different ways: 1) current speaker selects next speaker; 2) current speaker does not select a next speaker but he selects a next action: in other words current speaker constrains next turn; 3) a speaker selects himself and selects the action he/she will do. Examples of each of these three possibilities are to be found in Warren's data, but extracts are not reproduced here for reasons of space.

Turn-taking is locally managed in Warren's data generally without large gaps or silences, and speakers are able to self-select in the L2 in ways similar to native speaker conversation. For instance, in the following extract we can see competition for the floor and interruption:

Extract 33

L2: He always=

L4: =Reagan, Reagan, at first er she is, he is not like a very rich man. She er, er the first, first time .. at the first time she is=

L2: =What she or he?

(Warren 1985: 231)

In the following example latching occurs and L2 is in effect continuing L1's utterance:

Extract 34

L1: Maybe someone walked near the house=

L2: =like an apeman

(Warren 1985: 236)

This is an example of what Sacks (1995, Volume 1: 321) calls, with reference to conversation, collaborative productions of a single sentence. Listeners can also predict the way an utterance will continue and duplicate the ending of the utterance.

Extract 35

L1: I want to go to England because I want to
see Mr Martin's house!

[

L2: Oh! because I want to see Mr Martin house (laughs)

(Warren 1985: 230)

The three features exemplified above seem to suggest that turn-taking is not constrained or pre-allocated, but rather is locally managed by the learners.

Warren produces quantitative data concerning the points at which the next speaker takes over from the current speaker. In the majority of cases this occurs at the end of the current speaker's utterance, although it sometimes occurs after a pause, after use of a filler by current speaker or after use of a conjunction by the current speaker. According to Warren (1985: 104), these are the same points at which speaker change occurs in conversation. So far as turn-taking is concerned, then, we can see many similarities with conversation in that the interaction appears to be locally managed.

According to Sacks (1995, Volume 1: 539), topics shift within conversations and the loci of shifts can be identified. Sacks talks of stepwise movement for topics in connection with the way in which topics change imperceptibly when conversations are progressing well (1995, Volume II: 301 and 352). Sacks argues that the frequency with which marked topic

introduction occurs is one measure of the quality of the conversation. Topic drift or stepwise movement occurs several times in Warren's data. In one case, learners discuss fashion photographs, which was the main pedagogical purpose introduced by Warren. Having exhausted the material, the learners select their own topic (Warren 1985: 230). We will consider later whether there was complete open-endedness in the way the topic was adopted by the learners, or whether they were conforming to the teacher's agenda. In line 1 below, L1 makes a topic introduction.

Extract 36

- 1 L1: Which country do want to go to when you have a money?
 2 LL: Oh! Oh!
 3 L2: I want to go to America.
 4 L3: I want to go to England.
 5 L4: Oh America!
 6 L5: I want to go to England because I want to
 7 see Mr Martin's house!
 []
 8 L4: Oh! because I want to see Mr Martin house (laughs).. I want to go to Korea.
 9 L2: I want to go to America because I want to tell Reagan that ..
 10 L4: Oooh! (laughs)
 11 L2: He must not do what does he done for Palestinians
 []
 12 L4: she she is .. she is, you
 13 know she is er Margaret Thatcher. (laughs)
 14 L2: Ah! yeh.
 15 L3: She is diplomatic Malaysia.
 16 L4: She is Indira Gandhi. (laughs)
- 17 L2: You know in Malay song also they use, they put a title of the
 []
 18 L5: (unint)
 19 L2: song, eh, just Reagan, you know, that means President Reagan talk.
 []
 20 L3: yes
 21 L2: What does he done to Palestine.
 22 L4: Malaysian diplomacy, you know she is Malaysian diplomatic to go to
 23 Americans and to speak with President Reagan (laughs)
 []
 24 L5: Reagan
 25 L4: to close, to close=
 26 L5: =President Reagan, President Reagan, to what, to big speak and fight you.

- 27 L2: Will .. how could she done to me?
 28 L5: Eh!
 29 L2: I will report all the countries in the world to hate America.
 30 L4: Oh you want to hate America, you, you have map on the .. in
 []
 31 L2: that means
 32 L4: the library, you er, took it, you take it, do this one - you hate it America map
 (laughs).
 33 L2: Just what .. what he do .. um Reagan was always make this world trouble, you
 34 know.
 35 L5: Oh!
 36 L2: He always=
 37 L4: =Reagan, Reagan, at first er she is, he is not like a very rich man. She er,
 38 the first, first time .. at the first time she is=
 39 L2: =What she or he?
 40 L4: Cowboy hero
 41 L2: He is a cowboy.
 42 L2: He, he is ... ah, filem star.
 []
 43 L4: filem star

(Warren 1985: 231)

In line 1, L1 constrains the following utterances by asking a question - from line 1 to line 6 we can see multiple utterances which follow an answer format. L1 is 'directing speakership in a creative way' by introducing a new topic and constraining the format of other participants' utterances. The topic remains on international travel, as nominated by L1, until line 9. L2 then tries to shift the topic to international politics. The shift is an unobtrusive one (an example of stepwise movement or topic drift), since L2 presents the international political point as being the reason she would like to go to the USA. There then follows a struggle for control of topic (lines 12-40), with L3, L4 and L5 focusing on L2's character and L2 attempting to maintain attention on her political point (and hence deflecting attention away from her character) that Reagan's Palestinian policy is wrong. Although L2 reasserts her topic up to line 36, none of the other students take up the political topic. So in lines 12-40 we can see competition for the floor by means of what Sacks (1995, Volume II: 349) calls 'skip-connecting': "a speaker produces an utterance which is indeed

related to some prior utterance, but it's not related to the directly prior utterance, but some utterance prior to the directly prior utterance." So L2 skip-connects to her own prior utterances in lines 19, 21, 29, 33. However, the other learners skip-connect to each others' utterances which means not only that L2 faces competition for the topic from multiple other participants, but also that the distance between L2's skip-connected utterances are thereby increased (Sacks 1995, Volume II: 350)

In line 37, therefore, when L4 adopts the topic of Reagan but shifts its focus to the less controversial sub-topic of Reagan's film career, L2 as well as the other students adopt this, as a kind of face-saving compromise, and the discussion remains on the topic of Reagan's film career for 21 lines after the end of this extract. So we can see in this extract the same kind of unobtrusive, sometimes barely perceptible topic drift or stepwise movement which can also be found in transcripts of conversation (Warren 1993) together with a struggle for control of the topic using mutual skip-connecting. The way in which Sacks (1995, Volume II: 356) speaks of this combination of stepwise movement, competition and skip-connecting could apply equally well to the extract above as to Sacks' own data:

" x talks to the topic being talked of while making a slight shift in its possible line of development. Either line of development might well emerge here and continue, or another party could perfectly well take up talk... and get another connected but slight shift. But all that we want out of it is that what would be minimally involved in getting into a possible competition sequence is that two slightly different possible lines of development have been mutually generated from a prior sequence. That then sets up a situation where some attempt might be made to preserve one or another of those lines of development. And for that attempt, we have the skip-connecting technique used."

In summary, then, the speech exchange system operating at this point in Warren's L2 data appears to bear an overall resemblance to that operating in L1 conversation. This was

established by comparing the interaction to the features which CA has established to be typical of conversation. Warren reached the same conclusion by comparing the data on a quantitative level with turn-taking and topic drift in conversation, and then with ten features of naturalness in conversation. His study was conducted within the Birmingham school of discourse analysis.

However, I will now attempt to show that, although it resembles conversation in many ways, the interaction which the learners produce is not conversation at all, but institutional discourse of the variety 'L2 classroom interaction' and of the sub-variety 'real-world target speech community context interaction'. Since it is intended to replicate conversation and clearly resembles conversation I will call it 'pseudo-conversation'. Now it was claimed in sections 5.2 and 5.3 that the three 'intermediate properties' of L2 classroom interaction will always be manifest in some way in the interaction - although the degree of overtness will vary considerably. Since, in this case, the teacher's aim is to produce interaction which is not L2 classroom interaction, we can expect that that the degree of overtness will be very low. However, if it can be shown that the three properties are manifest in this interaction but are not manifest in conversation, then we will have shown that the interaction is not conversation but L2 classroom interaction. The three properties are:

- 1) *Language is both the vehicle and object of instruction.*

In conversation the language of the conversation is locally negotiated. Here the language of the conversation has been pre-specified by the teacher, who gave specific instructions that anything the learners said would have to be in English. Warren (1985: 44) specifies that "None of the students involved spoke English at home as a first or second language". It is

sometimes evident in the interaction that the learners see the language they are using as the goal as well as the vehicle of the interaction:

Extract 37

- L1: Bota. (laughs)
L2: With my
 [
L3: Don't speak Malay! (laughs)
L2: er
 [
L3: Mr Martin scold you.

(Warren 1985: 244)

Extract 38

- L1: Teacher said don't use Malay so you don't use Malay.
L2: Very difficult I don't know answer to the question.

(Warren 1985: 238)

Extract 39

- L1: Why Mr Martin say speak English?
L2: I don't know.
L3: Perhaps there will be a trouble when he hear what we speak.

(Warren 1985: 22)

Sometimes we also see evidence of the artificiality of the interaction, in that learners are having to check on linguistic comprehension in a way which they would not do in their L1:

Extract 40

- L1: If, if, if, they did not hold their sarong it will be wet.
L2: You know wet?

L3: yes, yes.
L1: In the water.

(Warren 1985: 228)

Sometimes learners also need to translate words into English:

Extract 41

L1: Sometimes as a *bidan* ((tr: traditional doctor))! (laughs)
L2: What is *bidan* in English?
L1: *Bidan* is, er, - traditional doctor.

(Warren 1985: 245)

The participants all speak Malay and understand the Malay word, so there is no need to translate it into English: the fact that they feel it is necessary to do so displays their orientation to language as the object of their interaction.

2) *The linguistic forms and patterns of interaction which the learners produce in the L2 will inevitably be linked in some way to the pedagogical purposes which the teacher introduces.*

According to Warren (1993: 189), “Conversation is certainly very different from other discourse types as it has no fixed ‘agenda’, and is conducted by participants of equal status who cooperate in the ongoing management of mutual understanding, and who share responsibility for its successful outcome.” Now the orientation of the learners to the teacher’s pedagogical agenda is generally only implicit, but on occasions it is overtly expressed:

Extract 42

- L1: We discuss this thing very difficult.
L2: Yeah, Mr Martin put very hard lah.
L3: Crazy.

(Warren 1985: 239)

Here we have an overt statement that the learners' interaction has to follow the teacher's pedagogical agenda and that the learners find that agenda difficult.

Extract 43

- L1: Teacher said don't use Malay so you don't use Malay.
L2: Very difficult I don't know answer to the question.
(Scuffles, laughter)
L1: OK OK never mind, never mind, don't worry, discuss, discuss, come on don't laugh.

(Warren 1985: 238)

Here L1 is trying to reorient the interaction not only to the language of the teacher's agenda but also to the type of interaction required (discussion).

We will now need to refer back to the beginning of the lengthy extract 36. Warren (1985: 22) suggests that the way in which the learners in extract 36 introduced the new topic of international travel indicates the open-endedness (and hence naturalness and 'conversationalness') of the discourse. However, we see in the extract below exactly how the learners arrived at the topic of international travel:

Extract 44

- L1: What do you like to eat? (Students discuss favourite foods)
L2: I like Kentucky fried chicken.....
L3: Why Mr Martin say speak English?
L1: I don't know. (Students discuss speaking English)

L2: Perhaps there will be a trouble when he hear what we speak (laughs)
L4: Which country do you want to go to when you have a money?
LL: //Oh!
L1: I want to go to America.

(Warren 1985: 22)

I would suggest that the way the learners decide on the topic of international travel is not an example of open-endedness at all, but rather an example of attempting to conform to the teacher's pedagogical agenda in the absence of the teacher. In other words, the learners are trying to find a topic which they think would meet with the teacher's approval. The learners in the above extract start discussing food but then realise that this is not a sufficiently academic topic and they become worried about whether the teacher would approve of their discourse. When L4 proposes the topic of international travel, this is immediately adopted with some excitement by the other learners. I would suggest that the reason for this is that the teacher's instructions were to speak English: Malaysians view English as the language of international travel and the learners recognise that this is a topic which is bound to meet with their teacher's approval and which conforms to the teacher's pedagogical agenda. So although the interaction appears ostensibly to exhibit the open-endedness characteristic of conversation, the learners are implicitly orienting to the teacher's pedagogical agenda; the teacher has constrained topic selection even though he is physically absent. I would argue, therefore, that extract 36 is in fact not conversation but L2 classroom interaction of the variety 'real-world target speech community' context interaction and that although the intermediate properties are 'cloaked' they are nonetheless discernable in the interaction.

Apart from the above, it is sometimes possible to link the patterns of interaction directly back to the pedagogical purposes which Warren introduced, as in the following extract in which teenage girl learners are discussing fashion photographs.

Extract 45

- L1 I like this fashion because I can wear it for sleep not to go anywhere.
L2 Ooh!
L3 I like this fashion.
L2 I like this.
L4 Why?
L5 I like this.
L2 Because .. because..
L1 The girl..
L4 This is good this fashion.
L2 This is a beautiful skirt.
L1 Beautiful, but when I done it .. I put it long long but ..
L4 This one better than that one. Who like this one?
L1 Aah, I like this.

(Warren 1985: 223)

Warren states clearly what his pedagogical purposes were with these learners: a collection of women's fashion photographs was selected in order to provide a stimulus to the students, who were left alone with a tape recorder. The writer devised the activity "to stimulate natural discourse in the classroom." (Warren 1985: 45) and "...the only instruction was that the students should look at the photographs and that anything they might say had to be in English." (Warren 1985: 47). Warren hoped that the exercise "... might lead to the voicing of likes and dislikes." (Warren 1985: 45). We can clearly see the link between the teacher's pedagogical purposes and the linguistic forms and patterns of interaction produced by the learners: the learners speak only in English, discuss the photographs and express likes and dislikes. The discourse is natural when compared with extract 11, for example.

- 3) *The linguistic forms and patterns of interaction which the learners produce are subject to evaluation by the teacher in some way.*

We can see in the above extracts that the learners are aware that their interaction is being recorded and will be subject to evaluation by the teacher (“Mr Martin scold you”). Warren also makes explicit written evaluations of the different extracts, even though he was not physically present at the time. For example, he writes of the interaction from which extract 45 is taken:

“Throughout the tape the students employ many discourse skills and the variety of language used is very wide indeed. In many respects this was one of the most successful of the discourse activities, in that the initial activity was treated enthusiastically and then, quite naturally, gave way to new topics which were, in their turn, explored and then cast aside by the participants in the discourse.”
(1985: 68)

So by examining whether the three intermediate properties are present we are able to determine that the interaction in Warren (1985) is in fact an example of L2 classroom interaction within a ‘real-world target speech community’ context, even though it resembles conversation in many respects. The teacher’s aim was to replicate conversation, and this was successful in that it produced interaction which superficially resembled conversation, probably as closely as is possible in the L2 classroom; nonetheless, it was pseudo-conversation. So this section suggests that the interactional organisation of the L2 classroom appears to be inescapable. Whatever new method one tries to introduce, and however ‘un-classroomlike’ one tries to make the interaction, one is always operating within the interactional architecture of the L2 classroom. Also, the architecture appears to be infinitely flexible and able to accommodate any and every variety of interaction.

The aim of the ‘real-world target speech community’ context is to replicate the speech exchange system of the target real-world speech community. The turn-taking system in this context is appropriate to the pedagogical focus in that they are one and the same thing; the

pedagogical focus is on replicating a particular speech exchange system. In this section we looked at an attempt to replicate the speech exchange system of conversation. We saw that it is feasible to produce fairly naturalistic discourse in the L2 classroom. This has the advantage of allowing the learners a large degree of freedom in managing the speech exchange system themselves whilst interacting in the L2. In a similar way to task-based interaction, two potential problems with real-world target speech community interaction are associated with the lack of teacher supervision. The problems are, as we can see from the extracts, that students can produce linguistic errors which go uncorrected and that students can go off task, including speaking in the L1.

7.5 Turn-Taking in Text-Based Contexts

We saw in section 6.5 that in this context the overall pedagogical purpose is for the learners to become familiar with an L2 text (by means of reading or listening). The rationale is that by doing so the learners will acquire elements of the L2. Frequently, learners are required to demonstrate their familiarity with the text by means, for example, of reading it aloud, answering questions or translation. A wide range of pedagogical sub-foci are possible within this overall pedagogical focus on creating familiarity with a text, and we therefore find a variety of speech exchange systems which are appropriate to the varying pedagogical sub-foci.

In the Norwegian data lesson 3 we have an example of a lesson which operates entirely in a text-based context. However, there are many different pedagogical sub-foci and sub-organisations of the interaction within this context. The focus of the lesson is on a text in the L2 about Australia, and as the text is approached from different angles, the

speech-exchange system alters relative to the pedagogical angle. On Norwegian data page 62 the speech exchange system is very simple. The teacher allocates a turn to a learner, who reads aloud a section of the text. The teacher decides when the student has read sufficient text and then asks the current reader to select the next reader; presumably this is in order to make the interaction appear less teacher-dominated. The current reader may be interrupted by the teacher if the reader makes an error of pronunciation, as in the extract below .

Extract 46

L: the blue sea followed the dolphins until they [reacheed]

T: reached reached

(Norwegian data: 428)

Alternatively, the teacher may allow errors of pronunciation to go unrepaired until the end of the allotted section, when the teacher undertakes repair, as in the extract below.

Extract 47

T: yes (student's name) words here could you repeat intelligent

L: intelligent

T: and whistled

L: whistled

(Norwegian data: 428)

In this section of the lesson, then, the pedagogical and interactional focus is clearly on the pronunciation of the text. The turn-taking system is appropriate to the pedagogical focus in that it allocates one learner at a time a turn to display his/her ability to read the text with correct pronunciation.

In the second section of the lesson, the learners shut their books and the teacher asks questions in the L2 concerning the text, which the learners must answer in the L2. The interaction follows a rigid IRF/IRE cycle of teacher question, learner answer and teacher evaluation of the answer plus repetition of the correct answer. The pedagogical focus is clearly on the propositional content of the answer and how well it relates propositionally to the question. This is clear because errors of linguistic form are left uncorrected by the teacher. In the extract below the learners shut their books and the teacher asks questions in the L2 concerning the text, which the learners must answer in the L2.

Extract 48

- T: yes they wanted help and why did they want help?
L: to get free the dolphin in the net
T: yes what did the fishermen the Tasmanian fishermen discover?

(Norwegian data: 429)

The pedagogical focus is evidently on the propositional content of the answer and how well it relates propositionally to the question, rather than on linguistic form. This is clear because the errors of linguistic form (“get free” instead of “free”) are left uncorrected by the teacher. Here the turn-taking system is appropriate to the pedagogical focus in that the aim is to establish and evaluate the learners’ understanding of the propositional content of the text. Teacher allocation of turns together with the IRE/IRF cycle is a most economical way of doing so (see section 11.5).

In the third section of the lesson, the teacher gives a Norwegian translation of a word from the text and asks the learner to give the word in English. The speech exchange system is identical to the second section. The interaction follows a rigid IRF/IRE cycle of teacher question, learner answer and teacher evaluation of the answer, plus repetition of the correct

answer. The pedagogical focus is clearly different to the second section, however, since the teacher is targeting precise linguistic forms in the L2 and will not accept anything else. Nevertheless, the focus is still on the text (we have not shifted to a form and accuracy context) since it is words from the text which are being targeted.

Extract 49

- L: to explain
T: to explain *i timesvis* ((tr: for hours)) koala can sit *i timesvis* ((tr: for hours))(student's name)
L: many hours
T: er the preposition is
L: hours
T: hours that's the noun but the preposition er can sit er (student's name)
L: for
T: for hours *uten aa rore seg en tomme* ((tr: without moving an inch)) (student's name)

(Norwegian data: 431)

Here the speech-exchange system is appropriate to the pedagogical focus in that the aim is to establish and evaluate the learners' understanding of the semantic load of individual words in the text. Teacher allocation of turns together with the IRE/IRF cycle is a most economical way of doing so (see section 11.5). We can note that the pedagogical focuses in sections two and three are very similar and that the speech exchange systems are identical.

In the fourth section of this lesson learners work in pairs and ask each other questions about the text which they had previously prepared as homework. Even though the participants in the interaction have changed radically (the teacher no longer takes part) the focus of the interaction is still on the text. The speech exchange system is almost identical to the second section. The interaction follows a rigid IRF/IRE cycle of question, learner answer and

evaluation of the answer. One of the learners is, in effect, substituting for the teacher in the interaction, as is clear in the following sequence.

Extract 50

L4: who was the first teddy bear modelled on?

L3: the koala

L4: yeah..., e ..., what does the koalas eat now..., what=

L3: =the koala eats (4 sec) fish

L4: eucalyptus-leaves..., e..., e:r who did who knocked down doctor Linda Ratton (5 sec)
who did knock down doctor Linda Ratton?

(Norwegian data: 439)

The four extracts above show turn-taking systems which are fairly tightly controlled by the teacher. The first three involve central allocation of turns by the teacher. In the fourth extract the speech exchange system was constrained by the pedagogical purposes introduced by the teacher: “well now you made questions yourselves and you join two and two putting questions to each other” (Norwegian data: 65). The focus of the lesson is on a text in the L2 about Australia, and as the text is approached from different angles, the speech-exchange system alters relative to the pedagogical angle.

Looser organisations of the interaction are possible within the text-based context, however. Norwegian data lesson 1 is also a lesson which operates entirely in a text-based context, and the overall pedagogical focus is on establishing familiarity with a text on American immigration. In lesson 1a the learners are working in groups and the specific instructions are to discuss in the L2 statements which relate to the text. In contrast to the previous extracts, the learners have to engage with the ideas expressed in the text, and so more interactional freedom is appropriate to this pedagogical sub-focus. The learners are free to negotiate their

own speech exchange system and we can see in the transcripts that the four different groups each negotiate a different speech exchange system.

In *groupwork 1* there seem to be a fairly equal distribution of turns amongst the learners, and sometimes the turn-taking is hesitant, as in the following extract:

Extract 51

L2: intermarriage is looked upon as the key to American society

L1: *skal jeg proeve meg?* ((tr: shall I give it a try?))

L2: *ja.* ((tr: yes.))

L1: okay is that an Asian..., and a woman from New-Zealand marry.

(Norwegian data: 373)

In *groupwork 2*, L3 assumes the interactional role of teacher and allocates turns to the other students. Resentment is occasionally evident at L3's presumption:

Extract 52

L3: do you have anything to e:r....., say about that?

L5: no....., I don't think white dominance is threatened in the USA.

L3: why not?

L5: I don't think so?

LL: (laugh)

L3: you don't think so OK? and you Jon?

L6: e:m I don't really care.

L3: you don't really care.

L6: I don't live in the US.

L3: OK. e:m and you Tone?

L4: e:m I don't know. e:r

L3: OK.

LL: ((unintelligible 3 sec))

L3: no I don't think so, that the white dominance is threatened because....., there are which are approximately....., twenty million or about that and that is not white why that leaves to about a hundred and fifty million that's white people or I don't think

think the white dominance is threatened. and illegal illegal immigration does not right right at such.....,.....,he?....., e:r after in nineteeneightysix life has been such much=

L5: much

L3: =have been much easier for many of the illegal immigrants. (cough)

L6: that is that is untrue.

(Norwegian data: 376)

In *groupwork 3* we can see many instances of successful interactional cooperation between the learners. In the extract below we see L2 adopting a point made by L3.

Extract 53

L2: so it's a problem with the illegal immigrants from Mexico are who are coming in such large numbers and they mostly speak Spanish only.

L3: and they are unskilled=

L2: =yeah they are unskilled and they can't speak the the language so it makes a problem when e:r the minority of the Hispanics grow and they have a debate about the bilingual education for instance.

(Norwegian data: 382)

In the extract below we can see the three learners cooperatively overcoming a textual problem, namely the meaning of a word in the text.

Extract 54

1 L3: the diversity of the working society is clearly reflected in its political and
2 cultural institutions....., yes, (4 sec)

3 L1: *kva er diversity?* ((tr: what is diversity?))

4 L2: *det er mangfold* ((tr: it's diversity))

5 L3: *ja*, ((tr: yes)),

(Norwegian data: 384)

In line 1, L3 reads out the statement which is to be discussed. When L1 queries the meaning of “diversity”, L2 translates the word directly into Norwegian and L3 confirms the

translation. So whereas in a whole-class situation learners typically ask the teacher for help with the meaning of L2 lexical items, here we see learners using each other as a resource.

In the extract below we see the learners cooperating in the interaction to the extent that they are latching and carrying on each other's utterances.

Extract 55

- 1 L2: so what is intermarriage
- 2 L1: ((unintelligible 1 sec))=
- 3 L2: =is that one foreign=
- 4 L1: =maybe two ethnic groups.
- 5 L2: yeah
- 6 L3: hm?
- 7 L1: maybe two people from two ethnic groups.
- 8 L2: and I guess it's especially one white and one=
- 9 L3: =one black or
- 10 L2: yeah one
- 11 L1: I don't know,
- 12 L2: yeah well it could be

(Norwegian data: 385)

In line 9, L3 continues L2's utterance by repeating the terminal word of L2's utterance in line 8 and then adding the lexical item which he projected would follow. L2 approves of L3's projection in line 10.

In *groupwork 4* the discussion becomes somewhat heated, with the following extract characterised by competition for the floor, interruptions and disagreement.

Extract 56

- 1 L2: aha. so how can you believe just like you said that everyone is like that when=
- 2 L3: =I don't say everyone.
- 3 L2: you just said the Italians doesn't want to=
- 4 L1: =yeah. and the Mexicans.

- 5 L2: so what so what do you suggest=
6 L3: =angry you get just angry=
7 L1: =no this was about=
8 L3: =just angry. you can twist and turn the words as much as you like but you can't
9 change my attitude.
10 L2: no but=
11 L1: =no but this is about education.
12 L3: stop twisting my words so fucking much.
13 L1: (laugh)
14 L3: you're twisting my words=
15 L2: =what do you mean=
16 L1: no
17 L2: =what you mean.

(Norwegian data: 396)

In extract 55 the latching displayed cooperation and agreement. In line 2 of the above extract, however, L3 performs a move of contradiction whilst interrupting, which simultaneously prevents L2 from finishing his argument.

In this text-based context the learners had the interactional freedom to create and manage their own speech exchange systems. The four different groups developed four different speech exchange systems even though they all adhered to the pedagogical focus which the teacher introduced. Why in this lesson did the teacher give the learners the freedom to develop their own speech exchange systems? The overall pedagogical focus in this lesson was of course on establishing familiarity with the text, but in this case the teacher wanted the learners to engage on an intellectual level with the ideas in the text and explore them as a group. The transcripts show that the learners were able, in general, to do so. Clearly, then, the learners would only be able to explore the ideas at their own level if they had control of their own speech exchange system. So we can see that the pedagogical sub-focus and the organisation of the interaction are complementary.

We can see in text-based contexts that there is an overall pedagogical focus which is to familiarise the learners with a text. However, there are a number of pedagogical sub-foci which enable learners to become familiar with separate aspects of the text, i.e. pronunciation and meaning of lexical items, propositional content and ideas carried by the text. For each of these pedagogical sub-foci we saw in the data that a slightly different turn-taking system was appropriate.

7.6 Turn-Taking in Procedural Contexts

As we saw in section 6.6, the teacher's purpose in this L2 classroom context is to transmit procedural information to the students concerning the classroom activities which are to be accomplished in the lesson. This is generally delivered in a monologue, as in the following example:

Extract 57

T: I'd like you to discuss the following statements. and then you read them, I don't read them those for you. if there are words you're not sure of (2.0 sec) in these statements you can ask me. but the (cough) statements and you can pick out the statements you want to to... start with. you don't have to do it in in the way in the way (cough) I have written it. so if you find out that one of them e you'd like to discuss more thoroughly you just pick out the the statement that you think is most or is easier to discuss. maybe there will be so much disagreement that you will only be able to discuss two or three of them. that's what I hope. so if you just start now forming the groups (2.0 sec) should I help you to do that? (T divides LL into groups).

(Norwegian data: 369)

The speech exchange system in this L2 classroom context is therefore probably the most restricted and 'straightforward' of all the L2 classroom contexts. In the majority of transcripts there is no turn-taking at all. The teacher has the floor and is in no danger of

being interrupted, so we can often find quite long pauses during the teacher's monologue. In the extract above there are two pauses of 2.0 seconds. This contrasts with the 'standard maximum' silence of one second (plus or minus 10%) reported by Jefferson (1989). It is not necessary for the teacher to indicate that her turn is continuing by means of fillers or rising intonation. As McHoul (1978: 192) says (with reference to L1 classrooms), teachers need not be concerned with having their turns cut off at any possible completion point by any other parties. This does not mean that the procedural context invariably consists of an unbroken monologue from start to finish, however. Two possible variations are evident in the data. Firstly, a student may wish to take a turn during the procedural monologue, and this is often in order to ask a question concerning the procedure, as in the extract below. Typically, the student will indicate his/her wish to take a turn by raising a hand. As McHoul (1978: 201) points out, it is debatable whether this constitutes self-selection or not: "It might be best to treat hand-raising analogously with the picking up of a telephone receiver by one called on the telephone, that is in terms of summons-answer techniques."

Extract 58

- T: you were supposed to prepare for today e:r by answering....., the last of the questions in your e:r this volume, the company volume.
L1: *men eg har'kkje faatt gjort lekse eg?* ((tr: but I haven't done my homework?))
T: um well, that's your problem not mine.

(Norwegian data: 368)

Secondly, the teacher may elect to make the procedural context more interactive by altering the speech exchange system so that the students are able to take turns. In the extract below, a teacher is introducing the class to the information-gap activity which comes later in the lesson:

Extract 59

- T: today, er, we're going to um, we're going to do something where, we, er, listen to a conversation and we also talk about the subject of the conversation er, in fact, we're not going to listen to one conversation, how many conversations are we going to listen to?
- L: three
- T: how do you know?
- L: because, er, you will need, er, three tapes and three points
- T: three?
- L: points
- T: what?
- L: power points
- T: power points, if I need three power points and three tape recorders, you correctly assume that I'm going to give you three conversations, and that's true, and all the conversation will be different, but they will all be on the same...?
- LL: subject, subject
- T: the same...?
- L: subject, subject
- T: right, they will all be on the same subject

(Nunan 1988: 139)

This is a kind of 'guided discovery' technique in which the teacher gives prompts or asks display questions which are supposed to guide the students to an understanding of the procedure. The pedagogical rationale for this change seems to be that the students will be more motivated to carry out the activity if they feel interactively involved in its procedural setup. The disadvantage may be that this type of interaction takes relatively much longer to attain the objective of transmitting procedural information than a monologue does. As we can see from the extract below, the basic speech exchange system is quite reminiscent of Socratic dialogue. Whereas Socrates is guiding Phaedrus to an understanding of eternal verities, however, the teacher in the above extract is merely guiding learners to an understanding of what will happen in the following 'main' context.

- Socrates: Is a great or a slight difference between two things the more likely to be misleading?
- Phaedrus: A slight difference.

Socrates: So if you proceed by small degrees from one thing to its opposite you are more likely to escape detection than if you take big steps.

Phaedrus: Of course.....

Socrates: Is it possible then for a man to be skilled in leading the minds of his hearers by small gradations of difference in any given instance from truth to its opposite, or to escape being misled himself, unless he is acquainted with the true nature of the thing in question?

Phaedrus: Quite impossible.

(Plato 1973: 75)

When a researcher records a well-established class, the procedural context may be of minimal length, in that the teacher has, over the previous course of study, established procedural routines which the students are, by the moment of recording, well familiar with. Abdesslem (1993: 229) characterises procedural context interaction (which he calls 'classroom management' in the following way: "most moves are similar in all lessons and tend to be produced and reacted to automatically. Thus, students and teacher operate within a narrow range of language, much of which is formulaic." In the extract below we can see formulaic language of minimal length used to outline procedures in a well-established class:

Extract 60

T: now you're going to do the pairwork, *foerst saa spoer dokker saa svar dokker saa skifter dokker ut ..., dokker trenger ikke aa ta New York for eksempel dokker kan bytte ut tidene og navnan ..., skjoenner dokker? ..., noen som ikke forstaar?* ((tr: first you ask then you answer then change ..., you don't have to say New York for instance and you can change the times and the names ..., do you understand? ..., anyone who doesn't understand?)) (3 sec pause)

LL: ((laugh))

T: ok

(Norwegian data: 492)

This also introduces an interesting phenomenon, namely whether procedural information is transmitted in the L1, the L2, or a mixture of both, as in the above example. The evidence

from the seven Norwegian lessons is as follows. In lessons 1, 2, 3 and 4 (i.e. secondary and tertiary schools) procedural context interaction was conducted solely in English. In lessons 5, 6 and 7 (primary schools) there are a variety of strategies. In lesson 6 the teacher uses Norwegian almost exclusively to transmit procedural information. In lessons 5 and 7 teachers sometimes use exclusively English, and sometimes exclusively Norwegian to transmit procedural information. However, there is a frequent 'double-checking' strategy which involves giving the procedural information first in English and then in Norwegian

Extract 61

T: and here....., here are....., the eleven words. now you are going to write down four of these words *no skal de skriva ned fire av de orda som staar nede paa arket* ((tr:now you write down four of those words on your paper))

(Norwegian data: 473)

The evidence from the Norwegian monolingual young learner database is therefore that procedural information is more likely to be transmitted exclusively in the L2 the greater the age and the greater the level of linguistic proficiency of the learners.

The basic focus in this procedural context, then, is on the transmission of procedural information and the basic speech exchange system of teacher monologue is appropriate to this focus.

7.7 Discussion

In this chapter I have sketched the basic overall speech exchange system of a number of L2 classroom contexts and attempted to portray the relationship between the pedagogical focus

of the interaction and the organisation of turn-taking. The chapter has attempted to show that a dynamic and variable approach to context is necessary to portray the multiplicity of speech exchange systems which we find in the data. It is clear from this chapter that it is not accurate to talk about ‘the speech-exchange system of the L2 classroom’, and that it would be impossible to specify a set of turn-taking rules (McHoul 1978) for the L2 classroom which participants orient to in all contexts. McHoul deals only with L1 classrooms and makes clear that he is only describing the speech exchange system of formal classrooms: “it is not suggested that all classroom interactions whatsoever do fall under this rubric.” (McHoul 1978: 185) We have seen that in some L2 classroom contexts the learners manage turn-taking locally and creatively to a great extent, and it would be quite inaccurate to state that only teachers can direct speakership in any creative way (McHoul 1978: 188) in the L2 classroom. Even in very recent studies of the language classroom such as Legutke and Thomas (1991) we find generalised statements like the following:

“In spite of trendy jargon in textbooks and teacher’s manuals, very little is actually communicated in the L2 classroom. The way it is structured does not seem to stimulate the wish of learners to say something, nor does it tap what they might have to say. Fenced in by syllabus demands, often represented by the total dominance of a textbook, learners do not find room to speak as themselves, to use language in communicative encounters, to create text, to stimulate responses from fellow learners, or to find solutions to relevant problems. Topicality is still sacrificed for the benefit of grammar and structure.” (Legutke and Thomas 1991: 8)

In a book of over 300 pages which is about the L2 classroom, Legutke and Thomas provide only one short transcript from an actual L2 lesson and do not specify what (if any) database they are founding their generalisations on. This study and this chapter in particular reaches a very different conclusion through the close examination of textual evidence.

We saw that in the form and accuracy context the organisation of turn-taking is fairly 'formal' in McHoul's (1978) terms, with the teacher tending to allocate turns, and the notion of 'topic' being redundant. In 'classroom as speech community' contexts the learners do have, by contrast, the opportunity to develop topics, and the organisation of the interaction tends to be less formal, with the learners having greater interactional freedom. In task-oriented contexts the turn-taking system tends to be constrained by the nature of the task allocated by the teacher, whilst the aim in 'real-world target speech community' contexts is to replicate the speech exchange system of another discourse variety. In text-oriented contexts we saw a variety of formal and less formal speech exchange systems, whilst normally in procedural contexts no turn-taking occurs. The overall organisation of turn-taking in any L2 classroom context will be fitted to the pedagogical focus of that context.

Within each L2 classroom context there is a balance between homogeneity and heterogeneity with respect to the speech exchange system. There is an overall organisation of turn-taking which is appropriate to the pedagogical focus, but in the course of the interaction many different individual speech exchange systems are created by the participants. In fact, it is not always appropriate to talk of the speech exchange system of a particular L2 classroom context, and sometimes a greater level of delicacy of analysis is required. When we examine a particular L2 classroom context, we do not always find that it invariably uses a single organisation of turn-taking. We saw in the discussion of the text-based context that, as the pedagogical sub-focus in the context varies, so the turn-taking system will tend to vary in response, to mutate to a system which is appropriate to that pedagogical sub-focus. By contrast, the overwhelming majority of instances of procedural

context are teacher monologues, so a greater delicacy of analysis is probably not necessary in the case of every L2 classroom context.

In this chapter we have seen that the architecture of L2 classroom interaction seems so flexible that it is able to adopt virtually any speech exchange system (to suit a set of pedagogical purposes) and still remain identifiably L2 classroom interaction. In the discussion of the 'real-world target speech community' interaction, the teacher attempts to replicate the speech exchange system of conversation, and comes close to doing so in most measurable ways. Yet it is clear that the interaction is L2 classroom interaction and not conversation. The three intermediate properties are manifest in the interaction whatever the L2 classroom context, and whatever speech exchange system is in operation.

8 The Organisation of Repair in

L2 Classroom Contexts

8.1 Repair

Repair may be defined as the treatment of trouble occurring in interactive language use. CA studies of the organisation of repair in conversation date back to Schegloff, Jefferson and Sacks (1977), whilst McHoul (1990) has studied the organisation of repair in L1 classrooms. A variable approach to repair in the L2 classroom has been suggested by Van Lier (1988a) and Kasper (1986b). Van Lier (1988a: 183) points out that repair is a generic term, with correction or error replacement being one kind of repair. Van Lier (1988a: 187) identifies three different goal-orientations for repair in L2 classrooms. Medium-oriented repair focuses on the forms and/or functions of the target language; message-oriented repair focuses on the transmission of thoughts, information, feelings, etc; and activity-oriented repair focuses on the organisation and structure of the classroom environment, rules for the conduct of activities, etc. Van Lier further suggests (1988a: 188-9) that there are four basic kinds of repair in the L2 classroom, namely didactic repair, conversational repair, conjunctive repair and disjunctive repair. Van Lier concludes his chapter on repair by suggesting that "... we must bear in mind that certain types of activity naturally lead to certain types of repair, and that therefore the issue of how to repair is closely related to the context of what is being done." (Van Lier 1988a: 211). Kasper (1986b:39) contrasts the

organisation of repair in 'language centred' and 'content centred' phases of L2 lessons and concludes that:

“...talking about repair in FL teaching as such is inconclusive: rather, preferences and dispreferences for specific repair patterns depend on the configuration of relevant factors in the classroom context..... the teaching goal of the two phases turned out to be the decisive factor for the selection of repair patterns.”

This chapter can be seen as an attempt to extend Van Lier's and Kasper's variable approach to repair by describing how repair is organised within the different L2 classroom contexts. It is suggested, then, that within each context a particular pedagogical focus combines with a particular organisation of repair which is appropriate to that focus. The organisation of repair within each context is sketched and is exemplified through the analysis of classroom transcripts. In line with Van Lier and Kasper, it is suggested that a context-based approach to repair organisation may be more satisfactory than attempting to describe the organisation of repair in the L2 classroom as a monolithic whole. There now follows a discussion of the organisation of repair within five different contexts. This is not a comprehensive investigation of all the L2 classroom contexts which can occur, nor is it a detailed examination of repair organisation: it is an illustrative sketch of the organisation of repair within some L2 classroom contexts which is intended as evidence sufficient to support the main argument of this chapter, which is that each L2 classroom context has its own peculiar organisation of repair which is appropriate to the pedagogical focus of the context.

8.2 Repair in Form and Accuracy Contexts

In this context, the focus is on linguistic form and accuracy: personal or real-world meanings do not enter into the picture. Typically, the teacher's pedagogical purposes will aim at the production of a specific string of linguistic forms by the learners, and the learners produce utterances in order that the teacher can assess whether they have absorbed that information. Presentation and practice are normally involved: the learners will learn from the teacher how to manipulate linguistic forms accurately. The major feature of the organisation of repair in this context is the very tight connection between the linguistic forms and patterns of interaction which the learners produce in the L2 and the pedagogical purposes which the teacher introduces. In other words, repair may be initiated by the teacher if the linguistic forms and patterns of interaction produced are not exactly identical to those targeted by the teacher's pedagogical purposes. As Kasper (1986b:39) puts it:

“The focus on formal correctness in the language-centred phase, together with the total lack of any purposeful communicative use of FL by the learners, is matched by a repair pattern which functions as a pedagogical exchange, viz. The teacher-initiated delegated repair of a learner's utterance.”

In the following extract the teacher's pedagogical purpose is apparently to get the learner (via L2 prompts) to produce a specific string of linguistic forms.

Extract 62

- 1 T: Gerda. Can you tell me the way to the bank please?
- 2 L1: yes straight ... along the street
- 3 T: straight along this road
- 4 L1: this road
- 5 T: uhuh
- 6 L1: e:n:: den to: the: traffic lights
- 7 T: okay

- 8 L1: and then=
 9 T: =straight along this road- till the traffic lights
 10 L1: till?
 11 T: yes
 12 L1: till the traffic light- and then

(Van Lier 1988a:210)

In lines 2 and 6, L1 produces answers which would be perfectly acceptable in conversation: the meaning is clear and the linguistic forms are correct: “straight along the street... to the traffic lights”. However, these are not the target forms which the teacher’s pedagogical purposes are aiming to produce, and the teacher repairs the answer in lines 3 and 9. The teacher uses other-initiated other-repair techniques and exposed correction (Jefferson 1987) in which correction becomes the interactional business: the flow of the interaction is put on hold while the trouble is corrected. Since the focus in form and accuracy contexts is on the learners’ production of specific strings of linguistic forms, it follows that when the learners produce utterances which are linguistically correct and appropriate, those utterances may still be subject to repair by the teacher, as in the above extract. From the evidence of the database, repair of linguistically correct and appropriate utterances seems to be peculiar to form and accuracy contexts within the L2 classroom.

Extract 63

- T: *Wohin ist Susan gefahren?*((tr: Where has Susan gone to?)) Michelle.
 L: *Sie ist mit dem Zug nach Edinburg gefahren.* ((tr: She’s gone to Edinburgh by train))
 T: *Ja. Gut. Können wir genauer sein? Ich habe nur gefragt: Wohin? Nicht: womit? Nur: wohin?* ((tr: Yes. Good. Only can we be more precise? I only asked : where? Not: how? Only: where?))
 L: *Sie ist nach Edinburg gefahren.* ((tr: She’s gone to Edinburgh))
 T: *Gut.* ((tr: Good))

(Westgate et al. 1985: 278)

In the above extract we see the teacher conducting repair in a form and accuracy context even when the learner utterance is not only correct and appropriate but also contains precisely the targeted string of linguistic forms: the only problem is that the learner has added information (“by train”) which is extraneous to the target string and therefore deemed superfluous by the teacher. Although we might view this as unnecessarily pedantic teacher behaviour, the point to be emphasised is that such repair is perfectly normal within a form and accuracy context, where repair may be initiated by the teacher if the linguistic forms and patterns of interaction produced are **not exactly identical** to those targeted by the teacher’s pedagogical purposes.

We will now consider repair trajectories, or the routes by which repair is accomplished. It is important to distinguish self-initiated repair (I prompt repair of my mistake) from other-initiated repair (somebody else notices my mistake and initiates repair). Self-repair (I correct myself) must also be distinguished from other-repair (somebody corrects my mistake). This means that there are normally four possibilities:

1) *self-initiated self-repair*, as in the example below;

N: She was giving me a:ll the people that were go:ne this yea:r I mean this quarter
(Schegloff, Jefferson and Sacks 1977: 364)

2) *self-initiated other-repair*, as in the example below;

B: He had dis uh Mistuh W.. Whatever k.. I can’t think of his first name, Watts on, the one thet wrote that piece,

A: Dan Watts.

(Schegloff, Jefferson and Sacks 1977: 364)

3) *other-initiated self-repair*, as in the example below;

B: hhh Well I’m working through the Amfat Corporation.

A: The who?
B: Amfah Corporation
(Schegloff, Jefferson and Sacks 1977: 368)

4) *other-initiated other-repair*, as in the example below.

A: Lissena pigeons. (0.7 sec)
B: Quail, I think.
(Schegloff, Jefferson and Sacks 1977: 368)

In conversation, according to Schegloff et al. (1977), there is an order of preference with respect to repair trajectories, with self-initiated self-repair being most preferred and most common, and with other-initiated other-repair being most dispreferred and rare. However, Norrick (1991: 61) has proposed a broader perspective on repair in general. He argues for “an organization of corrective sequences which participants negotiate from one context to the next based on how they perceive (differences in) their respective abilities to complete the action successfully”. Norrick sees Schegloff et al’s (1977) account as a sub-case in this broader framework.

As far as repair trajectories are concerned, repair in form and accuracy contexts is overwhelmingly initiated by the teacher (other-initiation). My impression, based on informal quantification (see section 6.7), is that other-initiated self-repair trajectories are the most common in this context in the data. The extract below exemplifies this trajectory.

Extract 64

1 L1: they are watch televi- television
2 T: okay now. yesterday at eight o'clock .. they..
3 L1: they are=
4 T: =they=
5 L1: =they watches=
6 T: =they=
7 L1: =watched=

- 8 T: =they=
9 L1: =they werewatching

(Van Lier 1988a: 197)

The teacher is targeting a particular string of linguistic forms involving the past continuous tense (they were watching television). In lines 1, 3, 5 and 7 the learner starts to produce a string involving a tense which is not the targeted one: the teacher therefore initiates repair in lines 2, 4, 6 and 8. The repair initiation technique used involves repeating the word which the learner used immediately prior to the error, which has the effect of locating the error (see also section 8.9). Other-initiated other-repair trajectories are also common, as in the following extract:

Extract 65

- 1 L: It bug me to have =
2 T: =It bugs me. It bugzz me
3 L: It bugs me when my brother takes my bicycle.

(Lightbown and Spada 1993: 76)

In the above extract the other-initiated other-repair is performed by the teacher producing the correct linguistic form in line 2. In effect line 2 is a double repair. The first utterance in line 2 (“It bugs me”) offers the correct linguistic form, while the second utterance (“It bugzz me”) highlights the error (the missing -s ending) by stressing and lengthening the final sound. In both other-initiated self-repair and other-initiated other-repair trajectories in the form and accuracy context the teacher is initiating repair in order to obtain the learner production of a precise string of linguistic forms.

As Kasper (1986b:27) points out, self-initiated self-repair is relatively rare in this context. This is because it is the teacher who evaluates the accuracy of the learner's forms, and who therefore predominantly initiates the repair. However, instances do occur, as in the following extract:

Extract 66

L: er then Peter were mad *oh noeh* ((tr: oh no)) angry with James

(Kasper 1986b:28)

Now Kasper claims that self-initiated other-repair "is not performed at all" (28) by learners in form and accuracy contexts: "Instead, they prefer to cut off their utterances immediately before the problematic item, shift to NL (L1) and appeal for assistance." Kasper gives the following extract as an example: the teacher is asking for a sentence to be translated into English:

Extract 67

T: *naturligvis bojede han den ikke* ((tr: of course he did not bend it)) - Helle -

L: naturally he didn't *Jeg ved ikke rigtigt hvad det hedder at boje* ((tr: I don't really know how to say 'at boje'))

(Kasper 1986b:28)

Here I disagree with Kasper: this seems to me to be a clear example of self-initiated other-repair. The learner gets as far as possible with the utterance, then highlights the trouble source which prevents him/her from continuing and asks the teacher to repair the trouble. The fact that the learner uses a different language to initiate the repair is quite irrelevant to the actual repair trajectory (although it is of course an interesting phenomenon). The current database shows self-initiated other-repair to be fairly common in the data and in fact Van

Lier notes (1988a:201) that “It may be a special feature of L2 classrooms that this trajectory occurs there quite regularly.” Van Lier provides three extracts (1988a:201-2) to illustrate this trajectory, and it is interesting to note that in each case the same phenomenon which Kasper notes is found to occur: the learner starts off in the L2 and then initiates other-repair by using the L1. We can try to provide a functional explanation as to why this trajectory should occur in form and accuracy contexts. The learner has to produce a precise string of forms which will correspond to those targeted by the teacher. The learner will initiate other-repair if he/she reaches a point at which he/she is no longer able to proceed or alternatively to verify that the forms produced are in fact those targeted.

There is also a very interesting repair trajectory which appears only to occur in form and accuracy contexts. When one learner has failed to produce the string of linguistic forms which the teacher is targeting, the teacher invites the other learners to repair the learner’s error : this is other-initiated other-repair, the other repair being conducted by a third party. It could also be termed teacher-initiated peer-repair.

Extract 68

- L1: *Erm, sie sind im Schirmgeschäft, weil, erm ... sie.. möchten eine (sic) Schirm kaufen.* ((tr: er, they’re in the umbrella shop because, er, they want an umbrella to buy))
- T: *Was meinen die anderen? Ist das richtig, was Mary sagt? ... Roger, Sie schütteln den Kopf. Verstehen Sie? Sie schütteln den Kopf.* ((tr: What do the others think?. Is what Mary says correct? Roger, you’re shaking your head. Do you understand? You’re shaking your head)) Shaking your head. *Wie sagen Sie es? Warum sind sie im Schirmgeschäft?* ((tr: How do you say it? Why are they in the umbrella shop?))
- L2: *Erm, weil sie einen Schirm kaufen möchten.* ((tr: er, because they want to buy an umbrella))

(Ellis 1992: 115)

This trajectory is interesting for two reasons. Firstly, there is no evidence that this trajectory ever occurs in conversation: it is not reported in any of the CA works on repair in conversation. Secondly, this repair trajectory only appears to occur in my L2 classroom data in form and accuracy contexts, which means that it appears to be a context-specific repair trajectory. This peculiar organisation of the interaction can be explained in functional terms in relation to the pedagogical focus to which it is appropriate. The pedagogical focus in this context is on the production of a string of precise linguistic forms by the learners. If one learner fails to produce that string then the teacher may require another learner to produce the answer. The advantage of this technique from an interactional viewpoint is that it appears to allow the learners some interactional space (which is normally restricted in a form and accuracy context) in that it allows learners to make interactional moves (evaluation and repair/correction) which are normally reserved for the teacher in this context. The advantages of this technique from a pedagogical point of view are summarised by Edge (1989:26):

“Firstly, when a learner makes a mistake and another learner corrects it, both learners are involved in listening to and thinking about the language. Secondly, when a teacher encourages learners to correct each other’s mistakes, the teacher gets a lot of important information about the student’s ability. Can they hear a particular mistake? Can they correct it? Thirdly, the students become used to the idea that they can learn from each other. So, peer correction helps learners cooperate and helps make them less dependent on teachers. Fourthly, if students get used to the idea of peer correction without hurting each other’s feelings, they will be able to help each other learn when they work in pairs and groups, when the teacher can’t hear what is said.”

It is clearly only in the form and accuracy context that the teacher requires the production of a precise string of linguistic forms. This is a functional explanation, then, as to why this

trajectory appears to be peculiar to this context, and the point reinforces the argument of this chapter that each L2 classroom context has its own peculiar organisation of repair which is appropriate to the pedagogical focus of the context.

8.3 Repair in ‘Classroom as Speech Community’ Contexts

The purpose of this classroom context is to maximise the opportunities for interaction presented by the classroom environment and the classroom speech community itself. Participants talk about their immediate classroom speech community and their immediate environment, personal relationships, feelings and meanings, and the activities they are engaging in. The focus is on the expression of personal meaning rather than on linguistic forms, on fluency rather than on accuracy. The focus of repair in this context is on establishing mutual understanding and negotiating meaning: in contrast to form and accuracy contexts, repair of correct and appropriate linguistic forms never occurs in the data. Moreover, it appears that incorrect linguistic forms and interlanguage forms are frequently ignored, unless they lead to a breakdown in communication. Exposed and overt correction of incorrect or inappropriate linguistic forms does occur, but it appears only to be used when there is trouble which prevents the interaction from continuing. In other words, repair is being conducted in a similar way to conversation, and in a completely different way to the form and accuracy context. In Van Lier’s (1988a) terms, we see conversational repair in this context, whereas we saw didactic repair in the form and accuracy context. The following extract is an example of interaction in this context:

Extract 69

180 L2 You know, in Moscow they reproduce all all cab.

- T Uhm?
- L2 They reproduced all cabs ((unintelligible))
- T They produce?
- L2 Reproduce
- T D'you mean uh they they use old cabs, old taxis?
- 185 L2 No, no, no. They reproduced all all! cabs.
- T All the cabs?
- L2 Yeah, all the cabs for electric (electric you know) electric points.
- 190 T Cab. Oh you mean they made the cabs in down in downtown areas uh uh use electric uh motors?
- L2 Yeah, no downtown, all cabs in Moscow.
- T Where?
- L2 In Moscow.
- 195 T Oh. And it's successful?
- L2 Yeah.
- T OK. Uhm. Just a second, Igor. Let's what does this mean? If you get someone to do something. Uhm.

(Allwright 1980: 180)

Immediately prior to this extract the teacher has been focussing on the meaning of words in a text, so L steals a turn in line 180 and shifts the L2 classroom context to 'classroom as speech community' context. L takes the floor and tries to make a statement designed to express personal meaning whilst remaining within the carrier topic of the lesson (traffic). The teacher validates L's taking the floor by helping to repair L's statement in order that the meaning should be clear. The problem in communication is that L has made an error in lexis ("reproduce" instead of "convert") which obscures the meaning. Exposed repair initiation clearly needs to be used in this case. The repair trajectory is complex and is certainly a cooperative effort: L repairs the teacher's candidate rephrasings in lines 184,186,188 and 192 in an attempt to convey his meaning, whilst the teacher initiates repair in lines 181, 183, 185, 187, 190 and 193. The repair was successfully managed on a cooperative basis in that L finally managed to make his personal meaning clear with the help of the teacher: the meaning was 'negotiated'. It was certainly not the case, however, that the teacher initiated repair in order to obtain a specific string of linguistic forms which he/she had already

targeted. Note that the teacher's struggle to grasp the learner's meaning culminates in 'oh's in lines 190 and 195 which function as markers that the teacher's information state has changed (Heritage 1984a).

The extract below has already appeared as extract 2 and much of the discussion which follows is a repetition of the discussion in section 2.1.

Extract 70

- 1 T: Vin, have you ever been to the movies? What's your favorite movie?
- 2 L: Big.
- 3 T: Big, OK, that's a good movie, that was about a little boy inside a big man, wasn't it?
- 4 L: Yeah, boy get surprise all the time.
- 5 T: Yes, he was surprised, wasn't he? Usually little boys don't do the things that men do, do they?
- 6 L: No, little boy no drink.
- 7 T: That's right, little boys don't drink.

(Johnson 1995: 23)

The basic problem which teachers have in a 'classroom as speech community' context is that they cannot overtly correct errors of linguistic form which learners make unless they are problems which impede communication, as in extract 69. If they do so, they are likely to shift the context to form and accuracy, as we will see in section 10.1. So in the above extract we can see the teacher correcting errors of linguistic form in a disguised or 'cloaked' way which enables the interaction to remain within a 'classroom as speech community' context. In line 4 L chooses to contribute new information which develops the sub-topic of the film's plot ("boy get surprise all the time"). This utterance is linguistically incorrect, although the propositional content is clear. T responds in the first sentence of line 5 with: "Yes, he was surprised, wasn't he?" There is positive evaluation of the propositional content of the learner

utterance followed by an expansion of the learner utterance into a correct sequence of linguistic forms. The type of repair used is **embedded correction**, that is, a repair done in the context of a conversational move, which in this case is a move of agreement and confirmation:

“That is, the utterances are not occupied by the doing of correcting, but by whatever talk is in progress ... What we have, then, is embedded correction as a by-the-way occurrence in some ongoing course of talk.” (Jefferson 1987: 95)

This form of correction and expansion is highly reminiscent of adult-child conversation, (see, for example, adult-child conversation transcripts in Peccei 1994: 83, Painter 1989: 38, Wells Lindfor 1987: 114) and the technique being used by the teacher here is often termed ‘scaffolding’. We see the same phenomenon in line 6: L chooses to develop the sub-topic by providing an example from the film to illustrate T’s previous generalised statement with: “little boy no drink”. Again his utterance is linguistically incorrect, although the propositional content is clear. T’s response in line 7 is similar to line 5 in that T performs a move of agreement, simultaneously corrects L’s utterance (using embedded correction) and displays a correct version for the other students. The linguistic repair is performed, then, in a mitigated and non-face-threatening way because it is prefaced by a move of agreement and approval and because the correction is treated as a by-the-way matter.

The teacher in the above extract is skilfully managing to maintain a focus on form whilst remaining within the ‘classroom as speech community’ context. There is a focus on form in that the teacher upgrades and expands the learner’s utterances on a linguistic level, which means that the learners have a linguistically correct utterance which functions as model and input. However, in the following extract we will see an example of what happens in this

context when the teacher adopts a policy of not focusing on form and not upgrading learner utterances.

Extract 71

- 1 T: What about in China? Well, Hong Kong. China. Do you have a milk van?
2 LL: Er, China no, no milk.
3 T: No milk?
4 LL: Yeah, shop, er, city, city.
5 T: Ah, at the shop, the shop.
6 LL: Er, yes, yes.
7 L: Hong Kong. Hong Kong.
8 T: Yeah, in Hong Kong, yes.
9 LL: In China, yes er (unintelligible) city.
10 T: In the big cities.
11 LL: Big city ... city, yeah.
12 T: Ah huh!
13 LL: Guandong. Peking. Shanghai, Shanghai.
14 L: Yes, er city, very big, big milk car.
15 T: Big milk van. Ah! And city, country. In the country, no?
16 LL: No.
17 T: No. Shh, shh, shh (gestures)
18 L: That's right.
19 T: Yes (laughs)
20 L: I'm, er, I'm ... No, is China, er city.
21 T: Uh huh!
22 L: Er, I'm house, near, near city er, I'm go to city shopping, er, how many?
23 T: Buy milk.
24 L: Buy milk, yeah. Buy milk.
25 T: Buy milk.
26 L: Buy milk, go to home, yes.

(Nunan 1989b: 142)

In form and accuracy contexts we saw examples of learner interlanguage being subject to repair even though it was quite comprehensible. Sometimes we saw examples of linguistically correct and appropriate learner utterances being subject to repair because they were not the forms which the teacher was targeting. In form and accuracy contexts, then, the teacher is typically attempting to upgrade the learners' interlanguage until it corresponds perfectly with the L2. What we sometimes find in 'classroom as speech community'

contexts, by contrast, is the teacher downgrading expectations of the linguistic forms which the learner produces, making concessions to accept, understand and praise the learners' interlanguage. In the above extract we can see the teacher accepting minimal, pidginised interlanguage forms as valid contributions. Sometimes the teacher performs what might just about be interpreted as embedded repair on them, as in lines 10 and 15, but mostly the teacher accepts minimal, pidginised contributions without comment or any attempt at repair. What happens in lines 3, 5, 8, 10, 15, 23 and 25 is interesting: the teacher is actually downgrading his/her own language to a minimalised, pidginised interlanguage devoid of verbs which is in effect mimicking the learners' interlanguage. This is by no means an isolated example - see Nunan (1989b: 142-149) for many other examples within the same lesson. It is probably most satisfactory to see extracts 62 and 71 as being at the two opposite extremes of a continuum of upgrading and downgrading of expectations concerning the production of linguistic forms by the learners, with most extracts, whether in form and accuracy or 'classroom as speech community' context, being somewhere in between.

So we have seen that the focus of repair in this context is on establishing mutual understanding and negotiating meaning. In general, overt correction is only undertaken when there is an error which impedes communication. Embedded repair may be used to upgrade learner utterances and retain a minimum focus on form whilst maintaining a 'classroom as speech community' context. The teacher may adopt a policy of not repairing learner utterances even when they are of a minimal and pidginised nature. As Kramsch (1985: 178) points out, if one wants 'natural' forms of interaction in the classroom, then teachers should "pay attention to the message of students' utterances rather than to the form in which they are cast".

8.4 Repair in Task-Oriented Contexts

In this context, the teacher introduces pedagogical purposes by allocating tasks to the learners and then generally withdraws, allowing the learners to manage the interaction themselves. It appears to be typical in this context, therefore, that the teacher does not play any part in the interaction, although learners do sometimes ask the teacher for help when having difficulty with the task. By contrast with the two previous contexts, there is no focus on personal meanings or on linguistic forms. The learners must communicate with each other in order to accomplish a task, and the focus is on the accomplishment of the task rather than on the language used. In the following extract, the task is for the learners to group together some words, sorting 20 vocabulary cards into semantic fields.

Extract 72

- 1 L1: Agriculture's not a science.
- 2 L2: Yes, it's similar ...
- 3 L1: No ... er may be Darwin and science ...
- 4 L2: What's the Darwin?
- 5 L1: Darwin is a man.
- 6 L2: No, it's one of place in Australia.
- 7 L1: Yes, but it's a man who discover something, yes, I'm sure.
- 8 L2: OK.

(Nunan 1993: 60)

The repair in this extract is directed towards the accomplishment of the task. The learners needed to understand the semantic connection between the words and to reach agreement on the connections. The repair therefore aims to establish understanding (as in the case of the question in line 4) and to reach consensus through bald expressions of agreement and disagreement: other-initiated other-repair is used by both students. Although there are errors of linguistic form, the learners do not attempt to repair them. The teacher is not involved in

the repair and it is jointly negotiated by the learners. In task-oriented contexts there is never any attempt in the data in learner-learner interaction to correct another learners' linguistic forms: this only ever occurs in the data in form and accuracy contexts.

Throughout the data in task-oriented contexts, the repair is primarily conducted by the learners. Occasionally the learners call on the teacher as a kind of resource to assist in repairing trouble, in which case a self-initiated other-repair trajectory is common, using the teacher as the 'other'. In the following extract the learners are engaged in a computer simulation in which they have to make sense of screen data and reach decisions about what to do next.

Extract 73

- 1 LL: Paul what's this?
- 2 T: It's a flood you had a flood
- 3 L1: What's a flood?
- 4 T: *Inundation* ((tr: flood))
- 5 L1: Uh uh
- 6 T: OK?
- 7 L2: And why?
- 8 T: Ah well ... how many people did you have?
- 9 L1: In the field?
- 10 L2: In the dyke?
- 11 T: In the dyke
- 12 LL: 100
- 13 T: 100 not enough
- 14 LL: Ah ha

(Seedhouse 1994: 309)

Here we can see self-initiated other-repair of task-related trouble. In line 3, L1 initiates repair since the meaning of the English word 'flood' is not clear to him. In line 4 T repairs the trouble by means of a translation of the word into Spanish. The teacher's contribution enables the learners to progress with the task. In the above example the teacher's repair was

initiated by the learners, whereas in the following transcript the teacher initiates the repair. The learners are listening to a cassette and trying to identify a location on their map which might correspond to the silk mill mentioned on the tape. There are three possibilities on their map: one item marked 'tower' and two marked 'factory'.

Extract 74

- Cassette: The last stop on the tour is the silk mill.
LL: Silk mill?
L1: It is the tower or...?
L2: It's better to - uh -we need more information.
L1: The silk mill in the tower or not?
T: Do you know the meaning of mill?
L3: Milk?
L4: Mill.
L5: Mill? It's the postman.
L2: Mail.
T: Yes, that's one kind.
L4: Air or wind mill.
T: But this mill is for making silk - do you know silk? - cloth.
L2: It's cloth.
T: A kind of cloth.
L5: Yeah - elegant.
L3: Can you write?
T: Silk mill (writes on board).
L5: Ah, I think he go to the factory.
L2: To factory, but which factory?
L1: You have two factory.
L6: Yes, near factory is there.
L2: If we go on maybe we will know.

(Lynch 1989: 123)

Lynch, in his accompanying analysis, points out that the learners are focused on completing the task, and regard it as a listening (and logical) problem: they can solve the problem by listening to the cassette. The teacher, however, regards it as a language problem (vocabulary). Lynch points out that the teacher's intervention is a digression from the task and is inappropriate. From the perspective of this article we could say that her repair

strategy would have been more appropriate to interaction in a form and accuracy context than to a task-oriented context. The learners appear to feel that they are able to solve the task on their own (as evidenced by the final line) and are not interested at this point in using the teacher as a resource. It appears that self-initiation of teacher repair is more common and often more appropriate to the pedagogical focus than is teacher-initiation of repair in this context.

8.5 Repair in ‘Real-World Target Speech Community’ Contexts

The purpose of this L2 classroom context is to enable the learners to converge with their real-world target speech community. In this context it is the teacher’s explicit aim to replicate real-world interaction of some kind. In theory, the interaction in this context should be a replication of real-world interaction, which means that the patterns of repair should replicate those of the real-world context. According to Van Lier (1988a: 189): “We might expect that, when type of interaction approaches ordinary L1 discourse, conversational repair is more salient than didactic repair...”. I will now examine transcripts in which the teacher is aiming to reproduce ‘natural’ discourse or conversation and see whether the organisation of repair used is conversational or not. It seems to be typical in this context that the teacher is never available for repair at all: since the aim is to simulate ‘real-world’ interaction, any intervention by the teacher would detract from this goal. This could mean that the teacher is physically absent from the room, or alternatively that the teacher is in the room but does not involve him/herself in the interaction in any way.

In the following extract (from Warren 1985) the teacher is physically entirely absent from the interaction: teenage girl learners are discussing fashion photographs. A collection of

women's fashion photographs was selected in order to provide a stimulus for discussion by the students. The students were left alone with a tape recorder. The writer devised the activity "to activate natural discourse in the classroom." (Warren 1985: 45) and "...the only instruction was that the students should look at the photographs and that anything they might say had to be in English." (p. 47). Warren hoped that the exercise "... might lead to the voicing of likes and dislikes." (p. 45). The lesson took place in a Malaysian classroom: Malaysia is a multi-racial society, with groups of Malay, Chinese and Indian extraction. This group of girls consists of 2 Malays, 2 Indian and 1 Chinese. L1 and L5 are Malay, L3 and L4 are Indian, whereas L2 is Chinese. It is important to understand that "Only the Chinese wear Western style clothes in rural areas of Malaysia, whereas the Indians, and especially the Malays, are much more conservative and traditional in their choice of clothes." (Warren 1985: 47). The girls are discussing a particular dress, which resembles a long shirt, and therefore reveals the legs:

Extract 75

- 1 L1: What the shirt they wear before they go to the bed, you know. The long, not not
2 not too long just .. just here maybe um up here they.. that .. the shirt was too big
3 you know. When their shirt was green they wear this green but it's very, very,
4 what? bare?
5 L2: Bare, yeah.
6 L1: It's like that most of the girls in Chinese they always -
7 L3: Chinese
8 L1: Yes.
9 L4: Chinese girls.
10 L1: Chinese girls
11 L5: But not Chin Wee Lian (only Chinese member of the group)
12 L3: Not just Chinese girls wearing that dress, they're what? bad girls.
13 L5: Yes.
14 L1. No I means that shirt, ah..
15 L3: That bad dress
16 L1: No, mm not bad um .. they wear like this shirt but ah just only you .. so like
17 ..you ..he .. do like this. That shirt was big you know.
18 L3: Yes.
(Warren 1985: 227)

The trouble which needs repairing here is social: the Malay and Indian girls have singled out Chinese girls for criticism because they wear immodest clothes. They then realise that this is threatening the face of L2, who is Chinese. They try to repair this social problem in the following ways: L5 states that L2 is not to be included in this generalisation (line 11). L3 diverts attention away from the racial nature of the comment, implying that all girls who wear that dress are bad, not just Chinese girls (line 12). L3 then tries to shift the criticism further away by implying it is a bad dress, rather than bad people (line 15). Finally L1 tries to explain that it is not actually immodest when worn as a shirt, rather than as a dress (lines 16 and 17). The social problem is, then, quite skilfully and diplomatically repaired. It is interesting to note that L2 does not contribute to the discussion for 26 turns after this extract and that her next utterance is an attempt to introduce a 'safe topic' to the discussion by asking the other learners what colour of clothes they normally wear (Warren 1985: 229). This topic nomination is immediately accepted by the other learners. There is clearly nothing of a pedagogical nature in the repair seen here, and we can hypothesise that this is exactly the kind of conversational repair of trouble which might occur in the learners' real lives outside the classroom.

The following extracts are also from Warren 1985. The teacher is again physically absent from the interaction, in which teenage boy learners are watching a video of an American wrestling match, having been left alone with a tape recorder. The writer devised the activity "to activate natural discourse in the classroom." (p. 45) and "...the only instruction given was that if they spoke while watching the video it had to be in English." (p. 49). Warren hoped that the exercise "... might lead to the voicing of ... reactions to an ongoing event." (p. 45).

Extract 76

- 1 L1: Hey who win? the two men eh?
- 2 L2: No the Mat win.
- 3 L3: Mat win (pause)
- 4 L2: Weh!
- 5 L4: So short.
- 6 L2: Finish.
- 7 L3: No.
- 8 L1: Hey no.
- 9 L2: No, no, no, no.
- 10 L5: Starting again.
- 11 L2: Return back, return back.

(Warren 1985: 258)

Extract 77

- 1 L1: See the fellow .. bloody fool, eh
- 2 L2: That fella put .. bastard! That fella putting sand, lah.
- 3 L3: Not sand, this is not sand
- 4 L2: Dangerous powder
[]
- 5 L1: Some powder
- 6 L4: Yes, powder
- 7 L1: Poison powder .. see

(Warren 1985: 259)

The repairs in both extracts are aimed at establishing a group consensus as to what is happening in the video: in the first extract concerning the winner of the contest, and then concerning whether the contest is in fact over; in the second extract concerning the nature of the substance a wrestler is putting on his hands. There are examples of bald other-initiated other-repair of statements made by other learners. The teacher has clearly been successful in fostering the voicing of reactions to an ongoing event. As with extract 75, we can see that there is nothing pedagogical about the repair, and we can hypothesise that this is exactly the kind of conversational repair of trouble which might occur in the learners' real lives outside the classroom. In this context, there are no attempts by any party to repair linguistic

errors which do not impair communication (which occur in extract 76 lines 1, 2 and 3 and extract 77 line 2), and the teacher plays no part in the repair undertaken by the learners. That the learners use conversational repair strategies to repair trouble of a kind which could just as well have occurred outside the classroom shows that the teacher has been quite successful in promoting 'natural' interaction in the above extracts. Warren reaches the same conclusion through an analysis of turn-taking (Warren 1985: 116), topic drift (p. 117) and the features of naturalness (p. 160). See, however, section 7.4.

In this L2 classroom context, then, one should in general find evidence of an organisation of repair which corresponds to that of the real-life variety of interaction which the teacher is aiming to replicate. In this case the aim was to replicate conversation. We saw that in all three extracts the focus of the repair was conversational rather than didactic. In extract 75 it was focused on repairing social trouble, whilst in extracts 76 and 77 it was focused on establishing a consensus concerning the nature of events on the screen. The forms used to conduct the repair were conversational rather than didactic. So overall, in terms of the organisation of repair, the teacher appears to have been successful, in these extracts, in producing interaction similar to conversation.

8.6 Repair in 'Text-Based' Contexts

In this context the basic pedagogical purpose is for the learners to become familiar with an L2 text (by means of reading or listening) and the rationale is that by doing so the learners will acquire elements of the L2. Frequently learners are required to demonstrate their understanding of the text by means, for example, of answering questions about the text or by translation. A wide range of activities is associated with this focus on a text, and the

ensuing interaction may be organised in many different ways. The general principle underlying the organisation of repair in this context appears to be this: when the required familiarity with an aspect of the text is not displayed by a learner, then repair will be undertaken. In the Norwegian data lesson 3 the focus of the lesson is on a text in the L2 about Australia, and the text is approached from different angles. In the extract below the teacher undertakes repair if the learner makes an error of pronunciation i.e. does not display the required familiarity with the word in the text.

Extract 78

L: the blue sea followed the dolphins until they [reacheed]
T: reached reached

(Norwegian data: 428)

In the extract below the learners shut their books and the teacher asks questions in the L2 concerning the text, which the learners must answer in the L2.

Extract 79

T: yes they wanted help and why did they want help?
L: to get free the dolphin in the net
T: yes what did the fishermen the Tasmanian fishermen discover?

(Norwegian data: 429)

The pedagogical focus is clearly on the propositional content of the answer and how well it relates propositionally to the question, rather than on linguistic form. This is clear because the errors of linguistic form (“get free” instead of “free”) are left uncorrected by the teacher. In the extract below, the learner has to explain the meaning of words from the text and feels secure enough in his participation rights to argue with the teacher.

Extract 80

- 1 T: yes. aha. and Tore?
2 L17: broadly speaking.
3 T: yeah, what's that, what's broadly speaking?
4 L17: eh: when one usually talk eh when one talk about recent americanization
5 there have been given two main answers. one usually speaks about the
6 American melting pot or salad bowl. but broadly speaking is that usually
7 one usually speaks about or or one usually talks about the:: yeah-
8 T: is that how you how the rest of you would explain broadly speaking that
9 that is what we usually or normally speak about?
10 L17: (unintelligible)
11 T: that's what that's what you were saying.
12 L17: that was what was said in the book
13 T: no not really. cause then you have then you have misunderstood the text
14 a bit Tore.
15 L17: no I don't think so broadly speaking
16 T:,yes? li.. eh keep quiet so I can hear what he's saying. Tore!
17 L: shut up!
18 LL: ((laugh))
19 T: Tore, try again.
20 L17: when the book eh talks about Americanization-
21 T: yes?
22 L17: the then they they speak about the melting pot and the saladbowl
23 T: yes?
24 L17: that is broadly speaking
25 T: yes. because if they were not speaking broadly, what what would they
26 have to to say? or or to take into consideration? if they were not speaking
27 broadly?
28 L17: more widely?

(Norwegian data: 405)

T initiates repair, not on the minor linguistic errors which L17 produce, but on L17's familiarity with the meaning of a word from the text. T does not accept the explanation which L17 has given in lines 4-7. T initiates repair in lines 8-9 by asking the other learners for their understanding of the words from the text. In line 12 L17 defends his explanation by invoking the text as a source of authority to contradict the teacher: "that was what was said in the book". We can see from L17's defence of his explanation how much the focus is on the text in this context. T then contradicts L17 in lines 13 and 14. L17 contradicts T in turn in line 15 so that an impasse is reached with both parties' face under threat. T offers a

way out in line 19 by offering L17 another chance to explain the meaning of the words. L17's explanation in lines 20-24 is not particularly incisive, so T prompts L17 in lines 25-27 to provide a better synonym. L17 does so in line 28, at which point the repair sequence has reached a satisfactory conclusion. So we can see in this lengthy sequence the teacher conducting repair until the required familiarity with the text is displayed.

We can see the same phenomenon in the extract below. The teacher is concerned to have the required familiarity with the text displayed, but in this case it is familiarity with the propositional content of the text which is required. She seems to want to build a consensus concerning the correct answer to the question. The teacher deals with the problem of repairing the incorrect answer (in line 3) in a mitigated way, using an 'open' type of next-turn repair initiator (Drew forthcoming) in line 4 and avoiding overt negative evaluation; the required familiarity is displayed in line 5, following which the teacher is able to establish general agreement, rather than stating definitively herself that this is the correct answer.

Extract 81

- 1 T: yes. that's right., eh:: so, would you say that diversity is reflected in its
2 political and cultural institutions then?
3 LL: yes...
4 T: really?
5 L: yeah, in the cultural, not in the political.
6 T: not in the political. should we agree on that?
7 LL: ///yes///

(Norwegian data:406)

8.7 Discussion

We have seen that it is possible to outline the organisation of repair within an L2 classroom context in terms of:

- a) typical participants in the repair
- b) typical repair trajectories
- c) typical types of repair
- d) typical focus of repair.

In form and accuracy contexts, repair appears from the data to be exclusively of the exposed or overt type, whereas a variety of repair trajectories can be observed. A trajectory which appears to be peculiar to this context is teacher-initiated peer-repair. Repair is generally initiated by the teacher, and the focus of the repair is on the production of specific sequences of linguistic forms. In 'classroom as speech community' contexts we can observe a mixture of repair types and a mixture of repair trajectories. The focus of the repair, however, is on enabling learners to express personal meanings and to repair breakdowns in communication. The repair in task-oriented contexts is focused on the accomplishment of the task. Since learners generally work on the tasks in pairs or groups, it is generally the learners who conduct repair. However, self-initiated other-repair involving the teacher seems to be more common in the data in this context than in others. In 'real-world target speech community' contexts, repair is conducted solely by the learners. The aim is to replicate the patterns of repair found in the target speech community. Conversational types of repair were found in the data and the focus of the repair was on types of trouble which might occur outside the L2 classroom. In text-based contexts the general principle underlying the organisation of

repair is that when the required familiarity with an aspect of the text is not displayed by a learner, then repair will be undertaken.

The analyses of extracts in this chapter suggest, then, that repair is organised differently within the different contexts which occur in L2 classrooms. Each context has its own particular pedagogical focus and its own typical organisation of repair which is appropriate to that pedagogical focus. Repair in each context may have its own idiosyncratic features, such as the teacher-initiated peer-repair trajectory. Ellis (1994: 585) points out that “Probably the main finding of studies of error treatment is that it is an enormously complex process.” Chaudron (1988: 146-148) lists 31 different types of corrective reaction which a teacher can make. The whole area of repair and error treatment can seem dauntingly difficult, vast and unapproachable if L2 classroom interaction is viewed as a monolithic whole. I would like to suggest that a context-based approach to repair might be able to provide an appropriate means of simplifying and focussing issues and creating points of reference for further research. For example, Allwright (1988: 202) writes of the “...fundamental and surprisingly complex problem of defining what is meant by an error in the language classroom context”. If we treat the L2 classroom as a single, monolithic ‘context’ it may indeed prove impossible to define what is meant by an error; for example, in form and accuracy contexts we find teachers repairing linguistically correct and appropriate learner utterances.

From the perspective of this thesis, it is more satisfactory to abandon the idea of error and focus on **what is repairable** in each L2 classroom context. For example, in form and accuracy contexts the focus of the repair is on the production of specific sequences of linguistic forms. Anything which the learners produce which does not conform exactly to

the target string of forms which the teacher requires is repairable, even if it is linguistically correct. In text-based contexts the general principle underlying the organisation of repair is that when the required familiarity with an aspect of the text is not displayed by a learner, then repair will be undertaken. So anything which the learners produce which does not display exactly that familiarity with the text which the teacher requires is repairable, even if it is linguistically correct.

8.8 Practical Applications of a Contextual Approach to Repair

A context-based approach to repair may have some practical applications. For example, it would be useful to know which repair techniques are helpful and unhelpful in the different contexts in the L2 classroom. One way of initiating repair is for the teacher to use an 'open' kind of next-turn repair initiator (Drew forthcoming) such as 'pardon?', 'eh?', 'what?'. Discussing the merits of using such a repair initiation technique in the L2 classroom without reference to contexts would be fraught with problems, as it is unclear what basis one could have for evaluation. A context-based approach, however, can provide a basis for evaluation. In the following two extracts we can see examples of this technique being used in two different contexts:

Extract 82

- 180 L You know, in Moscow they reproduce all all cab.
T Uhm?
L They reproduced all cabs

(Allwright 1980: 180)

Here L is trying to make a statement designed to express personal meaning. The teacher does not understand the propositional content of L's statement and is initiating repair on L's statement in order that the meaning should be clarified.

Extract 83

L: She's pointing their hand.
T: Pardon?
L: He is pointing his hand.

(Riley 1985: 54)

Here we are in a form and accuracy context: T expects L to produce a specific string of linguistic forms and the repair initiation indicates that the required string has not yet been attained.

Having briefly considered how this particular repair initiation technique functions in context, we are now in a position to consider its appropriateness in the different contexts. In 'classroom as speech community' contexts an 'open' kind of next-turn repair initiator may be very appropriate when functioning as a clarification or repetition request in the case of communication breakdown, if the specific trouble cannot be located, as in extract 82. This is because 'open' repair initiators have just this function in conversation : "... a speaker indicates that he/she has some difficulty with the other's prior turn, but without locating specifically where or what that difficulty is." (Drew forthcoming: 3)

In form and accuracy contexts the use of non-specific or 'open' repair initiators when the specific trouble **has** been located (as in extract 83) might be inappropriate. As Tsui (1995: 52) points out, "If the teacher decides to get the student to self-correct, then the teacher can

point out to the students the presence of an error, the location of an error or the identity of an error.” Firstly, there are several repair initiation techniques which locate or identify the error and are therefore far more useful to the learner in the process of self-repair when a specific string of linguistic forms is being targeted: see, for example, Tsui 1995, Edge 1989, Chaudron 1988. Secondly, ‘open’ repair initiators do not even indicate the presence of a linguistic error: they are frequently used by listeners to initiate repair when the speaker has clearly **not** made a linguistic error. In situations in which the hearer realises that the speaker **has** made a linguistic error, the hearer generally uses a different type of repair initiator (Drew forthcoming). The use of ‘open’ repair initiators by the listener may therefore actually imply to the speaker that some form of trouble other than a linguistic error has occurred. A contextual analysis of a specific type of repair initiation enables us to conclude, then, that it would be appropriate in certain circumstances in one L2 classroom context but unhelpful and potentially confusing in certain circumstances in another L2 classroom context. With a contextual analysis there is a basis for evaluation, namely whether there is a match between the pedagogical focus of the context and the repair technique.

8.9 Preference Organisation: the Case of the Missing ‘No’

CA research has shown that alternative actions (e.g. acceptances and rejections of invitations) are routinely performed in different ways (Drew 1994a). Basically, preferred actions are generally produced without hesitation or delay, are direct and unmitigated. Dispreferred actions are generally prefaced by delay and characterised by indirectness, hesitation and mitigation. Schegloff, Jefferson and Sacks (1977) have outlined the preference organisation of repair in conversation (discussed in section 8.2). This section suggests that not only may different L2 classroom contexts have their own peculiar

organisation of repair, but also their own peculiar preference organisation in relation to repair. In the same way that one needs to speak of the organisation of repair in an L2 classroom context, rather than in the L2 classroom as a whole, it is suggested that a similarly delicate analysis is necessary with respect to the preference organisation of repair. Instead of a detailed discussion of preference organisation with respect to each L2 classroom context (for which space is lacking) it is proposed to exemplify the argument by focusing on an interesting preference organisation in relation to repair in form and accuracy contexts.

When the context in operation is 'form and accuracy' and a learner makes an error of oral production which is an error of linguistic form (regardless as to whether it is an error on the level of syntax, lexis, phonology or discourse), then a lay observer might expect the teacher to frequently employ the words 'no' or 'wrong' as a negative evaluation (or at least some form of direct and overt negative evaluation) prior to an attempt to repair the error, in order to mark the presence of an error. It has frequently been observed (Johnson 1995) that much L2 classroom interaction follows an IRE pattern (teacher Initiation, learner Reply, teacher Evaluation). The data show, however, that this is in general only an accurate description of the interaction (in a form and accuracy context) when learners supply a linguistically correct reply, as in the example below:

Extract 84

- L1: excuse em .. which way is the bus station?
T: good okay .. theatre .. just use one of these. yes?
L2: er excuse me er where is the theatre?
T: good cinema.

(Van Lier 1988a: 151)

When a learner produces a linguistically correct response to a teacher initiation, the teacher often produces an overt and direct positive evaluation. Most frequent terms used are: 'good', 'yes', 'OK', 'that's right'. However, when learners supply a linguistically incorrect reply in response to a teacher initiation, the data show a stark contrast: direct, explicit, overt negative evaluation tends to be avoided, and IRE is in no way an accurate description of the interactional sequence in these cases. Although there are huge numbers of cases in the database of teachers conducting repair on linguistic errors made by learners, I can only find one case of the use of bald, unmitigated, direct, overt negative evaluation involving the words 'no' or 'wrong' by teachers. In all other cases there is some form of mitigation involved, and the data show teachers using a wide variety of methods of avoiding bald, unmitigated, direct, overt negative evaluation. This is a case of relevant absence which requires explication. As Schegloff, Jefferson and Sacks (1977: 361) put it: "What speakers avoid doing is as important as what they do."

First of all I will detail the great variety of strategies which teachers employ to conduct repair (when a learner makes a spoken error of linguistic form in a form and accuracy context) without performing a negative evaluation. I will provide a single example of each strategy together with references to other examples of the strategy.

a) *use a next-turn-repair-initiator to indicate (indirectly) that there is an error which the learner should repair.* This is a method of non-evaluatory repair initiation: other-initiated self-repair.

Extract 85

L: They runs they runs quickly.

- T: Once more.
L: They run quickly.
T: Yes, that's better.

(Tsui 1995: 42) (see also Riley 1985: 54) (see also Johnson 1995:19)

This 'open' class of next-turn repair initiator is discussed in detail in section 8.8.

b) *repeat the word or phrase or part of a word which the learner used immediately prior to the error.* This is another method of non-evaluatory repair initiation: other-initiated self-repair.

Extract 86

- L: *Er ... Qu'est-ce que qu'est-ce que vous dési...* ((tr: er, what do you, what do you desi..))
T: *Qu'est-ce que vous...?* ((tr: what do you..?))
L: *Avez comme fruit?* ((tr: ...have in the way of fruit?))
T: *Comme fruit.* ((tr: ...in the way of fruit))

(Westgate et al. 1985: 276) (See also Wright 1987: 55) (See also British Council 1985 Volume 2: 67)

This repair technique has the advantage of locating the repairable precisely.

c) *repeat the original question or initiation.* This is another method of non-evaluatory repair initiation: other-initiated self-repair.

Extract 87

- 1 T: What is a suffix?
2 L: Beautiful?
3 T: This is something we forget all the time. what is a suffix?

(Wong-Fillmore 1985: 47) (See also Prabhu 1987: 123)

The problem with this technique is that it does not locate or treat the error in any way. It could be that L's utterance in line 2 is in fact providing an example of a suffix and is in fact a reasonable response. T's repetition of the question in line 3 does not provide the learners with any feedback as to the problem with L's response, however.

d) *repeat the learner's erroneous utterance with a rising intonation.* This is another method of non-evaluatory repair initiation: other-initiated self-repair.

Extract 88

L: I am very good person and give she another one.
T: Give she?
L: Give her another one.

(British Council 1985 Volume 2: 68)

This technique locates the error but has sometimes been criticised for providing the learners with erroneous input. However, as we can see in the above example, the learner is able to self-repair correctly.

e) *supply a correct version of the linguistic forms.* This is another method of non-evaluatory repair initiation: other-initiated other-repair.

Extract 89

L: Because she can't
T: Because she counted..
L: Because she counted the wrong number of tourists.

(Tsui 1995: 48)(See also Lightbown and Spada 1993: 76)

This is possibly the simplest and fastest repair technique but of course it does not allow the learner the opportunity to self-repair.

f) *provide an explanation of why the answer is incorrect without explicitly stating that it is incorrect.* This is another method of non-evaluatory repair initiation: other-initiated other-repair.

Extract 90

- T: Fine, right. The doctor's office. What do we call a doctor's office in English? Go on, go on, Louisa fine, say it.
L: Consult - consultation.
T: It's a consultation that they are going to give, it's a very good try, a good try. We call it a surgery, a surgery.

(Malamah-Thomas 1987: 64)(See also Lightbown and Spada 1993: 98)

g) *state that the incorrect forms are acceptable and then supply the correct forms:* it is, in effect, positive evaluation followed by repair: other-initiated other-repair. These strange cases are in fact more common in my database than examples of unmitigated overt negative evaluation, which indicates how strong the dispreference is against direct negative evaluation. Three examples are provided to illustrate the phenomenon:

Extract 91

- L: Is your mother play piano?
T: 'Is your mother play piano?' OK. Well you can say 'Is your mother play piano?' or 'Is your mother a piano player?'.
L: 'Is your mother a piano player?'

(Lightbown and Spada 1993: 93)

Extract 92

- L: When did Fred joined army?
T: That's right. Only when did Fred join the army? When did Fred join the army? Say it again.

(Willis 1987: 154)

Extract 93

- T: OK. What other kind of conductor is there? There's the musical conductors, but what else?
L: The person who drives a car?
T: Well, yeah I guess you could say he's a conductor but he's we usually say he's a driver, a car driver...

(Long 1983: 12)

This technique appears unsatisfactory for two reasons. Firstly, the learner is actually told that the erroneous forms are correct. Secondly, the learners may also become confused: if their utterances were acceptable, then why is the teacher undertaking repair?

h) *invite other learners to repair*: this may or may not include direct negative evaluation. This is other-initiated other-repair, the other repair being by a third party. It could also be termed teacher-initiated peer-repair (This technique is discussed in section 8.2).

Extract 94

- L: Don't losing weight.
T: OK. (to the others) Can you help him? ... Not 'don't'. Don't say 'don't'. Use the gerund. OK. So.

(Banbrook and Skehan 1989: 142)(See also Ellis 1992: 115)

So we can see that teachers have developed a wide variety of techniques, in a form and accuracy context, to initiate repair of learner utterances whilst simultaneously avoiding direct and overt negative evaluation. Sometimes teachers appear to be going to great lengths to avoid uttering the words 'no' and 'wrong':

Extract 95

T: When Emma was making the suggestions about *peut-être qu'il est dans sa chambre*, ((tr: perhaps he is in his bedroom)) what could you nicely have said?... Well, whoever said it. What could they have said?

L: *D'accord* ((tr: OK))

T: Nn,nn... Something that I mentioned to you earlier on. Well, there was *d'accord*, yeah, but there was something else.

(Westgate et al. 1985: 274)

Now there are examples in the data of teachers using the words 'no' and 'wrong' as negative evaluations, but in every case but one the negative evaluation is not bald, overt or direct in that it is mitigated in some way. In the following case 'wrong' is prefaced by a positive mitigating comment.

Extract 96

L: I was born in January sixth

T: ok look. wrong preposition

(Dinsmore 1985: 229)

Occasionally in the data we find examples of the use of direct and overt negative evaluation by the teacher in the evaluation slot after the teacher has, immediately previously, initiated self-repair: three examples of the interactional environment are provided to illustrate the phenomenon.

Extract 97

T: ok, where is John Martin's Phung? John Martin's?

L: oh, Gawler Place

LL: Gawler Place

T: John Martin's? (other-initiation of self-repair)

L: Gawler Place

T: Gawler Place? no! (direct negative evaluation)

(Nunan 1988: 140)

Extract 98

- T: I'm thinking of my friends from Paris, Sue?
L1: Um ... what are you thinking about?
T: (laughs) That depends if you want to offend your friends, doesn't it? If you want to insult your friends.....
L1: Uh...
T: Do you understand? If you think of your friends as objects (laugh), you say what.
L: Um, what are you thinking about?
- T: No, not what. They are people, aren't they?

(Guthrie 1984: 192 translation from French)

Extract 99

- T: What did they do after their wonderful meal? Chi Hang.
L: They told stories and sing songs by the -
T: Sing song? Pay attention. Once again. Not sing song, past tense please.
L: They told story and sung song.
T: Sung? No.
L: Sang song. Once again.
L: They told story and sing song.
T: No.
L: They told story and sang song by the fire.
T: They told story and sang song by the fire.

(Tsui 1995: 47)

In each of the three above cases the force of 'no' as negative evaluation is mitigated by virtue of its sequential location. Since a first attempt has already been made to prompt self-repair, direct and overt negative evaluation in the second repair slot is mitigated and less face-threatening than if it had occurred in the first repair-relevant slot. We can see similar sequences in relation to the preference organisation of repair in conversation. According to Levinson (1983:341) the preference ranking is as follows: most preferred is self-initiated self-repair, then other-initiated self-repair, then other-initiated other-repair. In the extract below we see the interactants working their way down the preference ranking:

Extract 100

L: But y'know single beds'r awfully thin to sleep on.

S: What?

L: Single beds. //They're

E: Y'mean narrow?

L: They're awfully narrow yeah.

(Levinson 1983:342)

As L does not conduct self-repair in his/her own turn or transition space, the listeners (S and E) go down the ranking of preference to the next option, which is other-initiated self-repair: the other-initiation is conducted by S. However, L clearly has not located the source of the trouble in his/her second turn, so the listeners can move down the ranking scale to other-initiated other-repair. Although other-initiated other-repair is heavily dispreferred in conversation as a first turn after trouble, its use in this case (combined with interruption) is mitigated by virtue of its sequential location in the above extract and the interactional evidence is that L does not take offence at its use. So we can see that, as Schegloff, Jefferson and Sacks (1977: 369) put it: "If more than one other-initiated sequence is needed, the other-initiations are used in order of increasing strength."

In the following examples we can see the teacher saying 'no' baldly in reply to a learner initiation or question:

Extract 101

L: So can say John's hou - John's house ... er ... which which its door is broken.

T: No you can't.

(Hasan 1988: 271)

Extract 102

L: Er do you think, 'does she mind', is that er

T: No, you can say to about anyone.

(Willis 1987: 181)

In these cases the interactional sequence is different and the 'no' does not function as a direct negative evaluation of a learner response. The teacher is simply providing an answer to a learner's question or initiation - we have a QA adjacency pair rather than an IRE cycle. With the IRE cycle the teacher initiates or asks a display question in order to test and evaluate the formal accuracy of the learner's response: the power is in the teacher's hands and direct negative evaluation of the learner's response is thought by many teachers and methodologists to involve loss of face and demoralisation on the part of the learner. In the above situations, however, the roles and the balance of power is different: a direct negative answer does not function as a negative evaluation and involves no loss of face for the learner, so the teacher can use a bald 'no'. As all teachers know, the learner's unsolicited question in fact creates a potentially face-threatening situation for the teacher: if the teacher does not produce a convincing answer, the teacher will lose face, as in the following example:

Extract 103

L: three bedroom house.

T: All right.

L: Why three bed, er, three bedroom? Why we don't say three bedrooms?

T: Ahh, oh ... I don't know, um.

L: Is not right.

T: We don't say it. We don't say it. There's no explanation. But we often do that in English. Three bedroom house.

L: Don't ask for it.

L: Yes.

T: Well, do ask why. Ask why, and 99 per cent of the time I know the answer. One per cent of the time, nobody knows the answer. If I don't know, nobody knows.

LL: (laugh)

T: Ah, no, I don't know the answer, sorry.

(Nunan 1989b: 137)

There are also examples in which the learner response is negatively evaluated in what appears to be the evaluation slot of an IRF/IRE cycle, as in the two following extracts:

Extract 104

T: There's a lot of rain, but when you have a lot of rain, what do you have, then?

L: Thunderstorm?

T: No, what grows when you have a lot of rain?

LL: Forest.

T: Yeah, forests.

(Chaudron 1988: 130)

Extract 105

T: There was also eh some years ago ah a Greek American who tried to become president do you remember his name?

L: Theodorakis?

T: Theodorakis, no, it wasn't him

(Norwegian data: 398)

In these cases the learners are intoning their contributions as a question, which in effect enables the teacher to make a direct negative evaluation 'cloaked' as an answer to a question - loss of face is thereby avoided. It appears that both teacher and learner are treating the exchange as a QA adjacency pair rather than as an IRF/IRE cycle. The format being used by the learner is what Schegloff, Jefferson and Sacks (1977: 379) call a guess, candidate, try or a 'correction invitation format': the format supplies the most accommodating environment for unmitigated other-correction.

In all of the database I can only find one occasion when a teacher uses a completely bald, unmitigated, overt negative evaluation i.e. 'no' in the evaluation slot of an IRF/IRE sequence. Even here, I cannot be certain that the 'no' is completely unmitigated since the published extract does not include the interaction prior to this sequence. In this case, it is interesting to note that it is cited as an example of poor repair: in other words, the negative evaluation is negatively evaluated by the analyst (Tsui).

Extract 106

- T: After they have put up their tent, what did the boys do?
L: They cooking food.
T: No, not they cooking food, pay attention.
L: They cook their meal.
T: Right, they cook their meal over an open fire.

(Tsui 1995: 52)

Tsui analyses the extract in the following way:

“The teacher could also implicitly indicate the location of the error by asking the student to repeat a certain word or phrase. For example, in the text above, the teacher, instead of saying 'No, not they cooking food', could simply have said 'They-', thus implicitly indicating 'cooking' as the error.” (Tsui 1995:52)

Now, having established the interactional evidence for a strong dispreference for direct and overt negative evaluation of learner errors in form and accuracy contexts, we should consider why this should be the case. Explicit negative evaluation of learner responses in a form and accuracy context is strongly disfavoured in current L2 pedagogy:

“If the teacher decides to correct the error, he or she can repeat the student's response with correction. This kind of modelling can be very effective because it avoids providing explicit negative evaluation and exposes students to the correct form.” (Tsui 1995: 51)

“Showing incorrectness should be seen as a positive act, not a reprimand.”
(Harmer 1983:63)

“In the treatment of student language, we have to change our attitude towards mistakes. We must not think of them as something negative which needs some kind of punishment.”(Edge 1989:17)

In general, then, there is a strong preference in form and accuracy contexts for negative evaluation of learner errors to be avoided or to be as indirect and mitigated as possible.

Now it sometimes happens that problems occur in form and accuracy contexts which have nothing to do with linguistic form - the trouble relates to misunderstanding or misinterpretation by learners of the lesson procedure which the teacher wishes to follow. In these cases the preference organisation in relation to repair in form and accuracy contexts which has been described does not apply at all. When repairing procedural problems, teachers have no hesitation at all in the data in using bald ‘no’s in conjunction with other-initiated other-repair, as we can see in the extracts below:

Extract 107

- T: What are you?
L: I am a student.
T: No, not you, what is she? (pointing to the textbook)
L: Student.
T: Well, it looks like a school but if she’s not a teacher she’s not going to work in a school ... She’s a lawyer...

(Johnson 1995: 44)

Extract 108

- LL: She asks when he came ...
T: No, no, look at the text, not not the question, look at the question.
L: Have you been waiting long?
T: Yeah have you been waiting long?
(Riley 1985: 57)

Extract 109

- T: Would you mind looking at the picture.
LL: Not at all.
T: Would you mind not looking at the writing?
LL: Not at all.
T: Would you mind not looking at the writing?
LL: So we are looking at this.
T: No. I said would you mind looking at the picture. Would you mind not looking at the writing.
LL: Mm Alright.

(Willis 1987: 169)

In the above cases 'no' does not function as a direct negative evaluation of learner linguistic performance: it indicates that there is a problem which needs repairing in connection with non-linguistic procedures, and does not involve loss of face for the student. In all of the above cases the repair is teacher-initiated teacher-repair: nowhere in the data does a teacher initiate self-repair in the case of procedural problems. There is a very revealing section in Willis' (1987) transcript of one entire lesson. Throughout the 55 pages of transcript, the teacher meticulously avoids direct and overt negative evaluation of learner utterances when operating in form and accuracy contexts. There are several instances of the teacher stating that erroneous forms are acceptable and then supplying the correct forms (as in extracts 91-3 above). In one case, (see below) however, the teacher does say 'no' in an evaluation slot. The learners here are constructing questions and answers based on prompts from a textbook:

Extract 110

- L1: Erm. Does Fred (a book character) like being a soldier?
T: Yes. that's right. And what do you think's the answer to that one? Constantine?
L2: Uh! He doesn't like being a soldier.
T: No. (in agreement) I don't think he does.
L2: He hates being soldier.
T: Well done! He hates being a soldier. Mohavi, ask Virginia er if she likes being a

student.
L3: Er does
T: Do
L3: Ah! Sorry. Do you, do you like er a sol ... being a soldier?
T: No, she's not a soldier
LL: (laughter)

(Willis 1987: 155)

What happened here is that there was a change in procedure - from making questions based on textbook prompts to making questions based on the classroom situation. L3 failed to notice this procedural shift. The teacher's 'no' is therefore not a negative evaluation of the linguistic forms produced by the learner: the utterance is in fact linguistically correct. It is merely a repair of a procedural problem and will not demotivate the student. Trouble with linguistic form is regarded as problematic and face-threatening, whereas trouble in other respects in L2 classroom communication is not.

Now as a result of the analysis we can see that there appears to be a paradox at the heart of communicative, learner-centred, humanistic approaches to repair. On the one hand teachers tell learners not to worry about making linguistic errors and even encourage them to try out hypotheses and make plenty of linguistic errors:

“A lot of the things that we call mistakes can also be seen as learning steps. We should be pleased to see them..... Unless students make mistakes, they can't work out better rules.” (Edge 1989: 17)

On the other hand, by avoiding direct and overt negative evaluation of linguistic errors, teachers are marking repair of linguistic errors as a heavily dispreferred sequence: the interactional message is being transmitted that making errors is an embarrassing, face-threatening matter. As Levinson (1983:333) points out, the implied underlying rule for

speech production is “try to avoid the dispreferred action - the action that generally occurs in dispreferred or marked format.” In other words, the pedagogical message (it’s OK to make linguistic errors) is being directly contradicted by the interactional message (linguistic errors are terrible faux pas). The words ‘no’, ‘wrong’, ‘mistake’ and ‘error’ in relation to linguistic form seem to be marked as verging on the unmentionable by their relevant absence or extreme mitigation in form and accuracy contexts. If one wanted to indicate to learners that linguistic errors were of no importance, one would have to use the same preference organisation of repair as is used to treat procedural problems i.e. immediate, unmitigated other-initiated other-repair with use of ‘no’. As Drew (1994a:752) puts it:

“... preferred actions such as acceptances are normally produced unhesitatingly, without delay, are delivered right at the start of the response turn, are packaged in short turns, and are unmitigated..... Dispreferred actions are normally produced in variously mitigated or attenuated forms: and they are often accompanied by accounts, explanations, and the like.”

Teachers are avoiding direct and overt negative evaluation of learners’ linguistic errors with the best intentions in the world, namely to avoid embarrassing and demotivating them. However, in doing so, they are interactionally marking linguistic errors as embarrassing and problematic. Clearly it would be best for pedagogical recommendations to work in harmony with the interactional organisation of the L2 classroom, rather than against it. We could, therefore, conclude that it would be best for pedagogical recommendations to be tested out in the classroom and the results analysed and evaluated to see what the interactional implications of the recommendations are.

Although it is not the intention of this thesis to make pedagogical recommendations, it might be interesting to consider in more depth the question of whether teachers need to avoid

direct and overt negative evaluation of learner errors. Nunan (1988:89-94) reports on large-scale research from the Australian Adult Migrant Education Program. In a survey of the most popular and least popular learning activities, students gave 'error correction' a 'very high' rating, whereas teachers gave 'error correction' a 'low' rating. Teachers gave 'student self-discovery of errors' a 'very high' rating, whereas students gave it a 'low' rating. As Nunan points out, this is a dramatic mismatch. Teachers apparently want to avoid conducting other-repair and want to initiate student self-repair: this is confirmed by the interactional evidence of what teachers actually do, cited above. This is also confirmed by methodological recommendations (Harmer 1983:62; Edge 1989:24). The students, however, do not want to repair their own errors - they want the teacher to conduct other-initiated other-repair. Research by Cathcart and Olsen (1976) concurs with Nunan's findings. All students agreed that they wished to be corrected when they made oral errors. Students were asked to rate different correction techniques. The two types of grammar correction which received the highest approval ratings were both other-initiated other-repair techniques used by the teacher, whereas the two types of grammar correction which received the highest disapproval ratings were techniques in which no other-repair was performed by the teacher. (Cathcart and Olsen 1976:45). So there appears to be another paradox in the communicative/learner-centred/humanistic approach to L2 classroom repair. Although the clear research evidence is that learners want teachers to conduct other-initiated other-repair on their linguistic errors, teachers in general avoid doing so and tend to prefer other-initiated self-repair.

Now there seems to be a consensus in the pedagogical literature that learner self-repair of learner's linguistic errors is better than teacher-repair, and the evidence from the database of the current study is that other-initiation of self-repair actually predominates in form and

accuracy contexts. There are a number of seemingly powerful arguments for initiating self-repair:

1) other-repair creates negative affect, whereas self-repair does not. Ellis suggests that self-repair “...is less likely to result in a negative affective response” (1994: 586). Tsui (1995: 43) claims that :

“the kind of feedback that a teacher provides affects student learning. A teacher who constantly provides negative feedback is bound to create a sense of failure and frustration among students, and will inhibit student contribution.”

2) other-initiated other-repair is heavily dispreferred in ‘real-world’ conversation, so it should not be used in the L2 classroom. Edge justifies self-correction by stating that “people usually prefer to put their own mistakes right rather than be corrected by someone else” (1989:24).

Now these two arguments are linked in that both assume that learners’ face will be threatened by the use of other-initiated other-repair. However, as Van Lier (1988a:184) points out, “learners are not ordinary people communicating while they go about their daily activities, but are members of the classroom community, which has its own rules as to what is appropriate and what constitutes face threat.” Now there is interactional evidence in the transcripts that learners realise this point and do not perceive other-initiated other-repair of linguistic errors together with direct and overt negative evaluation to be problematic or face-threatening **in the institutional L2 classroom situation** in that when learners repair each other’s linguistic errors, they have no qualms whatsoever about using ‘no’ together with other-initiated other-repair. Three examples are provided to illustrate this phenomenon.

Extract 110

- L2: Servis...
L3: Um... accusative, isn't it?
L1: No, it's ablative. Sad ... The verb will be 'will be carried'.
L3: The subject is ...
L2: Portatur ...
L1: Portabuntur .. Will be carried by the sad slaves ...
L2: A servis... servi...
L3: No, you should ... um ... heavy burdens is the subject, because that's what it's having done to it, you see.
(Barnes et al. 1990: 96)

In the following extract three Dutch learners are discussing a problem of language form in a group: they are speaking a mixture of Dutch and German, so only the English translation is provided:

Extract 111

- L1: to write down here
L2: yes
L3: hey where he wants to travel to and for how long you
L1: no where where he wants to travel to where where where
L2: no the customs officer

(Kasper 1986b: 217)

Extract 112

- T: Present. If I fall in I will .. I'll .. drown.
L1: Present.
LL: No .. future.
T: No .. future.

(British Council 1985 Volume 2: 44)

In the above extract the teacher, who meticulously avoids direct negative evaluation throughout the transcript, uses it in this case as an echo of LL's direct negative evaluation of L1. The teacher's direct negative evaluation is mitigated by both its sequential position and the fact that it is repeating someone else's utterance: it is in effect agreeing with LL as much as it is negatively evaluating L1.

The interactional evidence, then, is that learners find other-initiated other-correction of linguistic errors unproblematic, and this is confirmed by questionnaire research reported by Nunan and by Cathcart and Olsen. Paradoxically, then, learners appear to have grasped better than teachers and methodologists that, within the interactional organisation of the L2 classroom, making linguistic errors and having them corrected is not an embarrassing matter. Teachers and methodologists, however, seem to persist in treating them as face-threatening and problematic on an interactional level.

9 Levels of Organisation above, below and between L2

Classroom Contexts.

The three previous chapters have attempted to characterise and explore contexts as discrete entities and without consideration of their place in any larger interactional 'packages'. In this chapter an attempt is made to account for organisation **above** the L2 classroom context in terms of the relationship between contexts and the unit of institutional business known as a lesson. There is also a discussion of organisation **below** the L2 classroom context in terms of consideration of how contexts themselves can be sub-divided into 'episodes'. There is also a depiction of how teachers create L2 classroom contexts and how they manage shifts **between** contexts.

9.1 The Institutional Organisation of Interactional Phases

Before considering the relationship between the different L2 classroom contexts and the lesson, it may be useful to consider two other familiar institutional settings, namely the (crown) court hearing and the medical consultation. It will be interesting to consider how, in different institutional settings, different phases of the interaction relate to each other and how they combine to form units of institutional business. Institutional interactions, then, have overall structural organisations. In each of the three different institutional settings considered, participants orient to the concept of a unit of institutional business which can be considered complete in its own right, although individual units might also combine to

form larger macro-units. In the L2 instructional setting the unit is known as the lesson, in the courtroom it is known as the hearing, and in the doctor's (general practitioner's) surgery this is known as the consultation. There are of course huge temporal differences in each setting: a lesson lasts for a fixed period of minutes or hours, a hearing is of variable duration, but can go on for months, and a doctor's consultation is of variable duration but generally lasts a number of minutes. In each setting the interaction is broken up into phases, but we will see differences in the organisation of these phases within the complete units of institutional business in each setting.

According to Atkinson and Drew (1979: 34-35) many different varieties of interaction occur during a court hearing:

“The stages of many hearings include the selection and swearing-in of jurors, the prosecutor's opening speech, the defence counsel's outline of his case, their respective closing speeches, the judge's instructions to the jury and his summing-up, and so on - as well as the examination of witnesses, defendant, or plaintiff. The talk in these phases of a hearing may differ to the extent that some consist of monologues whilst others involve at least two parties. Also the types of sequences in the talk differ at various stages of proceedings: for example, the state's or defence's acceptance or rejection of that nomination; whereas examination consists primarily of question and answer sequences.”

In courtroom interaction the various phases of a hearing must follow in a rigid sequential order, and there could be serious implications if the relevant stages were not effected in the proper order. The order of the phases is institutionally pre-determined, and participants are not normally entitled to vary that order.

In their classic study of interaction in British general practitioner's surgeries, Byrne and Long (1976: 21) found that the consultation consists of the following phases:

- I The doctor establishes a relationship with the patient.
- II The doctor either attempts to discover or actually discovers the reason for the patient's attendance.
- III The doctor conducts a verbal or physical examination or both.
- IV The doctor, or the doctor and the patient, or the patient (in that order of probability) consider the condition.
- V The doctor, and occasionally the patient, detail treatment or further investigation.
- VI The consultation is terminated usually by the doctor.

Now Byrne and Long make clear that the above is merely the logical sequence of events, an ideal which rarely appears in exactly that order in practice for a variety of reasons. Some phases may be completely omitted, the order of phases may be completely jumbled and the interaction may 'loop back' to repeat previous phases (1976: 29).

The situation in the L2 classroom is different from the court and the GP's surgery. There is only one obligatory interactional phase or L2 classroom context which occurs in all lessons in the data, namely the procedural context: this always occurs at the start of the lesson (and often at other phases of the lesson as well) as a precursor to the establishment of a *main context*. We therefore need to note at this point a subdivision in L2 classroom contexts between the main contexts and the procedural context. By main context is meant any L2 classroom context apart from the procedural context. The procedural context has to be seen as a subsidiary phase which is of peripheral interest to the institutional business, and it is frequently a very brief phase indeed in the data. Van Lier (1988a:177) also suggests that procedural contexts should be viewed as subsidiary to those contexts which they introduce. So in a lesson at least one main context will be established by means of a procedural context, and in some lessons there is no shift of context - in other words, a single main context remains in operation for the entire lesson (if we disregard the subsidiary procedural context(s)): see, for example, Norwegian data lesson 4. There may be multiple

shifts of context initiated during the course of the lesson by the teacher, and indeed the learners themselves can initiate changes of context (see extract 155 in section 11.4). We will see in extract 155 that L2 classroom interaction can sometimes be characterised by extremely fluid patterns of interaction and by rapid shifts between contexts.

Minimally, then, for an L2 lesson to be accomplished, at least one main L2 classroom context must be established, and a procedural context must precede the establishment of that context. Whereas we have seen that in other institutional settings the types of interactional phases which occur may be institutionally predetermined (court hearing and doctor's consultation) and may occur in a fixed and institutionally predetermined order (court hearing) this is not the case in the L2 classroom (if we disregard the procedural context). The teacher can choose which main context out of a range of possible main contexts s/he wishes to establish, and if the teacher decides to establish multiple main contexts, s/he can select the order in which those main contexts are introduced. So neither the types nor the order of the interactional phases of the L2 classroom are institutionally predetermined in the available data; decisions are taken locally by the individual teacher. However, it is of course possible that, in some institutions around the world, there exists rigid institutional control of the interactional phases in the L2 classroom.

9.2 How Teachers Choose which Main Context to Establish in their Lesson

If, as has been argued, the interactional phases are not institutionally pre-determined in the L2 classroom, we need to account for how teachers make decisions as to which L2 classroom contexts to introduce in their lessons. Teachers plan their lessons (either formally on paper or informally in their heads) and are able to select, from an inventory of possible

contexts, those which they wish to create in a particular lesson or in a particular phase of a lesson. It is not claimed that teachers think “Today I’m going to create a ‘real-world target speech community’ context”. Rather, teachers think in terms of the classroom activities which they are going to introduce: “Today I’m going to do a role-play / translation / unit 1.” Mitchell (1988) interviewed 59 teachers of modern languages in Scotland concerning their understanding of the nature of communicative competence and their views about how to develop it in classroom settings. When the teachers discussed language teaching methodology, (Mitchell 1988: 23-24) they talked in terms of teaching activities e.g. role play, simulation, games, songs, class polls, pair work, group work.

That teachers do not explicitly think in terms of L2 classroom contexts does not invalidate the concept of L2 classroom contexts, however. Chapter 5 of this thesis portrayed the interactional architecture of the L2 classroom from a CA perspective and suggested that L2 classroom contexts are an integral component of this architecture. The thesis claims that participants in L2 classroom interaction orient to the interactional architecture of the L2 classroom as they interact. However, it is not claimed that teachers or learners have any explicit knowledge of the interactional architecture of the L2 classroom; teachers think in terms of activities rather than in terms of contexts, core goals or intermediate properties. Now in the same way, CA analysts, when dealing with ordinary conversation, are able to demonstrate that conversationalists actually orient to the interactional organisation of conversation; participants orient to the turn-taking and repair mechanisms, the organisation of adjacency pairs, preference organisation etc. However, it is never claimed in CA that conversationalists have any explicit knowledge of the organisational mechanisms to which they orient. So this study aims to describe the set of techniques that L2 classroom interactionalists themselves use to interpret and act within their discourse setting (Levinson

1983: 295), without claiming that the participants have explicit knowledge of the set of techniques which they use:

“Conversation analytic studies are .. designed to achieve systematic analyses of what, at best, is intuitively known and, more commonly, is tacitly oriented to in ordinary conduct.” (Heritage and Atkinson 1984: 4)

The different interests which the participants and the analyst have in the interaction is expressed by Sacks (1984: 26):

“Our aim is to get into a position to transform, in an almost literal, physical sense, our view of “what happened,” from a matter of a particular interaction done by particular people, to a matter of interactions as products of a machinery. We are trying to find the machinery.”

Chapter 6 of this study characterises the L2 classroom contexts which occur most commonly in the data (although it does not claim to be an exhaustive list of contexts). Whereas in the doctor’s consultation there is said to be an ‘ideal’ or ‘logical’ order of phases (representing a distillation of empirical matter), and whereas in the court there is an inflexible order of phases, the same is not true of the L2 lesson. Which main context a teacher chooses to establish in a particular lesson depends on a great variety of factors, which might include the following:

- a) which methodological approach to L2 pedagogy is currently thought by the language teaching profession and by the individual teacher in particular to be most effective. Lesson 4 in the Norwegian corpus, for example is conducted almost entirely in a task-based context. The lesson was taught by a teacher-trainer who explained to her

teacher trainees (who observed the lesson) prior to the lesson the advantages of the task-based approach;

b) institutional constraints, including syllabus to be followed, examinations which the learners must take, national, institutional or departmental policy, type of L2 teaching materials which are available;

c) learner factors, including the age and proficiency and cultural background of the learners.

For example, one would not normally expect a teacher to attempt to introduce a 'real-world target speech community' context with young children at beginner level, since the learners would not have the linguistic resources or the maturity to manage their own interaction in the L2 without the teacher's help.

We should be aware that, although participants orient to a lesson as a complete individual unit of business, lessons nonetheless combine to form larger macro-units of institutional business. The databases on which this study is based contains transcripts and video recordings of whole lessons. However, it should be pointed out that teachers see an individual lesson as part of a broader course or curriculum lasting a term, an academic year or series of years. Teachers may well try to ensure that a number of different L2 classroom contexts are introduced into lessons over a period of time for the sake of variety or coverage of all aspects of language learning, but my databases contain no examples of a series of lessons. In roughly the same way that a medical consultation does not normally occur in isolation but as part of an individual's medical history (symbolised by the individual's medical notes present during the consultation) so a lesson does not normally occur in isolation but as part of an extended curriculum (often symbolised by a syllabus or textbook to be worked through). So although participants in a classroom lesson orient to the lesson as a single complete unit of institutional business, these units are generally connected into

a larger 'macro-unit' of institutional business, known as the 'course' or the 'curriculum' or the 'syllabus'. There may be connections between lessons. In lesson 3 of the Norwegian corpus, for example, the learners read out questions which they had prepared as homework prior to the lesson. One should be very wary of drawing any wider conclusions about L2 teaching in general from this study because no evidence is presented as to how the lessons presented as data fit into a broader curriculum.

9.3 The Structure of the Lesson

Participants orient to 'the lesson' as a complete individual unit of institutional business with temporal boundaries i.e. a start and a finish. These boundaries are often institutionally displayed, by the ringing of a bell, for example. Van Lier (1988a: 162) discusses the perplexing question of the structure of the L2 lesson and points out that "...attempts to identify a common underlying structure to all lessons have so far failed". Van Lier discusses the structure of lessons in his database (which comprises nine lessons) and comes to the conclusions outlined below:

"So far as I can tell, the centre of gravity, or the base line of the lesson, invariably consists of sequences of type 4 interaction. Much of the rest of the lesson fits around these sequences, either leading up to them or trailing them. This does not mean that other business does not also occur, but the type 4 interaction is invariably the focal point..... In general they are preceded by procedural information, telling the students what they have to do and the rules they have to follow, and these introductory sequences are instances of interaction type 2. They are also preceded by elicitation sequences, where the information that is to be used in that activity is gathered and in some way systematized, and this leads to sequences of interaction type 3. Instances of interaction type 1 are in my data rather incidental, designed to do introductory warm-ups, or to temporarily break out of more strenuous type 4 activities, but this does not diminish their importance..... Type 4 interaction thus forms the core of the lesson..." (1988a: 163)

Van Lier's interaction type 4 seems to correspond to what I have called 'form and accuracy' contexts. He points out (1988a: 159) that the characteristic of type 4 data is its explicit ritual structure; the teacher assesses the learner's answer not for its information value but for its successful linguistic completion. I do not doubt that, in the lessons which Van Lier recorded, the 'centre of gravity' was type 4 or form and accuracy interaction. However, there are a number of lessons in the Norwegian data in which form and accuracy context interaction does not occur at all. In lesson 4, for example, there is one main context (task-based, group work) which lasts virtually the entire lesson. So Van Lier is attempting to specify lesson structure in terms of the types of interaction which occur during the lesson. The Norwegian data suggest that such a specification would not be possible because there are no varieties of interaction (with the exception of procedural interaction) which occur in all lessons. To put it another way, there are no main contexts which occur in all lessons. From the account in the previous section it will be clear that the teacher is able to establish a variety of contexts in the course of an L2 lesson and it is, therefore, unsurprising that "...attempts to identify a common underlying structure to all lessons have so far failed." (Van Lier 1988a: 162). The only common underlying structure to **all lessons** which this thesis is able to specify on the basis of the data is the following.

Minimally, for an L2 lesson to be accomplished, at least one main L2 classroom context must be established, and a procedural context must precede the establishment of that context. A lesson has a beginning and an end, which may be marked in various ways.

Now this does not provide us with much insight into L2 classroom interaction, which suggests that it is not fruitful to look for the elements common to all lessons in terms of the structure of the lesson or in terms of the varieties of interaction which occur in the lesson.

It is suggested that it is far more rewarding to look for the elements common to all lessons in terms of the overall interactional organisation of the L2 classroom, and specifically in terms of the three intermediate properties. It has already been suggested in section 5.2 that there are three linked intermediate properties of L2 classroom interaction which apply whatever the setting and whatever the particular context. It is suggested that the variability, diversity and fluidity of interactional practices in the L2 classroom (by contrast to the court hearing and the doctor's consultation) means that it will not be possible to identify a common underlying structure to all lessons in terms of types of interaction beyond that specified above. It is not being suggested that L2 lessons are completely unstructured. On the contrary, many individual lessons in the data are clearly carefully structured. However, the point is that L2 classroom lessons can include extremely diverse varieties of interaction, as we have seen in chapters 6-8. The common link which identifies all of these extracts as L2 classroom interaction is that the intermediate properties are manifest in all extracts, regardless of how different they may seem on the surface. If we consider Warren's data (section 7.4) in which learners were left alone to manage the interaction themselves, we can see that such lessons are just not describable in terms of lesson structure or even in terms of different types of interaction, since there is basically only one type of interaction in the lesson. Nonetheless, the interaction in Warren's lesson remains describable within the interactional architecture of the L2 classroom described in this study and the three intermediate properties are manifest in the interaction.

So it is suggested that it is not particularly meaningful or fruitful to speak of the structure of the lesson in terms of types or phases of the interaction occurring in particular sequences (as is the case in court or in doctor's surgeries). If one wants to establish what is universal

or common to all lessons then it is much more rewarding to speak of the manifestation of the three intermediate properties.

9.4 Creating an L2 Classroom Context

I would now like to examine how an L2 classroom context is established. The data are from a language school in Mexico. The first main L2 classroom context which the teacher establishes is a 'classroom as speech community' context. The teacher has previously asked the learners to bring a personal possession to the class which is special to them in some way. The teacher states explicitly her reasons for establishing such an L2 classroom context during an interview prior to the lesson.

"In a lot of classes I like to use - um I suppose they're the so-called humanistic techniques. The idea that students give personal information about, well about themselves or about things that they have, or about their families and so on. Some people are middle-aged housewives, other people are young students and sometimes it can be difficult to make, er, a group like this gel, so these humanistic kind of activities tend to be good because they, they break the ice and they make the students find out a bit about each other. For example, um, in this class the students will be bringing some of their, their own ... some of their own objects and talking about them. And one of the other things that's interesting is that, in that kind of activity, the level of the students' English doesn't matter so much because you focus a lot on the content of what they are saying. You're interested in what, what they've brought and, um, at the proficiency level students tend to be a little bit competitive, I think, about their English, how good they are and so on. And this type of activity is definitely a non-competitive activity. For example the student whose English might be the worst might actually bring the most interesting object, the most interesting thing to talk about." (British Council 1985, Volume 4: 50)

The teacher's monologue is interesting for a number of reasons. It provides a clear rationale for the use of 'classroom as speech community' context as a contrast to the 'form and accuracy' context which was to come after it; in a proficiency class in the early 1980s it was

inevitable that the bulk of lesson time would be spent on form and accuracy work in preparation for the examination. The teacher states that the 'classroom as speech community' context is placed deliberately at the start of the lesson as an 'ice breaker'. This does not mean that the 'classroom as speech community' context normally occurs at the start of the lesson. The data show that it may occur at any stage of the lesson. In this lesson the 'classroom as speech community' context also functions as an introduction to work in a form and accuracy context, to which it is thematically related. Again, this is not always the case, and the reverse order also occurs in the data. So although we should not generalise from this one lesson as to the sequencing of main contexts, the teacher's comments clearly display an orientation to the sequential organisation of contexts within a lesson as serving specific overall pedagogical goals. L2 classroom contexts follow each other for good reason in this teacher's lessons.

The teacher also states explicitly that in a 'classroom as speech community' context she focuses on the content of what the learners are saying, and this is implicitly contrasted with the focus on linguistic ability necessary in the rest of the lesson. There is also the interesting suggestion that work in a 'form and accuracy' context tends to create group divergence through the promotion of competitive individualism, whereas work in 'classroom as speech community' context tends to promote group cohesion and a cooperative ethos. I will now examine how the teacher establishes the context and then manages the context shift.

Extract 114

T: Today's class is going to be about describing objects, and we're going to look at three different types of description. I'm going to write it here on the board, what we'll be doing. (T writes on board) The first type will be 'personal' OK? Objects that have an especial value for you, a personal value. The second type will be catalogue type

descriptions.

(British Council 1985, Volume 4: 50)

The lesson starts with a procedural context which anticipates that the lesson will involve some kind of change of focus and which provides a link between the two contexts, in that they will both involve description. For the next stage in the establishment of the context, T asks the learners if they have brought personal belongings along as requested, and elicits from two or three students the nature of their belongings. Then the teacher produces an enormous embroidery, a personal belonging with personal value for her, and tells the learners about it:

Extract 115

T: Um, this is a nineteenth century, Japanese embroidery, and it was given to me by my great-aunt. My great-aunt, she had a, a funny kind of job really, she was a governess.

(British Council 1985, Volume 4: 51)

This part of the interaction serves multiple functions. It establishes the nature of the context, in that the teacher is demonstrating what the learners are to do during the context, i.e. describe their personal possession and its significance to them. It establishes the nature of the speech exchange system, i.e. monologue addressed to the other participants. The teacher has stated that a purpose of this context is for learners to learn a bit about each other, and here the teacher is telling the learners something about herself and thus developing her relationship with the learners. The teacher then rolls up her embroidery and issues further procedural directions for the establishment of the main context.

Extract 116

T: And what I want you to do is to talk about your things now in the same way as I did about mine, saying what it is and give the history of it. How, why have you got it, and maybe also say why is it important to you. For this .. thank you, thanks, can you put it at the back, right that's great .. em, we're going to work in two groups. so, would you be a group of six here: you two, and you four. Can you get into a little circle .. hang on for a sec .. and you're going to be seven here. Can you move your chairs quietly, so it doesn't make too much noise. Yes, join this group. OK, it doesn't matter who begins. Whoever wants to can, can start. I'm going to come and sit with each group some of the time but just listen.

(British Council 1985, Volume 4: 51)

So the spatial configuration of the learners is altered in preparation for the main context.

How does the teacher ensure that it is in fact a 'classroom as speech community' context which is established rather than any other? This appears to be accomplished in the following ways: a) by explicitly modelling the type of talk which is to be produced, which implicitly establishes a context; b) by giving explicit instructions concerning the nature of the speech exchange system and the topic of the talk; c) by focusing on the content of the talk and by not mentioning linguistic accuracy. The teacher states "I'm going to come and sit with each group some of the time but just listen." The use of 'but just' implies that the teacher will not be conducting repair of linguistic errors, and hence that the emphasis should be on the expression of personal meanings.

Extract 117

- 1 L1: OK. As you see this is a music box, and my mother made it. It's ...
2 L2: Oh, your mother made it.
3 L1: Yes, my mother made it. The thing is that when, this is the first thing she did
4 like this, with painting and everthing, so nobody, nobody thought that it was
5 going to come out like this. That's the point. That's why this is special because
6 it took her about three weeks to, to make it, and er she, she put a really special
7 interest in that, and tried to, to make it the best that, er she could.

(British Council 1985, Volume 4: 51)

We can see from the above extract that the interaction produced by the learners is as expected within a 'classroom as speech community' context. The learners express personal meanings, and linguistic errors (as in line 6/7) are ignored. We noted in section 6.2 that 'oh' often occurs in a 'classroom as speech community' context as a marker of change of information state, since new information is being exchanged. We can also see that the learners are managing the speech exchange system themselves. Although the teacher modelled a monologue, L2 feels able to self-select and disrupt the monologue (line 2). So the teacher has used multiple methods of ensuring that the correct L2 classroom context is created, and in this case the intended context has clearly been successfully created.

9.5 Managing Context Shift

I will now try to show how a context shift is managed. Looking at the same lesson, we will see how the previous 'classroom as speech community' context is shifted to a form and accuracy context. The teacher brings the previous context to a close in the following way:

Extract 118

- 1 T: OK. Can I stop you now? I know not all of you have finished but we haven't
2 got time for any more so let's get back into two lines again. (LL move chairs)
3 Some really nice objects there. Whose was the oldest? I think Lena's was.
4 When do you think your object is from?
5 L1: From ,,,, it's from near Mexico city ... and long time ago it was a late ... now ...
6 it's a long time ago it's a lake.
7 T: And how old do you think that is?
8 L1: Well .er ..I suppose it is 200 years old ..I suppose ..it ..at least. Probably
9 more, probably more, yes.
10 T: Yes, maybe even ...
11 L1: 300
12 T: 4 or 500.
13 L1: Yes. (LL finish moving chairs)
14 T: Um, hm OK well remember that I said the second thing we're going to look at
15 is catalogue type descriptions. Sometimes when we're describing things we

16 need to use a lot of different adjectives and sometimes we're not very sure
17 which order we should put the adjectives in. For example do we say ..um .. 'A
18 green felt hat' or 'A felt green hat'. OK which way round should we put the
19 adjectives? So we're going to take a look today at this chart (T points to chart
20 on board) which gives us an idea of how the order of adjectives should go. So
21 first of all we have, where we normally described things, first of all we have
22 age. You don't need to copy it down because I'll give it to you in a minute.
23 We've got age, then size, shape, colour manner, place, material and use or
24 function. All right, well what we're going to do is I am going to give you a
25 handout and on the top you've got some jumbled sentences. OK. These are just
26 little descriptions but the adjectives are all in the wrong order. I want you to
27 work in pairs to put them into the right order. And these are three, A B and C,
28 then I'd like you to do D and E, I'd like the pair of you to write a couple more
29 descriptions using lots of adjectives . OK. Does everyone understand? All right
30 Could you give these out - yeah Gracia - can you give those out - pass one
31 along. (LL give out sheets) Look up at the chart, use the chart as much as you
32 need to, to help you get the sentences right.

(British Council 1985, Volume 4: 51)

In line 1, T explicitly marks a transition. "OK. Can I stop you now?" is uttered with high pitch and high volume. T indicates that there is to be a change in spatial configuration back from group to whole class in line 2. Now whilst the learners are moving chairs back the teacher engages in some interaction which is still in a 'classroom as speech community' context, from lines 2 to 13. The topic of the interaction is a personal possession and linguistic errors are not corrected by the teacher. It may at first sight appear confusing that the teacher should initiate some kind of shift and then return to the previous context. However, this temporary return is conducted whilst the learners are moving their chairs and terminates as the learners finish their spatial reconfiguration. Furthermore, this temporary return also involves a positive evaluation and appreciation of the terminated activity ("some really nice objects there").

In line 14, T arranges the context shift. This starts with “OK well” (which function as topic disjunction markers) uttered with high pitch and volume and continues (in lines 14 and 15) with a reference back to the procedural context at the start of the lesson, where it was indicated that the second phase of the lesson would be concerned with catalogue type descriptions. The teacher develops a form and accuracy context in the following way. There is a focus on linguistic correctness in the expressed concern for the proper order of adjectives (line 17). The change in focus is symbolised by the presentation of a chart of the correct order of adjectives (line 19). The teacher distributes materials in which the adjectives are in the wrong order, with the instructions that the learners are to put them in the right order (line 26). A focus on form and accuracy and linguistic correctness without regard to personal meanings is thus established. Whereas in the previous ‘classroom as speech community’ context the learners supplied the materials (which were personally meaningful and which they had to hold close to themselves), in this L2 classroom context the teacher presents the materials in a ‘logical’, impersonal chart format which is placed at some distance from the learners. This change seems to indicate on a semiotic level to the learners that they no longer have any interactional space to express personal meanings. Finally, the teacher introduces a new set of pedagogical purposes (lines 26-28) which are incompatible with the purposes inherent in the previous context. The new set of pedagogical purposes entail a major shift of pedagogical focus which entails a change of L2 classroom context.

Willis (1992: 175) makes an interesting suggestion with respect to how learners determine the nature of a context. In the following discussion I am taking the liberty of transposing the points she makes, using her terms in her model, into the terms and framework of this thesis. Willis writes (175) that “paralinguistic features, intonation and kinesics can give a lot of clues.” If a teacher says something slowly and deliberately, breaking an utterance up into

more tone units than would be usual in normal conversation, and using a marked, non-conventional stress pattern, then the learners will assume that the context is likely to be form and accuracy. Looking back at the two contexts established in extracts 114-6 and 118 we can see that Willis' suggestion is borne out by the data. In the establishment of the 'classroom as speech community' context, the teacher uses an unmarked, conversational prosodic pattern and tempo. In the establishment of the form and accuracy context, however, we find utterances such as the following:

Extract 119

T: For example do we say . um . '*a green felt hat*' or '*a felt green hat*'

(British Council 1985, Volume 4: 51)

Not only are the italicised items spoken with a very slow tempo, but normal stress patterns are abandoned, with heavy stress being placed on each word. The impression is of deliberate, leaden articulation.

Shifts in context always seem to be marked in the data in some way by the teacher. They may be marked by use of discourse markers, by prosodic features, by changes in the spatial configuration of the participants, by metadiscoursal comments which indicate that a shift is occurring and by semiotic means. This area is further explored in section 9.8.

9.6 Episode Change within a Context

We saw in chapter 7 that different pedagogical sub-focuses and sub-organisations of the interaction were possible within the broad umbrella of a context. So it sometimes happens that there is no shift in overall basic pedagogical focus or basic overall L2 classroom context in a lesson, and yet it is clear that there has been some kind of other change taking place, in the type of activity or in the spatial configuration of the participants. It is necessary to portray and account for such changes and to this end the concept of the *episode* is proposed. An L2 classroom context may (but need not) consist of multiple episodes. When episode shift occurs, the lesson remains in the same L2 classroom context, that is, the basic overall pedagogical focus and the basic overall organisation of the interaction appropriate to that focus remains the same. However, there is a shift within the context, which may involve change of participants in the interaction, e.g. pair work rather than teacher-whole class work or shift of activity e.g. a shift from translation to reading. In order to illustrate the concept of episode change, I would like to focus on lesson 3 in the Norwegian corpus. Lesson 3 operates exclusively in a text-based context (apart from the brief procedural contexts). However, there are four separate episodes within the lesson. The overall focus of the lesson is on familiarising learners with a text in the L2 about Australia, and as the text is approached from different angles, participants change and activities change, but the overall context and focus remain constant. The extracts are already familiar from section 8.5.

In the first episode (Norwegian data: 62) the teacher nominates a learner, who reads aloud a section of the text. The learner may be interrupted by the teacher if the reader makes an error of pronunciation. In this episode, then, the pedagogical and interactional focus is clearly on the text, and the episodal sub-focus is on the pronunciation of the text.

Extract 120

L: the blue sea followed the dolphins until they [reacheed]

T: reached reached

(Norwegian data: 428)

In the second episode (Norwegian data: 63) the learners shut their books and the teacher asks questions in the L2 concerning the narrative content of the text, which the learners must answer in the L2. The focus is clearly on the propositional content of the answer and how well it relates propositionally to the question. This is clear because errors of linguistic form are left uncorrected by the teacher. If the required familiarity with the text is not displayed, however, the teacher **will** initiate repair. In this episode, then, the pedagogical and interactional focus is clearly on the text, and the episodal sub-focus is on the comprehension of the narrative content of the text.

Extract 121

T: yes they wanted help and why did they want help?

L: to get free the dolphin in the net

T: yes what did the fishermen the Tasmanian fishermen discover?

(Norwegian data: 429)

The pedagogical focus is clearly on the propositional content of the answer and how well it relates propositionally to the question, rather than on linguistic form. This is clear because the errors of linguistic form (“get free” instead of “free”) are left uncorrected by the teacher. Here the turn-taking system is appropriate to the pedagogical focus in that the aim is to

establish and evaluate the learners' understanding of the propositional content of the text. Teacher allocation of turns together with the IRE/IRF cycle is a most economical way of doing so (see section 11.5).

In the third episode (Norwegian data: 65) the teacher gives a Norwegian translation of a word from the text and asks the learner to give the word in English. The pedagogical focus is on the production of precise linguistic forms in the L2 and the teacher will not accept anything else. Nevertheless, the focus is still on the text since it is words from the text which are being targeted; learners must produce the exact words used in the text. In this episode, then, the pedagogical and interactional focus is clearly on the text, and the episodal sub-focus is on the accurate production of words from the text.

Extract 122

- L: to explain
T: to explain *i timesvis* ((tr: for hours)) koala can sit *i timesvis* ((tr: for hours))(student's name)
L: many hours
T: er the preposition is
L: hours
T: hours that's the noun but the preposition er can sit er (student's name)
L: for
T: for hours *uten aa rore seg en tomme* ((tr: without moving an inch)) (student's name)

(Norwegian data: 431)

Here the speech-exchange system is appropriate to the pedagogical focus in that the aim is to establish and evaluate the learners' understanding of the semantic load of individual words in the text. Teacher allocation of turns together with the IRE/IRF cycle is a most economical way of doing so (see section 11.5). We can note that the pedagogical focuses

in sections two and three are very similar and that the speech exchange systems are identical.

In the fourth episode (Norwegian data: 72) learners work in pairs and ask each other questions about the text which they had previously prepared as homework. Even though the participants in the interaction have changed radically (the teacher no longer takes part) the focus of the interaction is still on the text. The speech exchange system is almost identical to the second section. The interaction follows a rigid IRF/IRE cycle of question, learner answer and evaluation of the answer. One of the learners is, in effect, substituting for the teacher in the interaction. In this episode, then, the pedagogical and interactional focus is clearly on the text, and the episodal sub-focus is on the accurate production of question and answers relating to the text and hence on the display of comprehension of the narrative content of the text.

Extract 123

L4: who was the first teddy bear modelled on?

L3: the koala

L4: yeah..., e ..., what does the koalas eat now..., what=

L3: =the koala eats (4 sec) fish

L4: eucalyptus-leaves..., e..., e:r who did who knocked down doctor Linda Ratton (5 sec)
who did knock down doctor Linda Ratton?

(Norwegian data: 439)

So we can see that the interaction as a whole operates in a text-based context, in that the overall pedagogical focus is on the learners gaining familiarity with the text, but that there are clearly marked shifts of episode within that context. Now Norwegian data: lesson 3 is actually made up of lesson 3i and lesson 3ii, since the same lesson is taught to two parallel classes. It can be seen that both lessons consist of exactly the same four episodes. The interaction is very slightly different in the two lessons, in that the teacher asks slightly

different questions in the course of the episodes and in that the learners make different errors which the teacher repairs. However, the way in which the teacher opens and shifts episodes in the two parallel lessons is strikingly similar, and we can see in the data that episode shift is clearly marked. This replication of shift patterns suggests a strong orientation on the part of the teacher to episodes as separate entities and forms of organisation within an L2 classroom context .

The teacher opens the *first episode in lesson 3i* by saying:

Extract 124

T: page sixteen two A .. how strange.. (student's name) would you be so kind as to start reading? (Norwegian data: 428)

He opens the *first episode in lesson 3ii* by saying:

Extract 125

T: well then let's start reading .. how strange.. alright then (student's name) if you'd be so kind as to start reading. (Norwegian data: 433)

The teacher opens the *second episode in lesson 3i* by saying:

Extract 126

T: yes well have you got any questions or problems here? you put them right away now ... well let's try to solve them or do you understand absolutely everything? (student's name) everything is quite clear good then you shut your books please and answer a few questions (LL shut books) (Norwegian data: 429)

The teacher opens the *second episode in lesson 3ii* by saying:

Extract 127

T: yes kangaroo now have you got any questions to put from today's lesson? you do it right away please ... if not you please shut your books and answer a few questions (LL shut books) well it's some Tasmanian fishermen suddenly spot ... what do they see? (student's name) (Norwegian data: 435)

The teacher opens the *third episode in lesson 3i* by saying:

Extract 128

T: yes they were kangaroos and they knocked her unconscious.. so you should mind kangaroos if they get into your gardens don't try to frighten them well just a few words to be remembered here.. *plutselig hva heter det?* ((tr: suddenly what is that? (student's name) (Norwegian data: 430)

The teacher opens the *third episode in lesson 3ii* by saying:

Extract 129

T: yes so she was lying unconscious there are a few words to be remembered here.. fishermen could *nesten ikke tro sine egne oyne* ((tr: could hardly believe their eyes)) (Norwegian data: 436)

The teacher opens the *fourth episode in lesson 3i* by saying:

Extract 130

T: shop assistant well now you made questions yourselves and you join two and two putting questions to each other and then when you finish you go to another friend and ... you ... you'll be talking English all the time now .. come on and you just go around yes yes (LL move chairs around) (pairwork begins: students read out prepared questions about the text to a partner) (Norwegian data: 431)

The teacher opens the *fourth episode in lesson 3ii* by saying:

T: the front legs yes ... quite alright yes er Mr Paul seems pleased as well you see (3 sec) now you made questions from this story yourselves.. join together and speak English and you will be recorded by Paul while you are talking.. so keep in mind that you are being recorded... (LL move chairs around) (pairwork begins: students read out prepared questions about the text to a partner) (Norwegian data: 437)

A lesson, then, can consist of a single main context (excluding procedural contexts) which can be divided up into episodes. We can see from the similarity between lessons 3i and 3ii that teachers can have a strong orientation to the structure of their lesson as comprising sequenced episodes within a single context, and teachers can have a formulaic means of marking changes in episodes.

9.7 The Logical Possibilities for Shift during a Lesson

During the course of a lesson, then, there may be shifts in the main L2 classroom context, although this need not occur, since it is possible for the entire lesson to remain within one main context. Within a context there may be episode shift, although this need not occur, since it is possible for participants to remain in a constant spatial configuration and focused on the same activity for the duration of the context. So we can see that there is considerable potential for diversity and variability within the L2 lesson in terms of the organisation of contexts and episodes, and the extent of the diversity and variability can be illustrated through examination of whole lessons in the database. In Norwegian data lesson 4, almost the entire lesson is spent in a single context (task-based, group work). The teacher does not initiate episode change within that context, since s/he generally observes and does not intervene in the interaction. So it is possible for a whole lesson to remain in one main

context without episode change. In lesson 3, as we have already seen in this chapter, the lesson remains in one context with four separate episodes. In the French lesson to be discussed (section 9.8), there were three main contexts and multiple examples of episode shift. The figure below shows that there appear to be four logical possibilities for shift within a lesson. This description includes only main contexts, i.e. procedural contexts are disregarded.

Configuration 1

No shift: 1 main context, no episode shifts

Example from data: Norwegian data lesson 1a

Configuration 2

Episode shift, no context shift: 1 main context, multiple episodes

Example from data: Norwegian data lesson 3

Configuration 3

Context shift, no episode shift: multiple main contexts, no episode shifts

Example from data: no whole lesson examples were found

Configuration 4

Context shift and episode shift: multiple main contexts, multiple episodes

Example from data: Paul Seedhouse's video data: French lesson

From the whole lesson data, it appeared that configuration 2 was the most common, whilst no whole lesson examples of configuration 3 could be found. This is of course a considerably oversimplified representation of the possibilities. One could go into much greater detail and show how a particular lesson had a main context split up into five episodes, followed by two main contexts which were not split up into episodes, and so on.

9.8 Marking Context Shift and Episode Shift

Schiffrin (1987) has demonstrated some of the functions of discourse markers within conversation. There are a set of discourse markers which have the special usage, within the institutional variety of L2 classroom discourse, of very commonly marking a shift in episode or context. Van Lier (1988a: 177) states that “Typical items are: ‘okay’, ‘now’, ‘all right’, ‘so’, ‘well’”. My data confirm Van Lier’s finding that the above markers are commonly used at transition points in L2 classroom discourse. Van Lier calls them ‘decision markers’, but I will use the term *shift markers*. I will also suggest that shift markers can be used to mark shifts in episode and shifts in L2 classroom context. It would be wrong to assign shifts purely on the basis of the presence of these markers, since they can also carry out a cognitive or discursal function unrelated to episode or context shift. Nor would it be accurate to suggest that the markers are functioning solely as shift markers. Schiffrin (1987: 315) suggests that discourse markers can function on different planes of talk: exchange structures, idea structures, participation frameworks and information states. The concept of shift markers used in this study is in line with Schiffrin (1987: 326):

“...the fact that markers function on different discourse planes provides us with clues to discourse contexts, i.e. markers locate utterances on particular planes of talk..... markers provide participating and textual coordinates within these

contexts.... It is in this dual sense that markers provide contextual coordinates for utterances: they index an utterance to the local contexts in which utterances are produced and in which they are to be interpreted.. I suggest that this is why markers are used in discourse. And this is what markers are at a more theoretical level of analysis - contextual coordinates.”

This does not mean that we will always find shift markers at boundaries between episodes and between contexts. As Van Lier (1988a: 178) suggests, shift markers may occasionally be entirely absent from the data when shifts occur. Rather, boundaries or transition points should be seen , as Schiffrin (1987: 327) suggests, as favoured locations, or key sites, for the emergence of markers. My data suggest that they are always found at context transition points but not always at episode transition points. It often appears in the data that shifts of episode are marked by a single shift marker (or there is an absence of shift marker). Shifts of context are always marked in the data by at least one shift marker, and very often by multiple shift markers, as in the following examples of context shift:

Extract 132

T: Um, hm, okay, well remember that I said

(British Council 1985, Volume 4: 52)

Extract 133

T: Yeah. OK. Right. Now here we have some questions, yes?

(British Council 1985, Volume 1: 44)

Shifts of both episode and context appear to be almost always marked by use of prosodic features. In general, just before the shift (i.e. at the very end of the previous episode or

context), the teacher tends to decrease volume, pitch and tempo and use a falling intonation, so the teacher's final utterance of the episode or context will 'die away', to be followed by a short pause. Following this, there is generally a raising of volume, pitch and tempo together with a rising intonation, which has the overall effect of highlighting the shift. It appears from the data that a shift of context is often managed by multiple shift markers and very greatly raised volume and pitch, whereas shifts of episode are often managed by using single shift markers and only slightly raised volume and pitch. However, I do not wish to suggest that there is always a qualitative difference in the way that episode and context shifts are managed. Since there is a major change of focus involved in context shift and no change of basic focus involved in episode shift, we would expect teachers to mark context shift more emphatically than episode shift. In the data this does appear to be the case, although the form that this heightened emphasis takes seems to vary from teacher to teacher. To illustrate this point I would like to look at an example of how the same teacher manages episode shift and context shift. The lesson (from Paul Seedhouse's video data) is a French beginner's class in a Further Education college in England. The lesson as a whole is untranscribed, so line numbers are not supplied. The first main context established is a text-based context. The first episode change is from the learners listening to a French text played on cassette (as well as reading it in their books) to answering questions which the teacher asks about the text:

Extract 134

(Cassette plays)

Woman: *j'ai perdu mon sac à main* ((tr: I've lost my handbag))

Policeman: *qu'est-ce qu'il contenait?* ((tr: what did it contain?))

Woman: *un peu d'argent, pas beaucoup... 50 francs peut-être, mes clefs et une photo de mes enfants* ((tr: a little money, not much ... 50 francs, perhaps, my keys and a photo of my children))

Policeman: *un petit instant madame, je vais voir* ((tr: one moment, I'll have a look))

(Cassette finishes)

T: *alors .. alors qu'est-ce que la dame a perdu?* ((tr: well, well what did the woman lose?))

LL: *son sac à main* ((tr: her handbag))

In this case we see use of a single shift marker (*alors*) and we can hear in the video slightly raised pitch and tempo. The next episode change is from the teacher asking the learners questions to the learners asking each other questions about the text:

Extract 135

T: how about you having a go at asking each other *des questions en français sur ce texte?* ((tr: in French about this text?))

Here no shift marker is used, although there is raised pitch and tempo at the beginning of the teacher's utterance and a change from the L1 to the L2. After the learners have asked each other questions, the next episode change is as follows, revising aspects of the unit :

Extract 136

T: right let's just check on checkpoint four.

In this case we see use of a single shift marker and slightly raised pitch and tempo. There are several other episode shifts during this lesson, but they all conform to the basic pattern of being marked by use of a single (or no) shift marker and slightly raised pitch and tempo. Although there are two shifts of context during the lesson, only one was captured on the video data. Following a role play in which the learners were working in pairs, the teacher reassembles the learners as a whole class:

Extract 137

T: **right... now** at the risk of being unconventional well there's no risk at all (laughs)

LL: (laugh)

T: **right** I'm actually going to just move on a bit I'm just so aware of passing time ... and ... just check something (checks papers) papers flying all over the place (10 sec) (checks papers) **right** can we have a look please *à la page cent vingt-cinq cent vingt-cinq* .. ((tr: at page 125, 125)). **now** this is a complete change of subject and I know it's ten to eight but I don't care because we've only got two weeks left ... **right?** (Bold emphasis added)

Here we have initial use of two shift markers, as well as further use of four shift markers later on (marked in bold). There is initial raised pitch, volume and tempo, although I could hear no qualitative difference between the pitch, volume and tempo here and during the episode shifts. We do notice, however, that the context shift takes considerably more time to manage than the episode shifts and that the size of the shift is emphasised here ("this is a complete change of subject") whereas attention is not paid to the nature of the shift during episode shift. The teacher in the above extract also appears to be apologising for introducing a context shift so late in the lesson, which seems to imply that a context shift is relatively more strenuous and demanding for the learners to cope with than an episodal shift.

To summarise, shifts in episode and in context always seem to be marked in some way by the teacher. They may be marked by use of:

- a) shift markers
- b) prosodic features, especially pitch, volume, tempo and stress.
- c) changes in the spatial configuration of the participants
- d) metadiscoursal comments which indicate that a shift is occurring
- e) semiotic means (as in section 9.5)

f) kinesics - this is evident from the video data although this study does not otherwise deal with kinesics

In general, shifts in context appear in the data to be more heavily emphasised than shifts in episode. This may occur through use of a greater number of shift markers, more exaggerated prosodic features or kinesics, through a greater time spent organising the shift in context or through greater use of metadiscoursal comments. This study, then, has found no cases of shifts occurring without any kind of marking whatsoever. At first sight, then, this appears to contradict Van Lier's findings:

“... a common method of closing an episode is by opening the next one..... In many cases it turns out that there appear to be no surface indications of closure or imminent closure, but rather the opening of the next episode simultaneously does the work of closing. The reason for this is not hard to find: closings in lessons are often not negotiated matters to be decided between the participants, but are simply executed by the teacher through the starting of the next episode. The teacher does not have to propose closure to the learners, but rather just closes - such is the power of authority.” (1988a: 176)

However, this discrepancy can be accounted for in the following way. Van Lier's study focuses on the presence or absence of shift markers as evidence of shifts, whereas this study proposes that shifts can be marked in six different ways. This study also found that episode shift can take place without use of shift markers (which concurs with Van Lier's findings) but that the shift was marked by other means. So I believe that the findings of this study do not in fact contradict Van Lier's.

10 Tension between L2 Classroom Contexts

The discussion so far may have given the impression that L2 classroom contexts are always discrete and unproblematic entities and that there is always mutual agreement among participants as to which context is in operation at any given time. This chapter argues that reality is frequently not so neat or clear-cut, and that the data show evidence of tension between L2 classroom contexts which may be manifested as competition between contexts and as confusion as to which context is in operation. While the presentation so far has focused on clarity of concept, the presentation from now on focuses on extracts which are problematic or ambiguous. Whereas it was clear to participants in previous chapters which context was in operation, we will be looking here at two types of problematic case. Firstly, participants can be unsure as to which context they are operating in. Secondly, some participants can show resistance to a particular context by producing utterances which are inappropriate to that context, or by trying to shift context.

10.1 Struggles for Control of Contexts

Because L2 classroom interaction can shift rapidly and fluidly between contexts and because teacher's and learners' motivations and orientations do not always coincide, tension between contexts sometimes occurs. The most common tension between contexts occurs in the data between form and accuracy and 'classroom as speech community' contexts. One could also express this in pedagogical terms as tension between a focus on form and a focus on

meaning. A common scenario in the data is for learners to protest (generally in an indirect or oblique way) that the form and accuracy context interaction which they are producing bears little resemblance to real-world meaning, and that they have little interactional space to express personal meanings. In other words, learners often seem to hint that they would like to move more towards a 'classroom as speech community' context. As Willis (1992: 176) puts it: "This is very typical; students escaping from teacher-imposed control, and teacher trying to bring the focus back to language form." In the extract below we can see tension between form and accuracy and 'classroom as speech community' contexts and a struggle between teacher and student for control of the L2 classroom context.

Extract 138

- 1 T: ...OK? Chemical pollution. OK.
- 2 L4: (yawning) Ooo
- 3 T: Trousers. Alright, Carlos (L4), do you wear trousers?
- 4 L4: Always .. All my life.
- 5 LL: (laughter)
- 6 T: Always. You've worn, I have...
- 7 L4: Eh wear wear (inaudible).
- 8 T: I have ... well, do you wear trousers?
- 9 L5: I wear, I wear.
- 10 LL: I wear, I wear.
- 11 L4: Yes, I I do.
- 12 T: Yes, you do. What's how do you say that word?
- 13 L4: Trousers.
- 14 T: Trousers.
- 15 L4: Trousers.
- 16 T: Trousers.
- 17 L4: Trousers.
- 18 L3: Trousers.
- 19 T: Mm hm. Have you got trousers on?
- 20 L3: Yes, I have.
- 21 T: What kind?
- 22 L3: Jeans.
- 23 T: Jean

(Long 1983: 14)

In line 3, T is asking L4 a display question which is intended merely as a prompt for the production of a particular string of linguistic forms by L4. It is obvious from the classroom situation that Carlos does wear trousers. L4, however, responds as if a 'classroom as speech community' context were in operation and as if T were asking a genuine or referential question which requested real information. This highlights the 'absurd' nature of the question. Disrupting expectations and being cheeky are always good sources of humour and the learners laugh. Long, who observed this lesson, comments that the teacher here was reasserting his authority (after line 5) by means of the drill and behaving like a sergeant-major trying to break the spirit of unruly recruits. Long notes (1983: 4) that "The teacher's initial choice of L4 as recipient of his question seemed to the observer to be motivated by his recognition that L4 was bored and thereby indirectly challenging the usefulness of the lesson." Part of the teacher's institutional authority is vested in his/her ability to control contexts and speech exchange systems in the classroom. A learner who attempts to shift (or challenge) a context or speech exchange system introduced by the teacher is performing a face-threatening act (Brown and Levinson 1987). We often find in the data that the teacher takes corrective action to regain control of a context and/or speech exchange system. In extract 138 the teacher is, according to Long, quite overt about this; in the following extracts we will see the teacher regaining control in a more subtle way. From the perspective of this thesis we can also say that the teacher in the above extract is re-establishing the nature of the context as purely form and accuracy through a series of corrections based on formal accuracy, so that when T asks further 'absurd' display questions in lines 19 and 21 T gets the required string of linguistic forms in response.

Extract 139

(L2 is male and L6 is female)

- 1 T: okay do you have any questions about using these words? okay?
- 2 L: okay
- 3 L6: yeah
- 4 T: what
- 5 L6: how many- girlfriends do you have here? (to L2)
- 6 L2: o::h
- 7 T: how many **girl**friends (stress first syllable) does he have here?
- 8 L6: yes
- 9 L: ((unintelligible))
- 10 L2: are you very interesting? (meaning: interested)
- 11 LL: ((unintelligible))
- 12 T: that's his business. he's not telling you
- 13 LL: (modest laughter)
- 14 L6: I cry
- 15 T: You cry
- 16 LL: (loud laughter)
- 17 T: are you jealous?
- 18 L6: ya

(Van Lier 1988a: 160)

According to Van Lier (1988a: 160) the above extract shows learners attempting to change a specific interaction type into another one because they prefer just talking to other, more regimented activities. From the point of view of this thesis, we can say that the learners would like to shift from form and accuracy to 'classroom as speech community' context, from a focus on linguistic form to a focus on the expression of personal meanings. In line 1, the teacher constrains the next turn by specifying the next turn activity (asking a question) but does not select a speaker. The teacher also implies that the interaction should remain within a form and accuracy context in that he/she indicates that the questions should be about using specified words. L6 then self-selects and partly conforms to the teacher's constraints by asking a question (line 5). However, the question is not within the allocated area (the use of specified words) and, more importantly, it shifts the context to 'classroom as speech community' context, since it concerns classroom relationships. We noted in

section 6.2 that incidences of 'oh' are common in this context (and relatively rare in form and accuracy contexts) and in fact this is the second utterance we find within this context in line 6 (the context shift having taken place in line 5). L2 was clearly not expecting this sudden shift. Moreover, when T allocated interactional space to the learners in line 1, it was clearly in order for the learners to ask the teacher him/herself a question. L6 has in effect not only shifted the context but also altered the speech exchange system by addressing a question to L2, thus cutting T out of the interaction. So, as in the previous extract, L6 has in effect performed a face-threatening act. At this stage the teacher could react in a number of ways. The teacher could reject L6's attempt to change the context and the speech exchange system in the 'sergeant-major' fashion we saw in extract 138, for example by insisting that only questions addressed to him/her and concerning the specified words would be allowed. At the other extreme, the teacher could validate the shift of context and speech exchange system by saying nothing and allowing the interaction to flow.

What the teacher elects to do in line 7 is a third, medial alternative. The teacher corrects L6's pronunciation, addressing the correction to L6. This initially appeared to me to be a very odd thing for T to do, since it is clear that L2 and T both understood what L6 meant perfectly well. However, after studying the extract many times, it became evident to me that T's utterance is actually doing a great deal of interactional work. It allows L6's limited right to alter the flow of the interaction to some extent but also reasserts the teacher's right to have overall control to some extent. Specifically, the teacher's initial intention was to remain in form and accuracy context. The learner shifted to 'classroom as speech community' and the teacher's correction is focused on linguistic form rather than on meaning. In other words, T has not yet validated a shift in L2 classroom context. There appears to be no communicative necessity for T to perform a correction because L2 in line 6 appears to have

understood L6's question, even if it was mispronounced slightly. T has also clearly understood L6's question. In fact there is no interactional necessity for T to say anything at all if T wishes to validate the shift made by L6. We should also note that L6's question in line 5 uses 'you' addressed to L2, cutting T out of the interaction. T's correction in line 7 transforms 'you' to 'he', thus making it into a question which L6 could address to T as intermediary, which would put T back in the centre of the speech exchange system. So T is hinting that L6 should ask instead "how many girlfriends does he have here?". So line 7 can best be interpreted as the teacher asserting his/her right to control the L2 classroom context and the focus of the interaction and refusing to be shut out of the speech exchange system.

The interaction continues in line 10 with L2 answering L6's question and addressing the answer to L6. In other words, L2 is attempting to continue in the L2 classroom context and speech exchange system which L6 established, and is skip-connecting back to L6's utterance in line 5. At this stage the teacher could react in a number of ways. The teacher could change the context and the speech exchange system back to the way it was in 'sergeant-major' fashion. At the other extreme, the teacher could validate the shift of context and speech exchange system by saying nothing and allowing the interaction to flow. Or the teacher could follow the same strategy as in line 7 and correct the linguistic error which L2 has made in line 10. What T elects to do in lines 12 and 17 is a fourth alternative. The teacher validates the shift of context and the topic of 'classroom relationships' but does not validate the shift in speech exchange system. T does not correct the linguistic error in line 10 but in effect develops the topic by commenting on the classroom relationship. T in effect takes back control of the speech exchange system and acts as an intermediary between L2 and L6, interpreting (in line 12) L2's reactions to L6. In line 17, T asks L2 a question

related to the topic of classroom relationships which L6 introduced and by this point T has validated the shift in context but has regained control of the speech exchange system within the new context. So the extract demonstrates complex and fluid patterns of interaction with competition amongst the participants for control of context and speech exchange system.

In the following extract we see another example of tension between form and accuracy context and 'classroom as speech community' context. At this stage of the lesson the learners have been practising the paired structures "Do you like -ing? Yes, I like -ing *or* No, I don't like -ing." A form and accuracy context is clearly in operation.

Extract 140

- 1 T: Ask erm Sokoop, Sokoop being erm a father. Can you ask
2 him? Being a father
3 L1: Er, yes, er yes. Do you like being a father?
4 T: Um, hm.
5 L2: Yes, I like. I am er father of four children.
6 T: Yes. Listen to her question, though. Say again. Say it
7 again.
8 L1: Do you like er being a father?
9 T: Uhm. Do you like being a father? Do you like being a
10 father?
11 L2: Yes I like being ... to be
12 T: Um hm. Yes.
13 L2: Yes I like being. Yes I do.
14 T: Yes I do. Yes I do. I like being a father.

(Willis 1992: 173)

T's pedagogical purposes here are for L2 to produce a specific string of linguistic forms, namely: "Yes, I do. I like being a father". This is evident from line 14. In line 5, L2 appears to believe that it is possible for him to express some kind of personal meaning and volunteers more information than is strictly necessary. This appears to indicate that L2 might wish to express further personal meanings within a 'classroom as speech community'

context, and T could at this point have validated such a temporary shift by asking, for example, how many of the children were boys and how many were girls. However, the teacher keeps the focus rigidly on the production of correct linguistic forms and initiates repair until L2 is finally able, in line 13, to produce the required string of forms in at least a partial form. The teacher ensures, then, that the interaction remains within a form and accuracy context. This extract demonstrates the difficulty of combining a focus on form and meaning. If the teacher does not initiate repair then incorrect forms are in effect accepted, and if the teacher does initiate repair then the flow of interaction is broken up and it appears that the teacher is not interested in the learners' expression of personal meanings. So in this extract the teacher chose to introduce a question within a form and accuracy context which could well have led to a 'classroom as speech community' context being established. After L2's answer, however, the teacher chose to firmly re-establish the focus on form and accuracy.

L2 takes the question in line 3 to be a genuine or referential question and provides an answer as if a 'classroom as speech community' context were in operation. L2 does not produce the required string of forms, however, in line 5. It is unclear here whether L2 is deliberately trying to shift context in order to express personal meanings (as in the previous extract), or whether he has just misunderstood the nature of the question and believes that T has sanctioned a shift. Willis (who recorded the interaction) implies that L2 has misunderstood. Willis analyses the extract in a similar way, using her 'Inner and Outer' system. She suggests (1992: 172) that it is difficult for L2 to tell whether the teacher's question is a directive to use a particular form of the target language in the response, or a genuine question which requires an informative and truthful answer.

In line 5, then, L2 does not orient to the structure which he is being asked to produce, i.e. he does not orient to the form and accuracy context which is in place. So instead of producing the target structure “Yes, I like being a father.”, L2 orients to the propositional content or personal meaning of the question, i.e. he orients to a ‘classroom as speech community’ context instead and produces the utterance: “Yes, I .. I am er father of four children.” Now this happened because it was clearly possible to take the question in line 3 as either a prompt within a form and accuracy context to produce a string of linguistic forms or alternatively as a referential question within a ‘classroom as speech community’ context which requires new information to be supplied regardless of linguistic form. From the point of view of this thesis, we can suggest that there a tension between contexts inherent in the question in line 3. I propose to term such utterances which have an inbuilt contextual tension *contextually ambiguous utterances*.

In the data, learners often seem to self-select in form and accuracy contexts in whole-class interaction when they want to express personal meanings, and this involves changing the context temporarily. The following extract is preceded by form and accuracy work based on the structure ‘does/do x like xing’.

Extract 141

- 1 T: Ask er Constantine er living in Cheltenham.
- 2 L1: Cheltenham?
- 3 T: Cheltenham. That’s his town.
- 4 L1: Er do you like living in Cheltenham?
- 5 L2: Yes I do.
- 6 T: Um hm. Good. What about erm ..ask your wife ..washing the
- 7 dishes
- 8 All: (laughter)
- 9 L2: Do you like er doing dishes?
- 10 T: Mm
- 11 L3: No I don’t like (laughs) wash er dishes

12 T: [doing or washing mm
 13 L3: But I have to, every time
 14 T: [Yes, that's quite right! In fact you hate
 15 washing the dishes (laughs) but you have to do it.
 16 L3: [But in in England
 17 T: Mm
 18 L3: Many husbands help er in er kitchens
 19 T: Yes
 20 L4: [Oh!
 21 L3: In my country, er, I don't like er men er help er wife
 22 wash
 23 T: Yes. men don't like helping mm
 24 LL: [Thank you, thank you!
 25 T: Men don't like helping.
 26 L3: Men don't, don't like helping.
 27 T: Don't like helping
 28 L3: [like helping
 29 T: Helping
 30 L3: Helping
 31 T: Say it again. Men don't like helping.
 32 L3: Men don't like helping
 33 L4: [But in England, er Virginia!
 34 L3: [Men don't like helping.
 35 T: helping.
 36 L3: helping
 37 T: //That's right
 38 L4: //But in England, Constantine, I want to er
 39 L3: //No, no, no, is er ... my son in law

(Willis 1987: 157-158)

From lines 1-15 the basic speech exchange system is as follows: the teacher allocates turns in that learners have to ask a question to other learners. A specific sequence of linguistic forms is targeted in the question, although the teacher presumably does not know what the answer will be, since it is concerned with the learners' personal experiences. The teacher's place in the speech exchange system thus set up is, once turns and prompts have been

allocated, to evaluate the interaction and conduct repair if errors of linguistic form have been made. Up to this point, then, there is a very high degree of constraint. However, as we can see from line 16 onwards, L3 self-selects to express something which is personally meaningful. L3 is not actually introducing a new topic, since washing-up was introduced by the teacher, but L3 is self-selecting and initiating (Willis codes this utterance as 'Initiation'). Furthermore, L3 is not sticking to the structures which are being practised. In effect, then, L3 is shifting the context temporarily to 'classroom as speech community' context in order to express personal meanings. A new speech exchange system is very temporarily created, with the learner attempting to express personal meaning, and the teacher back-channelling. After the learner's meaning has become clear in line 23, however, the teacher switches the context back to form and accuracy, from lines 25-33, insisting on correct pronunciation. Further evidence of self-selection is in lines 36-39, in which we have competition for the floor with 3 participants speaking simultaneously; L4 gains the floor subsequent to this extract.

Tension between form and accuracy and 'classroom as speech community' contexts can be manifested in a different way in terms of confusion amongst learners as to which context is operating. We sometimes find evidence of learners believing they are operating in a form and accuracy context, whereas the teacher is intending to operate in a 'classroom as speech community' context. This may be because the teacher has not marked the shift in context sufficiently or because the learners were not paying enough attention.

Extract 142

- T: Have you got any brothers and sisters, Pedro?
L: Yes, I have.
T: You have, good. how many?

L: Er, no, er I no ...

(Tsui 1987: 341)

As Tsui (1987: 341) points out, the teacher's question is treated as an elicitation of a grammatical form. Teacher's questions are generally understood within a form and accuracy context as directives to make a verbal performance (although see extracts 138-40), and so genuine or referential questions produced by the teacher may therefore be mistaken by the learner as a prompt for language practice.

Extract 143

L1: And uh, in the afternoon, uh, I come home and uh, uh, I uh, washing my dog.

T: I wash

L1: My dog.

T: Every day you wash your dog?

L1: No.

L2: *Il n'a pas de chien!* ((tr: He doesn't have a dog!))

L1: *Non, mais on peut le dire!* ((tr: No, but we can say it!))

(Lightbown and Spada 1993: 80)

Here L1 has understood that he/she is operating in a form and accuracy context and has to produce a verbal performance without regard to real-world meaning. As Lightbown and Spada (1993: 80) note, "Clearly, in this case, the student's real experience with his dog (or even the fact that he did or did not have a dog) was irrelevant. What mattered was the correct use of the simple present verb."

One often finds the tension between the contexts being exploited by the teacher as a source of humour:

Extract 144

T: (modelling) I'm a student. Teacher.

L: I'm a teacher.

T: Are you?

LL: (laughter)

(Long 1983: 14)

In extract 138 we found a learner treating a display question within a form and accuracy context as if it were a referential question within a 'classroom as speech community' context, thus provoking laughter and challenging the teacher. Here we find the opposite - the teacher is treating the answer to a display question within a form and accuracy context as if it were the answer to a referential question within a 'classroom as speech community' context, thus provoking laughter. Tension between form and accuracy context and 'classroom as speech community' context, then, can often cause confusion and communication trouble.

10.2 Deviant Cases in the Establishment of Context

As Levinson (1983: 319) points out, a key source of verification that an interactional organisation is actually oriented to by the participants rather than being an artefact of analysis is what happens when a hitch occurs in the organisation. Or as Heritage (1995: 399) puts it, deviant cases often serve to demonstrate the normativity of practices. It will now be argued, by examining 'deviant' cases in extracts from lessons taught by inexperienced teachers who are not yet fully competent in establishing contexts, that the ability to create and manage a context is not something automatic and given, but a skill or competence which is learned, and that an important part of being a competent teacher is the ability to create and manage these classroom contexts. The data are from Antony Peck's untranscribed video

data (references are therefore unavailable): it is an English L2 lesson in a British language school, and the teacher is a trainee.

Extract 145

- 1 L1: I was drive.... drive drive driving a car
2 T: I was driving a car
3 L1: eh when you: eh when drink a=
4 T: =when you
5 L1: when you drank drank a .. a orange
6 T: when you drank an orange .. OK you were driving the car .. when .. you drank
7 an orange ...
8 L1: yes
9 T: OK
10 TLL: (laugh)
11 T: strange .. but OK it's correct OK right this time let's just think (looks at
12 textbook) about these children of courage ... we've got Mark Ticker .. who's
13 aged 12 comes from London Jackie Martin 14 comes from Manchester and
14 Daniel Clay who's 13 and comes from Newcastle right can you see the
15 pictures? can you see them Malta?
16 LL: hhh
17 T: right children of courage ... what do you think children of courage will do?
18 what do children of courage do? or what did they do . rather .. what
19 did they do? (2 sec) what does courage mean? what's this idea of I am
20 courageous (2 sec) how would you describe me? (2 sec)

(Antony Peck's video data)

There is a shift of context in this extract. Prior to line 11 the participants were operating in a form and accuracy context, in which learners had to construct sentences which combined the past continuous and the past simple. We can see from the teacher's comment in line 11 that the fact that the learner has produced a bizarre sentence is unimportant, since the focus is on the production of a string of formally accurate linguistic forms without regard to 'meaning'. The change to a text-based context is signalled kinesically by the teacher's non-verbal communication, including shifting gaze towards the textbook simultaneously with starting to read information from the textbook concerning the characters. There is also

use of shift markers together with raised pitch and volume. The teacher appears therefore to have shifted to a text-based context, but the precise pedagogical focus is unclear, as we shall see. At first (lines 17-19) the teacher appears to want the learners to predict the content of the story (“what do you think children of courage will do?”), and then to describe the content of the story which they have not yet read . Then the teacher tries to elicit the meaning of a single lexical item (line 19), and then asks the learners to supply a description of herself (line 20). So although the learners can be fairly clear that they are now in a text-based context in that they are apparently being required to look at the text and supply an answer from the text, they have been given four contradictory sets of pedagogical purposes by the teacher.

Extract 145 (continued)

- 21 L2: I describe one person?
22 T: yes well anybody if if you ... were one of these children ... of
23 courage (7 sec)
24 L3: don't understand
25 T: you don't understand . OK people of courage. what would they have done? ..
26 what would they do?

27 L4: he is on holiday?

(Antony Peck's video data)

L2 has latched onto the teacher's last instruction (line 20) and tries to clarify whether the required pedagogical purpose is to describe the characters in the text. T's utterance in line 22 does nothing to clarify the issue. L3 also indicates non-comprehension, but rather than clarifying which of the four sets of pedagogical purposes, which have already been introduced, the learners should focus on, the teacher actually takes a previous question (from line 17), changes the subject from 'children' to 'people', and changes the tense of the

question twice, thus confusing the learners further. L4 assumes that the required pedagogical purpose is to describe what the characters in the text are doing and provides an answer from the textbook in line 27.

Extract 145 (continued)

- 28 T: they're on holidays no but to be courageous do you understand the word
29 courageous? courageous?
30 L: no I don't
31 T: no? courageous (6 sec) courageous (2 sec) what would you have done?
32 (2 sec) no?
33 L: no
34 T: no idea (1 sec) OK for example ... somebody ... is lying in the road what
35 do I do? (4 sec) no? . or ... I'll carry on the action ..., I come in .. I see this
36 person on the road and I run to them .. I see if they are alive .. they're not
37 breathing ... so: I turn them over and I give them the kiss of life .. for
38 example (1 sec) give them the kiss of life and they begin to breath (3 sec) then
39 I .. go to the telephone box and I ring an ambulance .. I come back to my
40 casualty and I have saved: his life (2 sec) right? so me, I am courageous ..
41 yeah? I'm courageous .. I'm brave I've done something I've helped this person
42 .. yeah? do you understand?
43 LL: yeah
44 T: Ok so if there has been an accident, for example .. any accident ... and
45 somebody comes to help ... and they find someone in a difficult situation and
46 they are practically dying or er maybe they are ... erm in a dangerous place,
47 for example on a cliff .. on a mountain in the sea or something like that ... in
48 a lake. they fell in .. I come along and they need help because they can't
49 get out, right? and I help them ... the person who helps them would be
50 courageous do you understand? ... brave ... so all these children here it says
51 children of courage OK? they had courage .. they helped they saw a danger and
52 they helped the person OK?
53 LL: hhm

(Antony Peck's video data)

So finally the teacher narrows the pedagogical purpose down to the meaning of the lexical item 'courageous' and provides two long explanations. The learners indicate that they understand the meaning of the word, although this is not verified. So we can conclude that, if a change in context is to be undertaken, it is essential for the teacher to make the nature of the context and the pedagogical purposes which create the context as clear and as

focused as possible. Presenting multiple pedagogical purposes simultaneously is likely to confuse learners.

In the extract below we will see a trainee teacher who is attempting to create a context, but as in extract 145 the teacher introduces so many apparently contradictory pedagogical purposes that it is difficult for the learners to understand what exactly the nature of the context is, and what the precise pedagogical purposes within the context are. According to Kumaravadivelu (1993: 16-17) the teacher's stated objective was to help the learners learn and use superlative forms, and she is trying to elicit samples with superlative forms:

Extract 146

- 1 T: There are different ways of comparing things, you know. We can compare
2 things ... and one is just as the other. You know what a scale is? A Scale: when
3 you weigh things on it. You know I weigh myself ... (pretends to weigh herself
4 on a scale) I am ... woo, a hundred and fifty pounds. I weigh a hundred and
5 fifty pounds. You know what a scale is? ... Sometimes it is easier for you to
6 understand what it is if it's written, is that correct? (Writes 'scale' on
7 blackboard.) Do you know what a scale is?
8 LL: Yah.

(Kumaravadivelu 1993: 20-21)

According to Kumaravadivelu, the teacher is attempting a deductive presentation of the selected grammatical point. At this point, however, the learners might well consider that there is in fact a lexical focus on the meaning of the word 'scale'. This could, for example, be a prelude to a text-based context in which an understanding of the word 'scale' is vital to comprehension of the text.

Extract 146 (continued)

9 T: All right you weigh things ... OK? You weigh things on a scale. OK. And ...
10 s ... when we have a scale ... and we put two things on a scale they are the
11 same. It will not go up or down, right? It will be like this, all right? When one
12 is heavier than the other, what happens? (Gestures) Boop ... goes down, right?
13 And in between the two extremes, there is a variety, right? We can express that
14 in language, right? We can express the idea in language, right? We can say you
15 are as tall as I am, right? You are ... eh ... taller than I am. What happens here?
16 We are the same, right? Everybody ... he is as tall as I am. He is taller than
17 I am, right? You are ... nothing personal, I am just playing right now ... you
18 are smaller than I am, right? And, Mr. X (referring to the colleague operating
19 the camera) is the tallest ... of all, right? Eh ... but then we can also say
20 (writes on blackboard) OK ... Mr. Wallace is the tallest .. of what ... the tallest.
21 Sometimes you don't have to use all of it because we know what we are talking
22 about, right? In a conversation if we don't know sometimes we may just have
23 to say yes or no, you know, and sometimes we have to give more information,
24 OK? (writes on blackboard) is the tallest of the class, right?

(Kumaravadivelu 1993: 20-21)

By line 24 the focus of the lesson seems to be narrowing down to the expression of comparison, and there is actually a sentence on the board which is an example of a superlative. Since the teacher's stated objective is to have the learners produce utterances using the superlative structure, we can now consider that the focus has been adequately established.

Extract 146 (continued)

25 T: All right? Eh ... let's see ... Let's make a sentence with eh the same, OK? I
26 am ...
27 L5: ... as tall as you.
28 T: You don't understand what I am what I want.
29 L5: The same?
30 T: The same, yah ... give me a sentence with the same.
31 L3: I am as tall as you are.
32 T: OK (writes on blackboard: 'I am as tall as you are'.) OK. Eh .. most of the time
33 ... most of the time ... or, let me put it this way ... there are probably more
34 things that are different, right, than the same. Would you agree with me? Yah?

(Break in interactional sequence)

(Kumaravadivelu 1993: 20-21)

However, the procedural instructions which the teacher gives are ambiguous: the teacher wants the learners to produce sentences using the same **structure**, but unfortunately the teacher elides the term 'structure'. Ellipsis can be therefore considered dangerous when giving procedural instructions, and we may conclude that it is best for procedural instructions to be as full and explicit as possible. L5 believes that **"the same"** means that the teacher wants him/her to transform the sentence on the board from a superlative structure to a comparison of equality structure, i.e. an 'as..as' structure. We can see in lines 25-30 that the learner and the teacher understand different things by the term **"the same"** and this is reinforced by the fact that another learner (L3) shows exactly the same interpretation of the instructions as L5 in line 31. Both L5 and L3 produce sentences using a comparison of equality structure. The teacher does not appear to be aware of the nature of the misunderstanding and seems to feel compelled to accept the same type of utterance which she rejected in line 28 and writes it up on the board. She then attempts to explain that she is looking for superlative structures rather than comparisons of equality.

Extract 146 (continued)

- 35 T: Let's see if we can talk about the worst ... the coldest ... you know the most
36 the most negative ... OK. All right, the most negative ... OK. All right, the
37 most negative. What's the worst for you? The worst experience ... or something
38 something that you really ... now we've talked about tornado and earthquakes,
39 right?
40 L9: We ((unint)) Tuscaloosa is the worst thing ((unint)) tornado ...
41 T: Tornado?
42 L9: Yes
43 T: The worst thing that they have in ... OK. What about in your country? What
44 is the worst thing in your country? We've talked about some good things ...

45 Let's see the ... we have also to talk about bad ... right? What's the worst you
 46 can think about your country? If you have to say one thing really bad, what
 47 would you say? ... (long pause) ... you have to think ... all right? That's good.
 48 You know . think . ((unint)) one thing about country .. I can tell you one bad
 49 thing about the Midwest ... Midwest has very bad weather ... It has perhaps the
 50 worst weather of all ... states that I have lived in. It's not true ... but it seems
 51 ... It's very cold. It's much colder than here ... much much colder than here ...
 52 and the sun does not shine very often ... OK, the sun doesn't shine enough. You
 53 understand what I mean ... doesn't shine enough, all right. Now, what about
 54 your country?

(Kumaravadivelu 1993: 20-21)

Now the problem here is that the teacher is actually moving the focus away from the grammatical structure which has been targeted and written up on the board, seemingly in an attempt to contextualise the superlative structure. The learners may well believe now that the focus has shifted to a 'classroom as speech community' context, in which they are able to freely express themselves concerning their lives and matters of personal interest. In line 40, L9 uses a superlative structure incorrectly, but T does not repair the linguistic error. In fact in the learner utterances which follow below (lines 55-87) there is no attempt to produce a superlative form; the teacher accepts all of the learner utterances and does not prompt production of the superlative form.

Extract 146 (continued)

55 L7: Japan has a lot of ((unintelligible))
 56 T: A lot of ...?
 57 L7: Earthquakes.
 58 T: Earthquakes ... Earthquakes.
 59 L7: Earthquakes.
 60 T: Mmm yah, that sounds ... eh ... that sounds scary ... does it does it interfere
 61 with your daily life?
 62 LL: Mm
 63 T: Yes. Everywhere in Japan? Are there earthquake dangers everywhere in Japan?
 64 L7: Almost everywhere.
 65 T: Almost everywhere. H ... hm ... all right. OK. What about your country?

- 66 L1: We have a lot of typhoons.
67 T: What is a typhoon? Does everybody know what a typhoon is? Right, if we all
68 know we don't have to waste our time, right? That's good. Do you agree? I
69 mean. Yah?
70 L1: I agree.
71 T: Hmm, I would think that ... what about language? Some of you ... not Japan
72 ... but ... Taiwan ... is a problem of language, right, because there are so many
73 different dialects ... right ... of China ... Chinese? Isn't there a problem? When
74 there are ... communication problems, right?
75 L9: ((unint)) we have the same ... so many ((unint)) that's no problem.
76 T: But, Chinese language ... has many different dialects, right?
77 L9: Yes.
78 T: And that's a that is a most serious problem if you want to ... be able to
79 communicate ... There is another country that has the same problem. Which is
80 that? Which country?
81 L5: India? Problems of ((unint))
82 T: India ... too many languages ... the most languages of all countries ... I don't
83 know what the number of languages ... OK ... All right.

(Kumaravadivelu 1993: 20-21)

By the end of the extract, the focus has shifted from “talk about the worst thing in your country”, which has at least some connection with superlatives, to “talk about anything which might be a problem in your country”. The learners would by now be understandably confused as to the nature of the context and as to what exactly the teacher's pedagogical purposes are at this point in the lesson.

We can see from the deviant cases, then, that contexts are interactional organisations which are actively constructed and maintained by experienced teachers. Without careful management there can be confusion as to which context is in operation at any given time. Both of the two previous extracts were taught by inexperienced trainee teachers, and it is possible to draw certain conclusions from them. It is easy to confuse learners with respect to classroom procedures and as to which context is in operation at a particular time. It may be best to state explicitly what the pedagogical purposes are, and it may be best to introduce

one pedagogical purpose at a time, otherwise learners may become confused. This point is also made by Johnson (1995: 163):

“Explicit directions and concrete explanations can help second language students recognize the implicit norms that regulate how they are expected to act and interact in classroom events. Without such explicitness, second language students can become confused about what is expected of them, or how they should participate.”

Now if we contrast the way that experienced teachers a) set up contexts and b) deal with communication problems, we may be able to draw certain preliminary conclusions. With experienced teachers, few examples of miscommunication occur in the data. Experienced teachers do not generally issue elaborate procedural instructions in order to set up contexts; they tend to be simple, clear and focused: see section 9.4. In the extract below, we see how an experienced teacher deals with miscommunication concerning procedural matters.

Extract 147

- T: I've got a sofa a sofa say after me I've got a sofa
LL: I've got a sofa
T: very good and now I need Kjartan and Elge.. can you come up to me please and can you give each one a sheet?
L: sheet?
T: sheet of paper (LL hand out sheets)
T: now again....., listen to me....., I've got a lamp
LL: I've got a lamp
[
T: what
T: don't repeat now, don't say after me now. I I say it and you and you just listen. I've got a lamp. what have you got?....., raise your hands. what have you got Eirik?
L1: e:r=
T: =can you say=
L1: =I've got a book.
T: right, fine. I've got a telephone. what have you got?, Trygve.
L2: I've got a hammer.

(Norwegian data: 468)

In the above extract there is a change in episode. This is indicated by movement around the classroom and the handing out of sheets. The teacher makes explicit the nature of the new episode and the new speech exchange system, but some of the learners try to repeat what the teacher says, i.e. they are continuing the speech exchange system from the previous episode. When the learners show signs of having misunderstood the procedure, the experienced teacher narrows the focus down by insisting, repeating and clarifying the procedural instructions already given. When the trainee teachers are confronted with miscommunication concerning procedural instructions, however, the strategy they adopt is virtually the opposite of that of the experienced teacher. They move away from the procedural instructions already given and enlarge the focus considerably by issuing multiple differing and even mutually contradictory pedagogical purposes.

10.3 Synthesised Contexts

Previous chapters (5-8) have tried to delineate contexts in as unambiguous a fashion as possible. It will be clear from previous discussions that there is no single context which appears to be self-evidently 'the best'. All contexts appear to have advantages and disadvantages, and given that all individual contexts have inherent disadvantages and limitations, one might wonder why advantageous characteristics of individual contexts could not be combined to create a synthesised context. There are in fact instances in the data which suggest that this is exactly what some individual teachers attempt to do. I will call these contexts *synthesised contexts*. In a synthesised context there is a base context which has 'grafted' onto it certain pedagogical and interactional features which are atypical of that context but which are typical of another context. It is of course possible to argue that these synthesised contexts are in fact L2 classroom contexts in their own right, but I do not have

a sufficient collection of instances to reach any firm conclusions on this point. In order to exemplify the reasons why teachers might be interested in creating synthesised contexts I will firstly examine the disadvantages inherent in a form and accuracy context and a 'classroom as speech community' context. I will then look at the theoretical interest in combining the desirable features of both contexts in the form of a 'dual focus', and then examine interactional evidence concerning the ways in which teachers try to create a 'synthesised' context.

The problems inherent in extreme focuses on form and on meaning

The last twenty years have seen a protracted debate in language teaching concerning the relative merits of focusing on accuracy and form as opposed to focusing on fluency and meaning. I would first like to illustrate the problems inherent in both an extreme focus on form and accuracy and an extreme focus on meaning and fluency by examining extracts from classroom transcripts. When I use the terms 'extreme' focus on form and accuracy (as in extract 148) and 'extreme' focus on meaning and fluency (as in extract 149), I mean that the focus has shifted so far and so exclusively to one end of the continuum that discernible problems have been created at the other end of the continuum. I hope to illustrate this point in the following discussion.

Extract 148

- T: Do you make your bed every morning
(nods)
L: Yes, I make my bed every morning
T: (shakes his head)
L: No, I don't make my bed every morning
T: Does your father make your bed every morning
L: Yes, my father makes my bed every morning

- T: Does your little brother make your bed every morning
(demonstrates a small brother)
- L: Yes, my little brother makes my bed every morning
- T: (shakes his head vigorously)
- L: No, my little brother doesn't make my bed every morning
I have no little brother

(Bolte and Herrlitz 1986: 206)

This type of extreme form-focused or accuracy-focused classroom activity has been subject to extensive attack for decades now, and it is probably unnecessary to point out its disadvantages. The learner himself/herself highlights (in the last line of the extract) the lack of correspondence between the forms practised and any kind of real-world meaning. There is no scope for fluency development in such a rigid lockstep approach and the discourse is 'unnatural' in that such transformation sequences do not occur outside the classroom. The focus is so exclusively on form and accuracy, then, that problems have been created at the meaning and fluency end of the continuum. It should be pointed out, however, that there is an expectation that learners will produce correct *linguistic forms and a movement to* upgrade learners' interlanguage.

Extract 149

- 1 L: China, yes.
- 2 T: Uh huh. in Greece. What about in Greece. Many bicycles?
- 3 L: Mmm. Bicycles, motor.
- 4 T: Uh huh, In Australia, er, bicycle, er, we wear a helmet.
- 5 LL: Helmet. yes, yes.
- 6 T: Special (gestures) helmet.
- 7 LL: Ohh. Kong.
- 8 L: Malaysia, same, same.
- 9 T: Same in Malaysia?
- 10 LL: Yes, yes.
- 11 L: Moto, moto.
- 12 T: In China a little or a lot?
- 13 L: Motor. Some motor bicycle.
- 14 T: Motor bike.
- 15 L: Yes, yes. Bicycle, no. China, bicycle no. Motor, yes.

- 16: T: Ah huh.
 17: L: Cap, cap
 18: L: Cap.
 19: L: Hat on, hat, hat.
 20: T: Hat.
 21: LL: Hat, hat.
 22: T: Ah, in Australia, motor bike, yes. Yes, yes, yes.
 Bicycle, yes, good (oh). Children, special helmet [helment]
 Helmet, mmm. Special helmet.

(Nunan 1989b: 144)

In the rush away from a focus on form and accuracy, the disadvantages inherent in an extreme focus on meaning and fluency have often been played down or overlooked. When there is an extreme focus on fluency and meaning what we typically find is the teacher downgrading expectations of the linguistic forms which the learner produces, making concessions to understand, accept and praise the learners' interlanguage. In extract 149 we can see the teacher accepting without comment or correction any and every minimal, pidginised interlanguage form which the learner produces. When we examine the teacher's contributions we find that the teacher (a native speaker) is actually downgrading his/her own language to a minimalised, pidginised interlanguage devoid of verbs (apart from line 4) which is in effect mimicking the learners' interlanguage. This is by no means an isolated example - in Nunan (1989b: 142-149) I counted 30 other examples of the teacher producing a minimalised, pidginised, verbless interlanguage within the same lesson. In this extract the need to maintain a minimum focus on linguistic correctness and the need to upgrade learner utterances appear to have been sacrificed on the altar of fluency and meaning.

Nunan (1987: 144) suggests that the lesson from which extract 149 is taken is beginning to be "truly communicative". We can see that the flow of the interaction is maintained and that the learners are able to express personal meanings (after a fashion). However, many teachers would have serious reservations about the instructional value of the interaction in extract 149. The pidginised interlanguage which the teacher is producing is functioning as both

input and model for the learners. The fact that the teacher is accepting any and every interlanguage form which the learners produce without correction or upgrading could of course result in fossilised errors. One has to question how students could ever reach any level of linguistic proficiency in a classroom which contained only such interaction as in extract 149. Lightbown and Spada (1993: 103) point out, “There is increasing evidence that learners continue to have difficulty with the basic structures of the language in programs which offer no form-focused instruction.”. According to Widdowson (1990: 161) “It turns out that learners do not very readily infer knowledge of the language system from their communicative activities.” Looking at extract 149, we can begin to understand why this is the case.

Covering form and meaning, accuracy and fluency

There are clear disadvantages, then, to an extreme focus on form and accuracy, and to an extreme focus on meaning and fluency. The debate continues; Van Lier (1988a: 276) amusingly reports that the opposing camps accuse each other of either ‘fossilphobia’ or ‘pidgin-breeding’. The middle way, covering both form and meaning, accuracy and fluency, would seem to be the most sensible way to proceed, and indeed there currently appears to be a general consensus that it is unwise to neglect either form and accuracy or meaning and fluency. According to Lightbown and Spada (1993: 105), for example:

“...classroom data from a number of studies offer support for the view that form-focused instruction and corrective feedback provided within the context of a communicative program are more effective in promoting second language learning than programs which are limited to an exclusive emphasis on accuracy on the one hand or an exclusive emphasis on fluency on the other.”

How, then, can teachers ensure that form and accuracy are covered together with meaning and fluency? Early communicative approaches to ELT tried to ensure comprehensive coverage in two main ways:

- a) a gradual progression from form-focused activity to meaning-focused activity, from accuracy to fluency as described in Littlewood (1981). The terms Littlewood uses are ‘pre-communicative’ activities and ‘communicative’ activities;
- b) the learners carry out a meaning-focused activity, the teacher notes down errors or deficiencies and uses them as subsequent input for a form-focused activity. This model is often associated with Brumfit (Brumfit and Johnson 1979:183).

Both approaches cover accuracy and fluency, form and meaning, but do not attempt to do so simultaneously. More recent approaches (Ellis 1994; Widdowson 1990), however, discuss the possibility of establishing what I will call a ‘dual focus’, a means of focusing on accuracy and fluency and on form and meaning simultaneously. Ellis (1994: 639) posits two possible approaches to integrating meaning and form, accuracy and fluency. First, activities can be devised that require learners to communicate while also focusing their attention on specific formal properties. Second, teachers can elect to provide feedback on learners’ errors during the course of communication activities. Widdowson (1990: 173) discusses communicative grammar activities which aim to reconcile and combine “...linguistic repetition, with its necessary focus on form, and non-linguistic purpose, with its necessary focus on meaning”.

A simultaneous ‘dual’ focus on both accuracy and fluency, on both form and meaning would, therefore, currently appear to be highly desirable, in that it would offer a neat and

economical way of avoiding both sets of disadvantages. It seems attractive to both theorists and teachers. However, what is the interactional evidence from the classroom? Is it actually possible to maintain a dual focus on form and accuracy and on meaning and fluency at the same time, or is this a purely theoretical construct, a Holy Grail which many seek, but which is never to be found in practice? If it does occur, how is this dual focus achieved and what are its characteristics?

In order to answer these questions, I examined the four databases underlying the current study to see if I could find any clear examples of 'dual' focus. Occurrences of such a dual focus in the data were extremely rare. I was only able to find one single clear and unequivocal example in my database, which may indicate that such a dual focus is not common practice. On the other hand, it could be argued that the criteria which I used were far too narrow and rigid, and that such a dual focus may be quite common. Before discussing the criteria which I used, and before examining the extract, however, it is necessary to consider the issues of 'meaning' and correction.

'Meaningful' and 'meaningless' activities

The issue of whether particular classroom activities are 'meaningful' or 'meaningless' is an extremely complex one, and I feel it has in general been oversimplified by the communicative approach, which has tended to imply that learners will find 'meaning-focused' activities 'meaningful' and 'form-focused' activities 'meaningless'. However, Hymes, the originator of the notion of 'communicative competence' and a major theoretical influence on the communicative approach, states that "... one cannot *a priori* define the sound of approaching footsteps or the setting of the sun as not communicative. Their status is entirely

a question of their construal by a receiver. In general, no phenomenon can be defined in advance as never to be counted as constituting a message.” (1972b: 26). Hymes is elaborating on the emic/etic distinction originally proposed by Pike (1967).

This has implications for the language classroom. It is of relatively minor importance whether a teacher, observer or theorist considers a classroom activity to be ‘meaningful’, ‘authentic’, ‘communicative’ or ‘genuine communication’. What is important is whether the learners themselves validate the activity and find it meaningful, whether they think it has a place in the language classroom and whether it matches their own language learning aims or not. To transplant Hymes’ point to the language teaching arena, the status of the activity is entirely a question of its construal by the learner, rather than by the observer, teacher or theorist.

Hymes’ point appears to have been generally overlooked by communicative writers, however, who have tended to impose their observer’s perspective of what is ‘meaningful’ on the classroom activity and on the interaction without any attempt to portray the learners’ perspectives or orientations. For example, Dinsmore (1985) recorded his colleagues’ EFL lessons in a language school in Japan and “...became aware that lessons also often seemed to pass from meaningless activity to silence, as teachers and students worked at passing the time.” (Dinsmore 1985: 225). Although Dinsmore repeatedly characterises the interaction he observed as ‘meaningless’, he fails to produce any evidence that the students themselves considered the activities to be meaningless. The danger of the kind of approach in which the communicative observer or teacher decides what is meaningful to the learner, in which it is assumed that learners find communicative meaning-focused activities ‘meaningful’ and form-focused activities ‘meaningless’, is graphically illustrated by large-scale research from

the Australian Adult Migrant Education Program reported in Nunan (1988: 89-94). Students were asked to rate the most useful parts of the lesson: 40% nominated grammar exercises as most useful and only 10% nominated communication tasks and problem-solving as most useful. In a survey of the most popular and least popular learning activities, students gave error correction a 'very high' rating, whereas teachers gave error correction a 'low' rating. It is therefore vital to appreciate the relativity of the concept of 'meaning' when applied to classroom activities, and to avoid imposing one's own preconceptions onto the learners: one has to find ways of discovering what the learners find meaningful.

Correction

A heavy emphasis on the correction of erroneous linguistic forms is typically associated with an extreme focus on form and accuracy. What we found in the case of an extreme focus on meaning and fluency (extract 149) was a complete absence of correction of erroneous linguistic forms. Correction policy can thus be seen to play a vital role in the establishment of a focus on either form and accuracy or meaning and fluency. There are many different ways in which a teacher can correct learner utterances: Chaudron (1988: 146-148) lists 31 different types of corrective reaction which a teacher can make. Very many correction techniques result in practice in what CA terms **exposed correction** (Jefferson 1987), in which the flow of the interaction is broken and correction becomes (temporarily, at least) the interactional business. This happens especially if the teacher uses other-initiated self-repair. We can see an example of this in extract 150 below: the error being treated is in the second line, where L1 uses 'what' instead of 'who'.

Extract 150

- T: I'm thinking of my friends from Paris, Sue?
L1: Um ... what are you thinking about?
T: (laughs) That depends if you want to offend your friends, doesn't it? If you want to insult your friends.....
L1: Uh...
T: Do you understand? If you think of your friends as objects (laugh), you say what.
L1: Um, what are you thinking about?
T: No, not what. They are people, aren't they?

(L1 produces the required response 10 lines later)

(Guthrie 1984: 192 (translated from French))

In the above extract, correction becomes the interactional business because the teacher prompts the learner to correct him/herself and the flow of the interaction is considerably impaired as a result. If the teacher had performed a straight correction by prompting with the target form 'who' in line 3 or by presenting the target sentence, then the interaction would probably have continued smoothly. I am not suggesting that other-initiated self-repair is a bad thing per se; on the contrary, it can be a very valuable technique in a form and accuracy context (Edge 1989: 24). The problem with exposed correction for current purposes, however, is that one cannot maintain a focus on meaning and fluency if correcting linguistic errors becomes the interactional business. As Brumfit (1984:56) puts it "Correction should have either no place, or a very minor place, in fluency work, for it normally distracts from the message, or may even be perceived as rude." Teachers wishing to establish a dual focus on both form and accuracy, meaning and fluency would therefore have to find a means of correcting errors of linguistic form by which the correction did not achieve interactional prominence. We will see in extract 151 that this is exactly what teachers manage to do.

Criteria used in the database search

Before searching the database I had to decide on criteria for identifying and distinguishing a dual focus on form and accuracy, meaning and fluency when I encountered it. The criteria used to establish the focus on form and accuracy were as follows: linguistic errors made by the students should be corrected rather than ignored. The criteria used to establish the focus on fluency were as follows: the learners should have control of the interaction, i.e. they should be able to take as long a turn as necessary and should be able to negotiate turn-taking themselves, rather than have the teacher allocate turns or tell them how long they should speak for; in CA terms, there should be evidence of local management of the interaction by the learners. The criteria used to establish the focus on meaning were as follows: the learners should contribute 'new' information to the interaction, i.e. information which was unavailable to the teacher and which was not provided by the teacher; the learners should contribute information which was personally 'meaningful' to them. It will be clear from the previous discussion of 'meaning' that this could in principle be any topic, and it would be necessary to establish what the learners found meaningful. For the purposes of this section, however, I adopted very narrow and rigid criteria in order to be as sure as possible (as a reader of transcripts who is external to the interaction) that the information which the learners contributed was 'meaningful' to them. The criteria, therefore, were that the learners should contribute new information concerning themselves, their own lives, experiences, opinions and beliefs. I am aware that it may ultimately be an unproven assumption that students who are contributing such 'new' and personal information are in fact saying something which is personally meaningful. However, this is the assumption I worked with, and it is based solely on my teaching experience.

An example of 'dual' focus

Using the above criteria, I was able to locate only one clear example of dual focus in the database. In this extract, the learners are talking about what they had done the previous weekend. The setting is a language school in England.

Extract 151

- 1 L1: And what did you do last weekend?
2 L2: On Saturday I went on my own to Canterbury, so I took a bus
3 and I met L6 .. he took the same bus to Canterbury. And in
4 Canterbury I visited the Cathedral and all the streets near
5 the Cathedral and I tried to find a pub where you don't see
6 .. where you don't see many tourists. And I find one
7 T: Found
8 L2: I found one where I spoke with two English women and we
9 spoke about life in Canterbury or things and after I came
10 back
11 T: Afterwards
12 L2: Afterwards I came back by bus too. And on Sunday what did
13 you do?
14 L1: Oh, er, I stayed in home
15 T: At home
16 L1: On Sunday I stayed at home and watched the Wimbledon Final.
17 What did you do on Sunday?
18 L2: On morning
19 T: In morning
20 L2: In the morning I took the bus.....

(Mathers 1990: 109)

The focus in this extract is on personal meaning in that the learners are able to contribute 'new' information concerning their personal experiences, and on fluency in that they are able to manage the interaction locally and by themselves. The evidence for this is that the learners use a 'current speaker selects next speaker' technique to select another student in lines 13 and 17. The focus is also on accuracy and linguistic form in that the teacher corrects all errors of linguistic form, and in this extract the learners adopt the corrected forms in

subsequent utterances. Although the teacher adopts a direct and overt repair technique which has an upgrading and scaffolding function, this does not result in the flow of the interaction being interrupted. How does the teacher achieve this unobtrusive repair? According to Iles (1995), experienced teachers often engage in what she terms **camouflaging of repair**. This plays down the activity of repair so that it is less obtrusive and prominent, with the result that the flow of the interaction is not impeded. Some of the features of **camouflage** are as follows: the teacher produces the target form for adoption by the learner without any overt or explicit negative evaluation or indication that an error has been made. The teacher does not mark the target form out by loudness or decrease in tempo; there is narrow pitch movement and a lack of speech perturbation features. In other words, the teacher fits the repair as unobtrusively as possible into the prosodic environment of the learner's utterances so that the repair does not obtain prominence and does not become the interactional business. The correction can be treated as a by-the-way activity, and the interactional evidence is that the learners do treat it as a by-the-way activity. The corrections do not interrupt the flow of the interaction, with one exception. T's repair in line 15 causes L1 to backtrack in line 16 in order to form a linguistically complete sentence. However, this is a minor interruption of the interactional flow. If T had used a next-turn repair initiator in line 15 instead, then one or two extra turns (i.e. a major disruption) would have been produced. It appears from the interaction that this camouflage technique may work best with 'lapses' (Pit Corder 1973: 259) which do not impede communication. Errors of a higher level of gravity or which disrupt communication may, by contrast, require the learner to stop and think, or may require more extensive teacher intervention.

The extract below (with which we are already familiar) shows some characteristics of synthesised contexts.

Extract 152

- 1 T: Vin, have you ever been to the movies? What's your favorite movie?
2 L: Big.
3 T: Big, OK, that's a good movie, that was about a little boy
inside a big man, wasn't it?
4 L: Yeah, boy get surprise all the time.
5 T: Yes, he was surprised, wasn't he? Usually little boys
don't do the things that men do, do they?
6 L: No, little boy no drink.
7 T: That's right, little boys don't drink.

(Johnson 1995: 23)

The incorrect linguistic forms produced by the learner are corrected by the teacher in an indirect way in lines 5 and 7, and this form of correction has a scaffolding and upgrading function. There is positive evaluation of the propositional content of the learner utterance followed by an expansion of the learner utterance into a correct sequence of linguistic forms. The type of correction used is termed **embedded correction**, that is, a correction done in the context of a conversational move, which in the case of lines 5 and 7 is a move of agreement:

“That is, the utterances are not occupied by the doing of correcting, but by whatever talk is in progress.... What we have, then is embedded correction as a by-the-way occurrence in some ongoing course of talk.” (Jefferson 1987: 95)

This form of correction and expansion is highly reminiscent of adult-child conversation, (See, for example, adult-child conversation transcripts in Peccei (1994: 83), Painter (1989: 38), Wells Lindfor (1987: 114)) and the technique being used by the teacher here is often termed 'scaffolding'. This form of embedded correction could be another way of creating a dual focus on meaning and form. In the above extract, there is a focus on form in that the

teacher upgrades and expands the learners' utterances on a linguistic level. This means that the learners have a linguistically correct utterance to function as model and input (in contrast to extract 149). In this extract the learners do not adopt the correct linguistic forms themselves in their subsequent utterances, in contrast to extract 151. The focus is on meaning in that the learners are able to contribute 'new' information concerning their personal experiences, but there is little evidence of a fluency focus, in that the teacher is controlling the interaction and allocating turns to the learners. So the embedded correction technique goes some way towards establishing a dual focus, but it certainly does not go all the way in that the learners do not manage the interaction themselves in extract 152. So the embedded correction technique might theoretically be effective in producing a dual focus, although I have yet to see evidence of it actually occurring.

It appears from the interactional evidence, then, that it is possible, in certain circumstances, for teachers to create and maintain a dual focus on form and meaning and on accuracy and fluency. This can be accomplished by: 1) finding opportunities for learners to talk about topics which are personally meaningful to them; it is for teachers and learners to negotiate which topics are meaningful to the learners; 2) allowing the learners to manage the interaction themselves; 3) limiting the teacher's role to using camouflaged correction techniques to upgrade and scaffold learner utterances. I do not wish to imply that this is the only conceivable way of achieving a dual focus, but it was the only way for which I was able to find clear evidence in the data.

We not only encounter 'synthesised' contexts in the data in the form of a synthesis between a form and accuracy context and a 'classroom as speech community' context. In the following extract the base context is clearly a procedural context, where a teacher is

introducing the class to the information gap activity which comes later in the lesson. Now in the data, procedural contexts are conducted in the overwhelming majority of cases through a teacher monologue. In this case, however, the teacher is modifying the nature of the context in order to involve the learners actively in the procedural context. The teacher is making the procedural context more interactive by altering the speech exchange system so that the students are able to take turns.

Extract 153

- 1 T: today, er, we're going to um, we're going to do something where, we, er, listen
2 to a conversation and we also talk about the subject of the conversation er, in
3 fact, we're not going to listen to one conversation, how many conversations
4 are we going to listen to?
5 L: three
6 T: how do you know?
7 L: because, er, you will need, er, three tapes and three points
8 T: three?
9 L: points
10 T: what?
11 L: power points
12 T: power points, if I need three power points and three tape recorders, you
13 correctly assume that I'm going to give you three conversations, and that's true,
14 and all the conversation will be different, but they will all be on the same...?
15 LL: subject, subject
16 T: the same...?
17 L: subject, subject
18 T: right, they will all be on the same subject

(Nunan 1988: 139)

This is a kind of 'guided discovery' technique in which the teacher gives prompts or asks display questions which are supposed to guide the students to an understanding of the procedure. The pedagogical rationale for this change seems to be that the students will be more motivated to carry out the activity if they feel interactively involved in its procedural setup. The disadvantage may be that this type of interaction takes relatively much longer to

attain the objective of transmitting procedural information than a monologue does. As we saw before in section 7.6, the basic speech exchange system is quite reminiscent of Socratic dialogue. Now although this seems to be a clear example of grafting desirable features from another context onto a base context, it is not quite clear to me which L2 classroom context they are from. The teacher is asking display questions in lines 3, 6 and 14 and is repairing linguistically incorrect learner utterances until a correct sequence of linguistic forms is obtained (lines 8, 10 and 16). This is typical of a form and accuracy context. On the other hand, the teacher's questions are trying to get the learners to engage with their classroom environment, which is typical of 'classroom as speech community' context. So it seems to me that here we have a base of a procedural context with desirable elements from both form and accuracy contexts and 'classroom as speech community' contexts grafted on.

We have seen in this section that the tidy delineation of contexts which was presented in chapters 6-8 does not always correspond to reality. Teachers can be creative in modifying base contexts to suit local circumstances and to maximise the number of pedagogically desirable features in the classroom interaction. This means that there are added difficulties regarding the description and analysis of the micro-interaction in L2 classrooms. One cannot always easily assign an interactional sequence to a context, since one may be dealing with a synthesised context. In this case one has to identify the base context and then distinguish which features have been grafted on from which other context.

In this chapter the focus has been on exploring tensions between contexts. These can be manifested through struggles between learners and teacher as to which context to operate in; through confusion as to which context is operating; and through the teacher's use of synthesised contexts.

11 Findings: A Framework and Methodology for the Description, Analysis, Evaluation and Exploration of L2 Classroom Interaction.

In this final chapter there is a presentation of a framework and methodology for the description, analysis, evaluation and exploration of L2 classroom interaction. The framework and methodology are brought to bear on five classroom extracts in order to exemplify their use. Now the framework and methodology are nothing new to this study, as they have previously been presented during the 'process' of developing the argument. In this chapter the framework and methodology are presented as findings at the end of the study.

11.1 A Framework for the Description, Analysis, Evaluation and Exploration of L2 Classroom Interaction

When the framework is brought to bear on an extract, then the extract is located within the interactional architecture of the L2 classroom and within a tri-dimensional view of context. The interactional architecture of the L2 classroom will firstly be sketched: a fuller description may be found in section 5.2.

The core goal

From the broadest perspective, the architecture of L2 classroom interaction relates back to the core institutional goal; the core goal of L2 classroom interaction is that the teacher will teach the learners the L2.

The intermediate properties

From this core goal a number of consequences issue both rationally and inevitably which affect the way in which L2 classroom interaction is accomplished. There are three interactional properties which derive directly from the core goal, and these properties in turn necessarily shape the micro-interaction. The three properties follow in rational sequence from each other:

- 1) language is both the vehicle and object of instruction.
- 2) the linguistic forms and patterns of interaction which the learners produce in the L2 will inevitably be linked in some way to the pedagogical purposes which the teacher introduces.
- 3) the linguistic forms and patterns of interaction which the learners produce are subject to evaluation by the teacher in some way.

These three properties are called intermediate properties. They are intermediate properties in that they mediate between the core institutional goal (at the broadest view of context) and the actual micro-discourse produced in the L2 classroom (at the narrowest view of context). This architecture should not be seen in terms of a hierarchy (as in the DA approach) but in

terms of a tri-dimensional view of context which depends on how narrow or how broad one's perspective on context is at any given time. This study proposes that these intermediate properties may be universal, i.e., they may apply to all L2 classrooms and they may be inescapable in that they are a rational consequence of the core institutional goal and the nature of the activity. For a more detailed discussion of the intermediate properties see section 5.2.

The teacher as discourse analyst

In this view of the interactional architecture of the L2 classroom, the teacher is seen to be acting as a discourse analyst on a turn-by-turn basis. The teacher links the pedagogical purposes introduced to the linguistic forms and patterns which the learners produce and analyses and evaluates them on the basis of their match or mismatch. Then the teacher introduces new pedagogical purposes on the basis of his/her analysis and evaluation.

The concept of L2 classroom contexts

In the L2 classroom the core business of teaching the learners an L2 is conducted via a number of interactional varieties which all relate directly to the institutional business. As we saw in section 3.4, this study calls these interactional varieties 'L2 classroom contexts'. The concept of the L2 classroom context relates specifically to the architecture of the L2 classroom as described so far. It has already been asserted that pedagogical purposes are inevitably linked to patterns of interaction in the L2 classroom (intermediate property number 2). It is suggested that L2 classroom contexts should be understood not only as institutional interactional varieties. They should also be seen as the 'interfaces' between

pedagogy and interaction and thus as the environments through which the institutional business is accomplished. In the typical contexts which occur in the L2 classroom a particular pedagogical focus combines with a particular organisation of the interaction. The different L2 classroom contexts need to be understood, then, as different **combinations** of pedagogical focus and interactional organisation. For further discussion of the concept see section 5.6.

A Tri-Dimensional View of Context

A tri-dimensional view of context involves three perspectives on context represented in decreasing circles (see figure 1 on page 50, 143). From the broadest perspective we can see the institutional context i.e. that of an L2 classroom. When the perspective starts to narrow we can identify the particular L2 classroom context which is currently in operation. As we focus closely on the micro-interaction it is clear that there is nothing static or monolithic about this; it is unique. So there is always a tension between a description of an extract of L2 classroom interaction as a unique occurrence, locally produced by the participants, between a description of it as an instance of interaction within a particular L2 classroom context and between a description of it as an example of institutional L2 classroom discourse. To put it another way, there is always a tension between a description of an extract of L2 classroom interaction as something homogeneous or similar to other instances and as something heterogeneous or different to other instances. I will now try to show how this tri-dimensional view of context fits into the overall interactional architecture of L2 classroom interaction as already presented and how it explicates the tension between homogeneity and heterogeneity in our view of any individual instance of L2 classroom interaction.

From the broadest perspective we have the **institutional context** of the L2 classroom. In individual instances of L2 classroom interaction the three intermediate properties of L2 classroom interaction will be manifest (to a more or less overt degree). At this level of context we view the interaction as an example of L2 classroom discourse and the emphasis is on homogeneity.

As the perspective narrows we focus on the **L2 classroom context** (as portrayed in this study), and each of the L2 classroom contexts described (in chapters 6-8) has its own peculiar pedagogical focus and interactional organisation in terms of turn-taking and repair. At this level of context we view the interaction as an example of communication within a particular L2 classroom context. There is a balance between an emphasis on homogeneity (in that the interaction is representative of a particular L2 classroom context) and heterogeneity (in that the interaction represents a differentiated sub-variety of L2 classroom interaction). The importance of the concept of the L2 classroom context, then, is that it is able to portray both homogeneity and heterogeneity and link the macro and micro levels.

As we focus closely on the micro-interaction it is clear that there is nothing static or monolithic about this; the **micro-context** created by the participants is unique. At this level of context we view the interaction as a singular occurrence and the emphasis is on heterogeneity.

In order to appreciate fully the complex workings of context in the L2 classroom, then, one needs to adopt a tri-dimensional approach. All three levels are present and manifest at all times: when one broadens or narrows one's perspective, one will tend to focus on a different level of context. The institutional context is depicted in this study through the description

of the overall interactional architecture of the L2 classroom in section 5.2. L2 classroom contexts are described in detail in chapters 6-8. The micro-context is explored by means of the analyses of L2 classroom extracts. For further discussion of the tri-dimensional perspective on context see section 6.8.

11.2 A CA Methodology for the Description, Analysis, Evaluation and Exploration of L2 classroom interaction

This methodology follows the principles of the CA approach to institutional discourse. These principles are outlined in section 5.1. Since the L2 classroom constitutes a unique institutional setting, it was necessary to develop a sub-variety of CA methodology which portrays the unique institutional interactional work which participants in that setting engage in (for further discussion of this point see section 5.1). The basis of the analysis in this institutional setting is that the pedagogical purposes which the teacher introduces are matched to the resultant linguistic forms and patterns of interaction which are produced by the learners. It is argued that this analysis is the discourse analysis which teachers perform on a turn-by-turn basis in the L2 classroom and that this constitutes the essence of their professional institutional work, as far as teaching oral production of the L2 is concerned. Thus analysts using this matching methodology are not imposing their own extraneous analytical concerns on the interaction - they are approaching the interaction from the same perspective as the teacher. Furthermore, the 'matching' methodology is actually located within the interactional architecture of the L2 classroom as the second intermediate property, rather than being an extraneous construct.

This matching methodology, then, is the basis of the description and analysis of L2 classroom interaction, and is exemplified through the many examples of textual analysis performed in this study. The matching methodology is also the basis of evaluation. Essentially, if there is a match between the pedagogical purposes and the linguistic forms and patterns of interaction, then the interaction can be evaluated positively. If there is a mismatch, as with the 'deviant cases' in section 10.2, then the interaction is evaluated negatively. See section 5.5.

The methodology is also used for the exploration of L2 classroom interaction. As was stressed in section 6.7, the ultimate goal of the development of this framework and methodology is to enable the exploration of L2 classroom interaction from the same perspective as the participants. It is not suggested that, having located the extract within the *interactional architecture and having linked the pedagogical purposes to the linguistic forms and patterns of interaction*, one has then finished the analysis and exhausted the extract. This study has included several examples of exploration of extracts, the most detailed one being of extract 2: this extract is explored in section 2.1 and in section 10.3.

11.3 Example: A Classroom Extract Located within the Framework

The framework and methodology will now be applied to L2 classroom extracts in order to exemplify their use. The first extract is a quite straightforward and already familiar one which receives extensive treatment in order to demonstrate how the framework functions. There then follows an analysis of four extracts which are problematic in some way, in order to demonstrate that the methodology is able to cope with awkward or unusual instances of interaction as well as straightforward ones.

Extract 154

- 1 T: What did I dream? Can you remember?
- 2 L1: You turned into a toothbrush
- 3 T: Can I have a full sentence, Hugo?
- 4 L1: That you turned into a toothbrush
- 5 T: OK. You?
- 6 L2: You turned into a toothbrush.
- 7 T: You?
- 8 L2: You turned into a toothbrush.
- 9 L3: You dreamed.
- 10 T: You dreamt.
- 11 L3: You dreamt.
- 12 T: Everyone
- 13 LL: Dreamt
- 14 T: OK. I dreamt that I turned into a toothbrush.

(Ellis 1984: 105)

When the framework is brought to bear on an extract, then the extract is located within the interactional architecture of the L2 classroom and within a tri-dimensional view of context.

Institutional context

At this institutional level of context we view the interaction as an example of L2 classroom discourse. Any instance of L2 classroom interaction will display to a more or less overt degree the presence of the three intermediate properties of L2 classroom interaction. I will now try to show how these intermediate properties are manifest in this extract.

The first property is that language is both the vehicle and object of instruction. We can see T both managing the interaction in the target language (vehicle) and treating learner responses as texts to be corrected (object).

The second property is that the linguistic forms and patterns of interaction which the learners produce in the L2 will inevitably be linked in some way to the pedagogical purposes which the teacher introduces. This extract demonstrates the very tight connections which can occur between the teacher's pedagogical purposes and the linguistic forms and patterns of interaction which the learners produce. T's basic pedagogical purpose here is for the learners to produce a specific string of linguistic forms, namely: "You dreamt that you turned into a toothbrush". In line 2, L1 produces an answer which would be perfectly acceptable in conversation. However, this is not the target string of forms which the teacher's pedagogical purposes are aiming to produce, and the teacher does not accept the answer. Similarly, in line 9, L3 produces a perfectly acceptable past simple form, but this particular linguistic form is not the one targeted by the teacher's pedagogical purposes, and the teacher corrects it in line 10.

The third property is that the linguistic forms and patterns of interaction which the learners produce are subject to evaluation by the teacher in some way. Here the evaluation is manifested as indirect negative evaluation which is implicit in the multiple attempts at repair initiation by the teacher.

At this level of context we view the interaction as an example of L2 classroom discourse and the emphasis is on homogeneity.

L2 classroom context

At this level of context we view the interaction as an example of communication within a particular L2 classroom context. Each L2 classroom context has its own peculiar

pedagogical focus and an interactional framework in terms of the organisation of turn-taking and repair which is appropriate to that pedagogical focus. The interaction in the above extract is typical of a form and accuracy context. In a form and accuracy context the pedagogical focus is on the production of strings of correct linguistic forms by the students; personal meanings tend to be disregarded. The organisation of repair follows the pedagogical focus in that the teacher will initiate repair if the linguistic forms produced by the learner are not identical to those targeted by the teacher. We can see evidence of this in lines 3 and 10. The organisation of turn-taking is again appropriate to the pedagogical focus. Since the teacher needs to prompt the learners to produce specific strings of linguistic forms, it follows that the teacher will allocate turns to the learners and constrain the content of those turns, which implies a rigid, lockstep approach with use of the teacherprompt-learner production adjacency pair. So the pedagogical focus and organisation of the interaction is typical of the form and accuracy context.

At this level of context we view the interaction as an example of communication within a particular L2 classroom context. There is a balance between an emphasis on homogeneity (in that the interaction is representative of a particular L2 classroom context) and heterogeneity (in that the interaction represents a differentiated sub-variety of L2 classroom interaction).

Micro-context

At this level of context we view the interaction as a singular occurrence. Although the extract is clearly typical of both the L2 classroom and of a form and accuracy context the extract is nonetheless unique on a micro-level. Even a teacher giving the same prompts

would never receive exactly the same replies from the learners. At this level of context the emphasis is on heterogeneity.

The argument, then, is that these three levels of context are embodied in the L2 classroom interaction; they are not seen as something external to the interaction or 'lurking in the background'. The extract has now been located within the interactional architecture of the L2 classroom and within the tri-dimensional perspective on context.

11.4 Analysis of Problematic Extracts using the Methodology

The four following extracts are all problematic in some way. In the first extract below the teacher is orienting to an overall pedagogical agenda, but we find that a learner has a different agenda in that he wants to express some personal meanings. The problematic area here is that the learner is shifting the L2 classroom context, which might appear to confuse our ability to link pedagogical purposes to linguistic forms and patterns of interaction. Is the methodology able to cope with sudden switches and movements 'off-course'?

Extract 155

- 174 T: Yeah. OK. What does this mean? 'Get to'? Uh.
175 LL: (unintelligible)
T: OK. It says the group has been trying to get the government, the city government, to help uhm draw special lanes, lanes like this (draws on board) on the street. OK These are for cars. These are for bikes (points to blackboard).
180 L: You know, in Moscow they reproduce all all cab.
T: Uhm?
L: They reproduced all cabs
T: They produce?
L: Reproduce
185 T: D'you mean uh they they use old cabs, old taxis?
L: No, no, no. They reproduced all all! cabs.

- T: All the cabs?
 L: Yeah, all the cabs for electric (electric you know) electric points.
 190 T: Cab. Oh you mean they made the cabs in down in downtown areas uh uh use electric uh motors?
 L: Yeah, no downtown, all cabs in Moscow.
 T: Where?
 L: In Moscow.
 195 T: Oh. And it's successful?
 L: Yeah.
 T: OK. Uhm. Just a second, Igor. Let's what does this mean? If you get someone to do something. Uhm.

(Allwright 1980: 180)

The teacher's pedagogical purpose in lines 174-179 is to convey the meaning of 'get to', and he/she tries first to elicit the meaning in line 174. As Allwright (1980: 182) says, it appears in line 175 that the students are not able to cope with the task, and the teacher starts a contextualisation of the item in lines 176-9. Rather than concentrating the mind on the item and giving clues as to its meaning, the explanation appears to lead away from the linguistic item to the carrier topic (traffic) to the extent that L2 then starts talking about traffic in line 180. According to the teacher's own pedagogical purpose, this is not a well-managed piece of interaction in that the task may not be an appropriate one for the students and the contextualisation of the item is unclear.

Up to line 179, T has been focusing on the meaning of words in a text, so L is self-selecting in line 180. L tries to make a statement designed to express personal meaning whilst remaining within the carrier topic of the lesson (traffic). L has therefore not only self-selected but has shifted the context of the lesson to 'classroom as speech community' context. T has various choices here. T could simply regain control of the context and of the turn-taking system by telling L, for example, that he is out of line, or T could validate L's attempt to express personal meanings by showing interest in the utterance or by engaging

with the topic. However, there is an initial problem in that the meaning of L's utterance is unclear. The problem in communication is that L has made an error in lexis ("reproduce" instead of "convert") which obscures the meaning. T in effect validates L's taking the floor and shifting the context by helping to repair L's statement in order that the meaning should be clear. The repair process is complex and is certainly a cooperative effort: L repairs T's candidate rephrasings in lines 184,186,188 and 192 in an attempt to convey his meaning, whilst T initiates repair in lines 181, 183, 185, 187, 190 and 193 in order to clarify L's meaning. The repair is successfully managed on a cooperative basis in that L finally manages to make his personal meaning clear with the help of T: the meaning was 'negotiated'. Once the meaning has finally become clear in line 195, T shows interest in the utterance by engaging briefly with the topic and then shifts the context of the lesson back to a focus on the lexical item (in line with the pedagogical lesson plan) in line 197.

What extract 155 illustrates is the fluidity and mutability of L2 classroom interaction and the tension, interplay and dialectic between a focus on form and a focus on meaning: we should note that the meaning of L's utterance was obscured by a problem with linguistic form. Although the teacher has an overall pedagogical plan, s/he needs to react to interaction which is instantly transformable, as in the above extract. Just because the learner disrupts the teacher's pedagogical purposes does not mean that the interaction becomes unanalysable: it merely means that a new set of purposes have been introduced by the learner, which can be analysed in the same way.

The second problematic extract shows interaction which is not going according to the teacher's plan at all and which looks frankly rather messy. Can the methodology explicate what has gone wrong?

Extract 156

- 1 T: so yesterday, what we were doing here on page forty-four and forty-five was
2 following the examples here ... we were saying a sentence with “no” or “not”,
3 and a sentence with “yes”. So first of all you make a “not” sentence ... “I’m not
4 a student. I am a teacher.” yes? let’s begin. Kim? are you a teacher?now, you’re
5 pretending that you are the person and so if somebody asks you with “you”, you
6 answer with what? are you from Vietnam? What would you answer?
7 L1: yes, I am
8 T: yes. yes,I am, right . so you’re going to answer with “I am”. Good.. are you a
9 teacher? First you are going to make a sentence with “not”, then you are going
10 to tell me what you are...are you a teacher?
11 L1: no, I am not
12 T: no, I’m not a teacher...what are you?
13 L1: I am a student
14 T: no, not you, what is she? (Points to textbook)
15 L1: student
16 T: well, it looks like a school but if she’s not a teacher she’s not going to work in
17 a school...she’s a lawyer...so what you say is...”I am not a teacher, I am a...?”
18 L1: student
19 T: well, if I asked you, you would say you were a student, but we’re talking about
20 this picture and the lady in front of a courthouse, although it is hard to tell, so
21 what she would say is “I am not a teacher. I am a lawyer”. Talking about her
22 work in the court...are you a teacher? Try that. Are you a teacher?
23 L1: I am not a teacher
24 T: the woman in the picture, right? “I am not a teacher, I am a ...?”
25 L1: lawyer
26 T: good, remember,you are pretending you are the person in the picture, so “I am
27 not a teacher, I am a lawyer”. Try that one again, “I’m not...”
28 L1: I am not a teacher
29 T: right, “I’m not a teacher.I’m a...?”
30 L1: lawyer
31 T: very good. “I’m not a teacher, I’m a lawyer”. OK good...number two, “are you
32 very bad students?” You’re talking about yourself and another person, what do
33 you say? Petr? Are you very bad students?
34 L2: bad students
35 T: “we”, you say “we” are not bad students. We are what? What kind of students
36 are we?
37 L2: bad students
38 T: we say “we” because you and another person are in that group. “We are not bad
39 students”. What kind of students are we?
40 L2: we are bad students
41 T: ‘we’ are? No, we are not. You aren’t bad students, are you? No, I think you
42 are good students. What kind of students are you?
43 L2: we are good students
44 T: OK, but first with “no” and then with “yes”. “we are not bad students. We are
45 good students”. I know you are all very good students, right? OK. Good.
46 Number three.

(Johnson 1995: 43)

The first impression here is that the teacher has great difficulty in getting the learners to do what she wants. Johnson writes that the teacher's pedagogical purposes were as follows:

“The teacher was leading a substitution drill that focused on constructing negative statements using “not” and the appropriate use of personal pronouns. The teacher's stated purpose in this lesson was for the students to use the substitution drill as a way to practice using these two grammatical structures. To complete the drill, students were expected to construct a negative sentence with “not” and then a positive statement, based on illustrations given in the textbook.” (Johnson 1995:43)

Now the point is that, up until line 25, L1 responds to T's prompts as if there were a 'classroom as speech community' context in operation, i.e. as if the questions were genuine or referential questions. However, the teacher intended this to be a form and accuracy context. Johnson explains the problem in terms of her model:

“Throughout this entire sequence, Kim's [L1] confusion appears to stem from her misinterpretation of the academic task structure. If the teacher had intended her questions to be taken literally, Kim's response would have been correct. However, the teacher's questions were directed at the illustrations in the textbook, and as part of the academic task structure, Kim was expected to take on the role of the person depicted in that illustration. Kim's misinterpretation of the academic task structure created difficulty as she attempted to participate in the activity.” (Johnson 1995: 46)

Now if we examine the trouble in terms of the framework proposed in the current study, we can trace the problem back to the pedagogical purposes which the teacher introduces. The teacher gives instructions typical of setting up a form and accuracy context (in that the focus is on the production of linguistic forms without reference to personal meanings) as far as line 5. However, in line 6 the teacher asks “are you from Vietnam?” - the learner is in fact

Vietnamese. The learner may be confused by this sudden change to a genuine or referential question which is characteristic of a ‘classroom as speech community’ context, and she would be quite justified in believing that in fact a ‘classroom as speech community’ context were in operation. Line 6, then is a *contextually ambiguous utterance*. This is supposed to be a substitution drill in a form and accuracy context; real-world meanings do not apply. We see exactly the same kind of confusion between contexts engendered by the teacher in lines 41 and 42. In line 40, when L2 says “we are bad students”, the teacher should conduct repair in this context on the basis that the learner has not produced the target string of linguistic forms required. Instead, the teacher conducts repair as if a ‘classroom as speech community’ context were in operation and implies that the answer is wrong because the real-world meaning is incorrect i.e. because they are in reality good students.

The above extract therefore exemplifies two themes discussed earlier in the study. Firstly, we can identify the theme of tension between form and accuracy contexts and ‘classroom as speech community’ contexts (section 10.1). We can also locate the theme of ‘deviant cases’, i.e. problems in establishing a context because the pedagogical purposes are contradictory or unclear (section 10.2). We saw that successful teachers focus learners on a single and clearly defined set of pedagogical purposes and thus establish a context. Unsuccessful teachers introduce contradictory and confusing multiple pedagogical purposes and contextually ambiguous utterances which create doubt in the learners’ minds as to which context is in operation. As Johnson (1995: 47) notes: “It is not surprising that Kim [L1] and Petr [L2] had difficulty understanding the structure of this classroom event.” So by matching the pedagogical purposes to the resultant patterns of interaction we are able, even in cases of confusion, to analyse the interaction and explicate what went wrong.

The third problematic extract shows interaction which has an unusual feature. Is the methodology able to portray and explicate it?

Extract 157

- 1 T: OK alright..now we're going to leave his music there OK.now I said that we
2 were going to go on, we're also going to look at his character and his life..
3 alright .. Can you look here I think maybe you'll have to turn..do you know the
4 answers to any of these questions? when was he born?
5 L: don't know
6 T: no
7 L: good..where was he born?
8 T: Liverpool
9 LL: Liverpool alright..who were his parents? you don't know?
10: LL: no
11 T: good..what kind of child was he?
12 L: what kind of child..
13 L: lonely
14 T: lonely? you don't know
15 LL: no
16 T: good..alright..where did he meet the other Beatles?
17 L: in school, in school, school.
18 T: really?
19 LL: yes, yes
20 T: in college?
21 LL: yes, yes...
22 T: you sure?
23 LL: yes, yes
24 T: when did the Beatles begin?
25 L: when they were 15
26 T: are you sure?
27 LL: where, where...
28 L: Liverpool
29 T: when...
30 L: when...when...when
31 T: what year? You don't know?
32 L: no
33 T: good.who was their manager? You don't know
34 L: we don't know
35 T: good

(British Council 1985, Volume 4: 25)

The feature of the above interaction which appears bizarre and problematic on the surface is that when the learners are unable to answer the teacher's question, the teacher evaluates the learners' ignorance positively with "good". When the learners are able to give a correct answer to the teacher's question, however, the teacher gives a fairly non-committal evaluation ("alright" "OK"). On the video we can note that "good" is pronounced with deliberate and stressed articulation and a rising intonation, whereas "alright" and "OK" are uttered with falling intonation and are without any prosodic marking. It can also be seen on the video that the learners find this strange, in that they laugh after each occasion that the teacher says "good". If the methodology presented here is valid, we should be able to explicate the bizarre nature of the interaction once the pedagogical purposes have been matched to the patterns of interaction. Now when we read further on in the transcripts we learn what the teacher's pedagogical purposes were in the previous section:

Extract 158

T: "Now what I'm going to do is I'm going to give you an article which is taken from a newspaper article that was written about John Lennon after he died, in an English newspaper ... Write in note form and also scan, pick, choose select...The article is long, it's got information which isn't all relevant to the task so I want you to pick and choose."

(British Council 1985, Volume 4: 25)

So we are in a text-based context and the above extract was a pre-reading activity, an introduction and 'warmer' prior to the reading of a text. We need to bear in mind that the overall purpose of a text-based context is to familiarise learners with a text. Now the pre-reading task established a rationale for the text reading i.e. it established that the learners did not know certain information about John Lennon. The learners should then be motivated to find the information out during the reading. Here we have a functional explanation for the

teacher evaluating positively the learners' ignorance. If they already knew an answer, then there would be no real reason or motivation for them to read the text. If, however, they didn't know the answer, they should experience an information gap and have a strong motivation to do the reading.

In the final problematic extract we find that it is difficult to identify the precise context which the teacher has created. Can the methodology analyse the extract in spite of this problem? Also we see very strange teacher behaviour. Can the methodology explicate his behaviour and evaluate its effectiveness?

Extract 159

- 1 T: good .. Um .. Driss. Could you please repeat after me OK (T speaks inaudibly)
- 2 L1: I don't understand
- 3 T: don't you .. repeat after me (T speaks inaudibly)
- 4 L1: more loud please
- 5 T: pardon
- 6 L1: I don't understand
- 7 T: don't you .. listen again, listen again (T speaks inaudibly)
- 8 L1: what, what are you saying
- 9 T: you don't understand me
- 10 L1: I don't understand
- 11 T: that's terrible .. I'll try Wafaa .. Wafaa repeat after me .. Repeat after me (T speaks inaudibly)
- 12 L2: I don't hear you
- 13 T: no, so what do you say
- 14 L2: I beg your pardon but I don't understand
- 15 T: I see, and what do you say then
- 16 L3: you say ... you say could you ... could you please
- 17 T: Mrs Khadraoui has got a good one here. listen
- 18 L4: yes, could you please .. er .. Speak loudly
- 19 T: pardon, would you mind repeating that please?
- 20 L4: could you please ..er.. speak clearly and loudly
- 21 T: yes of course Mrs Khadraoui, do excuse me, yes. OK . and . um could you then
- 22 write this on the board for me please, if you write this in your books please OK (T writes in tiny, unreadable script)
- 23 L: Oh no
- 24 L: we don't understand
- 25 L: we can't write anything

- 26 L: we can't
 27 L: yes
 28 L: please would you mind .. er .. writing
 29 T: listen, let's listen to Boujemaa. oh, she's got fantastic eyes hasn't she
 30 L5: please ..er..would you..er..mind writing..er..more clearly
 31 T: certainly ..excuse me....excuse me, I'm sorry Abdelmajid is that better..alright
 32 then that's fine enough..OK.. anyway, could you just write this in your books
 33 then. (T writes on board) good, fine .. if you write that in your book please Rene
 (T stands between Rene and the board, obscuring Rene's view)
 34 L6: please would you mind..er....
 35 T: what's happening
 36 L6: would you mind go away
 37 T: oh I'm sorry..I'll go away if you like..I'll go away if you like.. as you like ..
 38 OK now, you've just been asking me to do things. you've just been asking me
 39 to do things.
-
- 40 T: OK I've got a cassette here I'd like you to listen to..now I just want you to tell
 me what the people say when they ask someone to do something OK? Listen.

(British Council 1985, Volume 2: 17)

Now what the teacher is doing in the above extract is creating situations in which the learners have to make polite requests. This is stated explicitly in an interview with the teacher (British Council 1985, Volume 2: 17):

“I'm going to start off by putting them in a position where they need to make requests, er..the reason for doing this is partly to find out how much they already know and also to see which structures they..they would choose to use.”

Now it appears to be difficult to identify which L2 classroom context the teacher is operating in here. The teacher is targeting particular patterns of interaction, in that he expects the learners to produce requests. However, he does not target particular linguistic forms, and in fact he says in the interview quoted above that he is interested in seeing which linguistic forms they use to carry out the function of requesting. Any linguistic forms which perform the function of polite requests would be acceptable. So it appears initially not to be a form and accuracy context because functions rather than specific linguistic forms are being

targeted. On the other hand we can see some elements of the 'classroom as speech community' context. The teacher is careful to create a classroom situation in which the learners have 'real' reasons for making requests to the teacher i.e. the teacher is exploiting the potential of the classroom as a speech community. On the other hand, it is clear from the teacher's repair initiations in lines 5, 13, 15 and 19 that the teacher is not accepting utterances on the basis of their communicative value: he keeps initiating repair until a learner produces the request function in a linguistically correct format. So we could argue that a) this is a distinctive L2 classroom context in its own right; b) this is a variant of the form and accuracy context, with functions being targeted instead of structures; c) this is a synthesised context (see section 10.3). Since there is only one instance in the whole database of this type of interaction, I would not like to say which of the three options is most attractive at present. However, the point I would like to make is this. It is not of paramount importance whether we are able to fit the interaction neatly into an L2 classroom context or not. The crucial point is whether the interaction can be described, analysed, evaluated and explored using the methodology. L2 classroom contexts are best seen (as I argue in section 6.7) as a gateway to the exploration of the extract, not as an end in themselves. Now as I showed above, the teacher's pedagogical purposes can be linked to the resultant patterns of interaction without problem. The interaction can be evaluated positively in that the learners are able to make requests using correct linguistic forms. Furthermore, the teacher is successful in creating situations in which the learners need to make requests. It can be seen from the video that the learners are genuinely puzzled by the teacher's behaviour. So the extract can be analysed, described and evaluated adequately using the methodology, even though it does not at first appear to fit neatly into an L2 classroom context. This is an important point, since there are in principle an infinite number of unusual L2 classroom contexts which teachers could create using their ingenuity. At the end of the 20th century

in Western countries, inventiveness, creativity and innovation in L2 teaching are highly regarded attributes; innovation in language teaching is a component of some Masters courses, for example. So the argument here is that the framework and methodology should be able to portray and cope with any L2 classroom interaction which teachers produce, however *recherché* it appears to be. The functional explanation for why this should be possible can be found in the rational basis of the architecture of L2 classroom interaction, which suggests that the core goal will always be the same and that the intermediate properties will always be present: any individual instance of L2 classroom interaction should remain located within the extremely flexible architecture.

11.5 The Place of the IRF/IRE Cycle within the Framework

I would now like to try to illustrate the functional usefulness of having an overall description of the interactional organisation of the L2 classroom by re-examining the IRF/IRE cycle and explaining its place within the overall interactional architecture of the L2 classroom. Although DA approaches which built their descriptive frameworks around the IRF/IRE cycle were criticised earlier in this study, and although section 7.1 suggests that the description 'IRE' does not accurately capture the patterns in the data, there can be no doubt about the importance of the IRF/IRE cycle within L2 classroom interaction when we consider the number of studies which examine it. This importance demands explanation if we are to claim that L2 classroom interaction has a rational architecture. First of all we need to recall the nature of the intermediate properties of L2 classroom interaction:

- 1) language is both the vehicle and object of instruction.
- 2) the linguistic forms and patterns of interaction which the learners produce in the L2

will inevitably be linked in some way to the pedagogical purposes which the teacher introduces.

- 3) the linguistic forms and patterns of interaction which the learners produce are subject to evaluation by the teacher in some way.

Next we need to examine an example of the IRF/IRE cycle:

Extract 160

- 1 T: Where is the cup?
- 2 L: On top of the box.
- 3 T: Right, the cup is on top of the box.....

(Johnson 1995: 9)

In the context of the overall description of the interactional architecture of the L2 classroom, the IRF/IRE cycle can be seen as a **replication in miniature of the intermediate properties**. In line 1 the teacher introduces pedagogical purposes, expecting the learner to produce a precise string of linguistic forms in response. In line 2 the learner produces a string of linguistic forms, which are matched against the pedagogical purposes and positively evaluated by the teacher in line 3. Language is both the vehicle and goal of the interaction. So the functional or rational explanation which we can offer for the importance of the IRF/IRE cycle is that it is the most compact vehicle imaginable for the accomplishment of the institutional business (Drew and Heritage 1992b: 40-41). Because it is so closely identifiable with the intermediate properties and with the institutional business, it is the **most economical method** of accomplishing the institutional business. I am not suggesting, however, that it is the best method. For a complete cycle of the institutional business to be carried out, the minimum requirement is that i) the teacher introduces pedagogical purposes

ii) the learner produces linguistic forms/ patterns of interaction in response iii) the teacher evaluates the learner response (although this is not always verbalised) by matching i) to ii). In the case of the previous extract, this complete cycle of institutional business is accomplished in only 18 words.

This is an illustration of what is meant in CA by the 'rational design' of institutional interaction. Not only can it be shown that the overall interactional architecture of L2 classroom interaction derives from the core goal, but 'surface' features of the micro-interaction, such as the IRF/IRE cycle and display questions can be allocated a functional place within that architecture and related directly to the macro levels. In other words, it can be shown **how** the surface feature is accomplishing the institutional business. Note also that there is nothing acontextual about this analysis. It is claimed that the intermediate properties relate to all varieties of L2 classroom interaction, but that surface features such as the IRF/IRE cycle perform different interactional work in different contexts (see the analyses of extracts 1 and 2).

12 Conclusions

12.1 Aims and Research Gap

It would firstly be appropriate to consider whether the main aims of the study have been accomplished. The primary aim of the study was to develop, by means of a CA institutional discourse methodology, a description of the interactional organisation of the L2 classroom, entailing not only a description of the overall interactional architecture of the L2 classroom, but also the development of a practical methodology for the description, analysis, evaluation and exploration of the micro-interaction. This aim was fulfilled through a process presentation in chapters 1-10 and through a product presentation in chapter 11. This thesis has presented the L2 classroom as a complex, fluid and variable interactional environment by means of the textual analyses. The interactional architecture of the L2 classroom has been portrayed as an example of the rational and coherent design of institutional interaction, balancing invariant underlying institutional characteristics (homogeneity) with extreme flexibility and variability (heterogeneity).

If we refer back to the research gap described in the introduction, we can also consider the contribution which the study has made towards filling the research gap. Five reasons were initially presented as to why a framework and methodology for the description, analysis, evaluation and exploration of L2 interaction would be desirable.

Communication is important as a basis, vehicle and goal of L2 teaching

This study has made a contribution to a more sophisticated understanding of the communication system of the L2 classroom through the development of the framework and methodology.

The learning takes place via the interaction

Through the analysis of classroom extracts, as well as through the development of the framework and methodology, the study has contributed to an understanding of the relationship between interaction and learning.

We have little knowledge of what actually goes on in L2 classrooms

The study has contributed in this area not only through the development of the framework and methodology but also by means of the many analyses of classroom extracts and the publication of transcripts of seven complete lessons in Appendix One.

There is currently no valid basis for the evaluation of L2 classroom interaction

The study suggests a basis for the evaluation of L2 classroom interaction from the same perspective as the participants. Its validity is of course for others to determine.

There is no technical language for the description of L2 classroom interaction

Although the study does introduce a number of technical terms (see definitions section), there has been no overall attempt to develop a comprehensive technical language.

12.2 Pedagogical Implications

This study has deliberately avoided starting with a pedagogical angle to the research, insofar as it does not consider whether one approach or method is inherently better than another. This deliberate avoidance was based on the belief that as L2 teachers, our concentration on pedagogical issues tends to obscure our understanding of interactional issues. Combining CA methodology (which is not a methodology of language teaching) with the examination of transcripts of the interaction means that we have an estrangement or alienation device which distances us from what is going on in the classroom sufficiently to be able to focus on the interaction rather than the pedagogy. This is not to imply that pedagogical issues are not important, but rather to suggest that it is better to consider them after the interaction has been described.

On the other hand, it would clearly be disingenuous of this study to claim it were totally free of pedagogical bias. I would like therefore to sketch some preliminary observations concerning the pedagogical implications of the study. The study did not start with the intention of ascertaining whether one L2 classroom context is inherently superior to another, and possibly the main pedagogical finding of this study is that all L2 classroom contexts have their own inherent advantages, disadvantages and limitations. The recent history of L2 teaching has been characterised, from the point of view of this study, by lurching from one L2 classroom context to another, extolling one and denigrating another. As Swan (1990: 98) puts it: "The characteristic sound of a new breakthrough in language teaching theory is a scream, a splash, and a strangled cry, as once again the baby is thrown out with the bathwater." This study concludes that it may be time to examine dispassionately the pros and cons of each and every conceivable L2 classroom context on the basis of the

interactional evidence and on the basis of its relationship to learning processes. We could then consider, for any particular group of learners, what balance and mixture of L2 classroom contexts might be most suitable within their curriculum. It is most important to consider what one's ultimate aim is when considering which L2 classroom context might be most appropriate for a particular group. If, for example, one would like the learners to produce linguistically correct utterances, then a form and accuracy context might be most appropriate. If one wants the learners to be able to express personal meanings, then a 'classroom as speech community' context might be most appropriate. If the top priority is for learners to use the L2 to accomplish tasks, then one could create task-based contexts. If one requires the learners to be able to use the interaction of a particular discourse community, then a 'real-world target speech community' context would be appropriate. If the learners need to tackle texts in the L2, then a text-based context would be best. If one would like one's learners to be able to do all of the above, then a balance of these contexts in the curriculum would be the ideal.

We often find new teaching methods and approaches being extolled on a theoretical level without any evidence being presented as to what the implications and results are in terms of classroom implementation. For example Prabhu (1987) extols in a book-length study the virtues of task-based teaching as opposed to structural teaching. Turning to the 'transcripts of project lessons' (1987: 123-137) one might therefore expect to find transcripts of impressive task-based interaction. In actual fact, one finds no examples of task-based interaction at all, but rather transcripts of 'pre-task stages of a lesson' which contain exclusively teacher-led question and answer sequences! So another conclusion which this study would draw on the pedagogical level is that pedagogical recommendations should be accompanied by evidence, in the form of classroom transcripts (supported by video and

audio material), as to what actually happens in the classroom. If an entirely new type of L2 classroom context is created by the new approach, then this should nonetheless be describable in terms of the framework and methodology proposed here. This study does not claim to have described all of the possible L2 classroom contexts which exist. However, it is claimed that the interactional architecture of the L2 classroom is extremely flexible (see section 7.4) and that any as yet undescribed L2 classroom contexts can therefore be accommodated within the framework of this study: with sufficient classroom data, the L2 classroom context is characterised by linking the typical pedagogical focus to the typical patterns of interaction. The interactional organisation of the L2 classroom context is then described in terms of the organisation of turn-taking and repair. The framework offers a means of describing, analysing and evaluating new L2 classroom contexts in **their own terms** by approaching them from the same perspective as the teacher.

As far as teacher training is concerned, perhaps the most interesting pedagogical finding to emerge from this study is the concept of the synthesised context. Some teachers in the database try to overcome the inherent limitations of a 'pure' context by adopting (or 'grafting on') features of another context (see section 10.3). An interesting avenue for teacher training would be to assemble more data on synthesised contexts and ascertain which specific techniques, such as embedded repair and camouflaged repair, teachers use to create and manage synthesised contexts. It might then be desirable to transmit these techniques on teacher training courses. It should be stressed here that these are not theoretical recommendations devised by myself in the silence of my office; they are practical techniques devised and implemented by classroom teachers to improve their language teaching environment, and there is interactional evidence that they are effective in practice. Another possible implication for teacher training concerns the way in which teachers create

and manage L2 classroom contexts. We have seen that there are specific reasons why inexperienced teachers sometimes find difficulty in creating contexts, and that it is possible to specify the techniques experienced teachers use to create and manage contexts smoothly. This area, then, is one which could usefully be discussed with trainee teachers. Furthermore, this thesis has introduced a methodology for the study of transcripts of L2 classroom interaction as well as a sizeable database of L2 classroom transcripts in the shape of both Appendix One and the 160 extracts cited in the main body. It is hoped that these may be treated as resources suitable for teacher training work.

12.3 Sociolinguistic Perspectives

This thesis has developed several areas which may be of interest from a sociolinguistic point of view. Firstly, the study may be seen as an attempt to specify in a technical manner exactly what is meant by a 'context' in an institutional setting. A dynamic and variable approach to context is presented in which context is endogenous to the talk and is actively created by the participants. Context is fluid and instantly transformable. Nevertheless, context is manifest in the structure of the talk and in the organisation of the interaction. There are regularities or general organisational characteristics evident in the talk which enable us to characterise a context and its interactional 'machinery'. Secondly, the tri-dimensional perspective on context presented has attempted to explicate and portray the simultaneous homogeneity and heterogeneity of institutional interaction as well as endeavouring to bridge the micro-macro gap. Thirdly, the thesis attempts a detailed exposition of the 'rational architecture' of an institutional variety. It is suggested that it may be possible to interrelate the various components which constitute the overall interactional architecture and provide functional explanations as to why the individual components are the way they are. The 'intermediate

properties' were presented as a vital component of the rational architecture of this interactional variety. To sum up, then, the thesis has attempted to reveal the interactional organisation of the L2 classroom through an analysis of the interaction itself and to relate the micro and macro levels through a 'concretised' presentation of context.

12.4 Directions for Future Research

There are a number of directions for future research which suggest themselves on the basis of the current study. Firstly, the robustness of the description of the interactional organisation of the L2 classroom presented here needs to be tested by other researchers. Secondly, much work could be done to extend the scope of the present study. For example, it would be interesting to investigate how L2 lessons combine to form a course, whether teachers tend to sequence L2 classroom contexts in a lesson in a particular way, and whether teachers tend to sequence episodes in L2 classroom contexts in a particular way. Further studies could usefully examine the following questions. How are L2 classroom contexts established and shifted most smoothly, and how can confusion between contexts best be avoided? Do particular L2 classroom contexts predominate in particular countries, in particular types of institution or with particular types of learners? How are 'synthesised' contexts created and managed? For particular L2 teaching approaches and methods, which L2 classroom contexts tend to predominate? How do the different L2 classroom contexts relate to second language acquisition research, and is it possible to demonstrate that some are more facilitative of acquisition than others?

From the point of view of sociolinguistic research, this study has proposed that: a) the L2 classroom has a rational interactional architecture which is describable; b) there are

'intermediate properties' manifest in L2 classroom interaction; c) a tri-dimensional view of context is able to bridge the micro-macro gap and make explicit what is meant by 'context' in this discourse setting; d) it is possible to characterise different institutional 'contexts' and to describe the organisation of the interaction within those contexts; e) an institutional discourse methodology needs to be able to portray both the homogeneity and the heterogeneity of the interaction; f) a methodology for the analysis of a variety of institutional discourse can be based on the discourse analytical work performed by the professional in that setting.

All of these concepts have been developed solely in relation to the L2 classroom, and there are good grounds for believing that the L2 classroom may be a unique discourse setting in some ways. The fact that language is the vehicle, goal and focus of the interaction in the L2 classroom creates a 'foregrounding' effect which appears to make it easier to identify the above phenomena than might be the case in other discourse settings. It is, therefore, uncertain whether any of the concepts developed here apply in other institutional discourse settings. Nonetheless, it is possible that some of the concepts may be applicable or adaptable to other settings. In particular, it may be worthwhile investigating whether any of the concepts are applicable to the L1 classroom.

Word Count

According to the Word Perfect word counting software, the total number of words used in this thesis is **99, 805**. This includes the abstract and table of contents but excludes the bibliography and appendix. However, if the 160 data extracts are excluded from the word count, the total is **83, 633**.

Computer Details

This thesis was prepared using Word Perfect 6.1 and the University of York thesis template; many thanks to the University of York Computing Service. This thesis is available on disc or via electronic mail from the author; please specify a format.

Appendix

Appendix One: Norwegian Data

This Appendix has been published by the Norwegian Study Centre, the University of
York as Seedhouse 1995b.

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Introduction

In August and September 1994 I was invited by seven Norwegian teachers of English to make video and audio recordings of their English lessons. There are three lessons from barneskole, two lessons from ungdomsskole and two double lessons from videregående skole, one of which is a literature lesson. The lessons were all recorded in Western Norway (in Stord, Stavanger, Bergen and Sogndal).

My purpose in making the recordings was to obtain data for my PhD research at the University of York. I am interested in describing the varieties of communication which occur in L2 classrooms. However, it soon became clear that transcripts of a variety of English lessons in Norway could potentially be a useful resource for teacher training institutions as well as classroom researchers in Norway and the UK. The purpose of this publication, then, is to make the transcripts available to interested parties. The transcripts show that a variety of different approaches to language teaching are currently used in Norwegian schools. The transcripts should be especially useful to teachers interested in comparing teacher-fronted interaction with group-work and pair-work interaction.

The Norwegian Study Centre, York has copyright of these transcripts and any query regarding their use should be addressed to the Director.

Acknowledgements

My greatest thanks go to the seven teachers who allowed me to record their lessons, five of whom had never met me before: I think this demonstrates a very high degree of openness, professionalism and cooperation. These seven teachers remain anonymous purely because I guaranteed their anonymity: they may well want to boast that these were their lessons, but I leave this decision to them.

Many thanks to Ingelill Johnsen and Tone Arnesen (both undergraduate students at the University of York) who worked extremely hard to transcribe the audio and video tapes and to translate the Norwegian sections into English.

Many thanks to the Board of the Norwegian Study Centre, who encouraged the project and funded:

- a) the purchase of audio recording hardware and software.
- b) my travel to Norway to make the recordings.
- c) the transcription of the tapes.
- d) the production and distribution of this paper.

Finally, thanks to colleagues in Norwegian institutions who put me into contact with some of the teachers whose lessons I recorded - in particular to Bjørn Sørheim, Asbjørn Nåmdal, Brian Oliver, Kåre Rugesæter and Kari Jorunn Haaskjold.

Credits

Video and audio recording:	Paul Seedhouse
Transcription of video and audio tapes:	Ingelill Johnsen and Tone Arnesen with Paul Seedhouse
Translations:	Ingelill Johnsen and Tone Arnesen
Editing and desktop publishing:	Paul Seedhouse
Binding:	University of York Printing Unit

Transcription System

The system of transcription is a slightly adapted version of Van Lier's (*The Classroom and the Language Learner*, Longman, 1988). It is important to note that:

a) linguistic errors made by speakers have **not** been corrected. All spoken utterances have been transcribed verbatim wherever possible and no attempt has been made to turn the discourse into 'sentences'.

b) the normal written uses of punctuation (full stops, question marks etc.) are **not** followed in this system.

c) many passages are marked unintelligible. The lessons were recorded under normal classroom conditions, which meant that background noise was inevitable. At some points, 4 different groups were being recorded simultaneously using recording walkmans.

Conventions

T:	:	teacher
L:	:	unidentified learner
L1: L2: etc,	:	identified learner
LL:	:	several or all learners simultaneously
/yes/yah/ok/	:	overlapping or simultaneous utterances by more than one learner
=	:	a) turn continues below, at the next identical symbol b) if inserted at the end of one speaker's turn and at the beginning of the next speaker's adjacent turn, it indicates that is no gap at all between the two turns
.....,	:	pause; three periods indicate one second
(9 sec)	:	longer silence with length given in seconds
?	:	rising intonation, not necessarily a question

!	:	strong emphasis with falling intonation
OK. now. well.	:	a period unseparated from the preceding word indicates falling (final) intonation
so, the next thing	:	a comma indicates low-rising intonation, suggesting continuation
e:r the:::	:	one or more colons indicate lengthening of the preceding sound
((unintelligible 5 sec))	:	a stretch of unintelligible speech with length given in seconds
yesterday Peter went	:	capitals are used only for proper nouns, not to indicate beginnings of sentences
<i>ja</i> ((tr: yes))	:	Norwegian words are italicised, and are immediately followed by an English translation.
[gibee]	:	in the case of inaccurate pronunciation of an English word, an approximation of the sound is given in square brackets
T shows picture	:	editor's comments are given in bold type

Lesson 1

This is a double lesson totalling 90 minutes in a videregaende skole with a 3rd year class (mostly aged 18) totalling about 20 students.

The first half of the double lesson (mostly groupwork) will be called Lesson 1a. The second half of the double lesson (mostly teacher-led discussion) will be called Lesson 1b.

The lesson is based on the textbook Victory. The instructions for the students are as follows:

a) Find out whether your understanding of the text (companion volume page 75, questions 5-9) corresponds to that of the other members of your group.

The questions are: 5. What makes immigration since 1960 different from both the old and the new immigration? 6. What makes illegal immigration such a serious problem? 7. Summarize the restrictive legislation of 1921 and 1924. Explain why some of it can be described as unfair and racist. 8. What changes were made by the Immigration Act of 1965? 9. Explain the difference between the Melting Pot and the Salad Bowl ideas.

b) Discuss the following statements:

Today white dominance is threatened in the US. After 1986 life has been much easier for many of the illegal immigrants. There is no restriction on immigration in today's US. The diversity of the American society is clearly reflected in its political and cultural institutions. Intermarriage is looked upon as the key to americanization. Since the USA is a nation of immigrants, tolerance and respect for people with another cultural background is one of its characteristics. Bilingual education is the key to success for the large Spanish speaking community.

Lesson 1a

Introduction to the lesson

T: ok....., e:r you have to remember we decided that today we were going to form groups....., most of you will have a say in on the theme we're going to talk about. and I have written the the progress on how I'd like you to to discuss this theme. and then I you can have one one each and then I'll explain it in case there are are things you don't understand. and I have to explain in details what I want you to do. (16 sec) you were supposed to prepare for today e:r by answering....., the last of the questions in your e:r this volume, the company volume.

L1: *men eg har'kkje faatt gjort lekse eg?* ((tr: but I haven't done my homework?))

T: um well, that's your problem not mine.

L: ((unintelligible 2 sec))

T: you can try. if you just think (cough) if you just think you may be able to answer some of them.

- L: *det staa jo det her* ((tr: it says here))
 T: have e:r everybody got one? ok? e:r=
 LL: =(unintelligible 6 sec))
 T: yeah well I I e:r gave you that homework on Monday. I know some of you were not here. you just discuss that, you you make something out of what you are prepared to do. and the first thing is very easy. first thing is to form groups of or three or four or five. it doesn't have to be exact four every group. and....., then I want you to find out what some of you now say say you haven't done. prepare e:r to talk about the answer you have given to the questions five to nine. so if not everybody has answered them I suggest that you just have that volume open on that page, and you will see that some of questions or most of them e:r ask you about things that we have already talked about. so you try to do that without the necessary preparation at home. and when you have agreed on those questions I'd like you to discuss the following statements. and then you read them, I don't read them those for you. if there are words you're not sure of....., in these statements you can ask me. but the (cough) statements and you can pick out the statements you want to to....., start with. you don't have to do it in in the way in the way (cough) I have written it. so if you find out that one of them e you'd like to discuss more thoroughly you just pick out the the statement that you think is most or is easier to discuss. maybe there will be so much disagreement that you will only be able to discuss two or three of them. that's what I hope. so if you just start now forming the groups....., should I help you to do that?

(T divides LL into groups)

Groupwork starts: from this point on there are four group discussions running parallel to each other.

Lesson 1a Groupwork 1

- L: ((unintelligible 1 sec))
 T: four (cough) three four (cough) three four five should you go to (cough) group three I think (cough)
 LL: (noise 20 sec)
 T: can you turn around to Ellen?
 LL: (noise 10 sec)
 T: and remember that that all your conversation=
 L1: *=e trur vi slaar paa pause?* ((tr: I think we'll switch it on pause?)) *skal e slaa paa pause?* ((tr: shall I switch it on pause?))
 LL: (noise 35 sec)
 T: go ahead don't feel shy. start talking
 LL: (noise 30 sec)
 L2: intermarriage is something about that kids in an American organisation....., that means that it's not just Europeans marrying to Europeans. Germans marrying French. they get a mixture of children....., they marry someone with a different race or a different religion.
 L2: isn't this this they're talking about the saladbowl...yeah?
 L2: yes or the melting pot.e:r they call it a new mixed American race, and e:r the writers use words like smelt and melt to describe e e what's happening when immigrants were americanised.

L1: oh yeah!
 L2: and also they call like grey for assimilating people....., and yeah (laugh)
 L2: that's correct.
 L2: e:r
 L1: (cough) what about this today white dominance is threatened in the US?
 L2: no I don't know about that ok. where is that?
 L1: ok up here
 L2: is that Hispanics or illegal immigrants?
 L1: yeah I think you could ... er ... first thing there is that....., all kinds of..., ethnic groups are mixed together and then the white dominance is not so high as it was in the eightenfifties?
 L2: and there is ((unintelligible 2 sec))
 L1: *nei* ((tr: no))
 L3: is threatened?
 L1: threatened is *e det er jo trua. den hvite dominansen er trua.* ((tr: is threatened. the white dominance is threatened))
 L3: *aa ja* ((tr: okay))
 L2: because the..
 L1: yeah because blacks and Asians (cough) Asian people are=
 L2: =threatening the wasps.
 L1: mm yeah waspgroup
 L2: and there is now not so much blacks
 L1: yeah earlier it wasn't so much blacks e:r black people. so.
 T: have you started discussing this first statement? is that what you're on? okay.
 L1: this one.
 T: yes. so did you agree er have you also answered the questions?
 L3: we don't have the book!
 T: you don't have the book? okay er because the reason why I wanted you to do that first is that then you have the facts, because without the facts you can't really discuss er what's going on here. so=
 L2: okay
 T: =so if I get a book for you you can start there? okay? so if you just quickly go through that list of of of questions and I think you know the answers to them.
 LL: yes.
 L1: what makes ((unintelligible 2 sec))
 L2: *er det din bok?* ((tr: is it your book?))
 L3: *nei* ((tr: no))
 L2: the new immigration they came from....., south....., the old immigration most of them came from north?
 L1: yeah
 L3: Norway
 L1: north yeah.
 LL: laugh
 L2: what makes the illegal immigration such a serious problem?
 L3: er it's because (cough) too *nei eg vet ikkje eg.* ((tr: no I don't know)) too many=
 L1: =they, how do I answer this question?=
 L3: =they can't control how many people there are.

L2: I wrote that they take the jobs from American citizens and legal immigrants they make useful contribution to the economy economy by driving work others don't want to do.

L3: that's=

L1: eh ?

LL: =((unintelligible 4 sec))

L2: that could be positive as well.

L1: ((unintelligible 1 sec))

L2: because here it says why is it such a serious problem?

L1: yeah? when the they are illegal they don't have the the right to work there.

L3: no they don't!

L2: e:r I remember that were much abusing of guards and there was a lot of illegal marriages.

L3: mm

L1: yeah.

L2: but,

L1: we've answered it or, should we say more about illegal procedure immigration?

L3: no!

LL: (laugh)

L3: ((unintelligible 2 sec))

L1: ee

L3: *ka betyr dette da?* ((tr: what does this mean?))

L2: summarize the restrictive legislation of nineteen twentyone and nineteen twenty=

L1: =((unintelligible 2 sec))

L3: ((unintelligible 5 sec))

L2: yes e:r ((cough))

L1: explain why some of it can be described as unfair and racist?... .., haven't we answered that?

L3: ((unintelligible 3 sec))

L1: yeah first?... .., but yeah I think that's a question they only want Europeans so,

LL: (laugh)

L2: what changes were made by the immigration act of nineteen sixtyfive?

L1: we'll see in the book?

L1: mm

L3: ((unintelligible 8 sec))

L1: explain the difference the between the meltingpot and the saladbowl ideas.

L2: I thought it was the same.

L1: yeah me too.

LL: (laugh)

L1: the difference is that.. .., in the saladbowl there they melt or=

L2: mix

L1: =mixed all culture groups.

L2: and meltingpot that's like whole America together with=

L1: yeah?

L2: =ethnic groups and melted

L3: *eg fatter ikkje forskjellen.* ((tr: I don't get the difference))

L1: the problem is that the religion is not mixed in the saladbowl and and it it=

L3: =do they have their own ... they keep their religion?

L1: yeah in the saladbowl.

L2: we're trying the difference between the meltingpot and the saladbowl.
T: oh that's interesting. cause we can make spend time on that later on today.
L2: ((unintelligible))
T: yeah well I think so too, and that's why you have to to read it several times to really get into it.
L1: yeah I think so.
T: you can't just read through it ((unintelligible 2 sec)) because these this information is really heavy thing.
L1: e:r the difference is it is it big is it the difference between the melting-pot and the saladbowl is it many differences?
T: no if I'm going to say it very very shortly just in a few sentences I would say that meltingpot-idea is that everybody who comes there with their the different background and culture they mix in a way so that they in the end become the typical American. that's the meltingpot-idea. e:r or the ideal American. and the saladbowl if you have seen a saladbowl especially a saladbowl of glass and you have all the ingredients into it you see green colour, red colour, yellow, you see all the ingredients e mixing in a way but but keeping their e:r flavour and and characteristics.
L1: I see.
L2: they don't change.
T: they don't, well in a way because they are together and there are many things that they have in common. for example language? the same education?
L2: but they keep with their old=
T: =yes yes, that's the saladbowl idea. and with the meltingpot idea I could somebody said sometime that the meltingpot also was or is like the Norwegian *lapskaus* (stew). you put ingredients into the pot and what you get is a greyish brownish meal when everything has cooked well. so ((unintelligible 2 sec))
L1: (laugh) so the meltingpot is a more crucial thing?...,,,,, I don't know *det er grusomt maa vaere grusomt aa leve i den byen hvor alle skal den samme, I den samme jaakk som vi seier.* ((tr: it's terrible it must terrible to live in that city where everybody have be the same, be in the same [jaakk] as we say it.))((unintelligible 2 sec)) now we are continuing. lots of students (40 sec) yeah what should we say about today's white dominance in the street and in US?
L3: (laugh)
L1: anyone anyone?
L3: ((unintelligible 2 sec))
L1: ((unintelligible 3 sec)) after nineteeneightsix life has been much (cough)
L1: many of the illegal immigrants
L2: immigrants.
L1: immigrants.
L2: now they're welcome everywhere.
L1: yeah and they don't have all this=
LL: =((unintelligible 9 sec))
L1: in this.,.,.,.,.,in nineteeneightsix e:r each ethnic group have gone so far that they have been accepted in each society, nobody,
L1: this illegal
L2: in America there was a new law and the illegal immigrants who'd been there were allowed to stay and they can have jobs and for a time they they were not chucked out
L1: mm.

L2: and the new illegals they got their jobs in hotels and that I don't know why it's became more easier for them.

L1: maybe it was easier to hide. (ironic)

L3: yeah that's it. (ironic)

L1: e:r I don't know.

L3: ((unintelligible 4 sec)) *hva betyr restrictions?* ((tr: what does restrictions mean?))

L1: restriction?

L2: *det betyr restriksjoner* ((tr: it means restrictions))

L3: *aa ja* ((tr: okay))

L1: *ja det er paa norsk.* ((tr: yes that is in Norwegian)) I was trying to say..

L3: but what does it mean?=
 L1: =maybe that anyone can.....,.....,.....,....., come to the US today. but restrictions they have restrictions even today but e:r that's how many people that can get in?

L2: the diversity of the American society is clearly reflected in its political and cultural institutions. (20 sec)

L3: say something!

L1: I don't know what to say, I am not er understand this....., the diversity. diversity what's diversity?

L2: how old are you?

L1: me? twentyone.

L2: then you have to know.

L3: (laugh)

L1: diversity isn't that *motsatt*? ((tr: opposite?))

L3: ((unintelligible 2 sec))

L2: *e trur det er dele eller skille, e vet ikkje.* ((tr: I think it's divide or split, I don't know))

L1: *diverse motsatt.* ((tr: opposite))

L2: *forskjellig.* ((tr: different))

L1: *forskjellig?* ((tr: different))

L3: *ulik.* ((tr: unlike))

L2: *ulikhet det kan jo vaere for eksempel at* ((unintelligible 4 sec)) (13 sec) ((tr: difference could for example be that)) ((unintelligible))

L2: *ta den andre da!* ((tr: pick the other one!))

L1: *ja.* ((tr: yes))

L2: intermarriage is looked upon as the key to American society

L1: *skal jeg proeve meg?* ((tr: shall I give it a try?))

L2: *ja.* ((tr: yes.))

L1: okay is that an Asian....., and a woman from New-Zealand marry.

L3: and have sex? (laugh)

L1: maybe.

L2: okay - and have a baby?

L1: intermarriage isn't isn't that that a man and a woman from another country are married to each other.

L3: ((unintelligible 3 sec))

L1: yeah....., then you are.....,americani.., americanised. that's the way to become an American. yeah well talk about it. early.

L3: ((unintelligible 2 sec))

L1: *skal vi gaa paa neste?* ((tr: do you understand this?)) (25 sec) should we go to the next one?

L1: I don't know....., tolerance and respect for people with another culture or background to..

L3: ((unintelligible 15 sec))

L2: explanation or imagination?

LL: (laugh) (35 sec)

L3: the large English speaking ((unintelligible 2 sec))

L1: that's true. (laugh)

L3: can you say please?

L1: yeah that's because when they came to the US the only language they could was Spanish and....., they were....., *so hellig, ka det er?* ((tr: holy, what is that?))

L3: bilingual

L1: ((unintelligible 4 sec))

L1: the education was the key to success.

L1: because when they can to speak to American and Spanish people at the same time e: that's not correct.

LL: (laugh)

L1: but they can?

L3: but why?

L2: ((unintelligible 5 sec))

L3: (laugh) (12 sec)

L1: maybe we can read something?

L2: read something about?

L2: ((unint. 3 sec)) meltingpot and saladbowl, ideas of americanisation. what is an American? what happens when a member leaves the culture of his or her homeland and becomes americanized? understandably such questions have been of great interest of the people in the new world ever since ((unintelligible 7 sec))

L: ((unintelligible 2 sec))

L2: *oj!* ((tr: oh!))

L3: the persons called the meltingpot-idea and is as old as the nose in this ... some famous letters

L2: (laugh)

L3: from an American.. living in a new culture in which he argued that American=

L: atchoo!

L3: =there were not simply Europeans they were going to be in touch with because strange new stuff, new mixed American lives.

L1: ((unintelligible 2 sec))

LL: (laugh)

L1: very good.

LL: ((unintelligible 6 sec))

L1: *du kan jo begynne. ta det paa nytt igjen.* ((tr: you can start. start over again.))

LL: (laugh) ((unintelligible 3 sec))

L3: *me kan jo begynna med det ordet der.* ((tr: we can start with that word.))

L1: *ja.* ((tr: yes.))

L2: *ja det kan me gjoer.* ((tr: yes let's do that)).

L1: *ja.* ((tr: yes.))

L2: *bare stopp ho.* ((tr: just stop her))

L1: Waterloo nineteenthwentyone nei twentyone. yeah it was ((unintelligible 3 sec))

L3: ((unintelligible 2 sec))

L1: *er vi ferdige da?* ((tr: are we done then?))

- L2: *ja.* ((tr: yes))
- T: and you have .. okay and the words you have picked out yourselves? ((unintelligible 3 sec)) yes we're gonna do that in class next time yes yes ((unintelligible 1 sec)) did you agree with the statements? (7 sec)
- L1: on this one we didn't=
- T: which one?
- L1: =this one we didn't understand it.
- T: diversity of the American society. ((unintelligible 27 sec)) *manifoldet* ((tr: diversity)) of the American diversity is clearly reflected that means give back at the mirror....., in its political and cultural institutions meaning in in Congress, in church, in school, in in everywhere where where where there is e:r people gathering for cultural and social activities. so that is diversity reflected in the the the American family? for example do we find many Hispanics?
- L1: no.
- T: do we find many blacks? Latin-Americans?....., Norwegian-Americans?
- L1: e:r some.
- T: some there has been and there has been one wanting to become a president so you want to let them know....., and then you don't have to explain one e can you see that now?
- L1: yes I can.
- L2: *was sagst du?* ((tr: what are you saying?)) (German)(17 sec)
- L1: *keine Ahnung* ((tr: no idea)) (German) but this one is true isn't it?
- L3: she wants to go through them all to see.
- L1: right or wrong?
- L2: *hae?* ((tr: what?)) once more.
- L3: *det er mange som ikkje hoerer.* ((tr: there are many who can't hear))
- L1: ((unintelligible 2 sec))
- T: five minutes break now....., well seven minutes. be back nine thirty!

Lesson 1a Groupwork 2

- T: and all your conversation is in English. ((unintelligible 2 sec))
- LL: ((unintelligible 11 sec))
- T: I think maybe you can do ((unintelligible 6 sec))
- L3: ok open the em volume? (5 sec)
- T: go ahead, don't be shy (17 sec)
- L3: ok.
- L4: ((unintelligible 2 sec)) (10 sec)
- T: before you start just answer the questions=
- L3: ok
- T: =and then you see you don't have to read from the start.
- L3: ok e:r, what makes immigration since nineteen sixty different from the old and the new immigration (20 sec)
- L3: e:r the immigration since nineteen sixty is different from both the old and the new immigration in ways such as entering the country and how they came. now travelling by sea by land at the airport or in e:r or crossing the:e border from Mexico. e:r they're no longer passengers ((unintelligible 1 sec)) e:r today they line up with document in hand? for inspection and e:r they normally have been screened and approved by the American embassy in their homeland before leaving. e:r everything is now more

streamlined and they no longer come from Europe but from the Third World countries in Asia and Latin-America. ok and then the next question?

- LL: ((unintelligible 2 sec))
- L5: what makes illegal immigration such a serious problem. (5 sec)
- L4: illegal immigration is such a serious problem because they because they cause unemployment. they're taking jobs from American citizens and legal immigrants such a large unskilled and illegal labour force keep wages down. it is also problematic for a society to have a permanent underclass of people. *nei kva staar det?* ((tr: no what does it say?)) with little possibility of escape. perhaps the general problem is of illegalism is even more serious. visas are abused immigrants are smuggled across the border, false entry documents. social securitycards and marriage papers are bought and sold.
- L3: ok?....., how did the new immigration work with the old. (12 sec)
- L5: *naa var de jo mainly from South-Europe?* ((tr: they were mainly from South-Europe)) (4 sec)
- L3: e:r (4 sec) *kor staar det henne?* ((tr: where does it say?)) (6 sec)
- L3: what can we say about that? (5 sec)
- L6: e:r the majority came of the new immigration came from Southern and Eastern Europe, such as Italy Austria Hungary?
- L3: ok e:r?....., now we take question number seven. e:r what makes *nei* ((tr: no)) summarize the restrictive legislation of nineteenthentwentyone and nineteenthentwentyfour. explain why some of this can be described as unfair and racist....., ((unintelligible 3 sec))
- L4: (laugh)
- L3: question number seven.
- L6: restrictive legislation ((unintelligible 6 sec)) the number of immigrants entering. ((unintelligible 3 sec)) at the natural origin (18 sec)
- L3: yeah? we are going through the questions.
- T: ok? are you the only one are you ((unintelligible 2 sec))
- L3: yeah. *nei* ((tr: no))
- L5: ((unintelligible 1 sec))
- L3: e:r e:r (5 sec) ok are you ((unintelligible 2 sec))
- LL: ((unintelligible 2 sec))
- L3: ok?
- LL: ((unintelligible 2 sec))
- L3: e:r....., ok ((unintelligible 2 sec)) ok?
- L5: *ja ja ja ja.* ((tr: yes yes yes yes)).
- L3: e:r find out whether you are on the same=
- LL: =((unintelligible 5 sec))
- L3: ok? discuss the following statements. today white dominance is threatened in the United States....., ok?
- L4: ((unintelligible 2 sec))
- L3: do you have anything to e:r....., say about that?
- L5: no....., I don't think white dominance is threatened in the USA.
- L3: why not?
- L5: I don't think so?
- LL: (laugh)
- L3: you don't think so ok? and you Jon?
- L6: e:m I don't really care.

L3: you don't really care.
 L6: I don't live in the US.
 L3: ok. e:m and you Tone?
 L4: e:m I don't know. e:r
 L3: ok.
 LL: ((unintelligible 3 sec))
 L3: no I don't think so, that the white dominance is threatened because....., there are
 which are approximately....., twenty million or about that and that is not white why
 that leaves to about a hundred and fifty million that's white people or I don't think
 think the white dominance is threatened. and illegal illegal immigration does not right
 right at such.....,he?....., e:r after in nineteeneightsix life has been such
 much=
 L5: much
 L3: =have been much easier for many of the illegal immigrants. (cough)
 L6: that is that is untrue.
 L4: why?
 L6: you can't nineteeneightsix doesn't say anything.
 L4: cause nineteeneightsix was the the immigration reform act
 L6: no
 L6: ((unintelligible 3 sec))
 L3: ok you are right about that.
 L6: ((unintelligible 2 sec))....., this wasn't easy this was hard.
 L5: ((unintelligible 3 sec))
 L3: e:r e:r there's no e:r there's no restrictions on immigration in the States today. (8 sec)
 well? what do you think about that Henning?
 LL: ((unintelligible 10 sec))
 L3: e:r (7 sec) are the immigrations having well today? isn't there any restriction?
 L6: e:r....., well some of them can't speak English, or they have problems.
 LL: ((unintelligible 3 sec))
 L3: e:r *nei*. e:r no. ((unintelligible 4 sec)) e:r is there do they have any unemployment
 restrictions or.
 L6: like e:r not getting a job?
 L3: yes because if they can't speak English they maybe some jobs that they can't
 ((unintelligible 3 sec))
 L6: yeah that's right e:r.....,
 L3: you can't work in a shop if you don't know how to speak English....., e:r the
 diversity of the American society is very reflected in its political and cultural institution
,and how?
 L5: how?
 L3: intermarriage is looked upon as the key to americanization.
 L6: intermarriage....., yes? maybe? to marry one from....., black and white or
 e:r....., ethnic one ethnic from one ethnic group to another ethnic group e:r=
 L: (cough)
 L6: =Italian or Polish....., e:r=
 L3: =but normally there is a big difference between those people because of religion and
 culture as well.
 L6: e:r ethnic religious or what.
 L3: e:r
 LL: ((unintelligible 6 sec))

L3: e:r since the US since the USA is a nation of immigrants tolerance and respect for people with other cultural backgrounds is one of the characteristics.

L6: yeah?

LL: no no no way.

L6: ((unintelligible 3 sec))

L3: well, e:r.....,.....,

L6: in America it's divided up in the black streets and the white streets

L3: but what is meant by the meltingpot?

L6: oh the meltingpot. the meltingpot or the saladbowl are of americanization. e:r....., the meltingpot is when a [mext] a mixed American race....., you follow me?=
 L4: =(unintelligible 3 sec))

L3: yeah. e:r.....,.....,

L5: ((unintelligible 2 sec))

L3: they are assimilating people.

L5: not all of them.

L3: not all of them, what what e:r=
 L5: ((unintelligible 4 sec))=
 L3: yeah can you give me some examples?
 L6: ((unintelligible 2 sec))
 L3: yeah but unfortunately not
 L6: ((unintelligible 3 sec))
 L5: no
 L6: anyway anyway when they will start a a:a.....,....., I don't think black and white Americans are so close
 L3: they have more like they are more like the salad in the saladbowl.
 L6: e:r
 L3: e:r actually if there is an ethnic mix in which each immigrant group does not melt into a new race but retains its own cultural flavour they don't mingle into a meltingpot but instead of melting they call themselves Italian-American Cuban-American e:r e:r=
 L6: =Latin-American
 L3: e:r....., e:r....., then e:r the lingual=
 L6: =bilingual=
 L3: =bilingual education teaches Spanish for the large Spanish-speaking minority.
 L6: is that right?
 L3: yeah.
 L6: in what way?
 L3: because when they go to school as children an organisation e:r.....,....., Spanish e:r.....,....., some school some schools they only learn at English, if they don't understand English they cannot learn.
 L6: yes.
 L3: they have to they have to learn in Spanish. otherwise they won't have any education and no job.
 L6: ok.
 L3: e:r
 L5: ((unintelligible 13 sec))
 L: (cough)
 L3: ok? now we have done all e:r (5 sec)
 L3: we have=
 L6: =but what are you going to do at the weekend?

L3: I don't know.
 L5: ((unintelligible 2 sec)) partying.
 L3: ok e:r=
 L4: =(unintelligible 2 sec)
 L3: do you have anything to add to this?
 L6: e:r...,..., I mean the first test you know the one went there to the their white dominance threatened in the US. I mean I don't think it's threatened because US is such a lot of immigrants it is no matter if there's black dominance or white dominance
 L3: yeah.((unintelligible 2 sec))
 L: e:r
 LL: ((unintelligible 5 sec))
 T: did you find out when you agree with them?
 L5: no
 L3: no not at all.
 T: ((unintelligible 2 sec))
 L5: ((unintelligible 3 sec))
 L3: after summerbreak.
 T: mhm ok.
 L3: ((unintelligible 2 sec))
 T: no
 L3: ((unintelligible 2 sec)) immigration would fall back?
 T: yes.
 L3: e:r=
 T: =yeah in what way did you didn't agree at all? after eighteen eightysix life has been much easier for many of them. ((unintelligible 2 sec)) what is the act the immigration act of nineteen eightyseven e:r eightysix say?
 L3: they let=
 T: they
 L3: =they let people hire illegal immigrants
 T: that's right that's part of it but at the same time what then happened, that's very good but it had something else=
 L3: =they could yeah they could make e:m make illegal immigrants get a citizenship?=
 T: =yes and so and and e:r e:r the position how long had they been living there and e:r e:r if they had worked.
 L3: ok.
 T: so they don't become citizenship like they came=
 L3: =but they aren't illegal immigrants anymore.
 T: no that's right. that's right that's right. and they were before the act. and then the act made them legal, some of them. ((unintelligible 2 sec)) no you did well ((unintelligible 1 sec)) did you did you e:m ((unintelligible 1 sec))?
 L3: yeah.
 T: ok.
 L3: a little assessment.
 T: aha?...,,,,,, bilingual did you did you discuss that as well?
 L3: yeah.
 T: ((unintelligible 2 sec)) that's what you think. that's everybody in e:r America believe that bilingual education=
 L3: =no.
 T: no why not?

L3: cause I think that everybody who lives in each different country should learn English.=

T: =yeah some some think so, and are they only the the are they the English-speaking people people only? or tell me what's behind that opinion and what e:r benefit Mexicans might have from it.

L3: oh=

T: =cause some of them think that they should learn English because they=

L3: yeah.

T: =they were experiencing that unless they learn and know English well they wouldn't have no chance in=

L3: ((unintelligible 1 sec))

T: =the American society but I mean there is discussion and you can't say whether the one's who are right and the one's who=

L3: =no we think they should learn English but they also perhaps they should learn some Spanish, but be able to understand English

T: ok? and you can e:r rest for a while.

LL: ((unintelligible 22 sec)) (noise in the microphone 12 sec))

L7: yes we have.

L8: ok good.

L7: yeah. ((unintelligible 3 sec)) ok,....., ok.

L8: ((unintelligible 2 sec))

L7: number nine. explain the difference between the meltingpot and the saladbowl. (7 sec) Katrine.

L8: e:r.....,.....,....., the *kva er det det staar?* ((tr: the what does it say?)) the saladbowl is an [eth] ethnic mix in which each immigrant group does not melt into a new whole but retains its own cultural flavour

L7: meltingpot?

L9: what was that?

LL: ((unintelligible 13 sec))

L7: was that the saladbowl?

L8: *ja* ((tr: yes))

L7: *ja, ja, ok.* ((tr: yes. yes, ok.)) meltingpot.

L9: ((unintelligible 2 sec)) there's a mix

L: ((unintelligible 2 sec))=

L7: =people from other nations.=

L8: yeah.

L7: =melt into a new way.

L9: everybody gets americanized.

L7: americanized?

L8: individuals from all nations are melted into a new race.

L7: mhm

L8: yeah?

L7: I think.

L9: yeah that's right.

LL: (laugh) very good/ very good/ I'm the best

L7: what makes illegal immigration such a serious problem?

L8: cause they are taking jobs from from the Americans? (5 sec)

L7: yeah?

L8: and=

L7: *nei men hva sa du?* ((tr: no but what did you say?))
 L9: but what jobs did they get?
 L8: low paid jobs....., if they are lucky they get low paid jobs.
 LL: anyway they take yes ((unintelligible 1 sec))
 L7: ((unintelligible 1 sec))=
 L9: e:hm
 L7: =perhaps the general problem of legalism [hae] ((unintelligible 1 sec)) visas are
 abused, ((unintelligible 4 sec)) marriage paper=
 L: (cough)
 L7: number five then. what makes immigration since nineteen sixty different from both
 the old and the new immigration?
 L8: e:r (8 sec)
 L9: the:e before they came from Europe now they're coming from Third World countries
 and=
 LL: nineteen ((unintelligible 2 sec)) America....., and they came by air.
 L8: air....., many came from New York ((unintelligible 2 sec))
 LL: ((unintelligible 9 sec))
 L7: in nineteen sixty there were nineteen percent from Europe and in nineteen eightyfive
 there were only ten (3 sec) I think that's right.
 LL: ((unintelligible 25 sec))
 L7: they want to increase immigration ((unintelligible 2 sec))
 LL: ((unintelligible 23))
 L8: unskilled, uneducated and unemployed. (5 sec)
 L9: yeah.
 L7: *skal eg skru han av?* ((tr: shall I switch it off?))

Lesson 1a Groupwork 3

L2: just put the microphone in the middle (7 sec)
 T: go ahead, don't be shy. start talking.
 LL: ((unintelligible 40 sec))
 L1: *ja men vi trenger jo ikkje aa bruke de.* ((tr: yes but we don't have to use them))
 L3: ((unintelligible 2 sec)) (4 sec)
 T: that should mean that you can just start talking without looking to what you've
 written....., and you can have that as a help (8 sec)
 L1: *vil du lese spoersmaalan?* ((tr: do you want to read the questions?))
 L3: *hm?* ((tr: sorry?))
 L1: *vil du lese spoersmaalan?* ((tr: do you want to read the questions?))
 L3: (cough)
 L1: ((unintelligible 3 sec))
 L3: (laugh)
 L1: what makes immigration since nineteen sixty different from both the old and the new
 immigration?
 L3: e:m immigration e:r immigrants now come by air to New York and Los Angeles.
 (laugh) they come over now from Mexico. and immigrants is more streamlined and
 they were poor and they did not so good at the way *nei kva er det du kaller det?* ((tr:
 no what is it called?)) integrate integrated the way immigrants did before....., they
 come from Third World countries Asia and Latin-America (laugh) *hadde du har du
 gjort det?* ((tr: would you have have you done it?))

- L1: *les spoersmaalet du daa.* ((tr: you read the question))
- L2: ((unintelligible 2 sec)) what makes illegal immigration such a serious problem?
- L3: because they cause unemployment by taking jobs from American citizens and they establish such a large unskilled and illegal labour forces keeps wages down....., it's also for American society to have the permanent underclass of people with little possibility of escape. visas are abused, immigrants are smuggled across the boarder, false and true documents, social security cards and marriage papers are bought and sold.
- L2: so it's a problem with the illegal immigrants from Mexico are who are coming in such large numbers and they mostly speak Spanish only.
- L3: and they are unskilled=
- L2: =yeah they are unskilled and they can't speak the the language so it makes a problem when e:r the minority of the Hispanics grow and they have a debate about the bilingual education for instance.
- L1: *oui.* ((tr: yes)) (French)
- L3: (laugh)
- L1: summarize the restrictive legislation of nineteen twentyone and nineteen twentyfour. explain why some of it can be described as unfair and racist.
- L: (cough)
- L1: *det er klart det er lov* ((tr: of course it is legal)) ((unintelligible 2 sec))
- LL: ((unintelligible 12 sec))
- L3: designed to limit of the number, was designed of limit the number of immigrants. it also introduced the idea of national origin in selecting immigrants to be admitted. in the second act of nineteen twentyfour these two consequences were applied more ((unintelligible 2 sec))
- T: that e:r that the ((unintelligible 2 sec)) ok....., do you think that=
- LL: =yes/yes ((unintelligible 24 sec))
- L3: e:r what changes were made by the immigration act of nineteen sixtyfive? (5 sec)
- L1: the most obvious effect of the nineteen sixty[fem]=
- LL: (laugh)
- L1: =sixtyfive act has been the increased immigration from third world, especially Asia
- L3: all immigrants were=
- L: (cough)
- L3: =nationality national origin race ((unintelligible 2 sec))
- LL: ((unintelligible 4 sec))
- L3: *hoerer du ikkje?* ((tr: can't you hear?))
- L2: ((unintelligible 5 sec))
- L3: *kordan ska me gjoer dette?* ((tr: how should we do this?))
- L1: *aa nei me faar gjoere mye i dag.* ((tr: oh no we have to do a lot today))
- L3: *aa ja.* ((tr: ok))
- L1: *ni me har'kkje ni?* ((tr: nine we don't have nine do we?))
- L3: *jo.* ((tr: yes))
- LL: ((unintelligible 2 sec))
- L2: explain the difference between the meltingpot and the saladbowl ideas.
- L: (laugh)
- L2: I guess the main difference is e:r how the immigrants are integrated into the society....., e:r meltingpot e:r that means that everybody e:r develops into one unified society with a e:r common or yeah common language and and cultural

- cultural....., e:r aspect or opinion and the way to behave. and the saladbowl is that everybody lives more the separate e:r different races.
- L3: I think there is more together but different culture
- L2: yeah....., it's always been the politics of the the Americans that....., people should adapt to the new=
- L: (cough)
- L2: =American values so a:nd I think I think that e:r the government in the States wants to have meltingpot [poli] politic policy. cause that's one of the reasons why most of them want e:r e:r just one language in the schools?
- L: (cough)
- L2: any other comments?
- L3: no. (laugh)....., it says in the book that there are always some melting e:r that happens in the society when everybody learns the same language and goes to goes to e:r to school and....., they all consume the same products, and are exposed to the same problems also through the same media. and the role of some who, ((unintelligible 5 sec))
- L2: yeah and the and the media is always focused on e e American.., standard or the American values, and e:r like they have some national symbols.., like especially the flag and everybody has to make a pledge to the American flag in schools, and e:r the religion it's more it's more like a a common religion which everybody can accept... it's not a a: a typical Protestant religion....., and a Catholic religion., we learn some of that in the e:r in the religion classes in the third grade. we will get it during this year I've had it before...., so....., yes
- L: (cough) (2 sec)
- L2: we go to....., point two? (4 sec)
- L1: discuss the following statements today white dominance is threatened (laugh) in the United States. ((unintelligible 3 sec))
- L2: yes,
- L1: *ja*. ((tr: yes)) (4 sec)
- L2: depends a bit where:e what do you what do you think of when you say threatened. e:r it's obvious that....., the non-whites are getting more and more influence on politics because they're growing in numbers. and so I think it's a natural development that the Hispanics and all other immigrants get more influence on politics?... a:and....,so....., I guess I think you could say it's e:r...., it's a big threaten,
- L1: ((unintelligible 2 sec))
- L: (cough) (4 sec)
- L3: *ja*, ((tr: yes))
- L1: ((unintelligible 3 sec)) *eg har ikkje* ((tr: I don't))
- L2: ((unintelligible 2 sec))....., after nineteen eightysix life has been much easier for many of the illegal immigrants, did something happen in nineteeneightysix?... I guess it did.
- L: (laugh)
- LL: ((unintelligible 20 sec))
- L1: in nineteen eightysix there was passed an important law. the immigration ((unintelligible 3 sec)) of the illegal immigrants
- LL: ((unintelligible 6 sec))
- L3: *hvor staar det hen?* ((tr: where does it say?))
- LL: ((unintelligible 23 sec))
- L2: so hiring of illegal immigrants was outlawed why did it make life easier?

L1: ((unintelligible 2 sec))
 L3: *kva betyr det der daa?* ((tr: what does that mean?))
 L1: [hiring] hiring
 LL: ((unintelligible 2 sec))
 L1: *vet du kva det betyr? ansette* ((tr: do you know what it means? hiring))
 L2: o:o
 L1: ((unintelligible 2 sec)) living illegally in the country ((unintelligible 4 sec))
 L2: yeah I guess that's=
 L1: =((unintelligible 5 sec))
 L2: yeah yeah I guess that's what the the question wants,..., that people have who has been illegal immigrants and staying in the country for some years e:m they're allowed full citizenship. ..., so I guess that makes this pretty easier..., obviously., yes e:r there is no restrictions on immigration in today's US..., what? (4 sec)
 L1: but we can't=
 L2: =don't you say there are no restrictions?
 L3: yes
 L2: but she says there is no restrictions, well. (7 sec) but e:r isn't there?..., or aren't there? what's it supposed to be? can you say both? (5 sec)
 L1: you can't just go there and e ((unintelligible 2 sec))
 L2: no I don't think so.
 L1: all the:e Cubans who're coming over then
 L2: but they are=
 L1: =many of them are - are supposed to be sent back
 L2: yeah I think most of them will be sent back..., I mean it's not allowed for them to get into the US at least so if they do it would be some kind of e:r some kind of e:r compromise between the American and the Cuban government. so they're particularly allowed to go to there I think there are restrictions,....., at least to get work there to get a work-permission. I think it's quite hard actually to get work workpermission in the States because they don't want people to take the jobs of the already American citizens (7 sec)
 L3: ((unintelligible 3 sec))
 L2: yeah I suppose (19 sec)
 L2: ((unintelligible 2 sec))
 L3: the diversity of the working society is clearly reflected in its political and cultural institutions....., yes, (4 sec)
 L1: *kva er diversity?* ((tr: what is diversity?))
 L2: *det er mangfold* ((tr: it's diversity))
 L3: *ja*, ((tr: yes)),
 L2: yeah well I think it isn't that clearly reflected in the political..., institutions at least not in the..., higher levels of politics there it's mostly dominated by white people..., I don't know how it is at lower levels of politics maybe blacks and Hispanics has gotten more influence?....., I don't know the details about it. do you
 L3: I didn't I *nei* ((tr: no))
 L1: I think it's more more clearly in the cultural institutions
 L2: yeah?
 L1: then you....., ((unintelligible 1 sec))
 L1: yeah I think=
 L1: =((unintelligible 3 sec))

L2: yeah. I think it's e:r it's a it's a it's common that people are allowed to express themselves even though they're supposed to adapt to the American..., values, they are allowed to express their cultural background and....., you will find a lot of foreigners which are doing exhibitions and....., shows and..., and now what they think about when they say cultural institutions....., I guess it's art centers and....., theaters (4 sec) and now if you can call the movie movie business a cultural institution,....., at there are a lot of different people working there,

L: (cough)

L2: e:r inter intermarriage is looked upon as the key to americanization. (3 sec)

L2: intermarriage is that=

L1: =I think it is true=

L2: =yeah that's true.

LL: (laugh)

L2: so what is intermarriage

L1: ((unintelligible 1 sec))=

L2: =is that one foreign=

L1: =maybe two ethnic groups.

L2: yeah

L3: hm?

L1: maybe two people from two ethnicgroups.

L2: and I guess it's especially one white and one=

L3: =one black or

L2: yeah one

L1: I don't know,

L2: yeah well it could be

L1: it cause a lot of problems I think.

L2: yeah e:r....., when you look at in the..., *ekteskap* ((tr: marriage))

LL: marriage

L2: marriage yeah you just look at marriage and you think it will cause problems for the two for the two people living together?=
 L1: =no for the children.

L2: the children?..., yeah..., I think it could be a problem for the marriage itself too e:r because I I read e:r a survey=

L1: =((unintelligible 2 sec))

L2: yeah, yeah and I just e:r how to how you behave and how which which what kind of moral you have, I read a survey from Norway e:r which said that most divorces was caused with the marriages between a Norwegian and a foreigner=

L3: mhm.

L2: =so that e:r - the marriages are more unstable....., and yeah it might be that it would cause problems for the childrens

L3: ((unintelligible 2 sec))

L2: yeah yeah, what kind of religion they should get, I think that's quite important that the US e:r they are more concerned about the religion,

L1: ((unintelligible 6 sec))

L2: yeah, yes that's probably true.

L1: ((unintelligible 6 sec))

L2: yeah I think it it's a it's it is it is a key to americanization ..., don't you think?=
 L1: =hm,
 L2: because=

L3: =I don't know because if you=
L1: =some people just marry each other for one who hasn't got American citizenship can=
L2: yeah
L1: =can=
L2: =yes that's true but if they if they love each other and if they are living in a steady relationship it will it's a:r the foreigner will adapt more to the ..., americanization process than if just two Pakistan - two people from Pakistan just move to the States and live their life e:r more separate from the society=
L1: =but I think if one from Pakistan and one from America are to be married, the one from Pakistan will bring much of his culture in, cause I don't think he want let go of his religion and that....., I don't know
L2: no, I guess not..., but there will be e:m just like:e the Americans will learn from the others=
L1: yes
L2: =so it would be
L1: in a way=
L2: =I suppose it could be (5 sec)
LL: (laugh)
L3: the Americans show tolerance and respect for people with another cultural background?
LL: ((unintelligible 6 sec)
L1: there is a lot of e:r racism in the USA.
L2: yeah....., and blacks has always been suppressed by the others=
L1: =they came as slaves and I don't think it's so easy for er a black to climb up..., I don't know..., because of the skin,
L2: yeah I think it depends a bit of which race you you..., you are=
L1: Asians are are not thought to be people of race and=
L2: =yeah, they Asians are looked upon as hard working and e:r I think white Americans prefer Asians than blacks and the Hispanics....., then again e:r the Asian also brings the mafia...,the mob..., so I don't know. I don't know the American society that well so I don't know how they look upon..., do you?
L3: no
LL: (laugh)
L2: did the text say anything about that?
L1: (laugh) it said that there has always been a lot of racism but now it's changing....., becoming more natural ((unintelligible 5 sec)
L2: I think it also differs quite a bit on which area of the country you go to,...., e:r in the=
L: (atchoo!)
L2: =in the more e:r..., in the villages and out in the country I think e:m it's mostly dominated by white farmers, and they live more down from foreigners than others (4 sec)
T: do you agree?
LL: yes
T: it seems to me that he is taking the lead is he?
LL: (laugh)
T: have we got one boy and the boy is leading....., is that normal?
L1: no!
T: no! (4 sec)

- L1: bilingual education is the key to success for children from the large Spanish-speaking minority
- L: (cough)
- L2: e:r (4 sec) there are different opinions about that and er....., like we discussed that e the last lesson it's both positive and negative with bilingual education. it's easier for them to to learn something when they're taught in the their motherlanguage, mothertongue..., it also maybe makes e:r e:e a barrier between American-speaking and Spanish-speaking ..., areas..., groups in America
- L1: ((unintelligible 9 sec))
- L2: yeah
- L1: American
- L2: I think it it..., yes they're going to e:r complete the e:r e:m bilingual education they also had to..., e:r make the general society more bilingual, they can't just er teach Spanish in schools and then when they are finished nothing is in Spanish? and they just suddenly have to speak American..., so there has to be e:r..., some give and take e:r..., like I think in Canada they have a bilingual society more or less with both English and French,
- L1: that's just a area
- L2: yes certain French areas and certain sections I it's a problem with a a society which speaks er two different languages like that..., like we have two different languages but everybody understands both....., so,
- LL: (laugh)
- L2: yeah well more or less (4 sec)
- L1: I think that they should learn er American I think that they should talk English if they are living in America. like people have to learn Norwegian in Norway
- L2: yes..., yeah I think they should it the problem is just that that it er six years old Mexicans come to the US and they don't understand anything, any English e:r
- L1: ((unintelligible 1 sec))=
- L2: =in the in the lower levels they should start speaking Spanish and then er gradually e:m speak more and more American ((unintelligible 2 sec))
- L3: but the younger they are the easier they learn English=
- L2: yeah that's true
- L3: of course it would be difficult for them to suddenly learn everything in English but they could just take on step at the time
- L2: yes..., the problem or not not exactly a problem=
- T: five minutes break!
- L2: e:r I'll just say that if the group of Hispanics grows larger than twice then maybe Spanish should be the official American language....., if the Hispanics take power ((11 sec))

Lesson 1a Groupwork 4

- L: (laugh)
- L1: it's also that they e:r make forms and social securitycards and marriagepaper and....., visas
- L2: and because they can't speak English they don't get any jobs
- L3: and no education.

L4: and no class=
L3: =(laugh)
L2: and they don't have the control over the population of the United States.
((unintelligible 3 sec))
L3: and when they don't when they don't have job they go to other other ways to get money. and that is crime.
L4: dealing drugs.....,and it's=
L2: =organized crime. OK? question seven e:r summarize the restrictive legislation in of nineteen twentyone and nineteen twentyfour, explain why some of it can be described as unfair and racist.
L1: (laugh)....., I have it e:r,they are designed to limit the numbers of immigrants that they ehm....., but....., they'll limit the people coming from.....,Asia=
L2: =and what they did was they said that only two percent of the people immigrating in eighteen and=
L1: =ten percent!=
L2: =no one percent! two percent!
L1: oh okay
L: (cough)
L2: the population that emigrated in the nine eighteen nineties, only two percent of those were allowed there and....., the majority that immigrated to the United States in eighteen nineteen was southern Europeans and=
L3: =yeah but question was nineteen twentyone and twentyfour.
L1: yeah but that's e:r the lowest oppose to to make e:r keep the population?
L2: yeah it was supposed to make the local number of, the one in twentyone was supposed to just limit the numbers of immigrants. and the one in nineteen twentyfour was like to get more=
LL: =Europeans=
L2: =than Asians coming.
L1: yeah but why is this unfair? because they didn't let the Asians and=
L2: =they do it in a stupid way .. instead of just saying here you bloody Asians are not allowed they they do it in a stupid way.
L1: OK
L2: e:r what change what changes were made by the immigrant er immigration act of nineteen sixtyfive?
L1: it increased the number of people coming from Asia? immigrants coming from Asia? e:r. (4 sec) they won't allow them to come in twenty thousand from each country? that was abolished in ninteen eightyeight.
L: (cough)
L3: it also meant that all immigrants would be treated equally regardless e:r of national origin, race creed or colour.
L2: e:r nine, explain the difference between the meltingpot and the saladbowl ideas....., the meltingpot was that all the nationalities that were=
L3: uh huh
L2: =would be like americanized, so everyone would be like like an American and the saladbowl is in a way like everyone=
L3: =they live together but they don't live the they're not alike. each has its own customs so=
L1: =yeah

L: (cough)

L1: *ja me har jo disse som er hennes og da.* ((tr: yes but we have these which are hers as well))

L3: speak English please!

L1: e:r

L3: hear now, you're so tough. (5sec) first half then the second half.

T: yeah and then you are=

T/L3:((unintelligible 3 sec))

T: what I wanted you to do e:r the reason I wanted you to do that was to make sure=

L: (cough)

T: =because you can't discuss these statements unless you have the facts right

L: (cough)

L2: OK, so then we'll move to something else (3sec) why?

L3: why=

T: =seriously=

LL: no!

T: =but that's what you're going to discuss. whether whether the statement is correct or not. and then explain why it's wrong and what you think.

L1: no I don't think so because=

L3: there are more whites?

L1: yes.

L3: than any other group

L2: specially now with Cuba?

L1: yeah but that's only like like twelve million

L3: there are more white than any other group.

L3: they just live there, they don't get any money or anything (4sec) yeah.

LL: (laugh)

L2: it's on drugs today, the judgement.

L3: spacy (cough)

L2: after nineteen eightysix life has been much easier for many of the immigrants=

L3: yeah because=

L2: that was the that was when when the=

L1: yes but this illegal.

L3: yeah but the Congress passed an important law in nineteen eightysix ((unintelligible 2 sec))

L1: where is this?

L3: I can read it out, e:r outlaw that outlawed the hiring of illegal immigrants.

L2: what illegalized the hiring?

L1: but why did that made make it easier?

L3: the law granted immigrants who had been living illegally in the country to for a considerable time full citizenship, rights on certain conditions.

L1: so they will become=

L3: =so they become American citizens.

L2: wow, illegal immigrants?

L3: yeah in nineteen eightysix.

L2: other ones who had=

LL: ((unintelligible 6 sec))=

L3: = a certain period of time when they if they had been there

L2: aha. but it's just for those who had who lived e:r had been living in America for some time? the new illegal immigrants they had they had like a ((unintelligible 1 sec))

L1: they don't say anything about how long they had to=

L3: no?

L1: =live in the country before you get legal?

L2: in nineteen eightyseven. they're not=

L1: =maybe they don't have any

L3: yeah but if they stay in the US for a certain period of time they also are able to become American citizens.

L2: so most probably now they are American citizens?

L1: they maybe don't have restrictions on the immigrants today, after nineteen eightysix. you know that there is legal to immigrate.

L2: no I don't think so, because they call still call it the I'm not sure what, the ones from Mexico?

L3: the wet-backs?

L2: (laughs) uh-huh they still call ((unintelligible 2 sec))

L1: I'm not sure.

L3: that's illegal.

L1: [hm]?

L3: ((unintelligible 3 sec))

L1: e:r do you know if there's e:r restrictions on the immigrations today?

L3: of course there is. they can't take everybody from all over the world into the country they can't.

L1: but why is it easier for them?.....,in nineteen eightysix?

L3: it's not easier.

L1: [hm]?

L3: it's not easier.

L2: in a way it's easier because after a while they got American citizenship

L3: ((unintelligible 2 sec))

L2: *hae?* ((tr: what?))

L3: ((unintelligible 3 sec))

L2: uh-huh but they become American citizens.

T: ((unintelligible 2 sec))=

L2: =but still=

T: =what did that act do, the act of the immigration act of nineteen eightysix, what did it say?

LL: it said that ((unintelligible 3 sec))

L1: it's not....., that illegal....., immigrants have been in America for a certain period of time,....., that they could be recognised

T: yes but=

L2: =but still people coming in in nineteen eighty seven they have they are all they have=

T: =they are still illegal, that's right=

L2: ((unintelligible 1 sec))

T: =that's easy for many of the illegal.

L2: so the ones=

T: not for all of course not

L2: =no but for those who came after this=

T: =no they have still problems....., still the same problems and lots of things=

L2: but they were probably the ones who came in nineteen eightyseven about nineteen ninetyone or something, they must like American

T: =no.

L2: it was just it was just that that year?

T: yes, because they it was oh yeah....., e:r the law said, that when....., if they had been in in America for around eight to ten years=

L: (cough)

T: =they became American citizens. they made the illegal illegals legal. but illegal immigrants are coming....., and they're coming still and they don't automatically become legal because of the act.

L2: now what if they have been....., if they stay for about eight ten years and have a job?=
T: =then we'll have to see. ((unintelligible 2 sec)) but we don't know. okay do you remember how many there are how many they are? it's the depose=

L1: =((unintelligible 2 sec)) twelve millions=
T: =illegal immigrants and you can't just say oh come you're illegal I will give you citizenship=
L: =(cough)

L2: no that's exact.

L1: ok.

T: some haven't had an easy time.

L2: ok, there is no restriction....., on immigration ((unintelligible 2 sec)) there is?

L1: yes of course

LL: but it's maybe easier to get legal immigration today/the illegal immigrants illegal immigrants wouldn't have meant=
L2: no no it's harder today....., to get in.

L1: no today it's easier than it was like before nineteen eightysix.

L2: aha no you think so?

L1: yes.

L3: is it easier today?

L2: no.

L3: it's not easier today=
L1: =I think so=
L3: =many Mexicans come to the US and they start working in factories, and they can't work in a e:r police department e;r have raids on the factories to see who have licence to work at the factory, and those who don't have it they they'll be sent back to Mexico.

L4: and also many been stopped on the border between Mexico and the US.

L2: yeah....., and even if you like don't go to work for a year it's really hard to be

L3: ((unintelligible 1 sec))

L2: yeah....., just to stay a whole year. (4 sec) (laugh) ok, e:r the diversity of the American society is clearly reflected in its political and [cul] cultural institutions=
LL: ((unintelligible 1 sec))

L1: hm diversity....., *forskjell eller?* ((tr: difference?)) (4 sec)

L: (cough)

L3: let's skip skip that one.

L2: (laugh)

L4: yeah.

L2: intermarriage is looked upon as the key to americanisation.(5 sec)

LL: yes maybe/yes in a way.(4 sec)
L3: in one case in Florida a woman was said to have arranged fourteen marriages.=
L2: ehe.
L3: =marrying six men herself and helping her daughters and boyfriend marry several
several other's other men and women to get them into the country.
L2: ((unintelligible 2 sec)) since the US.....,
L1: *vi maa jo snakka litt om de.* ((tr: we have to talk a bit about them))
L2: *ja men det er jo ingenting aa seo.* ((tr: yes but there is nothing to say)) (4 sec) *naar
alle er bare enige liksom.* ((tr: since everyone kind of agrees))
L1: *ja.* ((tr: yes))
L3: since the US in is a nation of immigrants, tolerance and respect for people with other
cultural background e:r is one of its characteristics *nei* ((tr: no))
L1: no.
L2: no. *slett ikke* ((tr: by no means)) no, I think it's even worse.
L1: I think so too. ((unintelligible 2 sec))
L2: the black and the Chinese=
L3: =between=
L2: between the
L3: =the Italians, Mexicans e:r Italians and other groups, they're not tolerating anybody.
L1: specially the blacks and white.
L3: and the Afro-Americans the blacks (laugh) are now beginning to get back on the
whites for all the....., e:r depression, and hostile?
L4: it's not e:r just blacks and whites because e:r blacks and whites are the majority of
the United States and you see another type of races they're much purer....., and=
L2: =but like in the south you have the Mexicans and all the all the white means Mexicans
in the south=
L3: =yes but it's not only the white it's e:r=
L2: =no everyone likes the Mexicans=
L3: =yeah but e:r everybody hates everybody, so=
L: (cough)
L3: =the whites....., and blacks
L1: ((unintelligible 3 sec))
L2: it is but....., none of the groups....., like respect respect each other=
L1: no?
L2: =they instead they say OK you have=
L3: =you have your culture and you have your lifestyle .. that territory, that that's your
territory this is my territory get out of my territory I kick your ass.
L2: it's black and white something like something inbetween.
L4: who is he?
L1: hm?
L3: (unintelligible 1 sec)
L1: hm?
L2: ((unintelligible 1 sec)) (laugh)
LL: ((unintelligible 10 sec))
L1: next question?
L3: bilingual education is the key to success for,the large Spanish-speaking
minority.
L1: eh

- L3: I don't really think so because when they come to a country they have to adjust to the culture and language....., of that country. they can't they can't just....., e:r get the the way they want it everytime?
- L2: it's true but still.
- L1: I think they should have Spanish in school instead of French and German in the United States because there are so many Spanish people.
- L3: yeah because if they had....., e:r Spanish at school they would probably e:r get a better education.=
- L1: mhm.
- L3: =yeah but then the American
- L4: with a language they don't understand.
- L3: but in America it's the same situation as we have here. when Indians came come to Norway we want them to speak Norwegian.
- L1: yeah but it's just that I don't think they should have German and French in school because that's not that many, people coming from=
- L3: =but the problem is....., they're not stupid, they can learn, but it's that e;r when they come out on the street again after school if they speak English to some of their friends they get beaten. that's why so many of them won't learn English=
- L1: =yes but that's why they can have Spanish as a second language in school.
- L3: yeah but they want the=
- L4: but here in Norway e:r
- L3: =they just can't=
- L2: =no but you have=
- L1: =no! the majority are from Spain not from Germany.
- L3: they can't change the schoolsystem they have to change the system of the Spanish=
- L2: there is just
- L3: =people.
- L1: no I think they should change the....., the second language....., I mean Spanish, because there are so many Spanish people=
- L3: yeah but they can get Spanish at school.
- L1: =no they can't.
- L2: no? she said that=
- L3: =some states=
- L1: some some schools but not many=
- L3: =yeah some states where they have e:r Spanish people=
- L1: =yeah but not many.
- L2: but instead of having a such change in schoolsystem ((unintelligible 2 sec))
- L1: they would have much more use of the the Spanish than German.
- L2: and still you wouldn't like you wouldn't give in to them and so they like like you get your way with them.
- L1: no?
- L3: yeah but the same as hundred thousand people have moved to Germany demand that we get Norwegian as a second language=
- L1: =no that's a....., no that's not the same.
- L4: but=
- L1: =but we are learning English because most people speak English.
- L3: it's the world language≈
- L1: =yeah!=
- L3: yeah and that's

L1: =and we learn German=
 L3: =yeah but why shouldn't Spanish learn the world language?
 L1: they are!
 L3: yeah but they don't want to learn=
 L1: =yeah but have Spanish as a second language,,,,,, instead of German.
 L3: they can speak Spanish.
 L1: *hae?* ((tr: pardon?))
 L3: they can speak Spanish.
 L1: yeah but why don't they have Spanish as a second language in school because they
, they don't have, yeah that shouldn't be=
 L2: =English as a first language.
 L1: yeah they have English as a first language=
 L2: =they do but=
 L1: =but they don't=
 L2: =but still=
 L3: they don't have any Spanish?
 L2: =if they have English as a first language,,,,, that they have Spanish which is like their
 mothertongue, sometimes they're gonna learn French or German. why why can't they
 have=
 L1: =Spanish instead of e:r French or German.
 L3: they shouldn't have Spanish as second language they should have more like a first
 language. like we have Norwegian here. they had, yeah but=
 L1: =I think they should have it the way we have English like or like we have German
 and or French=
 L4: =they should have e:r they should have their Spanish talking teachers,,,,,, which
 they had, a couple of e:r hours a week just Spanish and
 LL: I think they should have it .. they should have it the way we have it.
 L1: yeah like English as a second language.
 LL: yeah when when .. yeah but it's=
 L1: =no!
 L2: they have to manage with just just Spanish in America=
 L1: =they need to have English as e:r as their first language.
 L4: yeah but just to learn they don't use it elsewhere out on the streets.
 L2: that's not fair it's not fair saying that=
 L4: =if you go if you go over=
 L2: =you shouldn't say that=
 L4: =no but if you go a teenager who is Spanish speaking American and ask him
 something in English, he refuses to answer. he says=
 L2: =teenager.
 L1: how do you know about that?
 L2: first of all, that's that's one ((unintelligible 1 sec))=
 L1: *hae?* ((tr: pardon?)) yeah.
 L2: =when they grow up and want to have a job they they got to talk English anyway
 because they won't they're not gonna be able to get a job, and not not all the Spanish
 speaking American wants to go doing jobs or=
 L4: =no I answer that
 L1: ok how do you know that?
 L4: my uncle was over there he was a plumber
 L2: aha. and he was in all the States=

L4: =he was around he was around to=
L: (atchoo! 2 sec))
L4: =tell people about e:r the problems. often he asked about he was talking to teenagers. after they'd been talking to talking to two three hundred people they managed to two or three of them.
L1: no I don't
L2: but most probably that was in one state.
L1: yeah.
L4: yeah but=
L1: it's maybe a bad
L4: yeah but if in one state it's like that. you can't say that it's a lie=
L1: =it's not the whole State, maybe just in the area he was in. it can be just a bad
L2: I don't know. I don't think you can say that everyone is the same=
L1: =no I think they want to be americanized. I think they want to get American friends=
L3: =but then you can't say that the whole United States is=
L2: =well did you had if you have this schoolsystem it's like you have English your first language=
L1: =and Spanish your second language.
L2: they can't they can't go to class just to to keep them off ((unintelligible 1 sec)) just to protest against having English as a first language=
L3: =no they talk they talk English at school if not they're yelled at by the teacher.
L2: aha so what's the problem?
L4: ((unin 2 sec))
L2: yeah but
L1: =yeah but that's not a question about having Spanish as the second language.
L3: yeah but when the teenagers start their parents can't even talk in proper English. they haven't gone to school and learnt English.
L2: no but they they talk Spanish they have Spanish as their second language=
L3: =they talk they talk Spanish with the kids
L2: aha.
L1: that's the same as you e:r people come from=
L4: =they've grown up in a community and that's where English is not used very often.
L2: no but still=
L3: =don't you think=
L1: yes but
L3: =they don't give a damn about the English when they grow up to?
LL: no no way no
L2: as long as they learn it it doesn't matter if they speak Spanish at home and with their friends. as long as they learn it they have better opportunity=
L1: =that's the same as the immigrants when they come to Norway.
L3: it's like the Italians...,..., Italians can try and almost die before getting a job from another race
L1: but why have they come to the United States then?
L2: yeah that's=
L3: =Italians?
L1: yes, or the e:r Mexicans and all that.
L3: ((unintelligible 4 sec))
L2: *engelsk!* ((tr: English!))

L1: *ja men koffor kommer de over her da?* ((tr: yeah but why did they come over here then?))

L2: English!

L1: English.

L4: English.

L3: ((unintelligible 2 sec))

L2: English!

L1: why why are they coming over?=
L2: speak English!
L3: ((unintelligible 3 sec))

L2: if you don't know why they went to America how come you know they don't want a job with someone from the United States?

L1: yeah?

L3: in the newspapers.

L1: *hae?* ((tr: pardon?))

L2: in the newspapers? they have one or two examples of what refusing to get get a job in the States but how many people are there in the United States?

L1: hundred and some millions.

L2: aha. so how can you believe just like you said that everyone is like that when=
L3: =I don't say everyone.
L2: you just said the Italians doesn't want to=
L1: =yeah. and the Mexicans.
L2: so what so what do you suggest=
L3: =angry you get just angry=
L1: =no this was about=
L3: =just angry. you can twist and turn the words as much as you like but you can't change my attitude.
L2: no but=
L1: =no but this is about education.
L3: stop twisting my words so fucking much.
L1: (laugh)
L3: you're twisting my words=
L2: =what do you mean=
L1: no
L2: =what you mean.
L3: jenny.
L2: aha ok=
L1: =yeah but what what has that have to do about the education?
L2: what do you want them to do if you have a Spanish-speaking people, they learn Spanish in school, and=
L1: =as a second language=
L2: =Norwegians speak Norwegian all the Norwegians don't speak the Norwegian.
LL: (laugh)
L2: but what do you want them to do? they they they're not living at home as like Norwegians speaking dialects. so what do you want them to do when they grow up? and are like about twentyfive to thirtyfive years old and need to get a job, like an education. what do you want them to do if they can't speak English? just open like a shop on the corner for all the Spanish people?
L3: no.

L2: so what do you want them to do?
 LL: be on drugs ((unintelligible 1 sec))
 LL: (laugh)
 T: five minutes break now.
 L2: *ta aa skru h n av.* ((tr: turn it off))
 L1: *ska me ikkje skru denne her av?* ((tr: aren't we gonna turn this off?))
 L4: *nei nei nei.* ((tr: no no no))
 L1: *skal eg ikkje skru han av?* ((tr: shall I not turn it off?))

Lesson 1b

Whereas lesson 1a was groupwork, lesson 1b (the same class after the break) was a teacher- led discussion on exactly the same subject as lesson 1a.

T: I'll explain later on. my first question is,..., eh there were some of the statements or even some of the questions that you were supposed to answer that you, some of you found difficult..., can you- can we just try to concentrate on the questions that you couldn't really find any answer to and that you find difficult....., be brave....., Rake!, what is your question?
 L1: eh: ((unintelligible 3 sec)) eh the diversity of the American society is clearly reflected in its political and cultural -
 T: institutions yes, didn't you understand the statement? is it that you didn't understand you don't understand what it actually says? or don't you know how to answer it or how to discuss it?
 L1: I don't know how to answer it and discuss it.
 T: aha but you know what it means? the diversity, what is that?, huh? in Norway you can use the Norwegian word for that
 T: what is it diversity?
 L2: *mangfold?* ((tr: diversity))
 T: *mangfold.* that there are very many different parts..., taking- taking part and diversity of the American society is clearly eh *tydelig* ((tr: clearly)) reflected , given back like in the mirror given back in its political and cultural institutions let's first take the political institution. Congress, and eh the the president's administration or cultural institutions like eh people who who eh: make music what kind of music, in sport for example and in school in education. do you see this diversity in in the different institutions?
 L1: ah, in eh: the cultural?
 T: yes?
 L1: in the cultural institutions you see it like in sports and and music and things.
 T: aha
 L1: but like political?
 T: yes, what do you see mostly?
 L1: you see the-
 T: what is- what-who is dominating?
 L3: the white?
 T: the white people? the white Anglo-Saxon people?
 L3: wasps.

T: wasps. yes. as far as I know I would agree that that is the fact you don't see the diversity where the power is but maybe you have something to add?

L4: no, I'll just say that eh immigrants and foreign born people have been unable to reach higher levels of politics it's just the lower levels and senators perhaps? I think. eh: Jesse Jackson I guess he is the one who's reached eh furthest up the the political ladder.

T: mm..., and eh:: we did have- if you remember some years ago there was a Norwegian- American who tried to become president but he was not an eh Norwegian born American he his ancestors came from Am- eh came from Norway..., do you remember who that was?

L1: were we born or?

T: yes, you were born I'm sure. because I think it was in the 80's. so, but since he didn't become president you may not know the name Mr Mondal, Mondale, Mandale, Mondale, is that the the name? and he comes from eh his eh ancestors came from somewhere here in eh Western Norway. and there was also eh some years ago eh a Greek American who tried to become president do you remember his name?

LL: Theodorakis?

T: Theodorakis, no, it wasn't him....., you don't know?....., no..., you don't yeah you don't know at all?

LL: /// No///

T: no, ok..., but some eh some with a very eh obvious eh non wasp background have tried to become presidents, but they haven't succeeded. but none of them..., eh: none of them had the eh are first generations, most of them or all of them have had eh ancestors living the United States, for at least two generations I think, maybe I shouldn't say more about it because I'm not that sure

L4: I suppose it is harder for immigrants to get into politics than like in the marketing because or eh it's easier or it's hard for them to to get into a new country and then just go straight into politics, because if you're going to do that you need to understand the the structure of the society.

T: but what about the cultural life then? is it easier for immigrants to eh: climb the the music ladder of the United States?

L4: yeah, it is. because eh I think more and more Americans eh they enjoy eh foreign, music eh music by others than whites. and like it's interesting for them to listen to other kinds of music and African music has become more popular than ever before and reggae has

T: African music, what do you mean by African music?

L4: well., playing Af- or African people who makes eh: eh better sound with their old songs

T: uhm do you- do you-

L1: reggae

T: reggae, but isn't that eh: where where is that from? the reggae music?

L1: Jamaica.

T: yes.

L1: but still it's not American

T: no, that's mine. and eh:: and I am not quite sure whether that is- has come directly from Jamaica to America. I think it has gone through another eh not Jamaican country first, but I am not sure of that but I thought maybe it had gone through eh England or that.... but there are groups in the music that most of you listen to, isn't that rock and roll?

- L1: you have Jimmi Hendrix
- T: yeah, but you and you also eh when eh if you go as far back as when I eh listened to that kind of mu-music, when the Beatles eh went to America, they said that it was impossible for a European group to have a breakthrough in the United States. so that I think they were the first who who really made a success of their music in America. and eh: well one of them still lives there. doesn't he? or maybe two? and also, oh eh:....., what do what do they call the other very great rock group from my youth?
- L4: Stones?
- T: yes, the Rolling Stones, also they have had a success, and I think they also live in America today if I am not totally mistaken.
- L1: Oh, but now you have a lot of different groups from all over the country.
- T: yes. that's right., eh: so, would you say that diversity is reflected its political and cultural institutions then?
- LL: yes.
- T: really?
- L: yeah, in the cultural, not in the political.
- T: not in the political. should we agree on that?
- LL: //yes//
- T: oh, yeah, ok. anything else that you found?
- L5: should maybe mention their cooking? that is quite widespread and Spanish and Mexican food there are Mexican restaurants all over so-
- T: uhm. and even even the eh this eh very American thing fast food and fast food chains now make eh Mexican or Spanish eh food. that's part of the culture.
- L5: yeah.
- L5: and Chinese.
- T: and Chinese of course. but it's changing- eh Chinese eh normally you have the Chinese food in resturants, but you may also have it very fast, I don't know that, but I thought they normally had their eh cooking served eh on tables white clothes and don't they? ((unintelligible 2 sec))
- L1: you have the take-away.
- T: yes you have take-aways
- L: you see you see it in all the films.
- T: aha, yes. that's right. in all the films? what about the films? do they reflect the diversity?
- L1: huh? sorry?
- T: the films? the American films? do they reflect diversity? (7 second pause)
- L4: I think you have a lot of eh different races as actors, but it's not many who direct which are foreigners it's mostly whites but there are of course some exceptions, but it is dominated by whites.
- T: you're right, there are exceptions. that's what you said. there are exceptions but still I think eh film producers, film makers, have a kind of Anglo background. but there are now, I mean there are black film producers who make who are very popular in Europe.
- L1: you have Steven Spielberg who is Jewish.
- T: oh, yes, the Jews have always, I mean they have eh played eh an important part in American culture, that's right, and in film making. eh: I was thinking of of eh a black eh producer that I've now forgotten the name of.
- L6: Spike Lee.

T: huh?

L6: Spike Lee.

T: yes, exactly. you're right. thank you. you like him, his films don't you?

L6: yeah, some of them.

T: some of them. but when I when I when I was young, far back. eh there was one one film that has just been eh eh shown on television I think, and that was a film called "Guess who's coming for dinner?" and that was the first time a black actor eh eh featured together with white actors in a film and that was back in the 60's. but that picture is changed quite a lot I think. so you see more of all eh all the different kinds of Americans who live in the big cities particularly in films now. anything else?, that you found difficult when you were discussing, things you didn't understand? (5 seconds pause) ok, then I'll ask you a few questions if you have none to me. what's the difference, what do you see as the difference between the idea of the melting pot. America being a me.. melting pot, of eh all kinds of people and the salad bowl idea? what is the difference between them?

L7: eh the melting pot then immigrants get americanized. and eh in the salad bowl eh they:: eh keep their culture from their homeland..., they don't get americanized.

T: eh would you say that, eh, I mean you you're close to what I would have said as well. but I don't think you can say it as sharply as that that, they are not being Americanized because both of them are Americanized , they are Americans

L7: yes

T: eh both ideas is a way of of becoming American. but they they they have a different point of view what this word American means? but they are americanized I would say. so could you go on and and eh-

L5: eh, in the melting pot thing?

T: yes.

L5: that means that everybody is exactly the same as like a porridge er

T: uhu.

L5: eh, but eh the salad bowl eh they keep their flavour as they say but they are americanized to a certain extent they still keep their old culture but they- eh its hard to explain the difference but they're they're in both ways they're am- americanized but they're not exactly the same, so-

T: but, I think its not eh I think it's easy to explain the difference if you keep to the picture. because eh if eh maybe you can't see eh see or view eh what a melting pot is, but if you think of a Norwegian dish *lapskaus* (a type of stew), if you have made it or if you've seen your parents making *lapskaus*, you see that they put in potatoes, they put in carrots, they put in onion, they put in eh all sorts of vegetables, and if you're very lucky they also put in some meat from last Sunday's dinner or something like that. or they put in sausages. but if, and and when it is going to be, if it's to be the way that we like to eat our *lapskaus*, then what you get out of the pot, what's that?

L1: a bit of everything?

T: well, a bit of everything, I wouldn't say that- what eh the way I make it you=

LL: ((laugh))

T: you don't get a bit of everything because every all the bits that you have put in. is now a kind of eh orange, brownish, grey, something.

L13: huh?

T: isn't that the way-

LL: ((laugh))

- T: that's not your way. and maybe maybe it is not your way because you are more influenced, I think, you by eh you're more influenced eh eh from eh foreign cooking. you're influenced you've been abroad you've seen how they have salad and use vegetables in other countries. but the way I was used to that when I was a child, this is what we had what we it didn't see what was in it anymore, because it was all sort of brownish. especially if we had things from eh the Sunday's dinner when you have the the brown gravy, as well to go into it. very good. and if you if you think of the salad bowl and if you if you see the salad bowl as a glass bowl, you know also this all the same kinds of ingredients go into the eh salad bowl doesn't it?
- L: hm.
- T: and eh if you look through it when you had and you mixed it all, you can still see the red paprika, you can see the tomatoes, you can see the the lettuce the green lettuce and you can see every bit in there. they are in the pot together but you can see their characteristics. and that is the difference between these two ideas of becoming Americans., and today, this is the idea that there is not only a pail but it describes more truthfully what is taking place I think. well, I don't I know., eh....., I heard on this group discussing very eh aggressively, I think bilingual education. when it says here: "Bilingual education is the key to success for the large Spanish -speaking minority" and I'd like to ask eh some of eh some of you, do you agree that bilingual education is the key to eh success?
- L: ((unintelligible 2 sec))
- T: ((unintelligible 2 sec)) I'd like to hear what what's the rest of you think. what is bilingual education? Ellen.
- L8: eh that's when you eh learn eh two lan - languages at school. that the Spanish they have eh both Spanish and English at school.
- T: but we also have Norwegian, and English, and even some of you have German and maybe some of you have French. eh is your e-education bilingual?
- LL: no.
- T: no. why not?
- L7: because it is not fifty-fifty. or it's like you we have Norwegian, as the first language...
- T: yeah
- L7: and then we have English - the second language.
- T: yeah, and you could say maybe eh eh it was a good point to say fifty-fifty I don't know but eh when it is bilingual the two languages that is used is sort of the basics of what you learn all the teaching eh is eh taking place in English and in Spanish, and both languages have the same kind of eh eh *ja* ((tr: yes)) place maybe say in education. Do you think that is a good way for the Spanish to eh get on?
- L7: yes.
- LL: yes
- L9: yes, because it's much more easier to get a job then maybe if they-
- T: but if they had only English, wouldn't that be better?
- LL: no.
- T: if they learn- if they when they start school at six, and the teacher starts eh teaching in English and that was the language that the the the majority of the people outside school eh are speaking. eh and eh and so that's the reason why all these kids should learn it. thoroughly well. no, but wouldn't that be better for them? Geir has something to.
- L10: no, maybe then they wouldn't understand some of the teacher said. and they would have difficulties.

T: learning-difficulties?

L10: yeah.

T: mm.

L4: I don't think it's just a matter of eh the Mexicans and the Hispanics learning eh or having Spanish and English in School. I think also the Whites need to learn Spanish better then, if their going to have bi-lingual eh if they have bilingual education I think they need to more develop into a bilingual society as well.

T: that's quite a radical point of view. do you agree with him?

L4: and especially...

T: that all the that the English-speaking people should learn Spanish well?

L11: no it's gonna take twice as long time when ev-everything is gonna be explained in two languages. They gonna take, they're gonna finish their education when they're 30 years old if they're gonna do that.

T: well, eh that may- it may take longer the first couple of years, but after a while I'm not quite sure that it will. but-.

L1: it's not-

T: yeah, Rakel I think I've stopped you enough, come on.

L1: well, no. I just wanted to say, its not fair if if someone comes to to Norway we have to learn their language they have to learn ours, I mean-

T: but...

TL: ((Unintelligible 2 sec))

T: the American language, in in for example in South- Western part of eh of eh United States. I I think that the greater part of the population, eh now greater part of the population in for example Los Angeles today speak Spanish as their first language., and we have, I think you hear said something about eh eh *nynorsk* ((tr: new Norwegian)). we have districts where *nynorsk* is the basic language for for eh eh students and pupils. and maybe that is the way also in in Los Angeles where so many people speak Spanish maybe that's a place where they could do what eh, Frode, is that ..., no?

L4: yes.eh can I say something? eh it's just eh in the future eh we see that more and more Hispanics come into the America going to America, so eh maybe in the future there will be more Hispanics than Americans, and if they get more and more influence in politics they will change maybe change eh into a more Spanish speaking society. and eh it's I think Americans eh eh should learn Spanish because eh they are generally quite poor in in eh other or second languages they have very poor education in that area

T: I think actually that Spanish is eh eh coming forward as eh the main second language in some areas.

L4: in some areas.

T: yes, where where they where the pupils can choose the lang eh second language they choose Spanish in very many areas in the United States. eh before we stop this lesson, I'd like you to eh tell me which words that you had picked out and I'd like to hear your explanation of them, and why you thought them eh important. So if you could just start eh in the corner down here, eh and, so that I hear at least one word from each of you., can you start please? just take the word the you would like to - give us as an example of an important word to understand in this text.

L8: eh, merge ((unintelligible 2 sec))=

T: just a minute, I couldn't could we just wait so that - don't talk while she's talking, yes come on. merge.

L8: =merge..., the various ethnic minorities eh: melted together from opposite nationalities.

T: yeah, but is there, I mean, what does it what does merge mean, generally speaking?

L8: that people melting melts together a group of people.

T: does it always have to do with people? What is the general meaning of the word merge? have you ever heard of companies merging?

L8: *forene, eller-* ((tr: unite))

T: yes, what- another English word for that?

LL: join.

T: join together yes. yes. ok. join together. merge. that's right. can I have another one?

L12: eh, yes, are we supposed to take from the book? I mean, take the words and explain what's in the book?

T: well, you, no, you I think you should explain what it means, generally, and and if it's used differently in the book, that would be good to to have as an extra information as well.

L12: well I have a word generally

T: ok, but let's hear that first.

L12: I have taken flavour. eh: each immigrant groups that not melt into a new race but maintains its own special cultural character::=

T: istics

L12: = istics.

T: yes.

L12: or race.

T: yes. but eh but that is a very good word for doing both, because flavour normally, what does it mean?

LL: taste

T: taste. yes. flavour and eh eh does it also mean eh like the smell or something or is it only taste?

Paul: can do, but it has more general applications

T: aha. ok., eh Kathrine what have you chosen?

L13: I've chosen old immigration and new immigration.

T: eh let's hear?

L13: eh the old immigration is from the seventeenth century and it's mostly from Northern Europe

T: uhu

L13: the new immigration is from 1890 to 1930 and that's mostly from Southern and Eastern Europe.

T: Southern Europe and east as well yeah that's right. eh would it be possible to to transfer those two terms into a general kind of meaning? eh the old immigration and the new immigration. can you transfer that to to another aspect of life or another geographical setting? is there a general meaning of what you have chosen?, eh what is I flavour she picked out and then there is a meaning of that word in the text, in our context. and also merge there is a meaning of that in our context but both those words have also meanings that you can use in other contexts. but when you when you choose the old immigration and the new immigration, can those expressions be transferred into another area of life? other language area, other- can it bu used in any other context? (5 seconds pause) what do you think? can we talk about old and new immigration when we talk about Europe? (7 seconds pause)

T: well I would say I would say no. that we can't use it in other- eh maybe the British Isles have something that eh had a period that which they would call the old immigration and the new, but most of the immigration to to Great Britain has taken place after 1960. so this these expressions old and new immigration belongs to the part of American history that we are now reading. (5 seconds pause) I think I can say that without any question marks after it. yes., what have you chosen?

L: *eg har ikkje gjort det eg* ((tr: I haven't done it))

T: ok. then let's listen then to Tone. what word?

L14: mosaic (slightly mispronounced)

T: sorry?

L14: mosaic

T: oh:: eh: but when you look it up in in your dictionary Tone, have- have you got a dictionary where you can also see the way it's pronounced?

L14: I guess so.

T: yeah, and and it's pronounced the same way as we pronounce that word in in in Nor Norwegian.

L14: *mosaikk.* ((tr: mosaic))

T: mosaic

L14: mosaic?

T: yeah.

L14: ok.

T: what's that?

L14: it's a picture made of different pieces.

T: yes. have you ever made a picture like that, when you were a chi-child? never? well, eh eh when my kids went to kindergarten they came home sometimes with small pictures. stars or or or they had made ((unintelligible 2 sec)) that's what those are.

L14: ok.

T: yes. eh: what words have you got?

L11: [curricula]?

T: what's that? oh! curricula?

LL: ///huh?///

T: curricula. this is really interesting, because the it it tells me that eh its not just difficult to understand what you're reading, but then you have heard words, it's difficult to pronounce them. it's the curricula. and then is that's the plural of the word it's really curriculum. and it is Latin origin. but explain what it is

L11: eh course of study in school or college.

T: ye:s, course of study, yes. a course of study. eh what is your curriculum for this course? just mention some of the curri-curriculum -something you have to read in this course to have your exam.

L11: about the United States

T: yes. United States eh:: history and political institution. that's part of your curriculum for this course. ..., Ellen have you got a word?

L8: *nei eg har ikkje faatt gjort det eg.* ((tr: no I haven't done it))

T: who else, has a word they'd like to explain?

L3: eh intermarriage.

T: intermarriage, yes?

L3: eh intermarriages are different religions or race

T: different religions, race or or culture? ethnic group yes. intermarriage. is that something you can use in other contexts than the American? do you know intermarriages in other countries?

L3: uhm?

T: yes., in Norway, are there many intermarriages to be found in Norway?

L3: some

LL: some?

T: some. yes. some. if if you are going to marry eh an Englishman, would that be an intermarriage?

L1: no.

T: uhm? Rakel?

L1: yes.

T: yes. it would. mixed marriages. people from different countries, cultures, religious beliefs., what have you got?

L15: *eg har ikkje faatt det arket, eg var sjuk* ((tr: I haven't got that handout, I was ill))

T: have you got any words?

L16: yes-

T: ok?

L16: to emphasize, to stress something. like in Norway we say *legge vekt paa* (tr: to put weight on)

T: yeah:, but in what context is it used in in this text about eh immigration in America? what what is emphasized in your text? do you remember that? or did you just pick it out and looked - look it up emphasized? to put a weight on. yes. Geir have you got a word?

L10: eh inevitably.

T: inevitably. what is that?

L10: it's something you can't avoid.

T: yes. aha. and Tore?

L17: broadly speaking.

T: yeah, what's that, what's broadly speaking?

L17: eh: when one usually talk eh when one talk about recent americanization there have been given two main answers. one usually speaks about the American melting pot or salad bowl. but broadly speaking is that usually one usually speaks about or or one usually talks about the:: yeah-

T: is that how you how the rest of you would explain broadly speaking that that is what we usually or normally speak about?

L17: (unintelligible)

T: that's what that's what you were saying.

L17: that was what was said in the book

T: no not really. cause then you have then you have misunderstood the text a bit Tore.

L17: no I don't think so broadly speaking

T:, yes? li- eh keep quiet so I can hear what he's saying. Tore!

L: shut up!

LL: ((laugh))

T: Tore, try again.

L17: when the book eh talks about Americanization-

T: yes?

L17: the then they they speak about the melting pot and the saladbowl

T: yes?

L17: that is broadly speaking
T: yes. because if they were not speaking broadly, what what would they have to to say? or or to take into consideration? if they were not speaking broadly?
L17: more widely?
T: yes. all the nuances all the different things all the the eh things that you can't you know put into one one eh one line and then all the you have be more you have to differentiate a bit more if you are not speaking broadly ..., and that is a very good point, because most of the things we read here are broadly speaking but if you go into the individual American I've I don't think anybody will suit the description eh perfectly, because there will will always be eh some in-individual differences.
LL: broadly speaking
T: yeah? ok. ..., could you eh invite us into your conversation? can we join?, no?
L1: eh yes
T: ok what's what's the
LL: ((laugh))
T: = come on , tell us!
L1: no sorry!
T: no, it's not interesting? *Eg forstaar*. ((tr: I understand)) ok. eh:: Anders have you got a word that you would-
L18: no I haven't
T: you haven't? eh then I I like to ask you, when you picked out, the ones of you who picked out words to explain them, did that help you understand what you were reading? or were you busy just eh picking words so that I should see that you had made your homeworks? Kathrine, what's your answer to that?, did it make- did it help you understand what you were reading Kathrine?
L19: yeah a bit
T: a bit uhm so you you will go on doing that even when I don't ask for it?
LL: ((laugh))
L19: yes
T: I hope so, because I think it's necessary eh otherwise eh eh all the information here will be too vague. you won't be able to reproduce it and to to discuss questions connected to it, yes
LL: ((laugh))
T: ok ok I I think we stop there unless you have something else you would like to say, and you're not leaving yet because I have a message to you

(T transmits an administrative message in Norwegian)

Lesson 2

A double lesson (90 minutes in total) with a 2nd year videregående skole English literature class. The text under discussion is J.B. Priestley's "An Inspector Calls". The first half of the double lesson will be called Lesson 2a. The second half of the doublelesson will be called Lesson 2b.

Lesson 2a

- LL: ((unintelligible 91 sec))
T: *Goerol og Hanne hvor er de hen da?* ((tr: where are Goeril and Hanne?))
LL: ((unintelligible 56 sec))
T: ok, I thought we'd eh: =
L: ((unintelligible 2 sec))
T: = finish the: person the characterization of the persons that we started last time, but you should eh: have a look at
LL: ((unintelligible 10 sec))
L1: *eg tror han tar opp og det me seier* ((tr: I think he's recording what we are saying))
L2: huh?
L1: *eg tror han tar opp det me seier* ((tr: I think he's recording what we are saying))
LL: ((laugh))
L1: *vi faar snakke litt engelsk daa* ((tr: therefore we should speak some English))
L2: ((cough))
LL: ((unintelligible 10 sec))
L2: *kan eg skrive han av?* ((tr: can I copy it?))
L1: huh?
L2: *kan eg skrive han av?* ((tr: can I copy it?))
T: I tried to put down the ones who come together. if you found more can you read it?
L1: *eg har det hjemme altsaa* ((tr: I've got it at home))
L2: *ja kan ikkje eg skrive han av da?* ((tr: yes, can I copy it then))
L1: *ikkje rett av altsaa* ((tr: not word for word)), do you think I have done it?
L2: *ja stilen din kor fikk du den da?* ((tr: yes your essay, where did you get it?))

LL: ((unintelligible 10 sec))

T: Mr Birling, we found that he was arrogant, ..., condescending, ..., patronising, and I also put conservative what do I mean by conservative? ..., Anders?

L: when the things he's doing are very old old

L: ((cough))

T: old?

L: yeah, the things

L: oldfashioned

L: oldfashioned

T: oldfashioned yes yes, he wants to keep things as they are, is that what you wanted to say? ..., yes being conservative ..., and supercilious, have I forgotten anything?

LL: ///greedy///

T: greedy, put that down too, he's greedy in relation to the:=

L1: *det er jo det som er lekse vaares* ((tr: that's our homework))

T: = to Gerald's family

L: ((unintelligible 2 sec))

T: ok. what about Mrs Birling?, superficial? shallow? pushing? ..., some of you I think said manipulating manipulating

L: ((cough))

T: yes, Sheila? more mixed? conceited? arrogant? but honest, open to change

L1: eh naive

T: perhaps conservative but not as conservative as her father ..., what's the opposite of being conservative then?, Per Johan?

L3: liberal?

T: liberal or even even worse ...

L3: radical

T: radical, yes ..., would you say that Sheila is radical?, Per Johan?

L3: no

T: no, but open to new things, good natured (4 sec pause) vulnerable (4 sec) in what way could she could we say that she is vulnerable?

L: ((unintelligible 3 sec))

T: what does it mean to be vulnerable?

L: ((unintelligible 3 sec))

T: Kjetil?

L4: *saarbar* ((tr: vulnerable))

T: yes ..., would you say that Sheila is vulnerable?

L4: yes

T: she gets hurt ..., when does she get hurt? ..., Anders?

L5: she gets hurt when when she find out that she was the reason why she got fired and ..., yeah

T: she felt sorry for her? yes ..., and Eric, the brother, ..., childish? we agreed upon that didn't we? aggressive? could we say that he's aggressive?

L: a little bit

T: how does he react towards his father?

L: he was very angry

T: yes he's angry ..., he wants to get at him.. addicted to drinking ..., what about naive? (5 sec pause) you don't agree to naive? in what way is he naive?

L: he's childish

T: he behaves like a child ..., Nina?

- L6: he takes no responsibility (5 sec pause)
 T: exactly. he hasn't been he hasn't been taught how to, pensive, vulnerable, insecure, he doesn't really know how to act ..., he doesn't really know what to do, and the last one Gerald ..., not much positive to say about him is there?
 LL: ((unintelligible 6 sec))
 T: could you find some positive characterizations of Gerald?, give him a chance? Maria?
 L7: he tells the truth
 T: he tells the truth, he's honest yes., put that down too, what else ..., Rune?
 L8: he's smart
 T: smart?, that could be positive or it can be negative, according to eh how you're using your smartness ..., Tore?
 L5: ((unintelligible 2 sec))
 T: ok., this is important to you when you're writing your written assignment at home
 L: ((cough))
 T: I'd like today to introduce you to your first eh, working with literature, using literary terms, when talking about literature you need the words for expressing what's in what you read, and I've made a list ..., of the words and terms that you will need, when talking about this play and other pieces of literature so we'll go through it together, keep it! I've forgotten to make holes in them but-
 LL: ((unintelligible 7 sec))
 T: concentrate on page one first

(T hands out sheets)

- L1: *oppgavene med* ((tr: the topics))((unintelligible 3 sec))
 L2: *de? sant? de?* ((tr: these? right? these?))
 L1: *nei nei nei stiloppgaven* ((tr: no no no the essaytopics))
 L2: ((unintelligible 2 sec)) (30 sec pause with some background reading)
 T: ok, eh:: the first term is the setting of the play ..., what do we mean by the setting?, Staale?
 L9: it's where er where this incident took place
 T: yes, where and when? the scene or the play or the novel or whatever it is takes place ..., eh: if you should if we should yet yet use the An Inspector Calls, what's the setting?, Anders?
 L5: the setting is the Birling family's home
 T: yes, you could even narrow it a little bit further down (5 sec pause) that's the place, the home-
 L5: the dining room?
 T: the dining room, the dining room and the hall ..., and at what time ..., in history?, Maria?
 L7: 1910?
 T: yes, 1910 or 1912 ..., before the first world war, refers to the time and the place the text is set in ..., the setting can be of vital importance, it can be very important in the text ..., or it can have no importance at all, in connection with An Inspector Calls, what would you say? is the setting important? (5 sec pause)
 L9: no?
 T: no, says Staale

L10: yes
T: yes, says Kaja ..., why not?
L because it's that could happen in any home ((unintelligible 1 sec))=
T: yes?
L: = so that
T: then you have to sort of eh talk about different levels of what happens,on the psychological level I agree with you it could happen any time anywhere, but on the actual historical level perhaps, what would you say?
L: ((unintelligible 2 sec)) you know this style they have when they=
T: yes
L: =and you know it's quite eh ehm *hva er karakteristisk?* ((tr: what is characteristic?))
T: characteristic or typical
L: yeah typical
T: yes, I agree it's typical, but the question is, is it important? ..., we'll come back to it, see if we can find out on the way. then we come to the term style. and I have chosen to narrow the word style down a bit and let it refer to how a writer or speaker expresses herself ..., or himself, when describing style, we'll have to consider the vocabulary, is the vocabulary simple? ..., does he or she use simple words? difficult words? lot of foreign words? is it easy to understand?, whether he uses dialect or standard English, whether there are sociolects implied? do you know what a sociolect is?, that's an interesting term. you know what a dialect is?
L: mm
T: yes, a sociolect is, can any of you guess? (5 sec pause) what's the theme that we are concerned with when we read all this? (5 sec pause) Hanne?
L11: eh I don't know
T: we're concerned with eh social classes ..., we started out with cardboard story eh: the sociolect is when people speak different types of the same language according to which social class they belong to, that people from the lower classes the working-class have different language different way of expressing themselves a different way of expressing words as people from the other class ..., that's the sociolect ..., and that's important .., what social class may the speaker belong to ..., and the last one the syntax ..., and what is syntax?
L: ((cough))
T: syntax is a gramatical term, it means the way the sentences are made, you can make easy sentences, or you can make long sentences where you have to follow the red thread all the way through
L: ((cough)) (5 sec pause)
T: all these aspects come into the word style ..., how does the writer or the speakers in the play express themselves? (5 sec pause) then we come to symbols, what is a symbol (5 sec pause) oh come on! what's a symbol? ..., give an example of a symbol!
L: ((cough))
T: John?
L12: the cross
T: the cross! what's the cross a symbol for?
L12: Christianity
T: yes
L: ((unintelligible 1 sec))
T: other well-known symbols? Anders?
L5: red light

- T: a symbol for?
- L5: you have to stop in the traffic
- T: danger!, other symbols?
- L: a [dowe -dov]
- T: a dove!
- L: peace
- T: a symbol of peace! good .., Lisa!
- L8: a four-leaved clover for good luck
- L: ((cough))
- T: a four-leaved clover for good luck
- L: ((cough))
- T: what about a heart? what's that a symbol of? Herman?
- L13: love
- T: love ..., ok, then you know what a symbol is! anything which would signify something else, symbols are often used in a particular sort of literature ..., which? (5 sec pause) novels? ..., plays?, poetry?, you find symbols, in poetry, and you find it in art generally, painting, yes, the theme of a text, is the moral or the philosophical idea conveyed by a literary text
- T: what then is the theme of what we have been watching An Inspector Calls (5 sec pause) Anders?
- L5: perhaps it is that we should be nice to other people-
- T: ye:s, bit too general perhaps? Staale?
- L9: ((unintelligible 3 sec))
- L: ((cough))
- T: yes, a sort of a: Christian principle?
- L9: yes
- T: be- be kind to your neighbour? yes ..., a bit more, but we're coming back to that too ..., then we come to the term tone, which is the attitude of the author, of the writer, towards the readers or towards what he or she is writing about, eh: a text could be, informative, it could be sarcastic ..., it could be ironic, totalistic- you have many attitudes of the author which you could read out of a piece of literature that's called the tone of it .. the author's attitude ..., and the last term plot is the easiest of them all, it is the word we use to describe the action, what happens? (9 sec pause) difficult?, have you- have you been doing this kind of of eh: analysis before?
- LL: ///no///
- T: you haven't ok ..., then it's the first time ..., have a look on page two! (5 sec pause) I have tried to ..., make these questions on the basis of page one ..., some of them we have already answered and some of them I would like you in groups, or in pairs perhaps is enough ..., but you go through the six questions, and ..., relate the literary terms to An Inspector Calls, let's see, for the rest of this lesson do you need that?
- L: yeah
- T: yeah! well I suggest you work either either in pairs or in fours if you find that better ..., then you have to discuss, and I'll walk about and help you as far I'm able to

Groupwork starts

Lesson 2a Groupwork 1

L: ((unintelligible 20 sec))
L2: eh Sheila and Joe are having an engagement ..., engagement?
L1: engagement!
L2: party
L1: yes?
L2: and they get interrupted by an inspector=
L1: uhm
L2: he then ask them question about ..., eh Eva Smith ..., she has died ..., in a suicide ..., so he wants to ask them some questions, he start with Sheila and eh and realize that she is ..., involved with this girl yeah she says or she told the inspector that she eh she eh was the reason for the girl to to quit her job, so he put on it the family he asked Miss-Mrs Birling and Mr Birling eh and found out that=
T: don't make it too long you can try to use few words
L1: =then in eh, eh, then he leave and eh ..., and eh ..., after he had left then they realized that there were there are no inspector, there are no inspector Goole in the policeforce, so ..., so when they found out they celebrate, they want to celebrate it because now they they know that the girl had died but after a while the policeman told them that there was a girl dead dead in a suicide ..., and and and ((unintelligible 1 sec))
L2: mm ok eh:
L2: ((unintelligible 2 sec))
L1: ((unintelligible 2 sec)) *jo*, ((tr: yes)) after ((unintelligible 2 sec)) but nothing happened ((unintelligible 2 sec)) talking ..., they're just talking and discussing the murderer=
T: something to think about
L1: = murderer of ((unintelligible 3 sec)) and Eva Smith ((unintelligible 3 sec)) taking some pills so it was a suicide ..., and
L2: so they didn't know why there was a real inspector
L1: that's the clue, so, Gerald was in love with this girl ((unintelligible 8 sec)) and Eric=
T: before I forget, your written assignment should be handed in next Thursday that is a week from today, that's the 15th isn't it?
L: no one- each individual writes an eh: their own thesis
L: ((unintelligible 1 sec))
T: yes, I have shall bring it next lesson
L1: only one week (12 sec pause)
L: ((unintelligible 2 sec))
T: no ((unintelligible 3 sec)) no, I'll bring it later
L1: ((unintelligible 3 sec)) stress
L2: huh?
L1: *innleveringer* ((tr: assignments))((unintelligible 2 sec))
L2: *oppgave i ka?* ((tr: assignment in what?))
L1: *mediakunnskap* ((tr: media))
L2: *mediakunnskap*
L1: *ja, du maa fortelle videre* ((tr: yes, you must keep on telling))
L2: *nei jeg klarer -kor langt har jeg kommet?* ((tr: no I can- how far did I get?))
L1: *altsaa de traff Eva Smith hos Joe* ((tr: well they met Eva Smith at Joe's))
L2: yeah, yes and afterwards they found out that ehm Eric was also involved with this girl and because brother that told- his brother told inspector that the girl was surrendered

by ((unintelligible 1 sec)) and he didn't take any responsibilities and that the boys are young and belong to a rich family ..., eh: ..., Eric got father, eh: when inspector ((unintelligible 1 sec)) found out that the inspector was fake that because Joe was out and asked the inspectors and asked about who or who that is ((unintelligible 2 sec))

L1: Gools

L2: Goole yeah

L1: inspector Goole

L2: eh Gerald ask some other inspectors about about Goole and they and they told him that the inspector Goole name that's fake and they told Mr Birling and Mrs Birling and Sheila ..., and before Gerald went there again to ((unintelligible 2 sec)) Sheila break it up also because because he would had-

L1: she didn't want to-

L2: yeah she didn't want to engaged because he had an affair with another girl while they two were together ..., and ..., and when Gerald comes back he told them everything about this incident and they started to argue about this and they found out that Goole was just a fake ..., and and they want to believe that he was a fake because they want because they wasn't no because they that Eva killed herself ((unintelligible 2 sec)) and Mr Birling call the inspector and ask about this Goole and they so there's not a Goole, and afterwards the real inspector called and said that Eva Smith is dead because of suicide and that's the end of the story

L1: and they all know the they are possible into one way=

L2: =yes=

L1: =so=

L2: =cause the big question is who was this Mr Goole the inspector? who was he? ((unintelligible 10 sec))

L1: *nei, da maa vi snakke paa engelsk* ((tr: then we have to speak English))

L2: huh?

L1: *da maa vi snakke paa engelsk!* ((tr: then we have to speak English))

L: ((laugh))

L1: no eh yeah I see the point but, but I ..., don't eh: I don't know I don't think so

L2: but I think-

L1: eh I think more it could be her father could be a ghost but eh a ghost? that's ridiculous that ..., that would make the whole story, unrea- unrealistic because ..., then we got to think about, how how it happened and and why:

LL: ((unintelligible 7 sec))

L2: but I think-

L1: bu- but when eh: the real inspector will come, the- then they will all know that it and=

L2: all the questions he will ask

L1: =they will all know that they really are guilty in this case because they all have been involved with this girl in one way or another ..., for her for her to commit the suicide, so ..., so the- they know what will happen but they know also that that wo- can't speak ..., so because this inspector doesn't know what they know, so they can-

L2: they can just refuse everything?

L1: yes ..., because they- he doesn't know anything that it's all been

L2: but, yes of course the inspector knows because found her diary and there stood everything about Eric-

L1: that can be that can be a ...,

L2: an- anyone

L1: anyone

L2: yes, but why Birling family?
L1: yes
L2: it's upper-class and there's not many Birlings around see the point?
L1: but the point=
L2: well-
L1: =you can see that the the the one inspector, the old inspector who found out that is way, he said in the end that eh:, that there are many there are many a million girls like her and then, it stands that eh ..., even if this girl dies, eh there are many others ones homes this family are a rich family, so: ..., so they they can help people ..., so ..., the idea of this story is that rich people=
L2: and we have to respect the middle class
L1: =and and take care of them=
L2: =mm no not-
L1: they really need eh the help
L2: yes
L1: so ..., so I think eh even if only Sheila and Eric understand the guilt guilt of what they have done, eh now maybe Mr Birling and Mrs Birling understand why they have- what they have done and what what causes that come from
L2: yes, but I didn't really understand the end of the story
L1: that's that's what I'm telling you that that now they really understand and when eh when they find out that he was just a fake the inspector=
L2: uhm?
L1: =they celebrate it because now he couldn't do anything with with them=
L2: =uhm=
L1: =so, now it's really happened, now they see that ..., see how bad they are treated the girl, and eh ..., what to say Sheila and Eric understand it and want to do something about it they won't they won't ignore it
L2: mm, ok
L1: that's the whole point I think but but the inspector can could be anyone=
L2: =yes but why
L1: it could be it could be: one person who had ...,
L2: but how did the inspector know that Sheila *nei* (tr: no) Eva would take suicide? because everything is just upset
L1: maybe: ..., maybe it could be arranged or?
L2: well, it can be happen that the inspector tried to kill her
T: don't spend too much time on the first one, otherwise you you will never get through
L1: ((unintelligible 2 sec))
L: ((unintelligible 7 sec))
L1: describe the setting ((unintelligible 4 sec)) the setting is important to the text, describe the setting!
L2: ((cough)) (10 sec pause)
L1: *altsaa* eh, the setting the, setting eh are important, this eh because, we don't behave like that nowadays we: the inspec- inspector can not come home and ask eh which questions eh: you have to arrest=
L2: yes, if you have a-
L1: = arrest ((unintelligible 2 sec)) eh=
L2: warrant you've got to have an arrest warrant that shows that he can-
L1: =and go down to the police station cannot go in but eh and say you are a policeman even don't show it

L2: identification
 L1: legitimation?
 L2: identification
 L1: identification
 L: ((unintelligible 5 sec))
 L1: so, ... eh: ...,...,
 L2: ((unintelligible 3 sec))
 L1: *ett paa halv* ((tr: one minute to half)) (13 sec pause with background talking)
 LL: ((unintelligible 18 sec))?
 L2: *nei, det er helt feil* ((tr: no, it's completely wrong))
 L1: *er det feil?* ((tr: is that wrong?))
 L2: *ja:* ((tr: yes)) ((unintelligible 2 sec))
 L2: ((unintelligible 3 sec)) *eg har aldri hoert det foer* ((tr: I have never heard it before))
 L1: ((unintelligible 4 sec))
 L2: *eg skriver det eg skitt heller* ((tr: I'll write it, who cares)) (5 sec pause)
 L1: we should say ((unintelligible 3 sec)) (10 sec pause)
 L2: *saann! det er litt langt da men* ((tr: like this! yeah but it is a bit long))
 LL: ((unintelligible 2 sec))
 L1: *du faar ikkje skrive av meg* ((tr: you can't copy mine))
 L2: *ne:i, du er saa snill saa* ((tr: no:, you are so kind)) ((unintelligible 1 sec))
 L1: huh?
 L2: ((unintelligible 1 sec))
 L1: *eg vet ikkje eg, ken er det som har skreve dette?* ((tr: I don't know, who has written this?))
 L2: *eg vet ikke!* ((tr: I don't know!))
 L1: *deg!* ((tr: you!)) (8 sec pause)
 L2: ok, ((unintelligible 3 sec))
 L1: huh?
 LL: ((unintelligible 3 sec))
 L2: ((laugh))
 L1: ((unintelligible 3 sec)) *i en annen klasse* ((tr: in another class))
 L2: ((unintelligible 2 sec)), ((unintelligible 2 sec))
 T: no, it's not it's three minutes to go (10 sec pause with background talking)
 LL: ((unintelligible 10 sec))
 L1: yeah ((unintelligible 2 sec))
 L2: ((unintelligible 6 sec))
 L1: *du snakker jo paa-* ((tr: you are talking))
 L2: *norsk* ((tr: Norwegian))
 L1: *eg glemte pennen min* ((tr: I forgot my pen))
 L2: *det gjorde du ikkje* ((tr: you didn't))
 L2: ((unintelligible 2 sec))
 L1: huh?
 L2: ok, ((unintelligible 2))
 L1: me: (8 sec pause with background talking)
 L2: *du, me skal skriva dette* ((tr: we are supposed to write this))
 L1: ((unintelligible 5 sec)) (5 sec pause with background talking)
 L1: *shit! vi maa ha dobbelt time ass for aa svare paa disse sporsmaalene* ((tr: we need a double lesson to answer these questions)) (18 sec with background talking)
 L1: *skal vi begynne paa en om igjen da?* ((tr: should we start over again on number

one?))
L2: yeah!
LL: ((unintelligible 3 sec)) (8 sec pause with background talking)
L2: hum:: (4 sec pause)
L1: *altsaa, plot det var det ((tr: plot, that was)) ...*,
L2: action
L1: action (3 sec pause)
L1: *du den ((tr: hey, that)) ((unintelligible 2 sec)), ((unintelligible 3 sec))?*
L2: *ne:i ((tr: no:))*
L1: *jo ((tr: yes))*
L2: *ne:i ((tr: no:))*
LL: ((unintelligible 6 sec))
L1: *ok, ok, men du kunne jo litt opp saann ((tr: but you could take it up a bit like this)) ((unintelligible 1 sec))*
L2: ((unintelligible 2 sec))=
L1: *ja ((tr: yes))*
L2: *det gjoer vondt ((tr: it hurts))*
L1: *skulle jo ta det lengre opp ((tr: should take it further up))*
L2: *nei, det gaar ikkje ((tr: no, it doesn't work))*
L1: *du kunne skrive paa den ((tr: you could write on this))*
L2: *men jeg skal skrive paa den sida ((tr: but I'm going to write on this side))*
L1: ok
L2: *det er ikkje vanskeligere ((tr: it's not more difficult than that))*
L1: *eh:: give a give a summary of the plot in the play, inspector Goole- (5 sec pause with background talking and noise)*
L2: *hva skal vi si her? ((tr: what should we write here?)) ...*, huh?
L1: ((unintelligible 1 sec))
L2: huh?
L1: ((unintelligible 2 sec)) *jeg har vondt i halsen ((tr: my throat hurts)) ...*, *eh::, inspector Goole eh ka ka hette den familien igjen? ((tr: what was the name of that family))*
L2: Birling
L1: Birling family ((laugh))
L2: ((unintelligible 2 sec)) ((cough))
L1: *eh: was celebrating their engagement*
((background noise))
L2: *et er friminutt snart ((tr: it's break soon))*
T: ok ..., ten minutes!
L: ((unintelligible 1 sec))
L: huh?
LL: ((unintelligible and noise 30 sec))

Lesson 2a Groupwork 2

L1: ((unintelligible 2 sec)), *det er vel- det er vel, eg trodde det var forskjellige oppgavar paa stilen eg ((tr: it's it's, I thought there were different topics for the essay)) ((unintelligible 1 sec))* (20 sec pause)

L1: *eg trodde det var-at skulle velge mellom to eg* ((tr: I thought it was that you were to choose between two))
L2: ((unintelligible 2 sec))
L1: *nei, altsaa eg=* ((tr: no, well))
L2: ((unintelligible 2 sec))
L1: *ja?* ((tr: yes?))
L2: ((unintelligible 2 sec))
L1: *du velger ..., ja* ((tr: you choose ..., yes)) (10 sec pause)
L1: *ka sa du da?* ((tr: what did you say then?))
LL: ((unintelligible 16 sec))
L1: *hvorfor det?* ((tr: why?))
L: ((unintelligible 4 sec))
L1: eh: is this the eh original eh: assignment ..., or?
T: no, that's that's your assignment
L1: yeah
T: that's what you are meant to do
L1: ok
L: ((unintelligible 2 sec)) doing this?
T: this you are going to do now
L: ok ..., ok ..., mm
T: just to eh: to get used to it (15 sec pause)
L1: ((unintelligible 2 sec))
L2: mm (7 sec pause)
T: don't make it so long=
LL: *///ok///*
T: try to use few words
L: ((unintelligible 1 sec)) are we going to speak English?
L: yes
L: off we go! ((laugh)) (5 sec pause)
L: are we going to work in pairs?
L: ((cough))
L: ok (9 sec pause) give a summary of the plot in the play An Inspector Calls
L: ((laugh)) (15 sec pause)
L: uhm?, the girl in this eh:=
L: ((unintelligible 1 sec))
L: =ok eh (8 sec pause) *kan si at de er eh middle-classes eller upper middle-class* ((tr: can say that they are eh middle-classes or upper middle class))
LL: ((laugh)) (4 sec pause)
L2: eh:,=
L1: eh=
L2: = upper middle-class-
L1: =but eh oh!,=
T: something to think about
L1: =eh, ((unintelligible 2 sec)) ..., eh ..., are we going to tell eh first eh when it happens? ..., and where?
...,
L2: I don't know if we have any ..., *jada!* ((tr: yeah)) ((laugh)) (5 sec pause)
L1: here is the eh:-
L2: *de fleste har vi jo sett* ((tr: most of them we have seen)) ((unintelligible 7 sec))

LL: ((unintelligible 2 sec))
 L1: *ja men=* ((tr: yes but))
 L2: *vi hakke:.....*, ((tr: we don't have))
 L1: *men der staar det jo* ((tr: but it's written there)) ((unintelligible 2 sec))-
 T: before I forget, your written assignment should be handed in next Thursday, that is a week from today ..., that is the 15th isn't it?
 L: ((unintelligible 2 sec))
 T: no, ..., one eh each individual writes their own eh their own thesis
 L: *har du noen i reserve av det arket?* ((tr: do you have any extra copies of that piece of paper?)) (3 sec pause)
 T: yes I have ((unintelligible))
 L1: ((unintelligible 1 sec))=
 L2: ((unintelligible 2 sec))? ..., *ja* ((tr: yes))
 L1: ((unintelligible 2 sec)) ..., ok (3 sec pause)
 L2: *Birling is an upper-class- an upper-class family,I see=* (10 sec pause)
 L2: =what do you call eh:, engagement engagement (16 sec pause)
 L: eh:: (5 sec pause) cel- eh: the celebration was important ((unintelligible 7 sec)) (14 sec pause)
 L: I'm confused aren't you? (7 sec pause with background talking)
 L1: [enga]-
 L2: engage
 L: ((unintelligible 7 sec))
 L1: and to, to end I think
 L2: I'm not quite sure (5 sec pause)
 L1: *no avbryte* ((tr: interrupt)), eh interrupt?
 L2: *ja* ((tr:yes)) (pause 20 sec while you can hear L1 spelling `interrupt' in the background)
 L2: ((unintelligible 2 sec))
 L1: eh to eh
 L2: *ok er det det* ((tr: ok is that it))
 L1: to eh:, the celebration part is ((unintelligible 1 sec)) by an inspector who (5 sec pause) *avsloere ka var det det var igjen?* ((tr: reveal what was that again?))
 L2: *du, avsloere paa engelsk?* ((tr: you reveal in English?))
 L1: *avsloere?* ((tr: reveal?))
 LL: ((unintelligible 7 sec))
 L: *eg eg har det paa tungen!* ((tr: I I've almost got it)) Oh::!
 L: hum?
 L: to:, oi, *unnskyld* ((tr: oops, I'm sorry))
 L: ((unintelligible 3 sec))
 L: eh:: you like that?, no you don't, *avsloere?* ((tr: reveal?))
 L: hum?
 L: *avsloere? paa engelsk* ((tr: reveal? in English?)) (4 sec pause)
 L1: *vet du det Cecilie?* ((tr: do you know Cecilie?))
 L3: uhm::
 L1: *eg har det paa tunga* ((tr: I've almost got it)) (11 sec with background talking)
 L: *ja* ((tr: yes))((unintelligible 2 sec)) ..., ((unintelligible 2 sec)) (5 sec pause)
 L1: *har eg noe i oeyet?* ((tr: have I got something on my eye?))
 L2: ((laugh))
 L1: ((unintelligible 3 sec)) (5 sec pause)

L1: *har vi moye?, har vi moye igjen? Maria?* ((tr: have we got a lot?, have we got a lot left?))

L: ((unintelligible 2 sec)) (18 sec pause)

L: ((laugh)) (35 sec pause with background speaking)

T: don't use many words (8 sec pause with background talking)

L: *ne:j* ((tr: no)) (12 sec pause)

L: ehm ..., main characters internal ((7 sec pause))

L: ((laugh))

L: ((unintelligible 8 sec))

L: I am sorry, should I ((unintelligible 1 sec)) you

T: yeah

L1: yes, but we are going to do this first ((noise))

L: Maria we are going to do this first

L: do what?

LL: ((unintelligible 6 sec)) (6 sec pause with background talking)

L: *du can eg ha dette her? hoer naa!* ((tr: can I keep it like this? listen now)) the Birlings family, a middle-class family celebrates their daughter's engagement to Gerald ..., everything seems nice, but suddenly they're interrupt by an inspector ...,

L: ((unintelligible 2 sec))

L: *jo:* ((tr: yes))

LL: ((unintelligible 2 sec)) (5 sec pause)

L: eh: the Birlings, they are- *vent da* ((tr: wait)) and I think it should be said there

L: ok! yes

LL: ((unintelligible 6 sec))

L: *ogsaa er det ..., ja* ((tr: and then it is ..., yes))

L: eh: by an inspector who reveals, that they all have committed a sort of crime ..., *kan vi sei det?* ((tr: can we say that?)) a sort of crime?

L: *ja, eg tror det* ((tr: yes, I think so))

L: there was a girl who calls Eva Smith ..., the whole family admit that they have done that they had and eh ... *oppstaar?* ((tr: occurs))

L: and there are some conflicts ..., *eller, eg vet ikkje ..., oppstaar* ((tr: or, I don't know ..., occurs)), to: ((unintelligible 5 sec)) (9 sec pause)

T: don't spend too much time on the first one!

LL: ((unintelligible 3 sec))

T: otherwise you'll never get through (4 sec pause with background talking)

L: eh: to what extent, did you regard the setting as important to the text? (5 sec pause)

L: ((unintelligible 2 sec))

L: *ja?* ((tr: yes))

L: *kommet saa langt* ((tr: gotten this far))

T: what did you say? ..., *er dere paa toeren?* ((tr: are you on number two?))

L: *ja* ((tr: yes))

L: ((unintelligible 2 sec))

L: setting is important

L: eh eh what does it mean by setting? eh this is the time when there were many poor got sort of disappointed by upper class people

L: but what do they mean about eh the setting?

L: hum?

L: what do they mean about the setting?

L: what do they mean about the setting?
 L: *eg tror det er eh* ((tr: eh I think it is eh)) ((unintelligible 4 sec))
 L: ((unintelligible 2 sec)) (21 sec pause)
 L: *naa er det* ((tr: now it is)) ((unintelligible 2 sec))
 L: ((unintelligible 3 sec))
 L: *vent da* ((tr: wait))
 L: sitting room I think
 L: *me bare skreiv saann kort med* ((tr: we wrote it short))
 T: mm ..., and we talked we talked so much about setting you can just skip that and go to number three
 L: mm (20sec with background talking)
 L: no
 L: ((unintelligible 2 sec))?
 L: eh:
 L: ((unintelligible 5 sec))

Lesson 2b

The lesson continues with whole class discussion of the same text after the break

T: do you need more time or shall we do it together
 L: do it together....., do it together
 T: yes. I think you do it together, I have tried to, I have tried to make it, an overhead
 LL: ((unint 1 sec))
 T: make sure that you take notes (13 sec pause)
 T: ok the first question
 LL: ((unint 8 sec))
 T: give a summary of the plot (8 sec pause)
 T: there were several good summaries made, Anniken?
 L1: eh the Birlings are a upper middle class family celebrate their daughter's engagement to Gerald .., everything seems nice, but suddenly they are interrupted by an inspector, one girl has died at the hospital and he asked them a few questions, they tell their stories and everybody is sort of guilty the story ends by the question if the eh inspector really was an inspector (5 sec pause)
 T: that's the summary? not a very short summary, but a summary ..., other summaries? (4 sec pause) Kari?
 L: ((unintelligible)) (5 sec pause)
 T: *ja?* ((tr: yes)) the same? nothing else?, anyone who's made it shorter? Anders?
 L2: yes I have a very short one ..., eh what happens in the text is that the fam- the Birling family are all well, and eh ..., are all connected with the girl Eva Smith eh she was sacked from the factory of Mr Birling, and eh she was sacked then she afterwards she got sacked from the dress shop because eh: of Sheila ..., and eh: Gerald had an affair with her, with Eva Smith and eh: let me see and she got a child with Eric
 T: yes ..., that's a summary of how Eva Smith was connected to the Birling family
 LL: ((unint 1 sec))

- T: yes, well, Anders ..., ..., you have to remember that that was not the really the action in the play, that was the background action that you are being told about this, yes, but the actual plot the actual action, John what did you find out?, ((unint 4 sec))
- L3: I would say the play is psychological
- T: it's a psychological play?, what do you mean by that?,
- L: er you ask yourself the question e:r does the inspector appear personally or is it just an imagination but the action eh: in the play is more like a mirage than e:r reality you know (5 sec pause)
- T: exactly ..., there is very very little action on the eh on the eh:: concrete level if you like, all the action takes place in peoples' heads on the psychological level ..., this play has been characterized as a psychological mystery drama ..., the question is, does this inspector Goole exist at all, or is it just an imagination? (4 sec pause) but as to the actual action, suggestions for the answer .. it's not a lot of action ..., what there is can be divided into three main sections, ..., one, the dinner celebrating the engagement of Gerald and Sheila, family at the dinner table, speeches, toasts, then the inspector's visit during which the characters are forced to reveal incidents, affairs etc., which they have on their conscience, which belong to their secret life, their eh: dark sides so to speak, and the third part of the action the family discussion or should we call it an argument as to the authenticity of the inspector, when he had left when they start to quarrel ..., do you remember Gerald comes back and says, I don't think there is such an inspector and they make phonecalls and everything and they quarrel as to whether he exists or not ..., those three aspects or parts of the real action in the play otherwise the rest of the action takes place on the psychological level, in other words ..., the important action or perhaps you'll find out later the thinking takes place on the psychological level, question two, describe the setting, to what extent would you regard the setting as important to the text? (5 sec pause) we talked about that a lot, Anders?
- L2: it's important because then you can understand when you see when you see the setting you see when it's from
- T: yes, and if you share the impression of of what it was like .. peoples' life
- L2: yes and you understand more easily (5 sec pause)
- T: Kenneth?
- L3: it gives you a good feeling of the circumstances that you found in that place
- T: creates good atmosphere? or eh a characterization of that atmosphere (5 sec pause)
- ok, here we go ..., the setting? is the home of Mr Arthur Birling as we said, a wealthy manufacturer in the town of Brumley just south of London, and the year is 1912, the entire action of the play takes place in the dining room, in which the wealth and prosperity of the Birlings is evident, I'd like to ask you something ..., this typical action taking place in one room,, there's another playwright who uses that dining room, eh: technique that you know quite well (5 sec pause) Kenneth
- L3: Agatha Christie
- T: Agatha Christie? yes she does that too but there's a Norwegian
- L: Roald Dahl
- T: eh: no
- L: Lars Saaby Christensen
- T: no, older
- L: Ibsen=

- T: =Ibsen! Henrik Ibsen! oh, that's his favourite technique, it's got a log drawing room=
- L: =boring! =
- T: ok, this setting provides a vast, and we can imagine a contrast to the conditions under which Eva Smith lived and died, so the setting is important, because it gives you ..., a contrast to ..., what as Anders pointed out the background action of the play, we are presented to eh: one side or one class whereas they talk about the other or the others (5 sec pause) the fact that all the action takes place in one room that is such a limited space, provides an intense, oppressive atmosphere which makes the characters revelations even more powerful, in this hothouse atmosphere, what's a hothouse?
- L: *drivhus* ((tr: hothouse))
- T: *drivhus* exactly ..., where you grow plants, the characters learn more about each other in the course of the evening, than they probably would have a whole lifetime if the inspector had refrained from this meeting ok then this happened to the theme, what would you say is the theme of An Inspector Calls (5 sec pause) Rune?
- L4: it was the differences between the classes
- T: class differences, Per Johan?
- L: ((unint 8 sec))
- T: the way the upper class exploits the lower classes, yes ..., that's defining what class differences are all about yes?
- L: it also talks about you can't do what you want to other people ..., eh:
- T: a sort of social responsibility?
- L: eh: (laughs)
- T: you can't do what you want all the time you have to:, be responsible=
- L: //uhm//

(A masonry drill starts up next door)

- T: = towards others ..., yes, what's simply .. Lisa? I'm afraid you have to shout
- L6: that the classes are intertwined even though the upper class don't like to have anything to do with the lower class .. they can't help it but be together
- T: that is more or less true as we said from the beginning that it is that's as question of difference between the classes, social classes are consequences of class norms and people's behaviour and then I put difference between capitalism and socialism ..., the ideas of capitalism and the ideas of socialism, and that becomes particularly interesting, eh: when you know the setting ..., do you remember inspector Goole he had this this monologue where he said we're all parts of .. remember one Eva Smith has died, but there are thousands and millions of other Eva Smiths and John Smiths and we are all parts of one body .. and if people don't realize that, and act upon what they understand, there will be anger and blood and if people don't realise that and act upon what they understand there will be anguish and blood and war and what happens .. do you remember that?, if you know your history well, you know that after the year 1912 in the course of the next ten years, two very important things happened in history the history of Europe, which important things? .. there are
- L: the first world war
- T: the first world war which broke out in,
- L7: 1914=

T: =and lasted till,

L7: 1918

T:, and the second?

L7: revolution the Russian revolution it's the Russian revolution, the socialist revolution, so ..., inspector Goole or should we perhaps ..., call him, what's the author's name by the way? who has written this play? (5 seconds pause) Anders?

L: J.B.[Prestly]

T: Priestley ..., J.B. Priestley!, he wanted to say something about the coming socialism the coming responsibility fo:r the working classes and the lower classes, we must look after those who are less fortunate than ourselves it's not enough to look after oneselves and our family ..., we are all parts of one body, ok! in what ways has the author employed stylistic means to convey his theme? and then I mean style in the sense that we have defined it here ..., vocabulary, dialects in what way do people express themselves?, Rune?

L8: complex language

T: complex language!, yes?, foreign words? difficult words?, when you watched the play, did you understand everything they said?

LL: no

L8: yes we did

T: if you had been reading it you would have been looking up words?

L8: sure (5 sec pause)

T: what about dialects? did everyone speak dialect?

L: no, but I think they spoke very posh

T: yes, standard English or, upper middle class Kevin?

L3: not the inspector

T: not the inspector?, how would you characterize his speech?

L3: it was more simple not as complex as the others

T: could that- could that be an aspect of his task or his honesty? ..., he just asked simple questions, and they tried everything they could to sort of talk themselves away from what really happened and used many words and he was to the point (5 sec pause) could this be dialect?, what about sociolect? (5 sec pause) is that possible is it possible that there could have been someone in the play who would have spoken what we would call a sociolect .. there's a person in the play which is never actually present on the scene ..., but is very important in the in the plot, Eva Smith! .., she probably has a different dialect or sociolect from the others belonging to the=

L: ((cough))

T: = the working class (7 seconds pause) then we come to the tone how would you describe the tone of the text? or the attitude of the author, how does Priestley feel?,

L: ((unint 2 sec))

T: and the style? we're dealing with a language of direct speech, the vocabulary, is relatively simple, it all depends on eh: what you know from beforehand, when it comes to dialect and sociolect all the characters in the play speak standard English, however Mr and Mrs Birling have slightly regional accents indicating that their rise in status has come about in the course of their adult lives as we have expected, eh we have a colleague here at the school who's Scottish, was born British, ..., and she pointed this out I haven't I couldn't hear it ..., she says there is a difference in the

way they in the way they speak you can hear on Mr and Mrs Birling that they were not born upper middle class but they have been working their way up ..., whereas the children, they have a different different language they've gone to eh public schools and eh different upbringing but I couldn't hear it you'd have to be eh:, to be born there

T: continued continued continued (5 sec pause)

T: as for the inspector, probably due to a working class background, while Sheila Eric and Gerald have been born into the upper-class and have a RP accent you know what an RP is? an RP accent?, no? Anders?

L2: rich person?

T: no .., good suggestion but it isn't .. no it stands for received pronunciation .. that is to say er, it, that it doesn't exist any dialects like that .. it's er what foreigners learn to speak when they learn English .. it's what I speak for instance. received pronunciation, it's sort of the standard English, free from all dialects.. Paul you could probably answer that? every Englishman has er a dialect of some sort

Paul: er well .., I think that nowadays people look at standard English as being one kind of dialect er I speak standard English with a northern accent rather than RP .. I think the best example of RP would be BBC newsreaders they are very easy to understand and they don't tend to have regional accents

T: but otherwise most people have regional accents?

Paul: it's difficult to say regional regional accents are becoming much more popular than they were .. for example when I was at school people thought that if you have a regional accent you were kind of backward .. right? nowadays regional accents are very popular.. if you watch television you get programmes like Eastenders don't you?

T: mmm

Paul: and er there are lots of regional accents and now they've become very popular .. if you look at television adverts everybody advertising for products has got a regional accent .. so things are changing very quickly

T: to us it's simple you see because we learn more about regional accents I think .. earlier Norwegians learnt the received pronunciation and we didn't know much else .. and when we came to England or to Britain it was more difficult to understand what people really said because it sounded different (4 sec) ok er then we come to the term, don't we, no we don't

L: ((unintelligible 3 sec))

T: analyse the attitude of the author, what does Priestley feel about the Birling family or about the scene?, on whose side is he on?, Steele?

L9: I think he is on the inspector's side because he seems like a very, he knows what he wants it seems like they don't know, they're very confused

T: and where does he put his sympathy?

L9: on Eva Smith

T: on Eva Smith, obviously. and that relates to what we said about the theme. when the theme is er the differences between the social classes. it's obviously, supporting the socialist idea, let's see. we can say that the tone of the play is didactic oh another foreign word. you know what it means to be didactic?

LL: ((unintelligible 3 sec))

T: this should learn you teach you something. we're intended to learn from what we read. through the inspector the play wishes to teach the general public and especially the conceited upper classes that class discrimination is wrong, you shouldn't do that

.. there's also an underlying sarcasm in the playwright's depiction of the upper classes
.. the Birlings' behaviour when they discover that they have been hoaxed would suggest that Priestley does not believe that any real change is possible .. in other words the tone is sarcastic, perhaps even pessimistic (4 sec) or am I wrong? do you feel otherwise? Per Ivar

L10: it looks like Sheila and Eric take some notice of the inspector

T: and they are also in opposition to their parents .. particularly er when they quarrel in the last part, Sheila remember Sheila says I don't think it's important at all whether the inspector was a real inspector or not .. what's important is what we have done and our attitude (3 sec) but the others using that are using that as a pretext of not for not changing. for going on the same way as they've always done, ok when we come to the use of symbols hm (7 sec) you've had time to think about it .. are there any symbols Trond?

L11: er they chose Goole for the name of the inspector

T: yes the inspector himself .. what does the name Goole mean?

L11: spirit

T: yes that's a very good definition of it .. Hanne?

L12: monster

T: a monster? a spirit?

L: ghost=

T: =Rune you had one .. you had a definition of the word ghoul .. I tried to look it up, my dictionary wasn't good enough

L12: er spirit that robs graves and feeds on the corpses

T: say that once more please

L12: spirit=

T: =loud and clear=

L12: =spirit that robs graves and feeds on the corpses

T: spirit that robs graves and feeds on the corpses not very pleasant eh? if inspector Goole is a symbol what is he a symbol of? (4 sec)

L: humanity

T: he's a symbol of humanity in one sense

L: justice

T: of justice (4 sec) of humanity .. the great variation?

L: equality

T: equality

L: can we say behaviour?

T: e:e what do you mean by behaviour?

L: how people behave

T: yes but is he a symbol of that? (4 sec) no I think the most important thing is a symbol of of justice, he's a symbol of the new thoughts of responsibility for everybody. or the bridging of of the social classes .. yes, other symbols? obvious symbols? (5 sec) Tina

L13: maybe the whisky Eric was drinking? he was drinking up the whisky

T: whisky? he drinks a lot of whisky and rich people drink whisky. a symbol of wealth? are there other symbols of wealth? (6 sec) we have talked about the setting, Trond

L11: the clothing

T: the clothing, Staale?

L14: chamber maids, servants, servants, there is servants

T: in other words the house .., room where you have all the status symbols, the furniture and the servants (6 sec) oh oh oh here we have a lot

(Teacher shows overhead transparency)

T: the dining room symbol of the prosperous world of the Birlings .. in this room in which are all the tokens of the Birlings' wealth are fully visible, there are huge double doors to shut out the unpleasantness of the outside world .. really symbolic they close the door and then everybody else is gone. out of reach, out of responsibility (4 sec) then you have the ring. the symbol of the greed we talked about. the giving back of the ring is symbolic of the dissolution of this union, and of the characters in general. the fact that she doesn't give back the ring, is also symbolic. you can't go back, it's too late (4 sec) and of course Eva Smith, the most important person in the play is never present, but omnipresent.. she's there all the time, but never actually on the stage, she's a symbol of the underprivileged members of the lower classes. as Anders pointed out her fate, that she was exploited by the Birling family in all levels

L: *du kva betyr hoaxed?* ((tr: what does hoaxed mean?))

T: *lurt* ((tr: fooled)) and then the inspector as she said symbol of the characters' bad consciences by making the contents of these consciences public the inspector facilitates the possibility of the Birlings and John leaving learning from their mistakes and becoming better members of society .. the only thing is that they don't want to learn, the only characters in the play who try to learn or at least show a willingness to learn who are they?, Hilde?

L15: Eric and Sheila

T: Eric and Sheila the children. the coming generation that's where all our hopes lay (3 sec) the inspector can also be said to be a symbol of justice. exactly as you said .. he's a policeman sent to make sure that the crimes don't go unpunished . but he's a phony policeman .. therefore it's not justice in the traditional sense of the word we're talking about.. we are not concerned with laws of state but rather with unwritten codes of behaviour which could if more people paid attention to them make the world a better place

L: if he was a real police officer he wouldn't just go when he was finished asking them the questions

T: what would he do, or what would he have done?

L: he'd probably arrest someone or take them down the station

T: they hadn't killed her

L: no but they were all responsible for her death

T: but the question remains was the inspector there at all? (4 sec) as I told you this play has been characterized as a psychological mystery play .. that is to say the main action or the important action takes place on a psychological level and the inspector Goole is just a, he exists just in people's in the Birling family's heads and he's not real .. or is he? we don't know .. it's almost a ghost story (3 sec) who is the most important person in the play in your opinion?, what do you say?

L: Eva Smith=

T: =Eva Smith! Anders?

L2: the inspector=

- T: =and the inspector (5 sec) which is also suggested by the title of the play An Inspector Calls .. as some one of you said when when you worked with give a summary of the plot a summary of the plot is an inspector calls .. there you are
- L: couldn't it be possible that the inspector was the father of the girl? of that girl?
- T: no I don't think so .. he wouldn't have all the knowledge about everything if he if he was .. and besides if the girl had had a father she would have had someone to turn to .. Hilde?
- L15: has Eva Smith I thought she had a diary
- L: yeah
- T: yes she had written a diary
- L: the father could have read that
- T: the father could have read that (4 sec) Staale?
- L: the inspector doesn't necessarily have to be the father
- T: no
- L: *samma det* ((tr: it doesn't matter))
- T: it's a story .. the Eva Smith story is probably a:r universal as the inspector said .. there are millions of Eva Smiths and similar fates .. like the one she ..,.,., had (3 sec) ok there we are er for next Thursday you have a written assignment .. on Monday we are starting up with er a short story by Doris Lessing called Notes from a Case History .. it's on your *arbetsplan* ((tr: syllabus)) but before you start reading it I'd like to give you a short lesson for Monday ..,.,.,, I want you to read this paragraph .. it's the opening paragraph of the short story .. don't read the story! just read the opening paragraph, when you have finished this one you put down on a piece of paper Maureen Watson she's the protagonist she's the main person in the story .. and then you write down what you think this story will be about .. on the basis of the short paragraph opening paragraph that you read here .. just your thoughts, your associations .. what what will happen? what is the story going to be about? (3 sec) do you understand?
- LL: yes
- T: good! that's your lesson for Monday .. and on Monday when we meet we'll talk a little about that before we listen to e:r to the story
- LL: (noise 100 sec)

Lesson 3

Lessons 3i and 3ii are two consecutive 45 minute lessons involving the same teacher covering the same material with two different classes (each with about 10 students . Both classes are ungdomsskole 8th grade and the students are aged 13-14 years.

Lesson 3i:

((unintelligible 2 minutes))

- T: page sixteen two A .. how strange.. (student's name) would you be so kind as to start reading?
- L: a cry of help .. Tasmanian fishermen could hardly believe their eyes yesterday afternoon .. suddenly at least fifty dolphins started jumping and diving around their boat the blue sea .. the six foot long animals started making loud whistling noises .. obviously they wanted something
- T: thank you can you decide the next one to go on
- L: (student's name)
- L: the blue sea followed the dolphins until they reached
- T: reached reached
- L: a booyoy
- LL: (laugh)
- T: a buoy a buoy it's pronounced a buoy
- L: a buoy.. there they found a baby dolphin caught in the fishing net .. it must have swum into it hungry for fish and crayfish the captain said later .. when the men set it free the intelligent dolphins whistled to thank them
- T: yes (student's name) words here could you repeat intelligent
- L: intelligent
- T: and whistled
- L: whistled
- T: a living toy the next one (student's name)
- L: Melvin Stacey an assist..
- T: an assistant
- L: at the toyshop in Adelaide got the shock of his life yesterday .. as he was taking down a two foot teddy bear from one of the she..
- T: one of the shelves
- L: shelves it bit his finger .. somebody had put a live koala bear up there, far away from its natural home among the [yore]..
- T: eucalyptus eucalyptus
- L: it must have=
- T: = can you say eucalyptus eucalyptus?
- L: eucalyptus
- T: yes some big trees growing in Australia okay next one carry on
- L: (student's name)
- L: it must have been pretty hungry Mr Stacey explained .. nobody knows how long it had been there. a koala can sit for hours without moving an inch. as a matter of fact the first teddy bear was modelled on a koala..

T: yes modelled on a koala ... kangaroo knockout (student's name) the next one
 L: Dr Linda Ratton of Cowley Western Australia was knocked (4 sec) uncon
 unconscious
 T: a very difficult word look at me you say unconscious
 LL: unconscious
 T: should we let Paul say unconscious
 Paul: unconscious
 T: yes now you try
 LL: unconscious
 L: last night about twenty kangaroos had jumped across a (2 sec) rive ..
 T: a ravine a ravine
 L: thirty feet wide to feast on the leaves of fruit trees
 T: yes to feast on the leaves of the fruit trees thankyou and next one
 L: the recent drought
 T: the recent drought
 L: the recent drought
 T: drought
 L: drought
 L: had left very little grass on the plains so these shy animals had decided to go elsewhere
 for food .. in the dark Dr Ratton mistook the four feet animals
 T: the four feet tall animals
 L: the four feet tall animals for children stealing her fruit .. when she rushed out to
 frighten them off one of the kangaroos knocked her out with his front legs
 T: yes you should be beware of kangaroos fortunately we haven't got kangaroos in the
 orchards in Sogndal
 LL: kangaroo
 T: yes well have you got any questions or problems here? you put them right away now
 ... well let's try to solve them or do you understand absolutely everything? (student's
 name) everything is quite clear good then you shut your books please and answer a
 few questions

(LL shut books)

T: Tasmanian fishermen got a shock the other day what kind of shock who can tell me
 .. now you speak English come on (student's name)
 L: there was dolphins in the net
 T: hm and what did some other dolphins do actually? (student's name)
 L: whistling
 T: yes they were playing and whistling and what did they want or what's their intention
 for doing this? what did they want to tell actually? (student's name)
 L: they wanted to tell them ... they wanted help
 T: yes they wanted help and why did they want help?
 L: to get free the dolphin in the net
 T: yes what did the fishermen the Tasmanian fishermen discover? where did the
 dolphins what did they discover? what had happened to one of the dolphins?
 (student's name)
 L: it was caught in the fishing net
 T: yes and what did the fishermen do? (student's name)
 L: he released it

T: yes and when they had released the dolphin caught in the net what did the other dolphins do then? (student's name)

L: they whistled for thanks

T: yes and what did they want to say by whistling?

L: thankyou *

T: yes they just whistled for thanks and what does this incident tell about dolphins? what kind of animals are they? if you compare dolphins to sheep for example there will be a striking difference won't there? yes? (student's name)

L: they are clever

T: yes very very intelligent animals .. Melvin Stacey got a shock the other day didn't he? he was a shopkeeper shop assistant wasn't he? (student's name)

L: yes

T: what happened actually?

L: I don't remember

T: he was going to take something down from the top shelf in his shop ... he eh was selling teddy bears wasn't he? and what happened when he was taking a teddy bear from the top shelf? (student's name)

L: it was alive

T: yes you said?

L: it was alive

T: yes and what did the teddy bear actually do?

L: er bite ... bite his finger

T: yes it bit his finger and no doubt no matter he couldn't actually believe his eyes a teddy bear biting his finger and what had happened what kind of teddy bear was it was it a teddy bear? (student's name)

L: it was a koala

T: yes it was a koala bear and who had put it there? how had a koala bear got on the top shelf? (4 sec) well did they know actually?

L: someone put it there

T: somebody must have put it there

T: yes what's so typical of koala bears? what's so characteristic about them? yes (student's name)

L: they can sit without moving for hours

T: ... Dr Linda Ratton of Cowley Western Australia was knocked unconscious last night how?.. what happened to her? what did she discover? er yes (student's name)

L: the kangaroos knocked her down

T: and how did the kangaroos knock her down? how could that happen? are they so dangerous animals that they will knock you down people do you think?

LL: yes

T: well she saw something in her orchard in her fruit garden among the fruit trees and what did she observe? (student's name) ... she spotted something didn't she? (student's name)

L: she believed it was some children

T: yes she thought some children were stealing fruit and she went down to frighten them off and what happened to her? (student's name)

L: they knocked her out

T: yes they were kangaroos and they knocked her unconscious.. so you should mind kangaroos if they get into your gardens don't try to frighten them well just a few

- words to be remembered here.. *plutselig hva heter det?* ((tr: suddenly what is that? (student's name))
- L: suddenly
- T: yes or *dykke* ((tr: dive)) (student's name)
- L: dive
- T: yes or (T whistles) what am I doing now?
- L: whistle
- T: to whistle er yes and em *bevisstlos, det var et vanskelig ord* ((tr: unconscious that's a difficult word))(student's name)
- L: unconscious
- T: unconscious unconscious that's it and where was the teddy bear the koala bear where was it sitting? ((unintelligible)) (student's name)
- L: on the shelf
- T: top shelf or shelves *hyllene* ((tr: the shelves)) er could you tell me the names of some big trees growing in Australia they are called (student's name)
- L: eucalyptus
- T: yeah eucalyptus difficult pronunciation *aa forklare forklare* ((tr: to explain explain)) (student's name)
- L: to explain
- T: to explain *i timesvis* ((tr: for hours)) koala can sit *i timesvis* ((tr: for hours))(student's name)
- L: many hours
- T: er the preposition is
- L: hours
- T: hours that's the noun but the preposition er can sit er (student's name)
- L: for
- T: for hours *uten aa rore seg en tomme* ((tr: without moving an inch)) (student's name)
- L: without moving an inch
- T: without moving an inch what do you call the animals knocking Dr Linda Ratton down? what do you call them? (student's name)
- L: kangaroos
- T: kangaroos kangaroos *aa skremme vekk skremme vekk* ((tr: to frighten off frighten off)) (student's name)
- L: to frighten off
- T: to frighten off well yes *og en som arbeider* ((tr: and someone who works in a shop)) (student's name)
- L: shopkeeper
- T: shopkeeper *han eier butikken* ((tr: he owns the shop)) he might have some helpers and you call the helpers er (student's name)
- L: shop assistant
- T: shop assistant well now you made questions yourselves and you join two and two putting questions to each other and then when you finish you go to another friend and ... you ... you'll be talking English all the time now .. come on and you just go around yes yes

(LL move chairs around)

(pairwork begins: students read out prepared questions about the text to a partner)

Paul: this is a recording walkman I just want to record you speaking to each other ok?....., if it stops if it stops going round, can you tell me.

L1: mhm..., ((unintelligible 4 sec))

L2: ((unintelligible 2 sec))

T: everyone speaks in English

L2: *synes du ikke det?* ((tr: don't you think so?))

LL: ((unintelligible 9 sec))

T: when you're not talking to one friend you just move around speaking to to more of your friends (4 sec)

L2: ((unintelligible 2 sec))

L1: yes

L2: ((unintelligible 3 sec)) who is Melvin Stacey?

L1: he is a shop assistant

L2: yes

L1: yes ((unintelligible 2 sec)) where is ((unintelligible 2 sec)) John

L2: in Adelaide Adelaide *er det rett?* ((tr: is it right?)) (5 sec)

L2: who who did look (noise 11 sec) what does Melvin look

L1: ((unintelligible 6 sec))

L2: yes (5 sec)

L: e what do koalas eat? (5 sec)

L2: m:m (6 sec) I don't know....., hm yes (4 sec) what ((unintelligible 3 sec)) what where where does Linda Ratton come from?

L1: she come from Crawley....., how long is the dolphin? (5 sec)

L2: hm he is (5 sec) ((unintelligible 4 sec)) six foot..., e:r....., what is the name of the boat?

L1: The Blue Sea

L2: yes

L1: who was ((unintelligible 3 sec))

L2: Linda Ratton....., m:m (13 sec)

L1: ((unintelligible 3 sec))

L2: how many dolphins started jumping and diving around the boat? (5 sec)

L1: at least 50=

L2: =yes..., mhm

L1: ((unintelligible 3 sec)) (4 sec)

L2: what does the animal starting with? (3 sec)

L1: jumping and diving

L2: yes....., yes, what does The Blue Sea find in a fishing net?

L1: a dolphin

L2: yes. what does the fisherman do? (3 sec)

L1: release it=

L2: =mhm....., where did Melvin Stacey work?

T: you see this is the white book

Paul: alright. ((unintelligible 5 sec))

T: ((unintelligible 2 sec)) t-seven t-eightand t-nine.

Paul: mhm

T: just keep walking all the time find someone to talk to boys speak to some nice girls (41 sec)

L3: what did one of the kangaroos knocked her? (5 sec)

L4: there was....., taking ((unintelligible 3 sec))

L3: yes!
 L4: how who knocked Dr Ratton out when she tried to fight back the two kangaroos? (6 sec)
 L3: one of the kangaroos. (4 sec) what was the name of the boat?
 L4: The Blue Sea.
 L3: yes.
 L4: how long is the dolphin?
 L3: six foot.
 L4: yes. what did the dolphin do when the man set the baby dolphin free?
 L3: they whistled
 L4: yes=
 L3: =why was the dolphin in the fishing-net?
 L4: because he was hungry.
 L3: yes.
 L4: who is Melvin Stacey?
 L3: he he is a toy shop in Adelaide
 L4: yes. you must ask questions (83 sec)
 T: well okay folks I'm sorry yes I can't yes I'll give you another two minutes=
 L: ((unintelligible 2 sec))
 T: =before you start to make your own questions
 L5: how long is the dolphin?
 L6: six foot.
 L5: yes.
 L6: where was Linda Ratton from?
 L5: Cowley, e:r who was knocked out by kangaroos?
 L6: m:m Linda Ratton
 L5: yes. (40 sec)
 T: ok folks! you go back to your seats and put the questions you have made in English (5 sec) I'm sorry for the interruption

(LL ask Paul questions)

Lesson 3ii

((unintelligible 2 minutes))
 T: well then let's start reading .. how strange.. alright then (student's name) if you'd be so kind as to start reading
 L: a cry of help .. Tasmanian fishermen could hardly believe their eyes yesterday afternoon .. suddenly at least fifty dolphins started jumping and diving around their boat the blue sea .. the six foot long animals started making loud whistling noises .. obviously they wanted something
 T: yes can you say obviously?
 L: obviously
 T: and (student's name)
 L: yeah The Blue Sea followed the dolphins until they reached a buoy .. there they found a baby dolphin caught in the fishing net .. it must have swum into it hungry for fish and

crayfish the captain said later .. when the men set it free the intelligent dolphins whistled to thank them

T: thank you and (student's name)

L: Melvin Stacey an [assisten] at the toyshop

T: uh uh an assisitant an assistant

L: at the toyshop in Adelaide got the shock of his life yesterday .. as he was getting down a two foot teddy bear from one of the shelves it bit his finger .. somebody had put a live koala bear up there , far away from its natural home among the ...

T: eucalyptus

L: trees

T: eucalyptus can you say eucalyptus?

L: eucalyptus trees

T: yes thank you and (student's name)

L: it must have been pretty hungry Mr Stacey explained .. nobody knows how long it had been there . a koala can sit for hours without moving an inch. as a matter of fact the first teddy bear was modelled on a koala..

T: thank you .. he speaks with an American accent you see

Paul: oh yes

T: that's quite alright and (student's name) . kangaroo knockout

L: Dr Linda Ratton of Cowley Western Australia was knocked uncon [unconscious]

T: yeah quite difficult listen all of you can you say unconscious?

LL: unconscious

T: and now Paul says it and you say the word after Paul

Paul: unconscious

LL: unconscious

T: very good now go on (student's name)

L: last night about twenty kangaroos had jumped across a [ravain]

T: yeah ravine

L: ravine thirty feet wide to feast on the leaves of fruit trees the resent

T: *ja skal vi faa Paul til aa sei det saa seier vi det atter Paul* ((tr: yes should we ask Paul to say it and then we say it after Paul)) recent drought can you say that Paul?

Paul: recent drought

T: come on

LL: recent drought

T: yes

L: had left very little grass on the plains so these [she] animals had decided to go elsewhere for food

T: yes this er can you repeat the word so there ..

L: where?

T: er how do you pronounce the word after these? so these

L: sky

T: shy

L: shy

T: shy and (student's name)

L: in the dark Dr Ratton mistook the tall animals for children stealing her fruit .. when she rushed out to frighten them off one of the kangaroos knocked her out with his front legs

T: yes keep in mind thank you (student's name) that the animal kangaroo has stress on the last syllable can you say kangaroo?

LL: kangaroo

T: yes kangaroo now have you got any questions to put from today's lesson? you do it right away please ... if not you please shut your books and answer a few questions

(LL shut books)

T: well it's some Tasmanian fishermen suddenly spot ... what do they see? (student's name)

L: some dolphins were jumping around the boat

T: yes really em what did the six foot long animals suddenly start making? (student's name)

L: sounds

T: yes what kinds of sounds were they making actually?

L: whistling

T: yes obviously they wanted something and what do you think they wanted the fishermen to do? (student's name)

L: they want they get the dolphin out of the fishing

T: yes how had the baby dolphin got into the fishing net? (student's name)

L: it was hungry for fish

T: yes and this it had got caught in the net well when the men set it free what did the dolphins start doing? (student's name)

L: they were happy

T: yes and how did they show they were happy?

L: er they were whistling

T: yes and what did they want to say by whistling?

L: thankyou

T: yes what does this reveal about dolphins? what does this show or tell about dolphins? (student's name)

L: they are they are clever dolphins

T: they are very intelligent .. Melvin Stacey who was he? (student's name)

L: an assistant at a toyshop in er Avia

T: yes and what did he experience one day he got something of a shock didn't he?

L: yes someone put a live koala bear in one of the shelves of the toyshop=

T: =hmm=

L: =and so I think I guess when he moved them he got bit ... bit his finger

T: yes when he was taking down the teddy bear he didn't know there was a koala bear sitting there so it bit his finger .. well what's so typical of koala bears? (student's name) (5 sec) how do you think the koala had got onto the top shelf?

L: someone put it there

T: yes er what's so characteristic of koala bears?

L: they go and sit still for hours without moving an inch

T: yes well (3 sec) the first teddy bear then how did they make the first teddy bear?

L: they modelled it on the koala bear

T: yes it was modelled on the koala right ... Dr Linda Ratton of Cowley was knocked unconscious .. could you tell me something about that any of you give me information (student's name)

L: there was some kangaroos in her garden and she thought it was some kids and the kangaroo knocked her out

T: er yeah how did the kangaroos get into her garden? what did they want to do there?

- L: eat there
- T: yeah why would they like to have some food? what had happened in Australia .. something that quite often happens in Australia unfortunately
- L: it was the er desert they're they uses to find their food
- T: they were in a drought actually so they couldn't possibly find food so they jumped over the ravine into the garden well and the doctor who did she think they were? (student's name)
- L: er kids
- T: yes and what did she think the children were doing in the garden?
- L: stealing fruit
- T: yes and what did she want to do? er (student's name)
- L: she wanted to frighten them
- T: yes and when she came down into the garden to frighten them children what happened to her?
- L: one of the kangaroos knocked her out
- T: yes so she was lying unconscious there are a few words to be remembered here.. fishermen could *nesten ikke tro sine egne oyne* ((tr: could hardly believe their eyes))
- L: could hardly believe their eyes
- T: could hardly believe their eyes *plutselig braatt* ((tr: suddenly suddenly))(student's name)
- L: suddenly
- T: suddenly *aa dykke* ((tr: to dive)) (student's name)
- L: dive
- T: dive *klart oyensynlig* ((tr: clear obvious)) another word for evidently they wanted something .. could you insert another word for evidently .. what's the word used here? *oyensynlig tydelig* ((tr: obviously clearly)) you know we're speaking of the dolphins you know (student's name)
- L: possible
- T: possibly not quite (student's name)
- L: ((unintelligible))
- T: er the first letter being 'o' (student's name)
- L: obviously
- T: obviously they wanted evidently they wanted something *naa eller aa rekke* ((tr: get or to reach))(student's name)
- L: reach
- T: to reach *aa bli fanga i et fiskegarn* ((tr: to get caught in a fishing net)) the dolphin what did the dolphin do what happened to the dolphin? (student's name)
- L: got caught in the fishing net
- T: yes *og du sier* ((tr: and you say)) (student's name)
- L: for hours
- T: for hours without *uten aa rore seg en tomme* ((tr: without moving an inch)) (student's name)
- L: without moving an inch
- T: without moving an inch great .. in Australia there are some very big trees growing and they are called (student's name)
- L: eucalyptus
- T: yeah eucalyptus trees eucalyptus trees they might be very tall you see *i virkeligheten fooresten* ((tr: in reality by the way)) (student's name) as a could you help me? (student's name)

- L: as a matter of fact
 T: as a matter of fact *aa bli slaatt bevisstlos* ((tr: to be knocked unconscious)) that's what happened to Dr Linda Ratton she was what happened to her really? (student's name)
 L: knocked down
 T: knocked down yes or you could also say
 L: knocked unconsciously
 T: er she was knocked unconscious *den nylige torke torke som har vaert nylig det var det ordet som Paul sa kan dere huske det* ((tr: the recent drought the drought that has been recently that was the word Paul said can you remember it)) (student's name) had left very little grass on the plains do you remember the recent *torke* ((tr: drought)) (student's name)
 L: the recent drought
 T: the recent drought *aa skremme* ((tr: to frighten)) when she rushed out to *skremme dem* ((tr: frighten them)) (student's name)
 L: to frighten them
 T: to frighten them *og frambeina som kengurein slaar med* ((tr: and the front legs that the kangaroos strike with)) what did the kangaroo strike with? (student's name) yes
 L: front legs
 T: the front legs yes ... quite alright yes er Mr Paul seems pleased as well you see (3 sec) now you made questions from this story yourselves.. join together and speak English and you will be recorded by Paul while you are talking.. so keep in mind that you are being recorded...

(LL move chairs around)

(pairwork begins: students read out prepared questions about the text to a partner)

- T: so keep in mind that you're being recorded
 TLL: ((unintelligible 15 sec))
 L1: who is Melvin Stacey?
 L2: a:a assistant in a toyshop
 TLL: ((unintelligible 5 sec))
 L1: what is a koala? (noise 29 sec)
 L2: I'm not quite sure
 T: and when you are done talking to then you change=
 L2: =e:r it's a it's a e:r no I don't know. (8 sec) I will ask you? (11 sec) e:hm what did (4 sec) what did the Tasmanian fishermen see?
 L1: they see dolphins which..., was er diving and jumping around their boat The Blue Sea.
 L2: yes..., e how long were the dolphins? (6 sec)
 L1: I don't know.
 L2: e they were six foot long...,..., e:r what did the dolphins do when they e:r set them free?
 L1: they they whistled to thank them
 L2: yes. e:r what work er has Melvin?=
 LL: (laugh)
 T: very nice just come on.
 L1: he's a shop assistant (8 sec)

L3: ((unintelligible 3 sec))
 L4: ok, *eg spoer*. ((tr: ok, I'll ask))
 L4: *ja* ((tr: yes))
 L3: what does koala eat?
 L4: eucalyptus-leaves
 L3: where live doctor Linda?
 L4: where she lives in Australia.
 L3: what is Blue Sea?
 L4: e a boat
 L3: yes
 L4: ((unintelligible 2 sec))
 L3: what why did the dolphins swim into the equipment?=
 T: ((unintelligible 2 sec))/quite a lot of it actually
 L4: they tried to take fish cray-fish=
 T: =you see the water around Australia there are quite a lot of=
 L4: yeah I ask you?
 L3: yes
 L4: who was the first teddy bear modelled on?
 L3: the koala
 L4: yeah..., e ..., what does the koalas eat now..., what=
 L3: =the koala eats (4 sec) fish
 L4: eucalyptus-leaves..., e..., e:r who did who knocked down doctor Linda Ratton (5 sec)
 who did knock down doctor Linda Ratton?
 L3: a group of kangaroos
 L4: yes
 T: somebody else must come and get it (16 sec)
 L5: hallo! (laughing) what is a kangaroo?
 L6: a animal.
 L5: *ja!* ((tr: yes!)) yes.
 L6: what=
 L5: what
 L6: is a koala?
 L5: (laugh) what is a koala?
 L6: a animal
 L5: who is doctor Ratton? (5 sec)
 L6: a woman.
 LL: (laugh)
 L5: what did they find in the fishing-net?
 L6: they find a dolphin.
 L5: what did the kangaroo kick with?
 L6: kick it
 L6: they kick with..., his front leg.
 L5: what is the koala eating? (4 sec)
 L6: e:r eucalyptus
 L5: ((unintelligible 2 sec)) what is your favorite football team? (laugh) *ja svar da!* ((tr:
 yes answer then))
 L6: ((unintelligible 2 sec)) yes,answer!
 L5: *ja akkurat* ((tr: yes exactly)), he he is good in English (8 sec)
 T: it is a Liverpool supporter

LL: ((unintelligible 20 sec))
 L8: Liverpool is
 L7: (laugh)
 L8: what is a kangaroo?
 L7: it's a:a it's a:a big er (3 sec)
 L8: who is Melvin Stacey?
 L7: e:r toy shop assistant
 L8: yeah.(4 sec) where live doctor Linda?
 L7: e:m in e Australia.
 L8: what is Blue Sea?
 L7: it's a boat
 L8: why did the dolphins swim into the fishing net?
 L7: because they wanted fish?
 L8: *naa kan du spoerre.* ((tr: you can ask now))
 L7: *ja ok.* ((tr: yes ok)) (7 sec) ok, who is Melvin?
 L8: Melvin is a shop assistant. that's his job
 L7: yeah. e:r how long was the dolphins?
 L8: five foots
 L7: what do koala eat?
 L8: (cough)....., Liverpool
 L7: *nei kom igjen naa nei! me er ikkje ferdige enda* ((tr: no come on no! we haven't finished yet)) (laugh) what was the name of the boat?
 L8: Blue Sea
 L7: yeah!..., e:r..., what do koalas eat?
 L8: eucalyptus
 L7: (laugh) ok come on what is=
 L8: ((unintelligible 2 sec))
 L7: ((unintelligible 3 sec)) (noise 42 sec)
 L: what did the Tasmanian fisherman see?=
 L10: =dolphins=
 L9: =yeah!..., e how how long were the dolphins?
 L10: six foot
 L9: yeah! what did the dolphins do when they when they set the one dolphin free?
 L10: they whistled
 L9: yes (noise 4 sec)
 L: (laugh)
 L9: what work have has Melvin Stacey? (4 sec)
 L: (cough) (6 sec)
 L9: I asked you ((unintelligible 3 sec)) yeah ok,
 L10: ((unintelligible 2 sec))
 L9: what work has Melvin Stacey?
 L10: *hae?* ((tr: sorry?)) what work has Melvin Stacey?
 L9: whats work has Melvin Stacey?
 L10: a toyshop assistant.
 L9: who was the first teddybears modelled on?
 L10: koalabear
 L9: what does koala eat?
 L10: its eat leaves and eucalyptus
 L9: yeah.

LL: how did/who did
L9: who did knock down doctor Linda Ratton
L10: e:r it was some..., kangaroos
L9: yeah.
L10: ((unintelligible 2 sec))
L9: ask me!
L10: yeah, what was the name of the boat?
L9: boat? Blue Sea
L10: yeah. ok, doctor Linda think a kangaroo was some kids
L9: yeah.
L10: what did she think they were doing?
L9: stealing from her.
L10: how long was the dolphins?
L9: six foot
L10: *hae?* ((tr: sorry?))
L9: six foot.
L10: oh yes!...,..., what was the name of the toyshop assistant?
L9: Melvin Stacey.
LL: ((unintelligible 3 sec))
L10: what what was he doing, what was his job?
L9: many things
L10: shop assistant
L9: yeah.((unintelligible 3 sec))
T: okay you've been very clever at speaking English now ... so we go back to our seats
and sit down
L12: what is a kangaroo?
L: a long animal
L11: what is your favourite team?
L12: Liverpool
L11: *ja* ((tr: yeah)) (5 sec)
Paul: thanks.

(LL ask Paul questions)

Lesson 4

A 45 minute lesson in an ungdomsskole with an 8th form class of about 20 students (aged between 13 and 14) who were seated in small groups.

A short introduction by the teacher is followed by group work in 4 separate groups. The following was the teacher's lesson plan:

What? Working with pictures/paintings the pupils have picked out themselves. Each pupil has one picture. Group discussion.

How? 1. Groups talk about, discuss, describe a painting they have chosen themselves. 2. Each group decides on one picture, what they are going to do and how they are going to present their work to the class.

Why? Awareness raising and communication (oral). a) cultural awareness b) awareness of choice and the consequences of choices made c) working with authentic material d) oral communication skills

Start of Lesson 4: Teacher's introduction

T: Okay could you all listen before you start. Could you all listen so that you get the information you need before you start .. we've talked vaguely about what we're going to do you have chosen some pictures and each of you has one, either in your book or one that you've cut out from somewhere. what I want you to do in the group now is one....., talk a little bit about your own picture....., what's in it? if you give a short description of it, if you know who painted it....., and what's it about....., that's the first picture so that's one little bit each....., secondly you'll agree upon whose picture the group is going to use....., you have to agree on one picture once you've told everybody about your own....., and try to think about why you chose that one. it would be good if you could write that down in your book, why did you choose the one you did....., you have to talk about it in English and agree upon one picture and then write down why that one. Thirdly, you decide what what are you going to do with that picture. are you going to....., talk about the picture to the rest of the class? are you going to find something about the painter, and tell the rest of the class about that? are you going to speak to the class .. or are you going to write down something. so these are the choices you have (Teacher writes on board) one? talk about each picture, two? agree upon one, and three decide what you're going to do with it and how you're going to present it to the class. we won't finish today, you might get through the first and the second, then we'll continue on Monday.. everything in the group happens in English. everything you say, everything you discuss, everything you write and I want to show you one thing before you start. these are the things we did about the skills, speaking, reading, writing. these were the things you had said we could do when we speak, speak to each other, speak at home, talk to English people answer questions. and I've added this bit....., that you didn't think of, discuss in groups. so that's what we're doing at the moment practicing speaking English

Groupwork starts

Lesson 4 Groupwork 1

- L2: (cough) *er alle de engelskmenn?* ((tr: are they all English?))
L1: OK start.
L2: you!
L1: okay, this is a picture about Inger-Johanne?
L2: who is a teacher.
L1: yeah who is a teacher.
L2: on what... *paa hvilken skole?* ((tr: in what school?))
L1: ((unintelligible 1 sec)) e:r....., she's standing in Spain and walking over to France. in her pocket she has e:r *hva heter det, saan derre* ((tr: what is it called, a such a))
LL: ((unintelligible 3 sec))
L1: *nei slutt!* ((tr: no stop!)) she has....., a program....., about e:r things to see in France.
L2: the sights.
L1: ehm she's saying *bonjour tout le monde, ca va.* ((tr: hello everybody, how are you)) (French) I don't know what that means but yeah. ehm on the=
L3: =(unintelligible 1 sec))
L1: *ja* ((tr: yes)) ((unintelligible 4 sec))
LL: no.
L1: the painter is my dad....., and he is e:r he is making a lot of paintings.
L2: you Knut-Ivar?
L3: oh no! okay my picture is called....., "the scream"....., it's about a girl standing on....., a bridge e:r and scream. there are two man....., mans in the back e:r background. the painter has tried to describe her anger and a feeling, the scream.
L1: to scream.
L3: *heter det to scream? det heter the scream.the scream. skriket. the scream.* ((tr: is it to scream? it is called The Scream. the scream))
L1: ja ja men to scream. for aa faa skreket ((tr: yes yes but to scream. to be able to scream))
L3: *du vet vel at det er en av Norges mest beroemte*= ((tr: you must know that it is one of Norways most famous))=
L1: *snakk naa paa engelsk!* ((tr: speak English!))
L3: =yeah the painter is one of the most famous painters in Norway. he's called e:r his name is Edward Munch.
L1: ((unintelligible 4 sec))
L4: it's a picture of a girl who stand in a water on a whole big bowl. that bowl is e:r green, red and white.
L1: ((unintelligible 4 sec))
L4: I don't know whose painting ((unintelligible 3 sec))
L3: what sort of name?
L2: my picture is e:r of Santa Claus standing on a beach. he got he got his dog beside him and two small people walking,
L1: *er det ikke dukker?* ((tr: isn't it dolls?))
L2: *oj.* ((tr: oh))
L1: dolls.

L2: dolls, one with a [surp] e:r surfboard and one with a beachball. e:r there are some birds flying in the background and you can see the sea.
 L1: e:r what painting are we going to take?
 L3: yours!
 L2: *oj?* ((tr: oh?))
 L3: Andreas'.
 L1: mine? *ja* ((tr: yes))
 L2: the painter is Tom.
 L1: *hae?* ((tr: what?))
 L3: Browning.
 L2: Browning!
 L3: something like that. yeah okay we decide=
 L1: shall we take my painting?
 L3: we take that picture. the picture of Inger-Johanne. we're gonna take take the picture of Inger-Johanne.=
 L2: *=no filmer han dokker* ((tr: he is filming you now))
 L3: *han filmer deg og* ((tr: he is filming you too))
 L2: *det kan han ikkje gjoer* ((tr: he can't do that))
 LL: ((unintelligible 3 sec))
 L2: okay....., what the fuck are we gonna do?
 L3: (laugh) okay.
 L1: e:r
 L3: what are we gonna do then?
 L2: we can discuss the picture=
 L1: =shall we take my picture?
 L3: yes.
 L2: yes.
 L3: we can find about the writer e the painter, that's gonna be very easy.
 L2: the father to Andreas.
 L1: yes.
 L3: Morten.
 L2: the father's name is Morten.
 L3: okay....., how e:r
 L1: decide what to do.
 L3: which way are we gonna do?=
 L1: =present it?
 L3: yes....., *nei* ((tr: no)) present it.=
 L1: =we say it to the class.
 L2: we can talk about it in the class.
 L1: yeah talk about it to the class.
 L3: yeah and tell about the picture, then the painter.
 L1: yeah.
 L3: but then we're finished?
 L1: e:r....., do we got to write about it?
 L2: I don't think so.
 L3: we should write about why we picked that picture.
 L1: okay we picked it because=
 L3: =it's easy.
 L2: it's the most dumbest teacher.

L3: hey you should write it in your rough notebooks!
 L2: I don't want to write.
 L1: oh do we need to write everyone?
 L2: I don't wanna write no more, you do! (5 sec)
 L3: why do youf....., why did=
 L1: why did we take the picture?
 L3: =did we take the picture?
 L1: oh everyone going to write?
 L2: no just one of us!
 L3: yes all of us!=
 L2: =one of us!=
 L3: =all of us!
 L1: why?
 L2: we can write=
 L3: because it's easier to know something about the painter.
 L2: =afterwards.
 L1: we know about the painter.
 L2: and we know about the person on the....., on the picture, the painting,
 picture-painting.
 L1: painting-picture.
 L2: painting-picture.
 L3: can you visit the the e:r in York?
 L2: what?
 L3: can you visit *det der greiene i York?* ((tr: that thing in York?))
 L1: *ja.* ((tr: yes))
 L3: ((unintelligible 3 sec))
 L1: *jeg har aldri vaert der* ((tr: I have never been there))
 L3: *har du ikke det? eg syntes du sa en gang du var der eg* ((tr: haven't you? I thought
 you mentioned you'd been there))
 L1: *nei* ((tr: no))
 L2: we know about the person who wrote=
 L1: do everyone got to write?
 L2: =paint the painting and=
 T: =are you writing down your reasons?
 L2: no, and we know about the person on the picture.
 T: sounds good. it would be best if everybody wrote it=
 L2: yeah but..
 T: =because if one of you is ill at least two of you=
 L2: =we we could write it afterwards=
 T: good!
 L2: =when there's no microphone.
 T: (laughs)
 L1: (laugh) and that you are saying just in the microphone.
 L2: and that didn't ((unintelligible 5 sec))
 L1: that's whispering.
 L2: fuck you!
 LL: (laugh)
 L2: suck my dick!
 L1: we heard you.

L2: the English people have to know, *kva er det det skal brukes til? England. skal denne tilbake til England denne her?* ((tr: what is it going to be used for? England. is this going back to England?))

L1: yes.

L3: yes York.=

L2: =hello English people!

L1: hello my name is Andreas.

L2: my name is Michel.

L1: and I'm coming from Norway.

L2: I'm coming from Denmark.

L3: you're gonna look stupid at the movie.

L2: I hate.

L3: ((unintelligible 1 sec))

L1: Kenneth Kenneth, two people should write.

L2: two people.

L1: because if one of us was ill,

L3: what about both was ill? then there gonna be problem.

L2: then we've got'em.

L1: fuck off!

L2: fuck off man! sucking ((unintelligible 1 sec))

L3: ((unintelligible 1 sec))

L1: I just hope that not (Teacher's name) is going to hear this.

L2: (Teacher's name) are you gonna hear it? I don't think so. *du, kommer (Teacher's name) til aa hoere kassetten?*((tr: hey, is (Teacher's name) going to hear the tape?))

L: ((unintelligible 1 sec))

L2: shit!

L3: oops!

LL: (laugh)

L1: sorry sorry sorry. I'm sorry!

L2: (laugh) we didn't say anything.

L1: it was Knut-ivar!

L2: it was it was Kenneth!

L3: me?

L2: no it was Tone!....., no names allowed on this tape please.

L3: biip.=

L2: =remain silent!

L1: my name is biip.=

L3: =biip.

LL: (laugh)

L2: we have to work now.

L3: fyeah.

L2: they can write we can talk (4 sec)

L3: you write!

L2: hello papa....., I don't wanna look at that motherfucker ey (laugh).

LL: biip.

L1: you've got both the camera and the=

L2: =yeah I don't I know.

L1: is it much=

L2: =*koffor skal (Teacher's name) hoere tapen?* ((tr: why is (Teacher's name) going to listen to the tape?))

L3: *slutt da Kenneth!* ((tr: stop now Kenneth!))

L2: *koffor skal (Teacher's name) e:r=* ((tr: why is (Teacher's name) e:r))

T: =I want to hear how you work.

L1: oh shit!

L2: *shit! da maa dokker sensurere nokke.* ((tr: then you have to censor something))

L3: Michel har vaert litt for loesmunnet ((tr: Michel has had a too big mouth))

L2: I have I haven't talked about=

L1: I'm an angel.

L2: =any nasty things.

L3: okay now we're going to this right painting....., and I write. *du og!* ((tr: you too!))

L1: it's the painting is about Inger-Johanne.=

L4: =*hei (Teacher's name), skal du se filmen og?* ((tr: hey (Teacher's name), are you going to watch the film as well?))

T: Yes I'm going to see it.

L4: oh.

LL: (laugh) oh shit

L2: *fuck. den maa dokker og sensurere. eller skal dokker se paa den og?* ((tr: you have to censor it too. or are you going to watch that as well?))

L3: ((unintelligible 5 sec)) okay.

L1: that is a teacher.

L3: who's a teacher.

L1: yeah who's a teacher.

L2: you write!

L3: *du og!* ((tr: you too!))

L2: no go to hell!

L1: *begge maa skrive!* ((tr: both of you have to write!))

L2: why should I write? you can write!=

L1: =who's a teacher=

L2: =there's nobody is gonna listen to it=

L3: right.

L2: =just me.((unintelligible 1 sec))

L3: *slaa deg ned!* ((tr: sit down!))

L2: I'm a little disappointed

L3: du Michel ((unintelligible 3 sec))

L1: e:r the teacher ((unintelligible 1 sec))

L2: *kan vi og faa se den filmen da?* ((tr: can we watch that film as well then?))

L3: who's a teacher

L2: fuck!

L1: it's painted=

L2: biip

L1: =it's painted=

L3: by Andreas' father.

L1: =*nei da,* ((tr: no)) it's painted no, it's painted

L2: =by Morten.

L3: painted.

L1: because.

L2: *aa ja* ((tr: okay))

L3: because.
 L1: e:r....., because she had a class of French group?
 L3: French group?
 L1: who=
 L3: =where where?=
 L1: =no who went to=
 L3: in the
 L1: =France.
 L3: in the group your sister where=
 L1: =yeah my sister was=
 L2: ((unintelligible 5 sec))
 L1: =my sister was in the group.
 L3: Andreas....., sister went *eller* ((tr: or)) was?
 L1: was.
 L2: (burp)
 L3: was in the=
 L1: =group.=
 L2: (laugh)
 L3: =group?
 L1: e:r and....., my father e:r Andreas' father.....
 L2: oh shit!
 L3: I forgot that
 L1: and Andreas' father=
 L3: =and=
 L2: =I love you baby=
 L3: =Andreas'=
 L1: =father.
 L3: father, *er det Andreas's eller Andreas?* ((tr: is it Andreas's or Andreas' ?))
 L1: =*nei det blir Andreas'*((tr: no it will be Andreas'))
 L3: Andreas' father=
 L1: =painted it. (6 sec)
 L3: she is standing in the middle of nowhere.
 L2: she's standing in, where are she standing?
 L1: my father got money from all the other people, *nei samma det vel* ((tr: that doesn't matter)) got money=
 L3: some money *eller bare..* ((tr: or only..))
 L1: =got money....., money from the other=
 L3: students.
 L1: =pupils.
 L3: *naa skriver du Andreas' bok* ((tr: you're writing Andreas' book))
 L1: other yeah, (5 sec)
 T: have you, how far have you got?
 L1: three.
 T: you've decided on the picture, and the reason, so what are you going to do with it?
 L2: *eg trur du maa sensurere denne her kassetten* ((tr: I think you have to censor this tape))=
 L3: =tell about the picture and the painter.
 T: you're going to tell about it? to the class?

LL: yes.
T: are you going to write anything?....., or just talk about it?
L3: e:r write.
T: or maybe you should put down a few words if you're going to talk about it it might help you to have some notes.
L2: *men du, faar vi se filmen? skal den tilbake til England sammen med han?* ((tr: but, can we watch the film as well? is it going back to England with him?)) *ja men saa er det engelske elever faar sett han og da* ((tr: yeah but then English students will be able to see it to then))
L3: *ja.* ((tr: yes.))
L2: *faen!* ((tr: shit!))
L3: (laugh) *de forstaar ikke norsk.* ((tr: they don't understand Norwegian.))
T: oh can you finish and put down on paper what you're going to do and how you're going to do it=
L2: =we he is writing down, we are just talking=
T: =yeah and what is each one of you going to do? is just one person going to talk about this or what?
L3: yes.
L2: I don't know I don't know. Andreas' father.
T: no I'd like I'd like more than one.
L2: I don't I don't know the reason why he painted.
L1: do you know the=
L3: *kva var det vi skulle skrive?* ((tr: what was it we were going to write?))
L1: =*kan du roeverspraaket?* ((tr: do you know the cock-and bull language?))
L2: *nei.* ((tr: no.))
L1: *kan du?* ((tr: do you?))
L2: *koffor koffor malte han daa? koffor malte han daa?* ((tr: then why why did he paint? then why did he paint?))
L1: *han malte fordi* ((tr: he painted it because)) because my sister was in in the group that went to France with her. he painted because my sister was in the group that went to France....., with her. and then he got got money from all the other=
L3: painted it.
L1: =persons who was=
L3: =because.
L2: *skal han bare filme oss akkurat i denne timen ogsaa filme neste gruppe in en annen time?* ((tr: is he going to film us in just this lesson and then film another group in another lesson?))
L1: *nei eg tror han skal filme alle* ((tr: no I think he's going to film everybody))=
L3: =probably not.
L2: *hele klassen?* ((tr: all of the class? the whole class?))
L3: his father has painted....., that's the whole picture. ((unintelligible 2 sec))
L2: *Dumbe du maakkje skrive saa jaevlig!*= ((tr: dumb you mustn't write so fucking terrible!))=
L1: =*men eg har jo alt skreive det* ((tr: but I have already written it)).
L3: *men det har eg stroeket ut.* ((tr: but I have crossed that out)).
L1: *koffor det?* ((tr: why?))
L3: *fordi du alt hadde skrevet det* ((tr: because you had already written it)) (4 sec) ((unintelligible 1 sec))

L1: *e:r kan jo bare skrive det igjen da.* ((tr: e:r can just write that it again then)) she's standing in Spain (15 sec) and are going to walk over the ((unintelligible 1 sec)) *er det det er?* ((tr: is that what it is?))

L3: *nei Pyreneene er det ikke det da?* ((tr: no the Pyrenees isn't it?))

L1: *ja men han gaar jo rett over sjoen da.*((tr: yes but it passes just over the sea)).

L3: *ehm kaspjoniske hav eller nei det kaspiske hav.* ((tr: ehm the [kaspjoniske] ocean no the Caspian ocean)).

L1: ((unintelligible 2 sec))

L3: *ja men det er syv hav.* ((tr: yes but there are seven oceans)). ((unintelligible 1 sec))

L1: oh well just say that she is walking over the the=

LL: ((unintelligible 3 sec))

L1: =walking over the no walking=

L3: she?

L1: =she's walking=

L3: =she is=

L1: =going to France.

L2: is this thing off or is it on?

L1: that?

L2: I don't want I don't want to be on film!

L1: I think it's on. you know why? because it has stood there all the time.

L2: [stu] there stood there.

(L2 examines video camera)

L1: is it lighting?

L2: no it's....., rolling around? just like this.

L1: it was rolling around.

L3: is there a rack for the....., rack?

L1: (laugh)

L1: ((unintelligible 1 sec)) (16 sec)

L3: *kva er det for nokke?* ((tr: what is that?))

L2: Magic Johnson!

LL: ((unintelligible 8 sec))

L1: we've got to show the painting, this is the painting.

L3: I already showed her.

L2: *det kommer snart bare se paa det roede lyset.* ((tr: it's coming soon just watch the red light)).

L1: hello!

L2: (blows on microphone) there was some dirt in the microphone.

L1: now it's gone.

L2: ((unintelligible 4 sec))

L1: she's having a Norwegian=

L2: biip.

L1: =lying in her=

L2: my name is biip biip biip.

L1: =in her, *hva heter veske?* ((tr: what is bag?))=

L3: =bag.

L1: *ja bag* ((tr: yes bag))

L2: biip biip.

L1: and she is holding
 L3: bag and (5 sec) yeah Andreas (5 sec) what are they gonna do?
 L1: e:r I don't know. that's=
 L3: a bag? a hand?
 L1: =and holding a France flag in her hand.
 L3: oh this is a horrible boring time. (6 sec) ey Michel! Andreas! Michel!
 L2: *ja* ((tr: yes))
 L3: ((unintelligible 3 sec))
 L2: *nei* ((tr: no))
 L1: in the background you can see the ((unintelligible 2 sec)) you can see her
 ((unintelligible 1 sec))
 L2: *kva er det hon heter igjen?* ((tr: what's her name again?))
 L3: (Teacher's name).
 L2: (Teacher's name) ? (Teacher's name) *kan eg faa lov til aa gaa paa toalettet?* ((tr: can I go to the toilet please?)) (laugh)
 LL: ((unintelligible 10 sec))
 L2: the unknown man is in front of the camera.
 L1: *skal vi synge en sang? vi synger den derre Fader Jakob!* ((tr: shall we sing a song? let's sing "Frere Jacques"!))
 L2: *hae?* ((tr: what?))
 L1: Fader Jakob.
 L3: no!
 L2: on English, I can't sing that song in English.
 L2: yes.
 L2: no.
 L1: you can!
 L3: how it starts?
 L1: are you sleeping, are you sleeping, brother John, brother John.
 L2: we are supposed to work not sing.
 L1: e:r....., morningbells are ringing morningbells are ringing ding dang dong ding dang dong.
 L2: we are supposed to work not=
 L1: yeah I just got to show how=
 L2: =not sing.
 L1: =how good I am to sing.=
 L3: =you are not good at singing.
 L1: I know.
 L3: you are *elendig* ((tr: awful)) terrible=
 L2: =now he wants to sing a song.
 L1: testing. (laugh)
 L2: one two,
 L1: three four,
 L3: five six. *dagserevyen!* (noise 8 sec) *nei slutt da!* ((tr: news! no stop it!))
 L2: thank you!....., *skal alle i klassen vaere med paa?* ((tr: is everybody in the class going to join the)) ((unintelligible 1 sec))?
 L: (whistling 3 sec) (10 sec)

NOTES:

This group had written the following:

Why did we take the picture? Because it's easy to know about the painter, because it is Andreas' father. The painting is about (teacher's name) who is a teacher on xx school. It's painted because she had a French group. Andreas' father painted it. He got money from the other pupils. He painted it because Andreas' sister was in the group that went to France with her.

Lesson 4 Groupwork 2

- L: I want to tell about the picture.
L4: which picture are they going to choose?
L5: well=
L4: eh this no not this one
L5: = no, let's do it like this
L4: ok,...., no no no no no (unintelligible 7 seconds)
L4: eh:: it's eh:: it's called eh: it's painted eh by ((unintelligible 5 seconds)) and=
L: ((cough))
L: ((unintelligible 3 seconds))
L4: = eh::
L: ((snore))
L: ((unintelligible 3 seconds))
L4: eh: I think it's eh:
LL: ((unintelligible 10 seconds))
L4: ok, eh I think it is eh:: to try
L: ((unintelligible 10 seconds))
L: it is eh *snodigt* ((tr:weird))
L: ((unintelligible 3 seconds))
L4: eh I think it is eh:=
L: ok move it (5 seconds pause)
L4: =I think it is Christ and his mother and eh:: eh:: hm: the Rome or Egypt (5 seconds pause)
L: ((unintelligible 2 seconds))
L4: *Ja::* ((tr: yes)) eh you eh you can see yourself yourself
L5: ok now I'm going to describe my picture
L4: *//yeah//*
L5: this is the pyramid of capitalist system, it's issued by ((unintelligible 5 seconds)) it tells about how the capitalist system was in England in the 18th century,....., and eh: it's subscribed for the industry of worker (5 seconds pause)
L6: are you finished?
L5: yes
L6: ok you can eh: let's have a look at your picture
L: there are two Santa Claus in these pictures, they are trying to (10 seconds pause)
L: ((unintelligible 3 seconds)) Santa Claus
LL: ((unintelligible 15 seconds))
L: *//au!!* ((tr: ouch!))
L: sorry,....., sorry, *det var ikke meningen* ((tr: I didn't mean to))
LL: ((unintelligible 4 seconds))

L: sorry!
 L: ((unintelligible 5 seconds)) (5 seconds pause)
 L4: ok (5 seconds pause) eh ((unintelligible 5 seconds))
 L7: ok, eh:: eh: on my picture there is a lady sitting in a chair=
 L4: chair
 L7: = chair and maybe waiting for ((unintelligible 2 seconds)) she's eh::=
 L: can I look?
 L7: = she's eh; eh: mother and father for (5 seconds pause)-
 L: can I have a look please?
 L7: what?
 L: can I have a look?
 L7: ok
 L: thank you
 L7: ok
 L: then you can just get- ((unintelligible 2 seconds)) that was cool!
 LL: ((laugh 3 seconds))
 L: cool!
 LL: ((laugh 3 seconds))
 L: ok! good eh which picture are eh we gonna eh:
 LL: ((unintelligible 6 seconds))
 L: we take eh one ((unintelligible 7 seconds)) I think we're gonna take eh this this, this
 this is the best
 L: //yes//
 L: this!, who has painted this?
 LL: ((laugh 2 seconds))
 L: ((name of painter))
 T: who is that?
 L: what did he say?
 L: eh ((unintelligible 4 seconds))
 L: I think we're gonna take this
 L8: /yeah// I think I think the same
 L: you wanna say about
 L8: I ah::
 L: talk about it? who's painted it?
 L: ((unintelligible 5 seconds))
 L: is he famous? (5 seconds pause)
 L: is he famous? ((unintelligible 3 seconds))
 L: *nei* ((tr: no))
 L: what's it called?
 L8: eh:: eh: adoration of the:
 T: magi no the magi eh do you know what that is?
 L8: eh *magi*? ((tr: magi))
 T: yes, but what does it really mean? if you look at the picture
 L8: eh it's Jesus Christ
 T: and who is there apart from-
 L8: and eh Maria
 T: Mary /aha//
 L: with her child
 T: and who are the old men?

L8: eh:: our wise men
 T: yes, the three wise men that's the journey of the magi is the three wise men visiting Mary and the baby
 L: ((unintelligible 10 seconds)) and there is a eh: ((unintelligible 3 seconds))
 L: slave
 T: slave
 L: slope, ja eh ((unintelligible 2 seconds)) it's probably on a ((unintelligible 1 second))
 LL: market
 L: //yah// (5 seconds pause)
 T: have the rest of you described yours?
 LL: //yes//
 T: you've been through the whole lot so you've decided on this one?
 LL: //yes//
 T: could you the say something about why you decided on that one
 L8: ok, shall we write it?
 T: yes, that would be-
 L8: eh: write it down ok?
 L: it's the most famous the most famous picture
 L8: the most famous and eh and it's eh eh in- eh interesting
 L: we shall write it down
 L: yeah, but ((unintelligible 2 seconds)) (22 seconds pause with background noise)
 L: but we have to discuss why we choose chosen it
 L: ok! (6 seconds pause)
 L: *husker du ikkje hva det heter da?* ((tr: don't you remember what it is called?))
 T: ((unintelligible 4 seconds)) but speak in English please!
 L: oh, here it is ((unintelligible 2 seconds))
 L: we choose it because it was very ((unintelligible 3 seconds)) famous
 LL: ((laugh 2 seconds))
 L: thank you slave
 L: *den ja!* ((tr: yes, that one!)) ((unintelligible 2 seconds))
 L: ok slave (10 seconds pause)
 L8: chose,...., chosen
 L: we chosen
 L8: *vi-vi valgte eh ikke vi-* ((tr: we chose eh not we-)) this picture because (5 seconds pause)
 L: ((unintelligible 3 seconds))
 L8: eh because eh it looked interesting
 L: how do you spell eh picture?
 L8: what?
 L: ((unintelligible 3 seconds))
 L: picture! picture!
 L8: tell it in Norwegian
 L: ((unintelligible 2 seconds)) picture?
 L8: what picture?
 LL: ((unintelligible 18 seconds))
 L: eh yesterday I was in ((unintelligible 1 second))-
 L: we chose-we chose the picture because it looked it looked interesting out,....,...., eh:: and it's famous (4 seconds pause) eh:: it is ((unintelligible 1 second)) famous,....,...., eh::

(11 seconds pause) and we chose it because eh: (6 seconds pause) and we chose it since (30 seconds pause with background talking)

L: then we're finished?

L: yes! (7 seconds pause)

L: eh because eh,,,,,, ((unintelligible 3 seconds))

L: you must not talk so much eh John!

L: *eh vi er ferdig* ((tr: eh we have finished))

L: we are finished

T: you have finished you aren't quite finished yet I hope! so how are you going to work on this? what are you going to do? if you look at point three decide what to do with it and how to present it to the class

L8: ok

T: so what what do you want to do

L8: we can made eh::=

L: we can made- we can make

L8: = we can make oh eh now eh now we eh we work about it and eh and so we eh::=

L: a po- poster

L8: = eh n-no we wrote about it and so we we can't cut it out of the book

L: yes we can

L8: no we can't

LL: ((unintelligible 8 seconds))

L: you can't speak English you know

L9: copy! c-o-p-y

L9: we can-we can copy can't we?

LL: ((unintelligible 7 seconds))

L: *ja* ((tr: yes))

L: *kan dra paa jobben til min far* ((tr: we can go to my dad's work))

L: do you have to speak so much? (5 seconds pause)

L9: can't we sleep here? (14 seconds pause)

L9: I must lay it down again (12 seconds pause)

L: don't do that Petter!

L: ok, shall we write about this picture now?

LL: ///yeah///

L: ((unintelligible 5 seconds))

L: *eg bestemmer* (tr: I'm in charge) ((unintelligible 2 seconds)) speak Norwegian ((unintelligible 1 second)) I'm in charge

L9: we we can write eh about what we are seeing *eller-* ((tr: or))

L: *ja* ((tr: yes)) and so we talk about-

L: that's 2000 years ago

LL: ((unintelligible 2 seconds))

L8: that's a good idea we write we write of the book

L: yes

L: ok

L8: yeah, but eh

L: just do that you

L: oh are you crazy!

L8: yeah eh yeah-

LL: ((unintelligible 5 seconds))

L8: eh everybody don't need to write this down just one or two

L: ok
 L: ok you can write it
 L8: no, no we're going to have *loddtrekning* ((tr: random selection))
 LL: ((laugh))
 L: we can *stemme* ((tr: vote)) ..., we vote *heter det* ((tr: it's called))
 LL: ((unintelligible 3 seconds))
 L: I'm gonna vote for Petter is anybody with me? yes! Raise your hand please, Petter you're gonna write all about it!
 L8: we shouldn't write Petter it was your idea!
 L: ((unintelligible 6 seconds))
 L: what's the problem?
 L: you're the problem, you are gonna write it one of the sentence each
 L: no, no way
 L: yes!
 L: no way
 L8: why not?
 L: it's about hundred sentences here
 L: no just eh-
 L: about hundred sentences ((unintelligible 3 seconds))
 LL: ((unintelligible 11 seconds))
 L: is somebody who *stemmer for det*? ((tr: vote for that))
 L: No!
 LL: ((laugh background talking 5 seconds))
 L: no sir!
 L: ((unintelligible 5 seconds))
 L: we can just read from this on the cathedral
 L: *ja!* ((tr: yes!)) ((unintelligible 2 seconds))
 L: no, I won't
 LL: ((unintelligible 3 seconds))
 L: what what are we gonna do?
 L: one sentence each
 L: no, we one of us can read this=
 L: alone
 L: = loud!
 T: maybe you should rewrite it because it's a little bit difficult it gets a you know what it's like ((unintelligible 2 seconds)) something you don't quite understand,..., so it might be an idea either to tell it to the class when you have read it or rewrite it in a slightly easier language that people will understand or make a transparency an OHT or anything
 TLL: ((unintelligible 4 seconds))
 T: eh:: I think you should rewrite it so that it becomes a bit easier is it easy enough for you to read?
 L: *ja:: jo::* ((tr: yes yes)) ((unintelligible 2 seconds))
 L: if you had a *mikroskop* ((tr: microscope))
 T: it's a little bit difficult. Maybe if that's what you want to do I think you should rewrite it or just retell it because it is a little bit difficult.
 T: some things that you find interesting (12 seconds pause with a bit of background talking)
 T: could you write that down please so you can ask me and yes I will copy it

L: ok (7 seconds pause with background talking)
 T: just leave the bookmark in in the book and I'll do it
 T: what do you mean?
 L: ((unintelligible 1 sec)) *skrive det ned her* ((tr: write it down here))
 T: if you just leave the mark in the book then say copy on it and I'll do it for you
 L8: ok, yes, just
 LL: no no no no
 L8: no, no no we just write copy ((unintelligible 4 sec with background talking))
 L: you must tell eh: which of this you shall ((unintelligible 2 sec))
 L: she wouldn't just copy bits!
 L: yes she would
 L: it hears like you're a rapper, no no no no no ((rapping))
 LL: ((laugh 2 sec))
 L: sounds like you're a rapper man,....
 L: slave
 L: kiss my fingers (9 seconds pause)
 L: why don't you speak English all the time?
 L: yeah why don't you?
 L: hurt my slave
 L: what? wh- wha ((rapping)) ((laugh 2 seconds)) what are you saying Peter? (10 sec pause)
 L: ((unintelligible 2 sec)) Bjorn?
 L: copy! ok we write copy here
 L: ok, we're finished, game over man,....
 L: ((unintelligible 2 seconds)) turn it off
 L: ((unintelligible 2 seconds))
 L: can we turn it off when we're ((unintelligible 2 seconds)) (4 seconds pause)
 L: no:: we shouldn't turn it off
 L: we can eh speak a little more....., to each other
 L: //yeah//
 L: what can we speak about?
 L: I wanna speak about my new bicycle
 L: //yes//
 L: it's so good to drive with you know (5 seconds pause)
 L: it got=
 L: how much it costs
 L: =21 gears it cost eh three thousand: four hundred kroners (9 seconds pause with background talking)
 L: eh:: the tape, maybe
 L: I don't think so,
 L: don't do it! (5 seconds pause)
 L: ok (4 seconds pause)
 L: we don't wanna talk about your bicycle
 L: no
 LL: ///yes!!!
 LL: ((unintelligible 10 seconds))
 L: *hvis laereren vil det* ((tr: if the teacher wants to)) ((unintelligible 2 seconds))
 LL: ((unintelligible 12 seconds))
 L: I hope so

L: I I too (4 seconds pause)
 L: you are ashamed ((unintelligible 1 second))
 L: no don't do that Michel
 LL: ((unintelligible 2 seconds))
 L: Michel, don't touch this!
 LL: ((laugh))
 L: Miche::l!
 L: get to your own-
 L: open your eyes
 LL: ((unintelligible 2 seconds))
 L: step away! step away!
 L: hey you've got a big mike!
 L: shut up Andrea! (7 seconds with background talking)
 L: you know it's not so very much fun in this school you know,...., it's very boring at this school
 L: ((unintelligible 3 seconds))
 L: shut up! shut up! you stupid idiot!....., shut up!
 L: ((unintelligible 2 seconds))
 L: it's cool to be an English boy!
 L: yes
 L: yes
 L: I I have=
 LL: ((unintelligible 2 seconds))
 L: = *det* ((tr: that)) when you are Norwegian
 L: because eh: you know I don't have very much to talk about now you know= (4 seconds pause)
 L: = when you are a English boy you can learn-
 L: you know I don't have room in my Porsche right now you know
 L: no!
 L: you know what I mean? I mean,... you know,...., you know what I mean,...., I mean,..., I mean,..., you know, you know I'm from the USA you know,...., you know what I mean I mean,...., I mean,... you know
 L: you're not American,...., we're English people!
 LL: /// no, we're Americans///
 L: the Americans speak like like this (4 seconds pause)
 L: and the British ((unintelligible 1 sec))
 L: you can sing the Beatles
 T: how far have you got?
 L: *ja vi*: ((tr: yes we))
 L: we are finished
 L: *vi har kommet til* ((tr: we have gotten to))
 L: we are talking about eh stupid things
 T: you've come to the problem stage,...., hm
 L: what can we do now?
 T: so have you written down what you're going to do?
 L: yeah
 L: no
 L: we are supposed to do it right now
 L: *ja, altsaa* ((tr: yes, but))

TL: ((unintelligible 3 seconds))
 L: and show us the picture
 T: show the picture, then talk about the text to the class are you going to say anything about the painter?
 L: yeah: a little bit
 L: it eh I think it's
 L: we don't know so much about the painter
 T: there's a little bit there,..., you could also look it up in a dictionary he's a famous painter (6 seconds pause)
 L: ((unintelligible 2 seconds)) ok first we're gonna:-
 T: maybe you should start on the work itself? (4 seconds pause) you decide what to do with it
 L: (5 seconds pause)
 L: *er det engelsk?* ((tr: is it English))
 L: *ja det er engelsk* ((tr: yes it is English))
 L: yes it's English
 L: but ((unintelligible 2 seconds)) we're gonna eh re rewrite
 LL: ((unintelligible 5 seconds))
 L: first we:: we're gonna copy it (4 seconds pause) ((unintelligible 1 second)) copy
,
 L: so we gonna?
 L: eh rewrite it

Lesson 4 Groupwork 3 starts

T: ((unintelligible 2 sec)) that one, you can choose one of these
 LL: ((unintelligible 3 sec))
 T: choose one, before you start, just make a quick decision upon one, huh? you want a book from me or what do you choose?
 L: we can ((unintelligible 3 sec))
 T: well then maybe you should choose a different one that's easier? but you can say something about it and then you can choose a different one in the book
 L: ok
 L: ((unintelligible 3 sec)) in the book ((laugh))
 LL: ((laugh))
 T: choose one in here they're rather strange but you can say something (4 sec pause)
 LL: ((laugh)) (18 sec pause with laughing in the background)
 L: ((unintelligible 2 sec))
 L: talk about your own picture ..., ok?
 LL: ((unintelligible 4 sec)) (students look at pictures)
 L: that's very nice
 L: yeah! yes this one but your picture? ..., let me look at that!, oh!
 LL: ((laugh))
 L: eh:
 L: very
 L: ((unintelligible 3 sec)) (12 sec pause with some background talking)
 L: I write about my picture

L: eh we should talk about it
L: we should talk about it later ok you can you can talk
LL: ((unintelligible 3 sec))
L: this is a pic- eh very old picture ((unintelligible 2 sec)) ((laugh)) ((unintelligible 2 sec)) and, yeah ..., and in, it's from 1896, and so it's very old, and, eh: and that one who painted it it is ((unintelligible 2 sec))..., ((unintelligible 2 sec)) ..., and, yeah! and it's ..., very nice, it's a man and a woman with a little baby
LL: the mother
L: *eg saa det ikkje* ((tr: I didn't see it))
LL: ((laugh 6 sec))
L: ok, ((unintelligible 3 sec)) this picture about eh some house and eh trees and eh ((unintelligible 5 sec))
L: ((unintelligible 2 sec))
L: this is a sick picture and I can't figure it out
L: what picture will you write about?
LL: ((unintelligible 5 sec))
L: I don't know, this I think because ((unintelligible 3 sec))
L: ((laugh))
L: a tree a table a very strange picture
L: it's so cool! a Dali picture (8 sec pause with background talking)
L: ok
L: ok
L: too high ((unintelligible 1 sec))
L: ((unintelligible 2 sec)) picture
L: yeah, that's very difficult
L: we don't take yours, we don't take mine-
L: we don't take mine
L: we can take ((laugh))
L: actually, if we look-
L: what should we write?
L: ((unintelligible 5 sec)) ((laugh))
L: ok, we take eh:, we can take that
L: but this is very interesting picture to talk about
L: yeah, shall we take that?
L: eh here is the, ((unintelligible 2 sec))
L: the picture (5 sec pause)
L: we don't take mine? (5 sec pause)
L: ok!, we take this one?
L: *ja* ((tr:yes))
L: ((unintelligible 2 sec))
L: *ken som har mala?* ((tr: who painted it))
L: what?, ((laugh)) what did you say?
L: what shall we write about the painter?
L: eh:-
L: I don't know I don't know
LL: ((unintelligible 4 sec))
L: I don't know if it's it's a man or some woman (10 sec pause)
L: the other ((unintelligible 2 sec)) talk about one

L: ((unintelligible 2 sec))
 L: what?
 L: eh:-
 L: are there ((unintelligible 1 sec))?
 L: I think we've been eh:
 L: I think we have to hurry
 L: ((unintelligible 4 sec))
 L: what? ..., what did you say?
 L: ((unintelligible 6 sec))
 L: ((laugh)) you have to talk in English
 L: ok, what shall we do next? (5 sec pause)
 L: Ragnhild
 L: Ragnhild! ((laugh))
 L: Ragnhild ((laugh)) *det var en stilig* ((tr: that was cool)) ((unintelligible 2 sec)) ...,
 Ragnhild ((laugh))
 L: you don't have to take up your hand
 L: what?
 L: don' t take up your hand
 L: why?
 L: hands are fantastic
 L: huh ..., ok
 L: don't take up your hand! ((laugh))
 LL: ((laugh))
 L: ok, what picture shall we choose?
 L: eh yeah ..., we take this one ok?
 L: yeah, ok, we take this one
 LL: ((unintelligible 2 sec))
 L: the other one was boring ..., ok?
 L: I don't-
 L: do you wanna take that picture?
 L: no, not really
 L: what do you- what picture-
 L: I wanna ((unintelligible 5 sec)) that's a nice one
 L: ok, find one
 L: this is very interesting to talk about
 L: but eh: ..., bad picture it's not easy to talk about
 L: ((laugh)) ((unintelligible 2 sec))
 L: I don't know that ((unintelligible 3 sec)) talk about it
 LL: ///yeah///
 L: so we choose choose yours?
 L: *ja* ((tr:yes))
 L: ((unintelligible 3 sec))
 L: yeah!, what? (5 sec pause)
 L: I'm not I'm not much ((unintelligible 4 sec))
 L: ok
 L: ok
 L: yeah, we find our picture, that's very:=
 L: ((laugh))
 L: =that's a cool picture!

L: ((laugh))
 L: ((laugh)) I agree. we have to choose one of them.
 L: we help you
 L: ok
 L: what eh picture did you pick?
 L: can't hear you
 L: talk too loud
 L: ((unintelligible 2 sec))
 L: ((laugh)) ..., it doesn't matter (10 sec pause with background talking)
 L: look very funny you know
 L: yeah ((unintelligible 3 sec))
 L: can I can I see?
 L: everything we said is English
 L: yeah
 L: yeah,
 L: well, it's about eh the painter-
 LL: ((laugh 12 sec))
 L: ok, ..., ((unintelligible 5 sec))
 LL: ((laugh 6 sec))
 L: I got a *latter krampe* ((tr: laughter cramp))
 LL: ((laugh 3 sec))
 L: what?
 L: I don't know what they say in English
 L: we have to start
 L: I know
 L: we can talk about the painter (10 sec pause)
 L: ok, which picture? (8 sec pause)
 L: ((unintelligible 2 sec))
 L: that's a very cool one
 LL: ((laugh))
 L: yeah, I think that too (8 sec pause)
 L: I like this
 L: yeah, that's a good picture I think
 L: I think so
 L: ok, what picture shall we choose?
 L: I don't know
 L: this is really boring
 L: yeah
 L: that's a good one ..., I think so
 L: yeah
 L: yeah
 L: ok, ..., can can so- somebody ..., find out something?
 L: we we close my eyes and take my ((unintelligible 2 sec)) ((laugh))
 L: yeah, you're right=
 L: ((laugh)) your hand is kind of going to -, yeah ((unintelligible 2 sec))
 L: yeah
 L: shit!
 L: ok, we have to ((laugh)) find a decent picture
 L: ((unintelligible 2 sec))

L: ((unintelligible 1 sec)) we have to pick
 L: listen to me=
 L: ((unintelligible 1 sec))
 L: = we have this at home you know
 L: cool!
 L: ok, and we'll write write about the painter
 LL: ((unintelligible 2 sec))
 L: we don't have to-
 L: we don't have to write about the- take this picture ok?
 L: if we write about=
 L: everybody agreed that=
 L: =the painter we can write-
 L: = you have to agree with me you know
 L: we don't have to write anything about the painter anyway you know
 L: yeah
 LL: ((laugh)) (10 sec pause)
 L: ((unintelligible 2 sec))
 LL: ((laugh)) (5 sec pause)
 L: ((unintelligible 2 sec))
 L: I don't know what to do with this
 T: ((unintelligible 2 sec)) gonna do about it?
 L: eh no
 L: we don't know
 T: you don't know yet? (4 sec pause)
 T: but you can pick out between yourself each and one of you, which which picture did you choose? yourself
 LL: ((unintelligible 3 sec))
 L: several
 T: no, ((unintelligible 2 sec))
 L: oh
 L: this is one, this one or, *det var denne sant?* ((tr: it was this one right?))
 L: *her er jo* ((tr: here is)) ((unintelligible 1 sec))
 L: or this one
 T: why?
 L: I don't know=
 LL: ((unintelligible 2 sec))
 L: = it's a fun picture
 T: because it is it's special?
 LL: ///yeah///
 L: there are only special pictures
 LL: ((laugh))
 L: ((unintelligible 2 sec))
 T: have you described it? (unintelligible 15 sec)
 L: ok, you have to talk English now
 LL: ((unintelligible 4 sec))
 L: ok, shall we take a funny picture or boring picture or a-
 L: ((unintelligible 4 sec))
 L: ok, ugly picture, do you agree with her ugly picture?
 L: as long as we can talk about it

L: ok ugly picture ((unintelligible 4 sec))
 LL: ((unintelligible 5 sec))
 L: funny picture, boring picture, a-
 L: a funny, funny picture
 L: a funny picture
 LL: ((unintelligible 3 sec))
 L: as long as we can talk about it
 L: this is that a very funny picture I think
 L: yeah
 L: ok (3 sec pause)
 L: it's what?
 LL: ((laugh))
 L: ((unintelligible 4 sec))
 L: maybe he was sad when he painted it
 L: yeah, maybe
 LL: ((unintelligible and laughter 25 sec))
 L: midnight sun I think
 L: yes, maybe, he's maybe a ((unintelligible 1 sec))
 L: ((laugh))....., what is that?
 LL: ((unintelligible 5 sec))
 L: no it's a diving-
 L: and what's that?
 LL: ((unintelligible and laughter 4 sec))
 L: no we don't take this picture, I don't understand it
 LL: ((laugh))
 L: it's very special
 L: ok, ok, we have to take a cool picture ok?, no, that's a boring picture,
 I think there was=
 L: I'm sorry
 L: =very very boring pictures
 L: ok, we take this one I think it's funny eh: boring and eh:: ugly and eh:: and-
 L: this is very sweet.
 L: this is about a sad girl
 LL: where is that?
 L: I don't know
 L: it's some eh:: ((unintelligible 1 sec)) and=
 TLL: ((unintelligible 3 sec))
 L: =and this here is a lovely white house with a nice garden
 L: lovely? eh:? gar.den
 LL: ((unintelligible and laughter for 10 sec))
 L: ok, we have to find a very funny picture I think, so we can can laugh of it ok,
 now we're just crying you know
 L: that's ((unintelligible 1 sec))
 L: I shall find a very funny picture
 L: oh!
 L: ok ((unintelligible 2 sec))
 L: very, oh! this is funny no, I am kidding
 L: oh! that's a very a very important picture I think
 L: you think?

L: I I think-
 L: I don't think so
 LL: ((unintelligible 3 sec))
 L: oh! this is good! this is good
 LL: oh this is a black man who is eating a diamond
 L: see you behind that picture ..., that picture (5 sec pause with background talking)
 L: oh! this is a good picture I think ..., here!
 LL: ((unintelligible 2 sec))
 L: ((unintelligible 1 sec)) disappearing I think (3 sec pause)
 L: yeah I don't wanna- we are almost finished ((unintelligible 2 sec))
 L: we have to hurry you know
 L: yeah
 L: we take this one
 L: this *eh hva heter dette?* ((tr: what is this called?))
 LL: ((laugh 3 sec))
 L: ok
 L: ((unintelligible 3 sec))
 L: it's a it's a pin
 LL: ((unintelligible 5 sec))
 L: you have to sing you know
 L: lalalala ((singing))
 LL: ((laugh))
 L: ok no I don't wanna sing, I can't sing
 L: ((unintelligible 2 sec)) you know
 L: but eh what shall we do now?
 L: go home and eat more food
 L: yeah, I agree with you
 L: yeah, I'm hungry
 L: wov, that's bad
 L: oh! she was pretty
 L: oh! very pretty, look at her!
 L: oh, just as pretty as I am
 L: oh!
 L: oh! that's a good picture
 LL: ((unintelligible 2 sec))
 L: no no no come on
 L: try try to eh:-
 L: somebody is getting ((unintelligible 1 sec)) (10 sec with background talking)

All Groupwork finishes: teacher addresses whole class

T: could you all stop working for a bit and listen. Everybody that is OK. I'd like you ...
 you had a question. I'll answer that first.
 L: first we're going to copy and rewrite it. then we're going to present the painting to the
 class.

T: OK. I would like you to tell me now how far you've got, what you have done and what you're going to do! =

L2: =are we finished? =

T: =because I have to know and plan the next bit. could you tell me what you have done?, Kristine, could you tell me what picture you've decided on and what you're going to do?

L5: we have written a little about e:r written about Ophelia.

T: mhm? so that's one of the paintings in your book?

L5: yeah.

T: mhm? and what are you going to do with it?

L5: write about it

T: you're going to write and then....., how are you going to present it?

L5: I don't know.

T: you don't know. could you decide on that as well and then write down what you're going to do. OK, what about you?

L1: e:r we have take

L3: we have decided what picture we're gonna write about.

T: and which one is this?

L1: it's about Inger-Johanne.

L3: Andreas =

T: =good, and what are you going to do?

L3: we're gonna write about the painting and the painter.

T: you know something about the painter? OK so you're going to present him to the rest of the class. Are you going to write or talk or what?

L1: we're going to talk about the painter.

T: mhm. write something down first and then =

L1: =yeah. write something first

T: and have you managed to get everybody in the group to do something? or have they left all the work to you?

L1: no. everybody is going to talk.

T: good. mhm. what about you?

L6: so we're going to cut this picture to the class and so we're going to tell them something about the picture and the painter.

T: mhm. and you're going to talk about it to the class.

L6: yeah. or we're going to copy this facts and rewrite it.

T: =rewrite the text?

L6: so it's easier to understand and so we're going to tell that and rewrite for the class

T: yes I think I can say it's important that you tell the class rather than read it to them because that is always a little bit difficult. but reading it and then rewriting it and then talking I think will be a good thing very sensible =

L2: =((unintelligible 3 sec))

T: OK. why did you choose that picture?

L6: because it looked interesting and it's a famous

T: fine. we can talk more about what type of painting it is when you've presented it. and what about you? you have problems, we do that afterwards. you decided on one? what was the main problem finding to find which one to do?

L: they were all just as bad.

T: they were all just as bad. this was the book I gave you which is a book about Salvador Dali. what about the ones you had yourselves. did you like them?

- L: no terrible.
- T: OK then eventually you decided. why did you decide on one of those?
- L: because it's funny.
- T: maybe you could read a little bit about him as well, would teach you a little bit about famous painters and ((unintelligible 3 sec)). what are you going to do with it?
- L: ((unintelligible 11 sec))
- T: could I just ask you one thing because we've done groupwork and presented it to the class many times before, and the difficult bit is once you have said what you want to say....., to make the class listen to what you say....., so could you think of ways to make them listen. are you going to ask them some questions? what other things could you do to make them listen? (5 sec) do you have any idea? (4 sec) yes.
- L: we could ask them about er what the picture's about.
- T: yes then it's easy enough to make them talk. you're right it's a good idea because then they would have to say something for a start. they'd have to look at the painting and they would have to say something, and they couldn't say that's too difficult or we can't guess, because everybody can say something about what they see. you could ask questions, you could write questions in advance....., so you can handout something....., or you could even=
- L2: =*det var no man skulle ha veltet paa stolen.* ((tr: this is when one should have fallen off the chair))
- T: =we could even think about.. turn that off please! you could even think of presenting things in groups so that one person from this group moves across to the next group and talks about....., the picture. that's one way of doing it. could you think of this until Monday so that we know how exactly it's going to be done and how you're going to work....., and....., the most difficult thing; the presentation. because it's important that you all learn something from this. and what can be learnt? what can you learn apart from what you've already done. what have we learnt so far?
- L: learnt more about paintings and famous painters=
- T: =yes we you might have learnt something about famous painters like Andreas' father (laugh) and Salvador Dali e:r but you must have learnt something else as well (3 sec) to describe pictures. what else?
- L: the story of the picture.
- L2: *kva for knapp trykke me paa?* ((tr: what button do we press?))
- L3: ((unintelligible 1 sec))
- T: the story of the picture right, that there is a story behind this painting.
- L2: mother=
- T: =what have you actually done while you've been learning? (3 sec) what has happened in the group? what have you been doing? Kristine?
- L4: we have been speak English to each other.
- T: yes you've spoken English as well to each other and of course you've learnt from speaking English as well. the next stage for some of you is writing so there's a bit to learn from that too. could you go on and work until the lesson is over?

Groupwork continues for a few minutes until the end of the lesson

Lesson 5

A 45 minute lesson with a class of about 24 barneskole 4th grade pupils aged 9-10 years.

T: what you need for this lesson is this book and your writing book. no we're not going to open this book yet later in the lesson we are going to use it and now say hello to er to my English colleague

LL: hello

Paul: hello

T: do you know what his name is?

LL: Paul

Paul: yes my name is Paul

T: do you know anyone whose name is Paul? Have you heard that name before?

LL: yes

T: I think you have his name is Paul and he comes.... hello (student walks through the door)..... we have an Englishman now his name is Paul (2 secs) and he comes all the way from England .. from York. I have told you before that I was in York last summer and he is now going to visit our class and our school we are very lucky to have him here aren't we?

LL: yes

T: he is now going to video record our lesson and then you are going to be very very clever and very very quiet they know what quiet is now because I have had to use that word many many times (10 secs) Now I want everybody to listen to me and when I say you are going to say after me you are going to say what I say..

T: I've got a lamp a lamp say after me I've got a lamp

LL: I've got a lamp

T: I've got a glass a glass say after me I've got a glass

LL: I've got a glass

T: I've got a vase a vase say after me I've got a vase

LL: I've got a vase

T: I've got a radio a radio say after me I've got a radio

LL: I've got a radio

T: I've got a telephone a telephone say after me I've got a telephone

LL: I've got a telephone

T: I've got a hammer a hammer say after me I've got a hammer

LL: I've got a hammer

T: I've got a book a book say after me I've got a book

LL: I've got a book

T: I've got a pen a pen say after me I've got a pen

LL: I've got a pen

T: I've got a belt a belt say after me I've got a belt

LL: I've got a belt

T: I've got a trumpet a trumpet say after me I've got a trumpet

LL: I've got a trumpet

T: I've got a sofa a sofa say after me I've got a sofa

LL: I've got a sofa

T: very good and now I need Kjartan and Elge.. can you come up to me please and can you give each one a sheet?
L: sheet?
T: sheet of paper

(LL hand out sheets)

T: now again....., listen to me....., I've got a lamp
LL: I've=
T: what
LL: =I've got a lamp
T: don't repeat now, don't say after me now. I I say it and you and you just listen. I've got a lamp. what have you got?....., raise your hands. what have you got Eirik?
L1: e:r=
T: =can you say=
L1: =I've got a book.
T: right, fine. I've got a telephone. what have you got?, Trygve.
L2: I've got a hammer.
T: I've got a book? what have you got? Heidi.
L3: I've got a vase.
L: (cough)
T: I've got a trumpet. what have you got Hege?
L4: I've got a radio
T: I've got a sofa. what have you got Jarle?
L5: I've got a belt.
T: fine. I've got a hammer. what have you got Tchessa?
L6: I have got a (unintelligible)
L: (cough)
T: can everybody say I've got.
LL: (the whole class) I've got.
T: fine. I've got a belt.what have you got?....., Kjersti?
L7: hm I've got a telephone
T: I've got a pen. what have you got Hege?
L8: what?
T: I've got a pen. what have you got?
L8: e:r I have got a pencil.
T: good (laugh) ok. I've got a vase. what have you got? (3 sec)
L9: ok. I've got a pencil.
T: very good. I've got a trumpet. what have you got e:r Agny?
L10: I've got a radio.
T: and now you are going to work in pairs. two and two, ask and answer. come on everybody.
L11: I have e:r I have got I've got a radio. ((unintelligible 3 sec))
L12: I have got a....., donkey.
L11: what?
L12: donkey.
L11: I have got ((unintelligible 2 sec))
L12: I, *skal vi se* ((tr: I, let's see))
LL: ((unintelligible 7 sec))

L11: what have you got?
 L12: I've
 LL: ((unintelligible 17 sec))
 T: I've got a piece of paper.
 LL: ((unintelligible 25 sec))
 L11: I've got a lap.
 LL: ((unintelligible 13 sec))
 T: ye:s very good....., and listen to me again. and look at what I've written. I've got a hammer, just listen now have you got a hammer?
 L: yes
 T: raise your hand up. John?
 L13: yes?
 T: I've=
 L13: =I've got a hammer.
 T: you've got a hammer and then you answer, yes I....., yes I have. I've got a belt. have you got a belt Vegard?
 L14: no
 T: you are going to answer only with yes.
 L: yes=
 LL: =I've got/ I have
 T: I have. fine. I've got a trumpet. have you got a trumpet Anne?
 L15: yes I have
 T: I've got a radio. have you got a radio e:r e:r Alvin?
 L16: yes I have.
 T: I've got a sofa. have you got a sofa Silje?
 L17: yes I have.
 T: I've got a belt. have you got a belt e:r Hege?
 L18: yes I have.
 T: I've got a telephone. have you got a telephone Heidi?
 L19: yes I have.
 T: I've got a vase. have you got a vase Jarle?
 L20: yes I have.
 T: and now pairwork again? ask each other, let's er I've got a have you got a and answer yes I have. come on everybody!

(Pairwork commences: the following is a recording of a single pair)

L11: I've got a hammer. have you got a hammer?
 L12: yes I have.
 L21: I've got a hammer ((unintelligible 3 sec))
 L22: yes I have.
 LL: ((unintelligible 48 sec))
 L21: I've got a radio. have you got a radio?
 L22: yes.
 L21: what?
 L22: I have. I've got a book. have you got a book?
 L21: yes I have.
 L11: I've got a hammer. have you got a hammer?
 L21: yes I have. (2 sec)

L11: I've got a hammer, have you got a hammer?

LL: ((unintelligible 21 sec))

pairwork ends

T: fine, and please be quiet now. now you are going to walk around in the classroom, take with you this sheet of paper, and ask the others....., have you got....., or what have you got. can you try? come on everybody! ((unintelligible 2 sec)) have you got?

(LL move around the classroom asking questions to other LL)

L11: ((unintelligible 2 sec)) what have you got? have have have you got a hammer?

L: yes. (4 sec)

L11: I've got a trumpet. have you got a trumpet?

L: yes I have.

T: fine? *sprei dokker litt rundt utover rommet* ((tr: move a bit around in the room))

LL: ((unintelligible 24 sec))

L21: have you got a radio?

L: yes I have.

LL: ((unintelligible 8 sec))

L12: I've not got a trumpet. have you got a trumpet?

LL: yes I have. (laugh)

L: have you got a boogie? have you got a boogie?

L11: yes I have.

LL: ((unintelligible 9 sec))

L21: hallo! hello! hello!

LL: yes we have.

L: yes they have.

learners sit down

T: fine? sit down everybody.

L: yes I have.

T: very good.

L: good day!, hello!

T: e:r open your (5 sec) open your textbooks, at page six. page six.

L: ((unintelligible 2 sec))

T: no you know this song now and I'm not I told you a very good singer, you are much better singers than I am, and then you have to help me to sing this song=

L: sing a song.

T: =have you got number page six? fine.

TLL: the more we are together together together, the more we are together, the happier we shall be. for your friends are my friends, and my friends are your friends. the more we are together the happier we shall be.

T: once more!

TLL: the more we are together together together, the more we are together, the happier we shall be=

T: come on!

TLL: =for your friends are my friends, and my friends are your friends. the more we are together the happier we shall be.
T: and now I know that you can count from one to ten! what is the count?
L: ((unintelligible 2 sec))
T: ((unintelligible 2 sec)) that's right....., you can count from one to ten and I think you can count more than ten. now we are going to do it together, do it in chorus. here we say=

(T points to an overhead transparency)

L: one
T: =one come on, here we go!
LL: one two three four five six seven eight nine ten eleven?
T: yes and=
L: =twelve=
T: =now listen to me here=
L: =twelve
T: when I say eleven that is the last one. we don't say one two three four five six seven eight nine ten eleven? we say one two three four five six seven eight nine ten eleven. (with downwards intonation) listen again! one two=
TLL: =three four five six seven eight nine ten eleven.
T: once again.
LL: one two three four five six seven eight nine ten eleven.
T: very good.

(T points to OHT which has pictures of vocabulary items with numbers next to them)

T: what's number one? what's number one? (5 sec) can you see it?
L: ((unintelligible 1 sec))
T: it's not easy to see it but I think you can. e:r Hege?
L4: ((unintelligible 2 sec))
T: what's number three?....., John?
L13: it's a glass.
T: yes glass. can eveybody say glass.
LL: glass.
T: fine. what's number two?....., Beathe?
L23: it's a flower.
T: what's number five?....., Eva-Anette?
L24: that's a trumpet
T: what's number six?....., Sigrid-Helen?
L25: it's a hammer.
T: e:r what's number ten?....., what's number ten?....., Sigmund?
L26: it's a trumpet
T: what's number nine?
L: it's a belt
T: fine, and what's number eleven?....., Jarle?
L5: it's a sofa

T: it's a sofa .. and pairwork again? ask each other what's number, and you answer. come on everybody.

LL: ((unintelligible 22 sec))

L: what's number eleven? (noise 37 sec)

L: now give it to me!

L11: what's number e:r five?

LL: ((unintelligible 5 sec))

L11: what's number ten?

LL: what's number/ what's number

L11: a radio.

LL: ((unintelligible 4 sec))

L: and what's number seven?

L11: it's a radio.

L: what's number e:r

LL: ((unintelligible 39 sec))

T: then we can stop there again, and please be quiet. you everybody has got colours, what is colour?

L: *fargelegg* ((tr: colour))

T: *fargelegg* ((tr: colour)) and now you are going to colour the things, and I'm going to tell you which colours to do. colours are *fargelegg* ((tr: colour)) Marte can you please be quiet now. are you ready to to colour? I'm going to tell you which colour to use. colour the sofa blue. can you do it everybody? *fargelegg*! ((tr: colour))

(Learners colour in their pictures according to the teacher's instructions)

LL: ((unintelligible 2 sec))

T: colour the sofa blue.

LL: ((unintelligible 3 sec))

T: can you get a blue from someone?

LL: ((unintelligible 15 sec))

T: the whole sofa yeah everything you colour blue.

TLL: ((unintelligible 10 sec))

T: and colour the radio blue! colour the radio radio blue.

LL: ((unintelligible 3 sec))

T: yes correct. radio and the sofa are blue. there's a nice sofa and a nice radio.

LL: ((unintelligible 2 sec))

T: take it easy.

L11: take it easy.

L: shut up!

LL: ((unintelligible 20 sec))

T: *om vi ittje bli ferdige aa fargeleggje alt dette i dag* ((tr: if we don't finish all the colouring today)) ((unintelligible 3 sec)) colour the pen red. colour the pen red.

L: colour the=

L11: =the pen is red.

LL: ((unintelligible 14 sec))

T: colour the belt red. colour the belt red.

LL: ((unintelligible 7 sec))

L11: take it easy. take it easy.

LL: ((unintelligible 19 sec))

T: e:r....., colour the book yellow. colour the book yellow.
 LL: ((unintelligible 26 sec))
 L11: red.
 LL: ((unintelligible 9 sec))
 T: fine, and colour the vase yellow. colour the vase yellow (4 sec) the vase.
 L11: *hva var vase?* ((tr: what is vase?))
 T: vase.
 L: it is easy to remember?
 L11: you are a vase.
 TLL: ((unintelligible 17 sec))
 T: and....., colour the hammer green. colour the hammer green.
 LL: ((unintelligible 9 sec))
 T: colour the hammer green.
 LL: ((unintelligible 13 sec))
 T: colour the telephone green. colour the telephone green. (4 sec) telephone green.
 LL: ((unintelligible 19 sec))
 T: fine. and=
 L11: take it easy! take it easy! take it easy! take it easy!
 T: =colour the trumpet and the lamp brown. colour the trumpet and the lamp brown.
 L11: I have ((unintelligible 3 sec))
 T: ((unintelligible 2 sec)) then the trumpet and the lamp brown.
 L: brown?
 T: yes?
 LL: ((unintelligible 3 sec))
 T: trumpet and the lamp.
 LL: ((unintelligible 3 sec))
 L11: take it easy.
 LL: ((unintelligible 26 sec))
 T: e:r last colour the glass yellow and green. colour the glass yellow and green.
 LL: ((unintelligible 7 sec))
 T: yellow and green. colour the glass yellow and green.
 LL: ((unintelligible 40 sec))
 T: fine, are you ready now?
 L11: no.
 L: yes?
 T: let's see....., please be quiet now. let's see Eirik Eirik it's not your time to talk now.
 please be quiet. here you can see if you have got it correct.

(T shows OHT of coloured objects)

L: *ja!* ((tr: yes!))
 T: a brown lamp? and yellow and green glass? a yellow vase? a blue radio? a green telephone. a green hammer? a yellow book? a red pen? a red belt? a red trumpet e:r brown trumpet, and a blue circle.
 L: a brown trumpet.
 T: and here....., here are....., the eleven words. now you are going to write down four of these words *no skal de skriva ned fire av de orda som staar nede paa arket* ((tr: now you write down four of those words on your paper))
 L: in the English book?

T: in your English book yes. *de plukkar ut dei orda som de sjoel vil* ((tr: now you are going to write down four of the words at the bottom of the sheet)) pick the words you prefer yourselves ((unintelligible 2 sec))

LL: ((unintelligible 19 sec))

L11: ((unintelligible 3 sec)) oh I'm sorry.

LL: ((unintelligible 20 sec))

T: have you now written four words?

L: yes.

T: *Bjarte har du skreve fire ord?* ((tr: Bjarte have you written four words?))

L27: ((unintelligible 2 sec))

T: *du maa skriva ned dei fire orda som* ((unintelligible 2 sec)) ((tr: you have to write down those four words that)) ((unintelligible 2 sec)) raise your hand when you are ready, fine. very good, and don't look at what your neighbour has written. it doesn't matter. *ittje sjaa paa det naboen har skreve. det er ittje sikkert dei har rett* ((tr: don't look at what your neighbour has written)) they might not be right. Eirik and....., Eirik don't turn around. (5 sec) are you ready now everybody? (4 sec) let's see, you have written four words? (5 sec) fine and now we are going to play bingo.

LL: bingo!! yeah!

T: and=

LL: =bingo/bingo/bingo

T: when I say a word which you have, you do this....., (T crosses out a word) if you have that word.=

L: =(unintelligible 2 sec))

T: when when you have got three right words raise your hand. *naar de har faat tre rette ord saa rekker de opp handa* ((tr: when you have got three right words raise your hand)) and when you have got four words you cry out bingo! do you understand?

LL: yes. ((unintelligible 3 sec))

T: *eg leser leser opp ordet, stryker over det, har de det ordet saa de det samme* ((tr: I read read out the word, cross it out, if you have the same word you do the same thing)) *og naar de har faat tre med strek under saa rekker de opp haandi og naar det er fire er det bingo* ((tr: and when you have three crossed out you raise your hand and when it's four it's bingo)) ready?

L: yeah.

T: telephone....., radio....., glass.,, vase....., mhm if any of you have three correct words now? sofa.

L: bingo!

T: can you read your four words please.

L: glass vase radio sofa.

T: and one more, lamp.

LL: ((unintelligible 3 sec))

T: yes and what do you say when you are ready?

L: ((unintelligible 1 sec))

T: you say bingo!....., yes and can you say bingo?

L: bingo.

T: yes and can you read your four four words please?

L: glass sofa vase lamp

T: and now I want you to say after me all these words. belt

LL: belt

T: telephone.
 LL: telephone.
 T: telephone.
 LL: telephone.
 T: sofa.
 LL: sofa=
 T: =sofa.
 LL: sofa=
 T: =book.
 LL: book.
 L: *ja:a!* ((tr: yeah!))
 T: hammer.
 LL: hammer.
 T: hammer.
 LL: hammer=
 T: =trumpet.
 LL: trumpet.
 T: trumpet.
 LL: trumpet=
 T: =radio.
 LL: radio=
 T: =radio.
 LL: radio.
 T: lamp.
 LL: lamp=
 T: =lamp.
 LL: lamp.
 T: pen.
 LL: pen.
 T: glass.
 LL: glass=
 T: =glass.
 LL: glass=
 L: =bingo!=
 T: =vase.
 LL: vase.
 T: vase.
 LL: vase.
 T: and that was all of this lesson e:r we are going to write down your lesson for tomorrow? in your last lesson, not now. and I think we will say goodbye to Paul. can we do it?
 LL: goodbye.
 T: I also think that Paul wants to say some few words to you.
 Paul: yes I do. first of all thank you very much for letting me see your lesson? it was very good and I'm very impressed with your English. now maybe you want to see what your English lesson was like on video. would you like to see it on video?
 LL: yeah!!!

Paul: ok now I'm going back to York in about two weeks, so in about four weeks I will send your teacher the video and then I hope you will be able to see it. and you will see yourselves on television. ok? is that a good idea?

LL: yeah.

Lesson 6

A 45 minute lesson in a barneskole with a 4th grade class of about 25 students aged 9- 10.

(Cassette plays)

hello. how do you do? my name is Tom. what about you? hello. how do you do? nice to meet you (10 sec)

T: *en gang til?* ((tr: once more?))

LL: ((unintelligible 4 sec))

T: *det staar paa tavlen* ((tr: it's written on the board))

(Cassette plays)

hello. how do you do? my name is Tom. what about you? hello. how do you do? nice to meet you (10 sec)

(Cassette plays a song and students sing along)

hello how do you do my name is Tom what about you hello how do you do nice to meet you..., hello how do you do my name is Tom what about you hello how do you do nice to meet you

T: that's enough for today

LL: (unintelligible 4 sec)

L1: hello what's your name?

L: bye bye!

L: hello

L1: hello what's your name?

T: *i gaar saa spilte vi den dialogen eller vi lot vi lot dere lese hoeyt, i dag tenkte jeg vi skulle ta haandukkene=* ((tr: we played this dialogue yesterday or we let you read it out loud, today I thought we would take the puppets))

L1: [oj]

T: *=spille det paa scenen vaar. er det noen som har lyst til aa spille den dialogen* ((tr: and play it on our stage. does anyone want to play the dialogue the new teacher))

L: nja

T: *mhm..., Knut..., i gaar var det kamp om aa faa lov aa lese* ((tr: yesterday you were fighting to be able to read))

L: *aa ja lese ja* ((tr: oh yes read yeah))=

T: *=Maj-Britt du kan det nesten utenat kan'kkje du det?* ((tr: Maj-Britt you almost know it by heart, don't you?))=

L2: *jo* ((tr: yes))

T: *= du skal faa lov aa ha boken med deg* you can bring your book=

LL: ((unintelligible 2 sec))

T: *=hvem har lyst til aa vaere Mr Williams (4 sec)(students raise their hands) e:r Stian har du lyst til aa vaere Mr Williams? ((unintelligible 2 sec)) alle sammen. saa var*

det Helene..., du Margrete har du lyst til aa vaere Helene?....., og saa har vi Maria?..., og det maa vel vaere Lena? og saa har vi Wayne..., det kan vaere Mads. da maa vi finne frem dukkene vaare ((tr: who wants to be Mr Williams (4 sec) e:r Stian would you like to be Mr Williams? ((unintelligible 2 sec)) everybody. and then we've got Helene..., Margrete would you like to be Helene?....., and Maria?....., that has to be Lena? and then we've got Wayne..., Mads. now we have our dolls)) (noise 11 sec))

(students get out hand puppets and move to the back of the class where there is a stand-up puppet theatre)

- L1: what's your name? hello everybody (6 sec) hello? what can you do ((unintelligible 2 sec))....., bye bye [blae]
 LL: ((unintelligible 20 sec))
 T: *kan dere sette dere ned paa gulvet?* ((tr: can you sit down on the floor?))
 LL: ((unintelligible 40 sec))
 L1: cool....., yabadabadu!
 LL: ((unintelligible 12 sec))
 T: *naa maa dere vaere stille....., no skal du hoere paa forestillingen vaar* ((tr: you have to be quiet now....., you are going to listen to our performance now))
 L1: *jettekul* ((tr: cool))
 T: *helt stille! Svein-Andre og Knut....., stille....., stille.....* ((tr: let's start be quiet! Svein-Andre and Knut....., quiet.....,))

(four students go behind the puppet theatre stage. Only the puppets are visible and the students do the voices)

- L3: good morning everybody sorry I'm late, my name is Tom Williams.
 LL: good morning Mr Williams!
 L3: I am your new teacher. how was your holiday?
 L4: fantastic I was in Greece
 L5: and I was in Rome
 L4: how about you Mr Williams?
 L3: I was in the States
 L6: hi! hi! hi everybody
 L3: who are you?
 L6: I'm Wayne, sorry I'm late
 LL: (applauding 4 sec)

(students leave the stage)

- T: *er det noen andre som har lyst til aa proeve?....., saa husker vi aa forsoeke aa tenke paa at det er dukken som snakker sant? det gaar flott. (4 sec) Jan-Inge vil du vaere Mr Williams? vil du vaere Wayne? og saa har vi Mariann Maria og Helene?*((tr: is there anyone else who would like to try?....., we have to remember that it is the doll who speaks, right? this is going very well. (4 sec) Jan-Inge do you want to be Mr Williams? do you want to be Wayne? and then we've got Mariann Maria and Helene?))
 L: ((unintelligible 4 sec))

(new group of students go behind the stage)

T: [sh:h] are you ready?..., go!
L7: e:r good morning everybody! sorry I'm late, my name is Tom Williams
LL: good morning Mr Williams!
L7: I'm your new teacher..., how was your holiday?
L8: fantastic I was in Greece
L9: and I was in Rome
L8: how about you Mr Williams?
L7: I was in the States
L10: hi everybody!
L7: who are you?
L10: I am Wayne, sorry I'm late
LL: (applauding 2 sec)

(students leave the stage)

T: *skal vi ta en runde til?* ((tr: once more?)) Mr Williams (5 sec) Wayne?....., who do you want to be?
L: Mr Williams
T: Mr Williams we have Mr Williams.
LL: ((unintelligible 29sec))

(new group of students go behind the stage)

L11: good morning everybody. sorry I'm late=
T: =e:r hello, *vent litt!* ((tr: wait a minute))
L: wait a minute=
L: =are you ready?
LL: no
L11: good morning everybody. sorry I'm late, my name is Tom Williams.
LL: good morning Mr Williams!
L11: I'm your new teacher, how was your holiday?
L12: fantastic I was in Greece
L13: and I was in Rome
L12: how about you Mr Williams?
L11: I was in the States?

(knock knock knock)

L14: hi everybody!
L11: who are you?
L14: I am Wayne sorry I'm late
T: good!
LL: (applauding 6 sec)

(students leave the stage)

- T: *naa maa vi stoppe hae?..., vi skal gaa litt videre med noe annet....., we'll take it away? og vi finner plassene vaare igjen* ((tr: we have to stop now?..., we are going to do something else, we'll take it away and then we find our seats))
- LL: ((noise 28 sec))

(students return to their seats and the teacher puts the puppet theatre away)

- L: hello!
- T: *kan dere vaere litt stille naa? ((unintelligible 5 sec)) men jeg tenkte vi skulle synge den med* ((tr: can you be a bit quiet now? ((unintelligible 5 sec)) but I thought we should sing the one))=
- L: ((unintelligible 2 sec))
- T: *=som var saa gikk til sengs med skoene..., husker dere den? er det noen som har lyst til aa staa her foran og vise..., e:r de tegn og bevegelsene som dere syes passer til? ((unintelligible 2 sec)) Line og Mari* ((tr: who was so- who went to bed with his shoes on..., do you remember that? is there anyone who would like to stand at front and show the movements that you think go along? ((unintelligible 2 sec)) Line and Mari))

(teacher selects students to go to the front)

- LL: ((unintelligible 7 sec))
- T: *har dere glemt den? ((tr: have you forgotten it?))*
- LL: ((unintelligible 24 sec))
- L: hello
- L: hello!
- T: ready?
- L: yeah
- L1: if you're ready=
- T: =one two three

(a group of students sing at the front of the class with hand movements)

- LL: (singing) *diddle diddle dumpling my son John goes to bed with his trousers on one shoe off and one shoe on diddle diddle dumpling my son John. diddle diddle dumpling my son John goes to bed with his trousers on one shoe off and one shoe on diddle diddle dumpling my son John.*
- L1: *den der var god* ((tr: that was good))
- LL: ((unintelligible 20 sec))

(the group of students sit down)

- T: *no skal vi ta en lek..., denne leken kjenner dere jo veldig godt og det er den er du min venn. husker dere hva det het paa engelsk? ((tr: now we're going to have a game..., you know this game very well and it's my friend. do you remember what it's called in English?))*
- L: oh no!
- TLL: are you my friend?

(T writes on the board)

- T: my friend
L1: no I hate you
T: *hva kan vi spoerre om da?* ((tr: what can we ask about?))
L1: I don't know=
T: =*husker dere jeg spoer* are you my friend? ((tr: do you remember that I ask are you my friend?))=
L1: no.
T: =*og saa skal vi svare ja eller nei alt etter som vi er det, saa skal vi si gi en opplysning om den personen som vi er blitt enige om skal vaere venn..., og da kan vi si noe om oeynene. hva heter oeynene paa engelsk...,..., Ingrid?...,..., eyes saa vi kan gi en eller annen opplysning om the eyes ((unintelligible 2 sec)) vi kan fortelle noe om..., kva heter dette?...,..., Line?* ((tr: and then we have to answer yes or no if we are or not, and then we say give information about the person we've agreed upon is being the friend..., and then we can say something about the eyes. what's eyes in English...,..., Ingrid? eyes so we can give information about the eyes ((unintelligible 2 sec)) we can say something about..., what is this?...,..., Line?))
L: ((unintelligible 2 sec))
T: hair, something about the hair. brown hair, black hair...,..., something about the what's this?
L1: hello
L: t-shirt
L1: t-shirt
T: I have t-shirt too, this is a t-shirt isn't it?
L1: jumper
T: jumper?
LL: ((unintelligible 5 sec))
T: t-shirt? and e:r..., t-shirt (4 sec) what's this...,..., Marianne?
L: trouser
T: trousers (5 sec) *saa er det noen av dere som har noe som* ((tr: so have any of you got anything that)) ...,..., jeans=
L1: =jeans
TLL: jeans...,..., *saa kommer vi lengre ned*...,..., ((tr: then we come further down))
L: foot!
T: I need something
L: I know that
T: oh what do you have?
L: ((unintelligible 2 sec))
T: socks! I don't have socks, do you have socks?
L: yes
T: what colour?
L: white
T: white socks=
L: =white and green and yellow
T: good!
L1: I have white red and black
T: good...,..., socks (5 sec) ((unintelligible 3 sec)) Wenche?
L1: shoes

T: *klarer vi aa dele oss i to grupper?..., hva?..., hvis vi deler det saann jeg tror vi deler saann jeg....., hvis vi deler saann. hvis vi lar deler midt i mellom Sindre og Chris....., saa gaar Sindre, Mads, Johannes og hele den rekken de hoerer til en, e:r Maj-Britt og Mariann og Kenneth og Geir-Andre de hoerer sammen til den delen, ((unintelligible 4 sec)) ((tr: can we split into two groups?..., what?..., if we split like this I think we split like this....., if we split like this. if we split between Sindre and Chris....., Sindre, Mads, Johannes and that whole row belong to one, e:r Maj-Britt og Mariann og Kenneth og Geir-Andre they belong to this part))*

(T has written on the board: Are you my friend? eyes hair jumper/T shirt trousers/jeans socks shoes)

LL: ((unintelligible 15 sec))

T: *kan dere trekke en ring og saa blir dere enige om hvem som skal vaere hvem ((tr: can you make a circle and then agree on who is going to be who))*

LL: ((unintelligible 21 sec))

L: how do you like my attitude?

LL: ((unintelligible 8 sec))

L: *det er saann leken er ((tr: that's how the game is))*

LL: ((unintelligible 11 sec))

T: *hvem skal vaere hvem ((tr: who is going to be who))*

T: what about his hair?

LL: brown .. black

T: black hair and your eyes what colour?

LL: brown

T: brown eyes good and your jumper?

LL: blue and red

T: blue red and his trousers?

LL: blue

T: they are blue and his socks they are

LL: grey

T: blue shoes and his jumper?

LL: blue/blue

T: blue and

LL: ((unintelligible 4 sec))

T: his jumper is blue and his socks they are

LL: ((unintelligible 4 sec)) grey

T: blue shoes and

LL: ((unintelligible 15 sec))

L: *nei! eg skal si det ((tr: no I'm going to say it))*

L: *eg kan si det ((tr: I can say it))*

L: *eg kan gjerne si det ((tr: I'd like to say it))*

LL: ((unintelligible 15 sec))

T: he has....., black hair. he has black hair.

LL: ((unintelligible 19 sec))

T: oh yes you are....., yes ((unintelligible 2 sec))....., *saa kan du Mariann faa gaa ut....., ja saa finner vi en ny venn her ((tr: you Mariann can go out....., and then we find a new friend here))*

L: *eg? ((tr: me?))*

LL: ((unintelligible 14 sec))
 L: hello!
 L: [hahahaha]
 LL: ((unintelligible 7 sec))
 L: *eg har han* ((tr: I've got it))
 L: *ja* ((tr: yes))
 T: *har dere blitt enige om hvem som skal vaere hvem?* ((tr: have you found out who is going to be who?))

(a girl leaves the classroom. the class is playing a kind of game in which one student has to recognise a new friend by means of a description of his/her appearance)

TLL: ((unintelligible 5 sec))
 T: *Line kan vaere venn. vet dere hva dere skal svare?* ((tr: Line can be the friend. do you know what to answer?))
 LL: she
 TLL: she ((unintelligible 3 sec))
 T: *vi ser naar hun kommer inn* ((tr: we'll see when she enters))
 LL: ((unintelligible 7 sec))
 T: *foelge med og hoere* ((tr: follow and listen))
 LL: ((unintelligible 14 sec))
 T: what do you want to ask about?
 LL: ((unintelligible 3 sec))
 L: she
 LL: ((unintelligible 5 sec))
 L: *maa jo si det da!....., come an da* ((tr: have to say it!....., come on then))
 L: *e' det eg?* ((tr: is it me?))
 LL: ((unintelligible 22 sec))
 T: *skal Wenche gaa ut da, saa finner dere en ny venn* ((tr: is Wenche going out, then you find a new friend))
 LL: ((unintelligible 13 sec))
 T: *hvem skal vaere hvem* ((tr: who is going to be who))
 L: *ok eg skal vaere=* ((tr: ok I'll be))
 L: *=eg!* ((tr: me!))
 TLL: ((unintelligible 3 sec))
 L: *eg!* ((tr: me!))
 L: *eg!* ((tr: me!))
 T: *eg synes Johannes skal vaere eg, se godt paa han saa dere vet hva dere skal=* ((tr: I think it should be Johannes, look at him closely so that you know what to))
 LL: *=*((unintelligible 4 sec))
 L: *graa* ((tr: grey))
 L: *graa bukse* ((tr: grey trousers))
 LL: ((unintelligible 42 sec))
 T: *no kan Johannes gaa ut* ((tr: Johannes can go out now))
 LL: ((unintelligible 23 sec))
 T: what about her t-shirt?
 LL: she has white shoes
 T: white shoes.
 LL: ((unintelligible 27 sec))

L: [sjabadabadu]
 LL: ((unintelligible 14 sec))
 T: what about his eyes....., he has blue eyes
 TLL: and a white t-shirt
 LL: ((unintelligible 30 sec))
 T: *eg tror vi maa stoppe der, finne plasser vaar igjen* ((tr: I think we'll have to stop there, go back to your seats))
 LL: ((unintelligible 35 sec))
 T: just a moment=
 L: *du tror paa alt* ((tr: you believe everything))
 T: *=saa tar vi sangen opp igjen. proev aa syng med* ((tr: we'll do the song again. try to sing along))

(Cassette plays): ((music 4 sec))=

T: *=teksten staar i boken* ((tr: the text is in the book))

(Cassette plays and students repeat)

LL: hello how do you do? my name is Tom, what about you?

(Cassette plays)

hello how do you do? nice to meet you.

LLT: (sing with tape) hello how do you do my name is Tom what about you, hello how do you do nice to meet you hello how do you do my name is Tom what about you, hello how do you do nice to meet you.

T: *dere, det var en setning vi laerte som vi skulle oeve paa* ((tr: hey you we learnt a sentence that we were supposed to practice))

L: (atchoo!)

T: *det var for aa spoerre om hvor du hadde vaert i sommer, eller hvor var du i sommer..., hva var det den setningen het?..., Even?* ((tr: it was to ask where you had been this summer, or where were you this summer..., what was the sentence?..., Even?))

L15: ((unintelligible 3 sec))

T: *hva var setningen?..., Kristine?* ((tr: what was the sentence?..., Kristine))

L16: where were you this summer

T: where were you this summer. *stemmer det. naa har jeg laget noen nye lapper....., slik at dukken deres kan gaa aa spoerre, men i gaar naar vi gjorde det saa var det saa mange som spurte saa hoeyt at det var helt umulig a hoere hva dere sa klart og tydelig, og i dag har dukken en elendig stemme. han eller hun kan nesten ikke snakke? og derfor maa han hviske.* ((tr: where were you this summer that's right. I've made some new notes now....., so that your doll can go and ask, but yesterday when we did that many of you asked so loudly that it was impossible to hear clearly what you said, and today the doll has got a sore throat. he or her can hardly talk? and therefore he'll have to whisper))

TLL: where were you this summer

T: *skal vi proeve aa si det sammen?* ((tr: should we try and say it together?))
 TLL: where were you this summer
 T: *ja men naar vi spoer sier vi bom bom bom bom..., men hvordan spoer vi da?....., Gunnar faa hoere hvordan du vil spoerre* yes ((tr: but when we ask we say bom bom bom bom..., but how do we ask?....., Gunnar let me hear how you would ask))
 L17: where were you this summer
 T: m ja ((unintelligible 2 sec))....., where were you this=
 L18: =summer
 T: yes say it! once more, *si det en gang til* ((tr: say it once more))
 L18: I don't want to
 T: Marta?
 L19: where was=
 T: =*skal jeg skrive det paa tavlen? er det noen som husker hvordan vi skriver where....., Kristine* ((tr: shall I write it on the board? is there anyone who remembers how to spell where....., Kristine))
 L20: e:r w h e r e
 T: *hvor, saa var det var du..., hva heter var du paa engelsk?, Mariann?* ((tr: where, and then were you..., what is were you in English?....., Mariann?))

(teacher writes the letters on the board)

L21: w=
 T: *ja* ((tr: yes))
 L: e =
 T: *ja* ((tr: yes))
 L: r=
 T: *ja* ((tr: yes))
 L: e.
 T: *flott?..., hvordan skriver vi 'you' paa engelsk..., Morten den foerste boksatven* ((tr: excellent?..., how do we write you in english..., Morten the first letter))
 L22: h
 T: I you?
 L22: *nei e j* ((tr: no e [j]))
 T: *det hoeres ut som j men skriver vi det som j?..., Svein-Andre?* ((tr: it sounds like [j] but do we write j?..., Svein-Andre?))
 L23: y!
 T: *y ja* ((tr: y yes))
 L: y:y!
 T: o
 L: o
 L: u
 T: *u kva staar det ja vi maa bruke oeynene....., where were you, noen som vet det this the=* ((tr: u what does it say we have to use our eyes....., where were you, does anyone know this the))
 TLL: the this the the this
 T: *ikke tis men this* ((tr: not [tis] but this))
 LL: this
 T: *tungespissen frem paa siden* ((tr: your tongue in the front of your mouth))
 L: this!

- T: *der styrer dere lyden the the..., Bjarne....., Cesilie* ((tr: that's where you make the sound..., Bjarne....., Cesilie))
- L24: aa
- T: *aa. det er den lyden, og saa kommer aa* ((tr: that's the sound and then))
- LL: i
- T: *i....., saa var det spoersmaal og da skriver vi saann..., noen som vet det?..., Ingrid*
i....., ((tr: and then it's a question and then we write it like this..., does anyone know?..., Ingrid))
- L: summer
- T: *summer yes (4 sec) skal vi da proeve aa si det sammnen?* ((tr: shall we try to say it together))
- TLL: where were you this summer?
- T: *vi spoer og da maa vi ha spoersmaalstegn, naar vi spoer saa maa vi opp paa slutten, saann at vi kan hoere vi venter svaret, svaret ligger i luften naa tar vi det en gang til* ((tr: we ask and then we need a questionmark, when we ask we have to raise the tone in the end so that it sounds like we expect an answer))
- TLL: where were you this summer?
- T: *kanskje vi skal spoerre om han kan hjelpe oss til aa si det* ((tr: could you help us? maybe we should ask him if he can help us to say it))
- Paul: where were you this summer?
- T: *opp paa slutten....., saa proever vi aa etterligne* ((tr: raise the tone at the end....., let's try to copy him))
- TLL: where were you this summer?
- T: once more
- TLL: where were you this summer?
- T: *si det en gang paa norsk* ((tr: say it once in Norwegian))
- TLL: *hvor var du i sommer* ((tr: where were you this summer))
- T: *hvor var du i sommer, vi venter paa svaret..., proev aa si det en gang til*
((unintelligible 2 sec))kan du si det? ((tr: where were you this summer, we are expecting the answer..., try to say it once more can you say it?))
- L: where were you this summer
- T: *det hoeres ikke ut som du er interessert i ((unintelligible 2 sec)), skal vi ta det en gang til og saa proever vi aa herme etter han,* ((tr: where, could you help us please? it doesn't sound like you're interested in, shall we try again and then we'll try to copy him))
- Paul: where were you this summer?
- TLL: where were you this summer where were you this summer? *en gang til where were you this summer....., opp paa slutten av setningen.* ((tr: once more where were you this summer....., raise the tone at the end of the sentence))
- LL: ((unintelligible 3 sec))
- T: *nei! jeg sa noe om stemmene til dukkene, han hadde han eller hun hadde faatt vondt i halsen....., no maa dere bare hviske* ((tr: no! I said something about the doll's voice, he or she has got a sore throat..., you have to whisper now))
- LL: (whispering)

(teacher gives out slips to the students)

T: *saa finner du vennen din....., gaa stille rundt og spoer. til du finner en som er maken til deg selv* ((tr: then you find your friend....., walk quietly around and ask until you find one which is the same as yours))

LL: ((unintelligible 118 sec))

(students walk round and ask each other questions from their slips using their glove puppets until they find a match for their own particular answer)

L1: where were you this summer?

L2: I was in England

L1: I was in Norway

L2: where were you this summer?

L3: I was in Italy. where were you this summer?

L2: I was in England

(the students circulate and continue asking questions for three minutes : unintelligible)

T: *har alle funnet vennene sine?* ((tr: has everybody found their friends?))

LL: ((unintelligible 67 sec))

T: *Svein-Andre gaar og samler inn resten av lappene* ((tr: Svein-Andreas go and collect the rest of the notes))

LL: ((unintelligible 5 sec))

T: *no vil jeg gjerne vite....., ((unintelligible 3 sec)) og de andre tier still!....., faa hoere hva Line sier* ((tr: now I'd like to know....., and the others have to be quiet!....., let me hear what Line says))

L: where were you this summer?

T: *hvem vil du spoerre,* ((tr: who do you want to ask)) who do you want to ask

L: ((unintelligible 3 sec))

L: I was in Greece

T: *Greece....., naa kan du spoerre* ((tr: now you can ask))

L: where were you this summer?

T: *hvem vil du spoerre,* ((tr: who do you want to ask)) who do you want to ask,

LL: ((unintelligible 15 sec))

T: I couldn't hear, once more please (4 sec) I ..., *hva sa du for noe?* ((tr: what did you say?))

(schoolbell rings)

(noise 134 sec)

Lesson 7

A 45 minute lesson in a barneskole with a class of about 20 students in the 6th grade (mostly age 12).

- T: for today you have read about Captain Cook. what was his job?
L: he was one of the world's great explorers.
T: yes, that's right he was one of the world's greatest explorers ..., do you know the name of any other great explorers?, Heine?
L: Colombus
T: yes, Christopher Colombus was a great explorer ..., any Norwegian explorers? ..., Silje?
L: ((unintelligible 1 sec))
T: yes, Kjartan?
L: ((unintelligible 1 sec))
T: yes (5 sec pause) and we mentioned another one or two Norwegian explorers yesterday, or on Friday (5 sec pause) who was that Heine?
L: Thor Heyerdahl
T: yes! and he's still alive and so is ((unintelligible 1 sec))
LL: ((cough))
T: yes? (looks in register) (8 sec) will you start reading to me please Karin?
L4: Captain Cook. Captain James Cook was one of the world's greatest explorers..., on August the twentysixth seventeensixtyeight he sailed from England to find the unknown continent of Australia. he and his crew had stores for eighteen months.
T: yes. can you translate it please
L4: (cough) *Captain Cook var ein av verdas stoerste oppdagelsesreisande ..., og i august tjuesjette soettensekstiaatte reiste han fra England for aa finne ukjente kontinenter. han og mannskapet hadde.....*, (cough) ((tr: Captain Cook was one of the world's greatest explorers..., on August the twentysixth seventeensixtyeight sailing from England to find unknown continent ((unintelligible 1 sec)) he and his crew had.....))
T: *lager* ((tr: stores))
L4: *lager for atten maaneder* ((tr: stores for eighteen months))
T: yes....., thank you. (4 sec) he sailed and he and his crew had stores (5 sec) *kan du oversette til norsk for aa huske det* ((tr: can you translate to Norwegian to be able to remember it stores))
L4: *lager* ((tr: stores))
T: *ja*. ((tr:yes)) ok,you go on,
T: yeah, ok ..., can you go on please Eirin?
L: he reached Cape Horn on January 24th and sailed northwest into the Pacific, in April Cook land at Tahiti, the natives were friendly, the sailors needed fresh food and water to stop illnesses, they didn't leave till July
T: thank you eh:, can you translate into Norwegian please?
L: *eh: dei naadde Cape Horn tjuefjerde januar .., og dei seilte nordvest til eh Atlanter-Stillehavet ..., i April Cook kom til Tahiti ..., eh de infoedte var vennlige ..., seilerane trengte frisk food og nei- frisk mat og vatten til aa stoppe sjukdomman dei reiste ikkje foer Juli* ((tr: they reached Cape Horn twentyfourth of January ..., and they sailed north-west to eh the Atlantic- Pacific..., in April Cook landed at Tahiti..., eh the

- natives were friendly..., the sailors needed fresh food and no fresh food and water to stop illnesses they didn't leave till July))
- T: thank you, ..., will you please go on, Kenneth
- L: almost 3 months later Cook saw land - New Zealand. the natives tried to stop them from landing and there was a fight. Cook was sorry about that because unlike many other explorers at that time he always tried to make friends with the natives.
- T: thank you ..., can you translate please
- L5: ((unintelligible 2 sec)) *dei saa land, Nea Zeeland, de innfoedte var- de innfoedte proevde aa stoppe dem fra aa fra aa gaa i land* ((unintelligible 6 sec)) ((tr: he saw land, New Zealand, the natives were-they tried to prevent them from from))
- T: ((unintelligible 4 sec))
- L ((unintelligible 5 sec))
- T: thanks ..., and ..., can you go on Ellen-Marie?
- L: Cook tried to land 3 times. he collected fresh food and water.
- T: and can you translate please
- L6: Cook ((unintelligible 7 sec))
- T: *laga han en leir?* ((tr: did he make a camp?))
- L6: *ja, han samla* ((unintelligible 1 sec)) *og vatten* ((unintelligible 6 sec)) ((tr: yes, he gathered and water))
- T: ((unintelligible 2 sec))
- L6: mm ((unintelligible 8 sec))
- T: thank you. now....., I want you all to read one at a time around the table. do you understand?..., ok? then I think we start in your end Silje og Hilde ok? the two of you. *skjoente dokker det..., dere leser hver sin gang, dokker begynner paa en paa foerste bordet og saa leser neste side to, neste tre, neste fire. dem som har lest treng ikkje aa les en gang te. ok?* ((tr: did you understand..., you read one time each, you start on the first table and then the next reads page two, next page three, next page four. those of you who have read already do not have to do it again. ok? you may start,))

Students read sections of the text in turn. Generally unintelligible because all groups are reading simultaneously.

- T: OK? if you have finished ...now let's look at page eleven (5 sec pause) you are on holiday in England, one day you can't find your passports, so you go to the police ..., they ask you a lot of questions, all the questions you can see here *spoersmaalan, hvis dokker ser paa svaran nedover saa har verbet faat ende* ((unintelligible 4 sec))..., *Stine?* ((tr: the questions, if you look at the answers there the verb is ((unintelligible 4 sec)) ..., Stine?))
- L7: ((unintelligible 1 sec))
- T: *ja. som alltid naar naar det finns did i spoersmaalet saa skal verbet paa enden av den hvis vi foelger regelen, naar du kommer til svaret....., to og to* ((unintelligible 5 sec)) *og dokker gjoer saann som dokker pleier.* ((tr: yes. as always when there is did in the question the verb is at the end if we follow the rule, when you get to the answer....., pairs of two ((unintelligible 5 sec)) and you do as you are used to))
- T: ok, one asks the question the other one has to answer (5 sec pause)
- T: Christian ((unintelligible 5 sec)) Kariann
- L1: how did you arrive in England?
- L2: I arrived ((unintelligible 1 sec)) eh by plane

L1: huh?
 L2: by plane
 L1: and where did you arrive?
 L2: I arrived at-
 LL: ((unintelligible 4 sec))
 L1: and when did you arrive?
 L2: I arrived last eh:: Monday
 LL: ((unintelligible 3 sec))
 L1: how did you arrive?
 L2: I arrived for Oslo ((laugh))
 L1: and what time did you arrive?
 L2: eh! Monday eh Tuesday
 L1: where did you arrive from?
 L2: I arrived from Oslo
 L1: where did you stay before you arrived in England?
 L2: I stayed at a hotel
 L2: and how did you arrive in England?
 L1: I arrived by plane
 L2: and where did you arrive?
 L1: I arrived at Heathrow
 L2: when did you arrive?
 L1: I arrived last Wednesday
 L2: and what the time did you arrive?
 L1: I arrived at=
 L: ok ok stop
 L1: = seven o'clock in the morning
 L2: where did you arrive from?
 L1: I arrived from Bergen
 L2: where did you stay the first week?
 L1: eh I stayed in a caravan
 L2: ((laugh)) *campingvogn?* ((tr: caravan?))
 L1: *ja* ((tr: yes))
 L: ((unintelligible 1 sec)) ((laugh))
 LL: ((unintelligible 3 sec))
 L: *ja* ((tr:yes))
 L2: finished
 LL: ((unintelligible 2 sec))
 L: huh?
 L: *snakk inn i mikrofonen ...*, ((tr: talk into the microphone)) daadada
 L: ((singing/shouting into the microphone)) (5 sec pause with background talking)
 L1: *ka er det som staar der der den er plugga inn i?* ((tr: what does it say where that is plugged in?))
 L: ((unintelligible 1 sec))
 T: ok, ((unintelligible 3 sec))=
 L: ((unintelligible 1 sec repeating after the teacher)),
 T: =and you're going to listen to the tape ((unintelligible 1 sec)) (4 sec pause)

(tape plays)

on April the 19th 1770 they came to the east coast of Australia, they studied animals and plants ..., and they made maps ..., the crew looked for fresh food and hunted the strange animals they called kangaroos ..., they arrived back in England in July 1771....., on his third voyage in 1776, Cook tried to find the northwest passage from the Pacific to the Atlantic, on his way he discovered the islands of Hawaii, Cook and his men tried all summer to find the passage north of Alaska but finally the weather was too bad and they had to turn south again to Hawaii for the winter, the natives who had been so friendly before started to steal from Cook's ship ..., Cook punished the thieves and this made the natives angry, there was a fight on the beach, and Cook was killed this happend on February the 14th 1779, the word's greatest explorer was dead

T: ok? page 13 would you repeat after me please? *alle sammen aa lese tydelig vi maa ikke ta aa skjule oss inni massen saa lager vi groet. skjoenner dokker ka e meine?* ((tr: all of you to read clearly. we must not hide in the crowd because then we make porridge. do you understand what I mean?)) (3 sec pause)

T: on April- on April the 19th 1770 they came to the east coast of Australia

LL: ///on April the 19th 1770 they came to the east coast of Australia///

T: they studied animals and plants and they made maps

LL: ///they studied animals and plants and they made maps///

T: the crew looked for fresh food

LL: ///the crew looked for fresh food///

T: and hunted strange animals they called kangaroos

LL: ///and hunted strange animals they called kangaroos///

T: they arrived back in England in July 1771

LL: ///they arrived back in England in July 1771//

T: on his third voyage in 1776

LL: ///on his third voyage in 1776///

T: seventeenseventysix

LL: ///seventeenseventysix///

T: Cook tried to find the northwest passage

LL: ///Cook tried to find the northwest passage///

T: from the Pacific to the Atlantic

LL: //from the Pacific to the Atlantic///

T: on his way he discovered the islands of Hawaii

LL: ///on his way he discovered the islands of Hawaii///

T: Cook and his men tried all summer to find a passage north of Alaska

LL: ///Cook and his men tried all summer to find a passage north of Alaska///

T: but finally

LL: ///but finally///

T: the weather was too bad and they had to turn south again

LL: /// the weather was too bad and they had to turn south again///

T: to the Hawaii for the winter

LL: ///to the Hawaii for the winter///

T: the natives who had been so friendly before started stealing from Cook's ship

LL: ///the natives who had been so friendly before started stealing from Cook's ship///

T: Cook punished the thieves

LL: ///Cook punished the thieves///

T: and this made the natives angry

LL: ///and this made the natives angry///

T: there was a fight on the beach and Cook was killed
LL: ///there was a fight on the beach and Cook was killed///
T: this happened on February the 14th 1779
LL: ///this happened on February the 14th 1779///
T: the world's greatest explorer was dead
LL: ///the world's greatest explorer was dead///
T: the world's
LL: ///the world's///
T: the world ..., good.. yes, now let's try to translate ..., on April the 19th 1770 they came to the east coast of Australia ((name))
L: *den nittende April 1770 kom dei til, oest-..., kysten av Australia* ((tr: on April 19th 1770 they came to, the east ..., coast of Australia))
T: thank you ..., they studied animals and plants and made maps, what do you think Kenneth?
L5: *de studerte dyr og planter ogsaa lagde dei* ((unintelligible 1 sec)) ((tr: they studied animals and plants and they made maps))
T: very good .., the crew looked for fresh food and hunted strange animals they called kangaroos they go hunting and shooting the animals, Kjartan?
L: *eh mannskapet saa etter frisk mat og eh eh saanderre dyr du kan skyte, som de kalte kengeruer* ((tr: eh the crew looked for fresh food and eh eh such animals you can shoot which they called kangaroos))
T: ja ..., altsa dei jakta paa eh framande dyr som dei kalte kengeruer ((tr: yes ..., well they hunted strange animals they called kangaroos)) ..., they arrived back in England in July 1771..., Hege.
L: *de kom tilbake til England i juli 1771* ((tr: they arrived back in England in July 1771))
T: very good!, on his third voyage in 1776, Cook tried to find the northwest passage from the Pacific to the Atlantic (5 sec pause) Tove?
L9: *eh paa den treie reisa=* ((tr: on the third voyage=))
T: *ja?* ((tr: yes))
L9: *= i 1776, proevde Cook a finne nordvest eh:=* ((tr: in 1776, Cook tried to find the northwest eh:))
T: *passasjen* ((tr: the passage))
L9: *= passasjen fra Stillehavet til Atlanterhavet* ((tr: passage from the Pacific to the Atlantic))
T: yes ..., on his way he discovered the islands of Hawaii, ((name))
L: *paa veien* ((unintelligible 1 sec)) ((tr: on the way ((unintelligible 1 sec))
T: he discovered ..., *oppdaget han* ((tr: he discovered))
L: *Island* ((tr: Iceland))
T: *nei, ikke Island ..., islands betyr oeyer* ((tr: no, not Iceland ..., islands means islands))
L: *oeyene til Hawaii* ((tr: the islands of Hawaii))
T: *ja ogsaa er det oeyene til Hawaii* ((tr: yes, but it is the islands of Hawaii)) (4 sec pause)
T: Cook and his men tried all summer to find a passage north of Alaska, but finally the weather was too bad and they had to turn south again to Hawaii for the winter ..., Halle what do you think?
L10: *Cook og mennene hans proevde=* ((tr: Cook and his men tried))
T: *heile* ((tr: all))
L10: *heile sommeren aa, til aa finne.....*, ((tr: all summer to, to find,))

- T: *veien, passasjen nord* ((tr: the way, the passage north))
- L10: *veien nord for Alaska ..., men veret ble for daarlig og dei maate snu soer te Hawaii for vinteren* ((tr: the way north of Alaska ..., but the weather was too bad and they had to turn south to Hawaii for the winter))
- T: *flott!* ..., the natives who had been so friendly before started to steal from Cook's ship, ((tr: excellent)) Eirin?
- L11: *de innfoedte som hadde vaert saa vennlige foer begynte aa stjela fra Cook sitt skip* ((tr: the natives who had been so friendly before started stealing from Cook's ship))
- T: Cook punished the thieves, and this made the natives angry, to punish? Liv-Karin?
- L12: *eh: Cook straffa tyvane og da gjorde han de innfoedte sinte* ((tr: eh: Cook punished the thieves and that made the natives angry))
- T: there was a fight on the beach and Cook was killed, Silje?
- L13: *det var en kamp paa stranda og Cook ble drept* ((tr: there was a fight on the beach and Cook was killed))
- T: this happened on February the 14th 1779, Cecilie?
- L14: *dette skjedde februar fjortende 1779* ((tr: this happened on February 14th 1779))
- T: *den fjortende februar ja* ((tr: the fourteenth of February, yes)) the world's greatest explorer was dead, Ingebjorg?
- L: *verdens storeste=* ((tr: the world's `storeste' is an incorrect way of saying greatest, it's what children say))
- T: *stoerste* ((tr: greatest))
- L: *=stoerste oppdager=* ((tr: greatest explorer))
- T: *ja, oppdagar* ((tr: yes, explorer *oppdagar* is new-Norwegian whilst *oppdager* is standard Norwegian))
- L: *=oppdagar var doed* ((tr: explorer was dead))
- T: *var doed* ((tr: was dead)) ..., ok! this will be your lesson for tomorrow, page 13, what's the time now please? ..., Stine (4 sec pause)
- L: it's nine o'clock
- T: yes, it's nine o'clock ..., and er page 19 please, 9 I don't mean 19 I mean 9 ..., page 9 (10 sec pause)
- T: and let's practise the time again and you tell me please when the San Fransisco plane leaves and when it arrives in San Francisco .., Kari!
- L: eh: it leaves at 15 minutes past eight and it arrives at 30 minutes past three
- T: yes, or half past three and a quarter past eight ..., good ..., what about the Los Angeles plane? Erik?
- L: eh it leaves a quarter past ten and it arrives at half past six
- T: yes ..., what about the Bangkok plane?, Silje?
- L15: it leaves at twentyfive to four and it arrives at a quarter past six
- T: very good! what about the Singapore plane? (5 sec pause) Ingeborg?
- L14: it leaves at twentyfive to three and arrives at ten past one
- T: ten past one yes ..., what about the Rio plane?....., Cecilie?
- L: ((unintelligible 4 sec))
- T: very good, what about New York plane?, Tove?
- L: it leaves at half past nine and it arrives er at one o'clock
- T: now you're going to do the pairwork, *foerst saa spoer dokker saa svar dokker saa skifter dokker ut* ..., *dokker trenger ikke aa ta New York for eksempel dokker kan bytte ut tidene og navnan* ..., *skjoenner dokker?* ..., *noen som ikke forstaar?* ((tr: first you ask then you answer then change ..., you don't have to say New York for instance

and you can change the times and the names ..., do you understand? ..., anyone who doesn't understand?)) (3 sec pause)

LL: ((laugh))

T: ok

(Group work starts)

L1: how often is there a flight to Los Angeles?

LL: ((unintelligible 5 sec))

L2: there is one every six-

LL: ((unintelligible 3 sec))

L2: *aa ja:* ((tr: oh yes))

L1: *aa ja:*

L2: Wednesday

L: when does it leave?

L1: when does it leave?

L2: it leaves Friday

LL: ((unintelligible 2 sec))

L2: quarter past ten

LL: ((unintelligible 1 sec))

L1: and when does it arrive?

L2: eh:=

L1: it's at half past six

L2: =half past six

L1: Miami?

L2: Miami eh thank you it leaves eh: ten past seven

L1: thank you!

L2: you are-

L1: welcome:

L2: welome

L2: *ja da skal jeg proeve aa* ((tr: then I shall try to))

L1: *du trenger ikke si New York, du kan ta noe annet* ((tr: you don't have to say New York, you can say something else))

L2: *ja? ..., ok* ((tr: yes?..., ok))

LL: is there a flight to Singapore?

L1: there is there is one every Thursday

LL: ((unintelligible 2 sec))

L2: when does it leave to-

L1: it leaves at eh-

L: arrives

L1: it leaves twentyfive to six

LL: ((unintelligible 5 sec))

L2: when does it arrive?

L1: arrive? ..., it arrives at=

LL: ((unintelligible 2 sec))

L1: = it arrives at ten past nine

L2: ok!

L1: ((unintelligible 1 sec))

L2: *eg er ikkje ferdig* ((tr: I'm not done))

L1: *thank you skal du sei* ((tr: you have to say thank you))
 L2: thank you!
 L1: you're welcome
 LL: ((unintelligible 5 sec))
 L1: Miami
 L: at
 LL: ((unintelligible 5 sec))
 T: good!
 L1: *du naa har me skifta over* ((tr: now we have swapped)) ((unintelligible 2 sec))
 TLL: ((unintelligible 2 sec))
 L2: how often is there a flight to New York?, nei, to Los Angeles?
 L1: eh eh every Wednesday
 LL: ((unintelligible 1 sec))
 L2: when does it leaves?
 L1: it leaves at a quarter past ten
 L2: hum, and when does it arrive?
 L1: ((unintelligible 3 sec)) arrives?
 L2: eh *ja* ((tr: yes))
 LL: ((unintelligible 3 sec))
 L1: it arrives at twentyfive to two
 L: eh arrives at one o'clock
 L2: eh thank you and you are welcome
 L: pause pause ((laugh))
 LL: ((unintelligible 7 sec))
 L: huh?
 L: ((unintelligible 2 sec))
 L: *stilig!* ((tr: cool!)), ((unintelligible 1 sec)) hallo hallo
 L: ((unintelligible 1 sec))
 T: ok, now you may open your workbooks (10 sec pause)
 T: can you find page 13? (12 sec pause)
 T: page 13... 13 (11 sec pause)
 T: at the police station .. your partner needs a new passport. you are the police officer. ask the right questions and fill in the passport. Silje?
 L: ((unintelligible 1 sec))
 T: *ja, men naa skal dokker, no* ((unintelligible 1 sec)) *polititjenestemann, husker dokker fra teksten idag?* ((tr: yes, but now you are going to, now police, do you remember from the previous text today?)) *der dokker eh: har spurt og stilt og svart paa spoersmaal foer* ((tr: where you asked and asked and answered questions before)) *no skal dokker skriv inn what's your profession?* ((tr: now you're going to write in what's your profession)), all of you ..., ((unintelligible 4 sec)) (5 sec pause) ((unintelligible 2 sec)), *ka heter elev paa engelsk?*, Kenneth? ((tr: what is pupil in English?))
 L: student
 T: student ..., or? ..., Stine?
 L: ((unintelligible 1 sec))
 T: *ja, og* ((unintelligible 1 sec)) *fra det?* ((tr: yes, and from that?))
 L7: pupils
 T: pupils! yes!, *ogsaa kan dokker ta neste spoersmaalet* ..., question two ((tr: then you can do the next question)), what will the next question be?

- T: *ka er det born on, ka er det dei spoer om da? ja?* ((tr: what is it, born on, what do they ask for? yes?))
- L: *kor du er foedt* ((tr: where you are born))
- T: *ja, eller naar* ((tr: yes, or when))
- L: *ja!* ((tr: yes))
- T: in English?....., Kari?
- L: when are you born
- T: when are you born!, and the next one ..., place of birth, *hva skal vi spoerre om da?* ((tr: what do we ask for then?)) place of birth? eh: *foedestad* ((unintelligible 2 sec)), what date of birth, what age, place ..., ((tr: place of birth)) of birth ..., *ser dere at det staar det paa norsk der ...*, *oeverst* ((unintelligible 2 sec)) *saa staar det paa norsk* ((tr: do you see that it is in Norwegian there at the top ((unintelligible 2 sec)) it is in Norwegian)) place of birth ..., *det staar her*, *her staar det place of birth ...*, *der staar det paa norsk der* ((tr: it says here, here it says place of birth ..., there it is in Norwegian)) Terje? *tror du du kan ta nummer tre?* ((tr: would you do number three?)) and what does the question mean? where-
- L: where were you born
- T: yes, where were you born? place of residence? ((unintelligible 3 sec)) Sindre?
- L: ((unintelligible 1 sec))
- T: *uhm og da blir spoersmaalet ...*, Sindre? ((tr: and the question will then be ..., Sindre?
- L: where do you live?
- T: yes, where do you live?, *har dokker skjoent ka dokker skal gjoer?* ((tr: do you understand what you are supposed to do?)), *ok, kan dokker lag spoersmaala no sjoel?* ((tr: can you make the questions yourself now?)) (5 sec pause)
- T: ((unintelligible 3 sec)) *skriv navn og stilling og* ((tr: write name and occupation and))
- T: *engelsk* ((tr: English)) pupil or student

(for the last 5 minutes of the lesson the pupils are working individually on the writing exercise: the teacher goes round the groups)

Definitions

The following terms are specific to this thesis. The terms are presented with short definitions and with a reference to longer definitions and contextualisations within the main text. It should be stressed that the terms are only meaningful in relation to the interactional organisation of the L2 classroom and in the context of the thesis as a whole.

Contextually ambiguous utterances

These are utterances produced by teachers which have an inbuilt contextual tension and they can be confusing to learners because they may be taken two ways. For example, learners may be unsure as to whether they should speak within a form and accuracy context or a 'classroom as speech community' context. See section 10.1.

Episode

It sometimes happens that there is no shift in overall basic pedagogical focus or basic overall L2 classroom context in a lesson, and yet it is clear that there has been some kind of other change taking place, in the type of activity or in the spatial configuration of the participants. The concept of the **episode** portrays and accounts for such changes. An L2 classroom context may consist (but need not consist) of multiple episodes. When episode shift occurs, the lesson remains in the same L2 classroom context, that is, the basic overall pedagogical focus and the basic overall organisation of the interaction appropriate to that focus remains the same. However, there is a shift within the context, which may involve change of

participants in the interaction, e.g. pair work rather than teacher-whole class work or shift of activity e.g. a shift from translation to reading within a text-based context. See section 9.6.

Intermediate properties

In L2 classroom interaction there are three interactional properties which derive directly from the core goal, and these properties in turn necessarily shape the micro-interaction. The three properties follow in rational sequence from each other:

- 1) language is both the vehicle and object of instruction.
- 2) the linguistic forms and patterns of interaction which the learners produce in the L2 will inevitably be linked in some way to the pedagogical purposes which the teacher introduces.
- 3) the linguistic forms and patterns of interaction which the learners produce are subject to evaluation by the teacher in some way.

These properties are called intermediate properties in that they mediate between the core institutional goal (at the broadest view of context) and the actual micro-discourse produced in the L2 classroom (at the narrowest view of context). See section 5.2.

L2 classroom context

All institutions conduct their institutional business by means of a number of interactional varieties which are suited to the institutional goal. In the L2 classroom the core business of

teaching the learners an L2 is also conducted via a number of interactional varieties which all relate directly to the institutional business. These interactional varieties are termed 'L2 classroom contexts'. This particular concept of context relates specifically to the architecture of the L2 classroom as described in this study. L2 classroom contexts should be understood not only as institutional interactional varieties, but also as the 'interfaces' between pedagogy and interaction and thus as the environments through which the institutional business is accomplished. In the typical contexts which occur in the L2 classroom a particular pedagogical focus combines with a particular organisation of the interaction. The different L2 classroom contexts need to be understood, then, as different combinations of pedagogical focus and interactional organisation. See section 5.6.

1) Form and Accuracy Context

The focus is on linguistic form and accuracy: personal or real-world meanings do not enter into the picture. Typically, the teacher's pedagogical purposes will aim at the production of a specific string of linguistic forms by the learners, and the learners produce utterances in order that the teacher can evaluate whether they have absorbed that information. Presentation and practice are normally involved: the learners will learn from the teacher how to manipulate linguistic forms accurately. See sections 6.1, 7.2 and 8.1.

2) 'Classroom as Speech Community' Context

The purpose of this L2 classroom context is to maximise the opportunities for interaction presented by the classroom environment and the classroom speech community itself. Participants talk about their immediate classroom speech community and their immediate

environment, personal relationships, feelings and meanings, as well as about the classroom activities they are engaging in. The focus is on the expression of personal meaning rather than on linguistic forms, on fluency rather than on accuracy. See sections 6.2, 7.3 and 8.2.

3) Task-Oriented Context

The definition of task in this context follows Willis (1990: 127): "By a task I mean an activity which involves the use of language but in which the focus is on the outcome of the activity rather than on the language used to achieve that outcome." The teacher introduces pedagogical purposes by allocating tasks to the learners and then generally withdraws, allowing the learners to manage the interaction themselves. It appears to be typical in this context, therefore, that the teacher does not play any part in the interaction, although learners do sometimes ask the teacher for help when having difficulty with the task. By contrast with the two previous contexts, there is no focus on personal meanings or on linguistic forms. The learners must communicate with each other in order to accomplish a task, and the focus is on the accomplishment of the task rather than on the language used. See sections 6.3, 7.4 and 8.3.

4) 'Real-World Target Speech Community' Context

The purpose of this L2 classroom context is to enable the learners to converge with their real-world target speech community. In this context it is the teacher's explicit pedagogical aim to replicate real-world interaction of some kind. It could be the institutional interaction between air-traffic controllers and pilot which is aimed at, for example, in a 'languages for specific purposes' course. Alternatively, it could be a replication of free conversation which

is aimed at, as is the case in the data from Warren 1985 which is discussed throughout this study. It appears to be typical in this context that the teacher does not play any part in the interaction. See sections 6.4, 7.5 and 8.4.

5) Text-based context

In this L2 classroom context the basic pedagogical purpose is for the learners to become familiar with an L2 text (by means of reading or listening): the rationale is that by doing so the learners will acquire elements of the L2. Frequently learners are required to demonstrate their familiarity with the text by means, for example, of answering questions about the text or translation. A wide range of activities are associated with this focus on a text, and the ensuing interaction may be organised in many different ways. See sections 6.5, 7.6 and 8.5.

6) Procedural Context

In all transcripts in my database, this context invariably occurs at the beginning of the lesson, in addition it can occur at later stages of the lesson, before each 'sub-activity'. The teacher's purpose is to transmit procedural information to the students concerning the classroom activities which are to be accomplished in the lesson. This context is different to the other L2 classroom contexts in that it is a preparatory or subsidiary context whose purpose is to establish a 'main' context (see definition). The procedural context is generally delivered in a monologue. See sections 6.6 and 8.6.

Main context

By main context is meant any L2 classroom context apart from the procedural context. The procedural context is seen as a subsidiary phase which is of peripheral interest to the institutional business, and it is frequently a very brief phase indeed in the data. See sections 9.1 and 9.2.

Shift markers

Schiffrin (1987) has demonstrated some of the functions of discourse markers within conversation. There are a set of discourse markers which have the special usage, within the institutional variety of L2 classroom discourse, of very commonly marking a shift in episode or context. These are termed shift markers. Typical items are: 'okay', 'now', 'all right', 'so', 'well'. See section 9.8.

Synthesised context

In a synthesised context there is a base context which has 'grafted' onto it certain pedagogical and interactional features which are atypical of that context but which are typical of another context. See section 10.3.

Tri-dimensional view of context

The full perspective on context used in this study is termed a tri-dimensional view of context, since it involves three perspectives on context represented in decreasing circles (see

figure 1). From the broadest perspective we can see the institutional context i.e. that of an L2 classroom. When the perspective starts to narrow we can identify the particular L2 classroom context which is currently in operation. As we focus closely and narrowly on the micro-interaction it is clear that there is nothing static or monolithic about this: it is unique. The local context is "something endogenously generated within the talk of the participants and, indeed, something created in and through that talk." (Heritage 1984b). So there is always a tension between a description of an extract of L2 classroom interaction as a unique occurrence, locally produced by the participants, and a description of it as an instance of interaction within a particular L2 classroom context and, from a broader perspective, a description of it as an example of institutional L2 classroom discourse. See section 6.8.

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